CONVIVIUM

Exchanges and Interactions in the Arts of Medieval Europe, Byzantium, and the Mediterranean

Seminarium Kondakovianum, Series Nova

Université de Lausanne • Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic • Masaryk University •

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Exchanges and Interactions in the Arts of Medieval Europe, Byzantium, and the Mediterranean

Seminarium Kondakovianum, Series Nova
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Open to Change, Faithful to Precepts

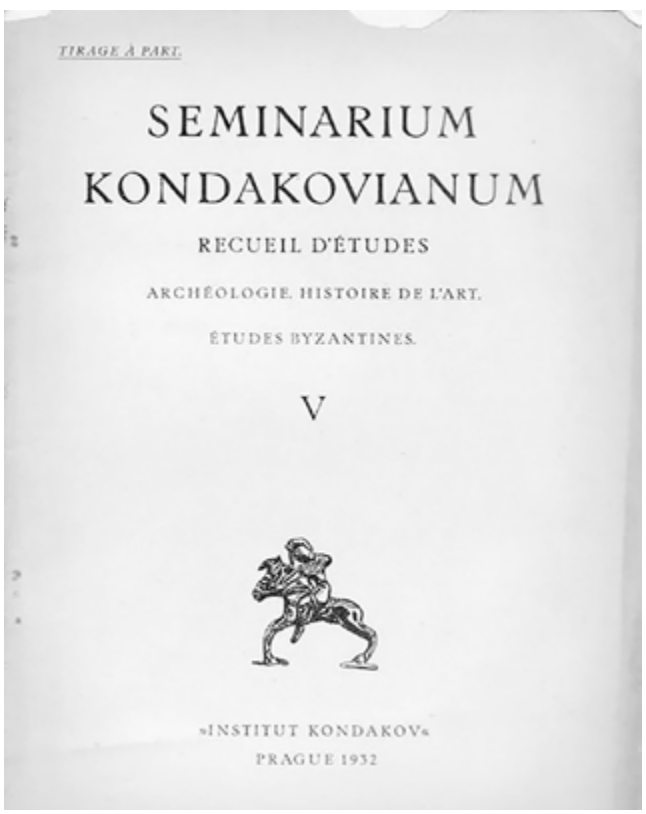
Ivan Foletti

As noted in Convivium's previous issue, the aim of the editorial with which we begin a new publication cycle is to explain our premise. In this monographic issue, edited by Anna Boreczky and entitled *Classical Heritage and Medieval Innovation: Illustrated Texts from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, an editorial is essential. For the first time in the journal's short history, an issue has been entrusted to a scholar who is not a member of one of Convivium's several committees. Such an eventuality was not considered when we founded the periodical. That said, one of Convivium's constants has been flexibility.

When representatives of National Széchényi Library and the Pázmány Péter Catholic University, which organized an international conference, "Facing and Forming the Tradition: Illustrated Texts on the Way from Late Antiquity until the Romanesque Time", came to us with a proposition for Convivium to publish the proceedings of the conference, we were happy to accept. Several factors led us to our decision. The first was the high level of the conference itself, in which eminent European and American scholars participated. Second, the conference represented an important moment of reflection after a discovery, in Budapest, of the illustrated *Apollonius Pictus* (OSZK, Cod. Lat. 4.), an object of major importance for the study of medieval manuscript illumination. Finally, the very idea of a conference

open to scholars of the East and the West, mirroring the multicultural reality that is at the root of the *Apollonius Pictus*, corresponds perfectly to one of our journal's key ambitions: to serve as a bridge connecting diverse cultures. For these reasons, Convivium has accepted the papers of the Budapest conference, and the organizer of the conference, Anna Boreczky, has edited this issue. Independent of the curatorial intention, the usual double-blind peer review has been carried out, assuring the scientific quality of the papers. With this choice the redaction wishes to present Convivium not only as a bridge between worlds, but also as a journal open to change.

A second aspect of this issue also deserves special note. In an appendix, entitled "Chronicle", appears the first essay of a series of studies dedicated to our journal's predecessor, the legendary *Seminarium Kondakovianum*. The essay, Francesco Lovino's "Leafing through *Seminarium Kondakovianum*", deals with one of the essential themes in the history of the *Seminarium*: Byzantine manuscripts. This choice of theme is not accidental. In an issue dedicated mostly to the history of the miniature, Lovino's essay implicitly indicates not only the points of contact, but also those of divergence, between the two periodicals. Furthermore, with this essay, we want to stress the attention given to historiography, one of the themes we have set out to develop from the very beginning of Convivium.



1/ Cover page of *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, v

2/ View of the city of Budapest, 1913

3/ Nikodim Kondakov and his pupils, Prague 1924

Classical Heritage & Medieval Innovation

ILLUSTRATED TEXTS FROM LATE ANTIQUITY TO THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

edited by **Anna Boreczky**

Classical Heritage & Medieval Innovation

Anna Boreczky

The present issue of Convivium, entitled *Classical Heritage and Medieval Innovation: Illustrated Texts from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, is based on the proceedings of a symposium held two years ago in Budapest[1]. Organized on the initiative of Xavier Barral i Altet, this workshop-like forum followed the publication of the newly rediscovered *Apollonius pictus*. Made in a Benedictine community around the year 1000, this unique manuscript sheds light on the usually underestimated secular part of monastic book-culture and preserves the oldest known illustration cycle of a Late Antique romance. The *Apollonius pictus* motivated four contributors to the present volume to question general concepts regarding the early medieval transmission of the classical, mostly Late Antique heritage, and to investigate Late Antique and medieval narrative strategies, both textual and visual. The in-depth study of the process of selection, preservation, alteration, and transmittal of classical heritage as reflected in illustrated texts called for a comprehensive interdisciplinary discussion. To the delight of the participants of the 2014 conference, Convivium has accepted our papers for publication, resulting in a perfect constellation, since there is an essential agreement between our interests and the spirit of the new journal.

1 The symposium organized by Anna Boreczky (National Széchényi Library, Budapest) and Béla Zsolt Szakács (Department of the History of Arts at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Piliscsaba, Hungary) was held on 18th–20th March 2014, under the title "Facing and Forming the Tradition. Ilustrated Texts on the Way from Late Antiquity to the Romanesque Time".

The outcome of the intense exchange of ideas is twofold. Taken together, the papers presented here contribute to an understanding of the early medieval presence and reception of the Late Antique heritage. Continuity and/or revival, admiration and/or denial, imitation and/or invention are central questions explored here. On the other hand, the most important conclusion of the study of the transmission of illustrated texts is the insight that no single interpretative model can be applied to all cases. Motifs, compositions, iconographic solutions and complete cycles of narrative illustrations, as well as shorter or longer texts and their later commentaries, might have circulated together or independently from one another throughout the centuries. This fact allowed for countless ways of combining older and younger layers of textual and visual contents in the process of renewal. The basic steps of transmission from selection and preservation of information, through its reconsideration to its perpetuation nevertheless seem to be fairly consistent. Therefore, observations based on the study of early medieval examples might be also relevant, on a more abstract level, from the viewpoint of the practices of modern knowledge-transfer.

The Early Middle Ages are often neglected within scholarly literature discussing the medieval reception of classical Antiquity, even though both the Carolingian *renovatio imperii* and the "Macedonian Renaissance" are always considered as eras of classical revival. Our investigations of the transmission of Late Antique illustrated texts in the Early Middle Ages, however, lead to the conclusion that the cultural heritage of the classical reality did not need to be purposefully reanimated. Even if its continuity suffered several interruptions and ambiguous relations, Antiquity remained a living body of knowledge, or, at least, an inevitable point of reference from the fifth–sixth to the eleventh–twelfth centuries. The presence of a different culture's heritage might have been simultaneously provocative and stimulating. But its survival, with all its eventualities, depended on the active participation of early medieval communities, which, in turn, required a constant reconsideration of its values. Made up of appropriation as much as of rejection, the relationships to the heritage of the past played a role in self-identification, and, over time, contributed to the continuous transformation of medieval culture. The ongoing changes in the process of reception can be clearly seen in the selection of works that were to be retained and in their transformation, that is, in the mechanisms of transmission.

Illustrated texts are especially appropriate for the study of transmission, since they provide insight into more complex processes than the separated investigation of textual or pictorial traditions. Related pictorial and textual contents do not necessarily have to be physically bound to one another. Therefore, this volume is not exclusively based on the study of illustrated codices. Some authors focus on depictions without textual contexts: murals or ivory carvings, the understanding of which, however, required the knowledge of a given text (usually a widespread narrative). Taking note of the complexity of the interrelationships between the textual and the pictorial forms, the preeminent role of orality in the Middle Ages, the wealth of the visual repertoire, and the creative power of the artists, the present papers reveal many different paths of transmission. Among these the one that fits the traditional interpretative model of codicology, which is built on the assumption of an *Urtext* as well as a possibly later prototype of illustrations, appears to be only one possible option. Similarly, the concept of the unified wanderings of texts and images through a series of codices copied from one another is relevant under certain conditions, while it does not work in other cases. From the understanding of the diversity of the patterns of transmission, it follows that, instead of attempting to establish new rules, these papers raise new questions. What made certain text-image combinations long-lived and why did other, related texts and images come apart and move along different tracks? When was an old text illustrated anew, how were old images reinterpreted and transformed so that they fit new contexts? How were older and newer texts and images compiled into new juxtapositions? These are only some of the puzzles raised in these papers.

In the first article, Herbert L. Kessler sets the tone by revising his own earlier concepts about the making of the Touronian Bibles. Identifying various classical sources from which Carolingian artists compiled their motif repertoire, following the wanderings of given compositions through the Eastern Mediterranean, and analyzing the alterations of meaning classical literary and scientific illustrations went through, he arrives at a new image of a conscious and thoughtful Christian classicization. His conclusions regarding the inventiveness of Carolingian artists resonate with Martin Büchsel's results about Carolingian ivory carvings. Through the close reading of Carolingian works and their possible Late Antique or Early Christian

models, Büchsel points out the skillful and freewheeling adaptions of Carolingian artists in the shaping of Christian iconography, using classical motifs and staging Christian figures in classical compositions. In Ádám Bollók's paper, similar phenomena inside of the Byzantine world are put in the historical context of the continuously rising interest in antiquities (a possible consequence of the trauma of iconoclasm). He draws a parallel between the fashion of *all'antica* works of art and the so called "compilation movement", which determined the scholarly activities of the imperial court and the written culture of the "Macedonian Renaissance".

The following three articles focus on the *Apollonius pictus*. Anna Boreczky aims to reveal visual associations that the seemingly archaic "papyrus-style" layout and the visual language of the manuscript evoked in the circle of the Ottonian readers. She argues that the manuscript does not fit into a simplified interpretative model of transmission: it is unlikely that the page-design is the heir of a Late Antique archetype, whilst the images are not necessarily modernized but seem to preserve motifs of fifth–sixth-century illustrations. Xavier Barral i Altet approaches the various representations of buildings in the *Apollonius pictus* (a brothel, a mausoleum, the temple of the Ephesian Diana/Artemis and the city of Tarsus) from the historical perspective of pictorial topoi. Through a wide panorama of similar depictions, he considers the manuscript as a "missing link" between continuous narratives of classical Antiquity and the visual language of Romanesque art. Finally, exploring the narrative strategies of the romance through a philological analysis, András Németh seeks the logic behind the selection of episodes to be illustrated, and establishes a system which he compares to the scene-divisions of Late Antique plays. The study of secular narratives of Late Antique origin is completed by Giulia Orofino's presentation of the oldest known illustrated copy of the *Historiae adversus paganos* by Paulus Orosius, a historical text from the early fifth century. Contrary to the drawings of the *Apollonius pictus*, the marginal illustrations of this volume do not reflect Late Antique features, but raise several questions regarding the "first" illustrated edition of a given text and the possibilities of actualizing an old text by means of pictorial commentaries.

In the following two papers, murals from the Pyrenees and Northern medieval Hungary (present-day Slovakia) are analyzed, questioning the role illustrated manuscripts might have played in the transfer of

pictorial ideas to eleventh–twelfth-century monumental art. Milagros Guardia follows centuries of iconographic tradition of a fatal episode from the Genesis: the scenes of the fratricide beginning with the double sacrifice, through Cain's anger, to the extra-biblical burial of Abel. With the help of exegetical literature, she interprets the representations as expressions of anger and regret, linking them with sin and penance. Béla Zsolt Szakács, in turn, focuses on a single monument. Considering the narrative image-cycle depicting scenes from the Infancy of Jesus in a small village-church at Kostoľany pod Tribečom, he assesses the question of archaism versus provincialism. He suggests that certain pictorial elements are remote reminiscences of Roman works that have transmitted characteristic features of Late Antique/Early Christian art.

While we aimed at understanding the early medieval reception of the (Late-)Antique heritage from a well-defined perspective – through the investigation of the transmission of illustrated texts – we also intended to introduce less known works of art and cover domains that are not enough represented in modern historiography. Accordingly, this volume comprises – besides wall paintings from medieval Hungary and the *Apollonius pictus* – the first detailed philological and art historical description of a book from the Eastern Mediterranean. This manuscript, the sixth-century Syrian Diyarbakır Gospels, presented by Massimo Bernabò and Grigory Kessel within the context of Early Christian art, is among the few representatives of a cultural heritage which is seriously endangered by contemporary devastations. In the age of a new "iconoclasm", when monuments of classical Antiquity perish all of a sudden, the eager scholarly interest in the early medieval transmission of Late Antique heritage, which gave rise to this volume, becomes a statement of the active preservation and perpetuation of the past.

Abstract—The Christianity of Carolingian Classicism
Manuscripts illuminated during the ninth century have long been understood primarily as faithful replicas of hypothetical lost Late Antique models. Whereas that scholarly paradigm might hold true for certain astronomical and other scientific texts, it is inadequate to account for the ambitious classicism applied to books of the Bible, including the Godescalc Evangelistary, First Bible of Charles the Bald, and Utrecht Psalter. This article argues that these are better understood as classical intensifications of "subantique" sources or confections *all'antica* rather than as simple copies. And it maintains that underlying the recreation of the appearance of Late Antique manuscripts in them is not only a notion of classical revival but also the idea of supersession, that is, of translating written sacred scripture into a visual language that opens it to gentiles.

Keywords—classical revival, models, Gospel books, Bibles, Utrecht Psalter, Evangelist portraits, Fountain of Life, scientific tracts, supersession, compilations, copying

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The Christianity of **Carolingian Classicism**

Herbert L. Kessler

For Beat Brenk at eighty

When I was writing my dissertation fifty years ago, I assumed that the illustrated ninth-century Bibles I was studying were derived almost entirely from Late Antique models[1]. That had been Wilhelm Koehler's conclusion thirty years earlier in his authoritative study of Carolingian manuscripts produced at St Martin's in Tours; indeed, Koehler went so far as to date the presumed source of the Bibles to the fifth century through an analysis of their style[2]. Although I disagreed with the conclusion that the four frontispieces in the Moutier-Grandval Bible (London, British Library, Add. MS 10546)[3] are virtual facsimiles of a lost pandect made for Pope Leo the Great, and also with Carl Nordenfalk's expanded version of the thesis that all eight of the pages in the slightly later First Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris, *BNF*, MS lat. 1) go back to the same hypothetical model[4], I accepted the premise that the Carolingian pictures were, in essence, versions of Early Christian illustrated books. As a student of Kurt Weitzmann, I was predisposed to think in terms of lost models[5], an idea that conformed perfectly to the notion of Carolingian "Renaissance" underlying the Council of Europe exhibition staged in Aachen at the very moment I was finishing my thesis[6].

1 Herbert L. Kessler, *The Sources and the Construction of the Genesis, Exodus, Majestas, and Apocalypse Frontispiece Illustrations in the Ninth-Century Touronian Bibles*, PhD thesis, (Princeton University), Princeton 1965; revised as *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Princeton 1977.

2 Wilhelm Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, Berlin/Wiesbaden 1930–2013, vol. I, *Die Schule von Tours*.

3 Johannes Duft *[et al.]*, *Die Bibel von Moutier-Grandval*, Bern 1971.

4 Carl Nordenfalk, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Turonischen Buchmalerei", *Acta Archaeologica*, VII (1936), pp. 281–304.

5 Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Princeton 1947, rev. ed. 1971; *Idem*, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Princeton 1951; *Idem*, *Ancient Book Illumination*, Cambridge, MA 1959.

6 *Karl der Große. Werk und Wirkung*, catalogue of the exhibition (Aachen, 26 June – 19 September 1965), Wolfgang Braunfels ed., Aachen 1965; see Philippe Cordez, "1965: Karl der Große in Aachen. Geschichten einer Ausstellung", in *Karl/Charlemagne der Grosse. Karls Kunst, Begleitpublikation mit dem Katalog zur Ausstellung "Karls Kunst"*, Peter van der Brink, Sarvenaz Ayooghi eds, Dresden 2014, pp. 17–29.

HIERONYMVS LATAS VLQVE TRANSTVLIT ALM OLLIS HIC TRIBVIT QVIS EXCONTOSVIT

1/ Scenes from the life of St Jerome, First Bible of Charles the Bald, Tours, 845 / *BNF*, (Paris), MS lat. 1, fol. 3v

2/ Ship race, Vatican Vergil, Rome, ca 400 / *BAV* (Vatican), Cod. Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 43v

Many details supported the hypothesis, the coffered ceiling on the Moutier-Grandval Exodus page and the ship in the First Bible's Jerome frontispiece (fol. 3v [**Fig. 1**]), both with close parallels in the fifth-century Vatican Vergil (*BAV*, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 42v and 43v [**Fig. 2**])[7], the similarity of the rare depiction of God Introducing Eve to Adam in the two Bibles from St Martin's (and also in related manuscripts in Bamberg, *Staatsbibliothek*, MS A 15 and Rome, *Monastero di San Paolo*) to that in the nearly-ruined fifth-century Cotton Genesis (British Library, Cotton Cod. Otho B VI)[8], and the motif of *Caelus* holding the cosmic cloth over his head appropriated for the apocalyptic figure at the end, among other features. I attributed more originality to the ninth-century painters than Koehler and Nordenfalk had, arguing that no single model lay behind the several manuscripts and maintaining, instead, that the Bibles had been assembled ad hoc in ninth-century Tours. Nonetheless, I, too, was convinced of the general faithfulness to Late Antique art.

That logic held until David Wright set forth powerful evidence indicating that the Vatican Vergil had actually been at St Martin's during the ninth century and had served there as the source for specific features in the Bibles; for example, Wright showed that the two soldiers standing behind Paul in the preaching scene on the Epistles frontispiece in the First Bible of Charles the Bald (fol. 386v) were derived from Aeneas and Achates in the miniature of Sybil at the Temple of Apollo (fol. 45v)[9]. In light of this demonstration, it seemed to me implausible that the Carolingian manuscripts were derived independently of the Late Antique manuscript they had at hand but, instead, from a lost work that just happened to resemble it so closely; and I set out to reconcile my

7 *Vergilius Vaticanus*, facsimile, David H. Wright ed., Graz 1984.

8 Kurt Weitzmann, Herbert L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, Princeton 1986; and now Herbert L. Kessler, "Thirteenth-Century Venetian Revisions of the Cotton Genesis Cycle", in *Das Atrium von San Marco in Venedig. Die Genese der Genesismosaiken und ihre mittelalterliche Wirklichkeit/The Atrium of San Marco in Venice. The Genesis of the Genesis Mosaics and their Medieval Reality*, Martin Büchsel, Herbert L. Kessler, Rebecca Müller eds, Berlin 2014, pp. 75–94.

9 "When the Vatican Vergil was in Tours", in *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst. 800–1250. Festschrift für Florentine Mütherich zum 70. Geburtstag*, Katharina Bierbauer *[et al.]* eds, Munich 1985, pp. 53–66 and *Vergilius Vaticanus* (n. 7), commentary volume. Massimo Bernabò has attempted to rebut Wright's claim; I thank him for sending me his forthcoming article, "Virgil Illustrated in Gallia. A Reassessment".

3/ Chamomile flowers, *Pseudo-Apuleius*, 9th century/ *Landesbibliothek und Murhadische Bibliothek* (Kassel), 2° Ms phys. et hist. nat. 10, fol. 28v

4/ Asclepius Medicus Magister, *Pseudo-Apuleius*, 9th century / *Landesbibliothek und Murhadische Bibliothek* (Kassel), 2° Ms phys. et hist. nat. 10, fol. 14v

own earlier conclusions with Wright's new material[10]. In the course of doing so, I discovered other details that confirmed the ninth-century painters' inventiveness in using the Vatican Vergil; and I came to question, more than I had before, Koehler's idea of a wholesale appropriation of a fifth-century model. I came to realize, for instance, that the page depicting Jerome traveling from Rome to Bethlehem to learn Hebrew and then composing and transmitting the Vulgate was not, as I had thought, based on a fifth-century Italian work but rather an entirely new fabrication made at Tours to look like a Jerome *vita*[11]. And, while I still maintained that an illustrated Acts of the Apostles had served as the model for the Epistles page, I now understood that it must have been extensively revised with borrowings from the Vatican Vergil in a way that intensified the classical character.

Moreover, the Touronian illustrators used other Late Antique manuscripts to create new imagery, for example, the fifth/sixth-century Ashburnham Pentateuch (*BNF*, Nouv. acq. 2334)[12], which Bezalel Narkiss had shown also was at St Martin's during the ninth century[13]. The depiction of Eve nursing her child beneath a bower after the Expulsion from Eden in the Carolingian Bibles was derived from it, not from the model related to the Cotton Genesis, as I had thought. Moreover, the much-discussed Tabernacle on the Moutier-Grandval Exodus page (fol. 25v), composed after the Temple of Latinus in the fifth-century Vergil (fol. 60v)[14], was likewise merged with background arches and roof tiles from the Tabernacle from the Ashburnham form a composite structure that seemed authentically ancient. In turn, the most classical figure in the First Bible of Charles the Bald, the David with his near-nude perfectly modeled torso and lively pose set off against a deep blue sky in the Psalms frontispiece (fol. 215v) turned out to be less an appropriation than an invention, based on yet another classical source, in this case a constellation picture from a Late Antique *Aratea*, best known from the ninth-century replica in Leiden (*Bibliotheek*, Ms Voss. Lat. Q 79)[15].

The motivation for creating these new confections *all'antica* certainly included the one traditionally given, namely, a desire to appropriate classical learning in the empire north of the Alps

and to identify Carolingian culture with its Roman predecessor[16]. And, especially in the domain of secular and scientific illumination, this old understanding seems still to hold[17]. The Leiden *Aratus* is, itself, an example; so are the several surviving ninth-century copies of Terence comedies which surely reverted to a classical prototype at least in their essential characteristics[18]. The diagrams in the late Carolingian copy of Muscio Medicus' *Gynaecia* in Brussels (*Bibliothèque Royale*, MS 3701–15) were undoubtedly copied from a fifth/sixth-century original; the text requires pictorial demonstration[19]. Likewise, judging from the similarity of format and mode with papyrus fragments and the sixth-century Greek *Dioscurides* in Vienna (*ÖNB*, Cod. gr. 1), the ninth-century *Pseudo-Apuleius* manuscript in Kassel (*Landesbibliothek und Murhadsche Bibliothek*, 2° MS phys. et hist. nat. 10) seems certainly to derive from an ancient model[20]; the naturalistic renderings of the flowers, leaves, and root systems distinguish individual plant species, in the case of chamomile even how it is rooted in dirt (fol. 28v [Fig. 3]); and similarities with another ninth-century herbal (*BNF*, MS lat. 6862) suggests its descent from a Late Antique archetype. Moreover, the work of Michel Huglo, Anna Somfai, and Béatrice Bakhouche leaves little doubt that illustrated manuscripts of Calcidius' Plato commentary also have old sources[21]. While the ninth-century *Physiologus* from Reims now in Bern (*Burgerbibliothek*, Cod. 318) cannot be taken as strictly scientific because of its Christian moralizations, it, too, largely reflects Late Antique sources[22].

Even in manuscripts with secure ancient pedigrees, however, more may have been involved than simply the passing-through of ancient features. For one thing, the Carolingians sometimes drew on intermediary sources that had already modified the originals. This was true especially of models with Christian content which, necessarily, originated not during the Golden Age but in Late Antiquity, the Ashburnham Pentateuch being a prime example. The same was true, also, of some secular works as well; the late Carolingian *De arithmetica* in Lund (University Library, Medeltidshandskrift 1), for instance, seems to have copied Boethius' mathematical diagrams from a Hiberno-Saxon model that had imbued them with cross-symbolism[23].

10 Herbert L. Kessler, "An Apostle in Armor and the Mission of Carolingian Art", *Arte medievale*, ser. 2, IV (1989), pp. 17–41, reprinted in *Idem*, *Studies in Pictorial Narrative*, London 1994, pp. 208–248; *Idem*, "Facies Bibliothecae Revelata: Carolingian Art as Spiritual Seeing", in *Testo e immagine nell'alto medioevo* (*Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, XLI), Spoleto 1994, pp. 533–594; reprinted in *Idem*, *Spiritual Seeing. Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art*, Philadelphia 2000, pp. 149–189.

11 *Idem*, "Jerome and Vergil in Carolingian Frontispieces and the Uses of Translation", in *Les Manuscrits carolingiens.* Actes du colloque de Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, (Paris, 4 mai 2007), Jean-Pierre Caillet, Marie-Pierre Laffitte eds, Turnhout 2010, pp. 121–140.

12 *Pentateuco de Ashburnham: Biblia de Tours*, Bezalel Narkiss ed., Valencia 2003.

13 Bezalel Narkiss, "Towards a Further Study of the Ashburnham Pentateuch", *Cahiers archéologiques*, XIX (1969), pp. 45–60; *Idem*, "Reconstruction of Some of the Original Quires of the Ashburnham Pentateuch", *Cahiers archéologiques*, XXII (1972), pp. 19–38. See also Martina Pippal, "Distanzierung und Aktualisierung in der Vivianbibel. Zur Struktur der touronischen Miniaturen in den 40er Jahren des 9. Jahrhunderts", *Aachener Kunstblätter*, LX (1994), pp. 61–78; Herbert L. Kessler, "'Filled to the Brim: 'The Meaning of Perspective in Carolingian Art", in *Ars auro gemmisque prior: Mélanges en hommage à Jean-Pierre Caillet*, Chrystèle Blondeau *[et al.]* eds, Zagreb 2013, pp. 181–187.

14 *Ibidem*.

15 *Aratea: Kommentar zum Aratus des Germanicus, Ms. Voss. Lat. Q. 79, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden*, Bernard Bischoff *[et al.]* eds, Lucerne 1989.

16 Fabrizio Crivello, "L'immagine ripetuta: filiazione e creazione nell'arte del Medioevo", in *Arti e storia nel Medioevo*, III, *Del vedere: pubblici, forme e funzioni*, Enrico Castelnuovo, Giuseppe Sergi eds, Turin 2004, pp. 567–592.

17 There is a vast literature on the other side as well, see, for instance, Eric Ramirez-Weaver, "Classical Constellations in Carolingian Codices: Investigating the Celestial Imagery of Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 3307", in *Negotiating Secular and Sacred in Medieval Art: Christian, Islamic, and Buddhist*, Alicia Walker, Amanda Luyster eds, Burlington VT 2009, pp. 103–128 and *Idem*, *Saving Science: Capturing the Heavens in Carolingian Manuscripts*, University Park, PA (forthcoming).

18 In turn, Beatrice Radden Keefe has shown that the progeny of the Carolingian Terence manuscripts may be more innovative than has been assumed.

19 Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (n. 5); Roger Calcoen, *Inventaire des manuscrits scientifiques de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, I, Brussels 1965, pp. 73–75, n. 94.

20 *Medicina medievale: Testi dell alto medioevo, miniature del codice di Kassel, regole salutary salernitane, incisioni del fasciculo de medicina, anatomia di Mondino de' Liuzzi*, Luigi Firpo ed., Turin 1972; Minta Collins, *Medieval Herbals. The Illustrative Tradition*, London 2000.

21 Michel Huglo, "La réception de Calcidius et des *Commentarii* de Macrobe à l'époque carolingienne", *Scriptorium*, XLIV (1990), pp. 3–20; Anna Somfai, "The Nature of Daemons: A Theological Application of the Concept of Geometrical Proportion in Calcidius' *Commentary* to Plato's *Timaeus* (40d–41a)", in *Ancient Approaches to the 'Timaeus'"*, Robert W. Sharples, Anne Sheppard eds, London 2003, pp. 129–142 and *Idem*, "Calcidius' *Commentary* on Plato's *Timaeus* and Its Place in the Commentary Tradition: The Concept of *Analogia* in Text and Diagrams", *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, XLVII (2004), pp. 203–220; *Calcidius. Commentaire au Timée de Platon*, Béatrice Bakhouche ed. and trans., Paris 2011. See also Peter Dronke, *The Spell of Calcidius. Platonic Concepts and Images in the Medieval West*, Florence 2008, pp. XVIII–XIX.

22 Wilhelm Koehler, Florentine Mütherich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen, VI: die Schule von Reims, 1. Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1994, pp. 172–182.

23 Elisabeth Pellegrin, "Manuscrits d'auteurs latins de l'époque classique conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Suède", *Bulletin d'information de l'institut de recherches et d'histoire des textes*, Paris 1954, pp. 28–31.

Moreover, Carolingian illuminators often augmented their venerable sources[24]. Thus, Aesclapius Medicus Magister at the front of the Kassel herbal, enthroned within a complex mandorla while transmitting his prescriptions to doctors (fol. 1v [Fig. 4]), surely owes more to contemporary depictions of the *Majestas Domini* and *Traditio legis* than to an ancient author portrait[25]. Likewise, the Boethius in Bamberg illuminated at the very moment the First Bible of Charles the Bald was being completed (*Staatsbibliothek*, MS Class. 8 [H J IV 12], fol. 28r) not only refashioned of practical diagrams from an ancient exemplar into a luxury edition but also added what I take to be an original depiction of the personifications of the quadrivium (fol. 9v)[26].

Indeed, relatively free of associated texts, prefatory miniatures (and also ornamented covers) seem to have offered Carolingians a special field for experimentation. That was the case in the Touronian Bibles; and it was true, as well, in Evangelistaries and Gospel books where frontispieces served the special purpose of demonstrating the unity – in Christ – of the four texts that followed. Thus, while the frontispiece in the Gospels in Aachen (*Domschatzkammer*, fol. 14v [Fig. 5])[27], painted at Aachen ca 800, generally follows the type of seated evangelists found separately before each Gospel in Late Antique manuscripts and in the slightly earlier Coronation Gospels (Vienna, *Schatzkammer*, Inv. XIII 18)[28], it brings the four together on a single leaf and portrays them within a unified landscape to express the essential harmony of their texts[29]. The process of amalgamation had been engaged already in the earliest surviving illustrated manuscript produced for Charlemagne, the Godescalc Evangelistary (*BNF*, MS lat. 1203), made to commemorate his son Pippin's baptism in Rome in 781[30]. The Evangelistary's re-ordered text is prefaced by a sequence of separate portraits at the start, followed by a fifth page depicting Christ enthroned in Paradise; and, in lieu of traditional canon tables, a final frontispiece picturing the Fountain of Life which leads directly into the text proper (fol. 3v [Fig. 6])[31]. Realizing the metaphor of the river with four streams at the center of Eden (Gen 2, 10–14) that had long been evoked to assert the unity of the individual Gospels and the benefit to humankind that flowed from them, the Fountain simultaneously refers to the Lateran Baptistery where Pippin's baptism had taken place. As Paul Underwood demonstrated, the depicted Fountain of Life was derived from an ancient East Mediterranean composition[32]; and the re-dating, through Carbon 14 analysis to 530–660, of one of the surviving examples of the tradition he cited confirms and complicates the argument. The frontispiece of the Abba Gärima Gospels (fol. 1r [Fig. 7]) is[33],

5/ Frontispiece with the four Evangelists, Gospels, Aachen, ca 800 / *Domschatzkammer* (Aachen), fol. 14v

24 See the interesting example discussed by Sabine Utz, "Reprise et réinvention des manuscrits antiques à l'époque carolingienne: l'exemple du Prudence de Berne", in *Actualiser le passé: figures antiques au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, Delphine Burghgraeve eds, Lausanne 2012, pp. 33–42.

25 Herbert L. Kessler, "A Sanctifying Serpent. Crucifix as Cure", in *Experiments in Empathy: Studies in Honor of Karl F. Morrison*, Rudolph Bell, Karl F. Morrison eds, Turnhout 2013, pp. 161–181; the cover of Paris *BNF* 323 is particularly close.

26 Wilhelm Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen, I: die Schule von Tours, 1. Die Ornamentik*, Berlin 1930, pp. 235–236.

27 *Idem*, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen, III: die Gruppe des Wiener Krönungs-Evangeliars*, Berlin 1960, pp. 72–80.

28 See Karen Krause, "Heilige Schrift im Bild. Spätantike Portraits der inspirierten Evangelisten als Spiegel eines neues Medienbewusstseins", in *Bild und Text im Mittelalter*, Karin Krause, Barbara Schellewald eds, Cologne 2011, pp. 11–83. The robust classicism recalls, even more, the Evangelist on a purple leaf inserted into the Xanten Gospels (Brussels, *Bibliothèque Royale*, MS 18723); Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen, III* (n. 26), pp. 91–93. Ever since I first studied it in Brussels half a century ago, I have been inclined to side with Hanns Swarzenski's conclusion that the leaf is a genuine Late Antique work (Hanns Swarzenski, "The Xanten Purple Leaf and the Carolingian Renaissance", *Art Bulletin* XXII [1940], pp. 7–24). The tissue-paper thin vellum, character of the staining, and other features stand apart from the rest of the manuscript.

29 For an exegetic interpretation of the landscape, see Albert M. Friend, Jr., "Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts", *Art Studies*, V (1927), pp. 115–147 and VII (1929), pp. 3–29.

30 Wilhelm Kohler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen, II: die Hofschule Karls des Grossen*, Berlin 1958, pp. 70–82; Herbert L. Kessler, "Image and Object: Christ's Dual Nature and the Crisis of Early Medieval Art", in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe*, Michael McCormick, Jennifer Davies eds, London 2008, pp. 291–319.

31 Bruno Reudenbach, *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar: Ein Buch für die Reformpolitik Karls des Großen*, Frankfurt 1998; Lawrence Nees, "Godescalc's Career and the Problem of Influence", in *Under the Influence. The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts*, Alixe Bovey, John Lowden eds, Turnhout 2007, pp. 21–43; Fabrizio Crivello, Charlotte Denoël, Peter Orth, *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar: Eine Prachthandschrift für Karl den Großen*, Darmstadt 2011.

32 Paul Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels", *Dumbarton Oaks Paper*, V (1950), pp. 41–138. See also Reudenbach, *Evangelistar* (n. 31); Anne-Orange Poilpré, *Maiestas Domini: Une image de l'église en occident*, Paris 2006, pp. 184–192.

33 Jules Leroy, "L'Évangéliaire éthiopien du Couvent d'Abba Garima et ses attaches avec l'ancien art chrétien de Syrie", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, CIV (1960), pp. 200–204; Alessandro Bausi, "The 'True Story' of the Abba Gärima Gospels", *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter*, I (2011), pp. 17–20. The results of a 2013 conference at Oxford, "Ethiopia and the Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity: The Garima Gospels in Context", have not been published. I wish to thank Marilyn Heldman for first calling my attention to this important manuscript. See also Gohar Grigoryan, "The Roots of *Tempietto* and Its Symbolism in Armenian Gospels", *Iconografica*, XIII (2014), pp. 11–24.

6/ Fountain of Life, Godescalc Evangelistary, Charlemagne's court, 781–783 / *BNF* (Paris), MS lat. 1203, fol. 3v

7/ Fountain of Life, Gospels, Syria (?), 6th/7th century / Abba Gärima, MS 1, fol. 1r

8/ Fountain of Life, Soissons Gospels, Aachen, ca 810 / *BNF* (Paris) MS lat. 8850, fol. 6v

in fact, closer to the Godelscalc frontispiece than any of Underwood's comparanda – in the overlapping of *faux-marbre* columns with gold capitals, the birds, and especially the profile of the inside of the cupola which runs straight across and then curves up to meet the arc of the thick gutter line. The ornament at the very top is also particularly close, partially lost in the Abba Gärima manuscript, but clearly composed of a gold cross atop a ball, supported on an inverted triangle. The early Carolingian miniature is best understood, not as a debased version of a classical model, in other words, but as a more or less reliable copy of an already stylized Late Antique source[34].

If so, then another Fountain of Life picture in the Soissons Gospels (*BNF*, MS lat. 8850, fol. 6v [**Fig. 8**])[35], also from the court but thirty years younger, would seem not simply to be a more adept realization of a hypothetical classical source but as a concerted classicization of the stylized original. The hypothesis is supported by the niche that forms the background, which is not an element of the old Fountain of Life iconography but rather is of a type found in sixth-century icons and

34 The Fountain of Life frontispiece in the Ethiopian book seems, itself, to have been produced not in Africa but rather in Syria; the canon tables, of like manufacture, were left blank and filled in by the scribe of the Ge'ez text. Godescalc may have started with such a page and augmented it with harts and a basin to suit the Roman baptismal context.

35 Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen, II* (n. 30), pp. 77–82

AVRORANTMVNDVMAETHERIOQ[UE] [illegible]

repeated in the portrait of the Evangelist Luke in the *Schatzkammer* Gospels in Vienna produced in the 790s[36]. Though strikingly like the latter in the dark shading of the exedra, the niche in the Soissons Gospels preserves the rows of windows and applied arches found in genuine Late Antique representations, for instance, in the sixth/seventh-century Peter icon on Mt Sinai[37]. The implication is that the two Carolingian manuscripts derive not from one another but from a common portrait source. That source may have been produced in Byzantium during the interim between the two phases of iconoclasm (726–787, 815–843), though too little survives from the period to be sure of that[38].

The refashioning and reinterpreting in a robustly classical manner of the "subantique" model more faithfully copied in the Godescalc Evangelistary realizes the notion of transformation captured as well by the chromatic inserts in the frontispiece frames which are greatly enhanced in the Soissons Gospels to include fans (as in the sixth-century Syriac Rabbula Gospels in Florence, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Cod. Plut. I, 56)[39] and by the birds shown taking flight in the central field; and the theme of metamorphosis is condensed in the imitation magenta cameo at the cross' summit etched with Christ's Second Coming in white[40].

Transformation is introduced behind the fountain, as well, by the sky of graded values of blue to white and striations of pink, as also in the Aachen Gospels where Christ is not portrayed but his presence is discernable through the world transfigured at dawn[41]. The sunrise metaphor is found in texts by Venantius Fortunatus, who likened the Christ's incarnation to the "morning light that will draw the world from the shadows"[42], and Alcuin in his defense of Christ's two natures[43]. The pictorial origin was Late Antique painting, however, of which the Vatican Vergil provides an example in the scenes of Aeneas' sea battle beginning at daybreak rendered by striations of blue and pink described in Aeneid v. 105, "*auroram Phaetontis equi jam luce vehebant*"; the silhouetted trees penetrating the blue and pink sky are particularly close to those in the evangelist frontispiece. Quite literally, the classical motif is used to represent the Incarnate God's coming into the world, a notion that was expanded and made explicit a generation later in the frontispiece of a Gospel book produced at Tours picturing Christ with the four evangelist symbols (Stuttgart, *Württembergische Landesbibliothek*, Cod. HB II 40, fol. 1v [Fig. 9])[44]. There the *Majestas Domini* bears the *titulus*: AURORANS MUNDUM AETHERQ[UE] ANIMALIA SENSU, "In the morning, the evangelists illuminate the world with heavenly perception"[45]; and the interplay of white and pink – introduced in Christ's garments – continues in the corners of the page which are filled with the pink of incarnation[46]. The commonly held idea that Carolingian artists at first were unable to capture the classical features of their sophisticated Late Antique models and gradually mastered ancient techniques must be reversed[47].

9/ Frontispiece with the four Evangelists, Weingarten Gospels, Tours, ca 830 / *Württembergische Landesbibliothek* (Stuttgart), Cod. HB II 40, fol. 1v

36 *Idem*, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, III (n. 27), pp. 57–80; *Das Krönungsevangeliar des Heiligen Römischen Reiches. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Weltliche Schatzkammer, Inv.-Nr. XIII 18*, Franz Kirchweger ed., Gütersloh/Munich 2013.

37 Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons. I: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*, Princeton 1976, pp. 23–26.

38 See David Wright, "Byzantine Art and Literature around the Year 800", in *Das Krönungsevangeliar* (n. 36), pp. 78–81; Fabrizio Crivello, "Die Handschrift und ihr Schmuck", in *Das Krönungsevangeliar* (n. 36), pp. 23–85.

39 Massimo Bernabò, *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56. L'illustrazione del Nuovo testamento nella Siria del VI secolo*, Florence 2008.

40 It evokes the Godescalc dedication poem's likening of Christ's dual nature to shimmering silver and gold letters written on purple parchment; see Beat Brenk, "Schriftlichkeit und Bildlichkeit in der Hofschule Karls D. Gr.", in *Testo e immagine* (n. 10), pp. 631–691.

41 It may have underlain the *Majestas Domini* in the Xanten Gospels (fol. 17v), which, as Anne-Orange Poilpré has pointed out, is a new synthesis that includes Christ, his unusual pink mantle over a pale blue tunic, the unusual blue halo, and the globe throne; Poilpré, *Maiestas domini* (n. 32), pp. 197–199.

42 "*Prodiit inde salus, Matutinive lucerna, / Intactae partu lux eruit excita mundum: / A Patre jure Deus, homo dehinc carneus alvo, / Ut nos eriperet, vili se detrahit auctor, / O regis venale caput, quod de cruce fixit*", PL, LXXXVIII, 197.

43 "*Dum Spiritu sancto gubernante orationis nostrae navigium de fragosis disputationum locis ad portum liberae locutionis perveniret; et rosea coelesti lumine aurora oculis refulget nostris, et florigeris riparum collibus diversi coloris nobis prata apparent; eamus per pulcherrimas sanctorum Patrum possessiones flores colligere, ad componendam capiti nostro, id est Christo Jesu, ecclesiasticae veritatis coronam*", PL, CI, 271.

44 Wilhelm Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen, I: die Schule von Tours, 2. Die Bilder*, Berlin 1933, pp. 237–245; Kessler, "Facies bibliothecae revelata" (n. 10), and *Idem*, *Neither God nor Man*, pp. 79, 134.

45 The figure shows clear affinities to its counterpart in the Xanten Gospels, not only in such details as the way the garment folds are configured as they fall from the left shoulder or form a broad horizontal band over the left knee but also the raised hand and placement of feet.

46 Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing* (n. 10); the same notion of Christ's unification of heaven and earth is asserted a second time in the banderole running behind him: HIC MUNDI CAELIQUE SEDET REX SUMMUS ET AUCTOR; and written in gold letters on a pink ground it makes visual the trope of Christ's dual nature explained in the Godescalc dedication. The idea culminates in John's portrait (fol. 146v) which conceives the "Divine" evangelist as an *alter Christus*, blessing not writing and enthroned on a globe in a pink sky.

47 Ancient content did not necessarily engender classical "mode", as the Brussels *Muscio Medicus* and Kassel herbal attest, in which the stylized and flattened specimens are sufficient to illustrate the accompanying texts.

Carolingian illuminators were, moreover, master compilers. In the Stuttgart Psalter (Stuttgart, *Württembergische Landesbibliothek*, Cod. Bibl. Folio 23), produced near Paris ca 830, for instance, the illustrators elaborated an earlier literal rendering of the Book of Psalms with motifs copied from other Late Antique manuscripts, among others, the Ashburnham Pentateuch which, as Florentine Mütherich observed, transformed the Israelites making bricks without straw (fol. 58r) into a depiction of Ps. 81 "I relieved your shoulders of the burden; your hands were freed from basket"[48]. And they interpreted the words of Hebrew scripture as Christian prophecy, portraying the God of "*vivit Dominus et benedictus Deus meus et exaltetur Deus salutis meae*" (Psalm 17 [18], 47) as Christ being borne by two angels based on Late Antique imagery (fol. 22r [**Fig. 10**]). From the beginning, in other words, Carolingian manuscript illuminators did not simply copy single models but combined and unified diverse sources to construct original works.

And in many of the composite works, the Touronian Bibles for instance, they harmonized the heterogeneous models with a consistent classical style that made them seem genuinely Antique or at least derivative from a classical model. Such is the case in the most important and complex of all Carolingian manuscripts, the Utrecht Psalter (*Universiteitsbibliotheek*, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr. 32)[49]. When it was first published, the famous book of Psalms and Canticles, produced ca 845–855, was taken to be an actual Late Antique work; and when I was a student, the scholarly debate – led by Suzy Dufrenne – was not whether the model of this tour de force of classicism was ancient – that was universally accepted[50] – but whether there had been an intermediary copy between Carolingian book and its presumed Late Antique prototype and to what extent, if any, the source had been modified in the ninth-century "copy". Robert Harris proved that an old "literal Psalter" had formed the core[51]; and Carl Nordenfalk demonstrated that the Utrecht manuscript shared that "*klein Kern*" with the Stuttgart Psalter[52]. Both Carolingian Psalters illustrate the words of Psalm 72(73), 22–23, for example, by showing the God's hand emerging from an arc grasping the seated prophet's wrist and by a mare suckling a foal, even though Scripture only refers to a metaphoric right hand and generic draft animal[53]. And to illustrate Psalm 17(18), 47 the Utrecht Psalter, too, pictures two angels supporting Christ (fol. 10v [**Figs 11a, 11b**]). Moreover, as Francis Wormald argued persuasively, the illustrator of the Utrecht Psalter must have augmented the Psalm cycle from other ancient sources, specifically from models known to have been available to the Carolingians, among them the *Physiologus*, *Aratea*, etc[54].

Compared to the Stuttgart Psalter, what is most striking is the Utrecht Psalter's classical "look". While the former retains the symmetry and hard outlines of Late Antique painting, the latter constructs an animated narrative within a coherent landscape – the soldier at the lower left not simply drawing his sword but actively engaged in defending the people, the king at the right twisting to glimpse God across a broad expanse, the people themselves turning and conversing, and the angels escorting Christ into the world. Koert van der Horst summed up the achievement at the time of the great *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art* exhibition:

> "there was indeed an old, perhaps fourth or fifth-century psalter in the scriptorium of Hautvillers with a cycle of illustrations [which] the artists transformed, recreating it in their own expressionistic, vibrant Reims style, a style that had already incorporated so many other classical elements and features and expanding it from several other sources, which they also fully assimilated into their own idiom".

48 Florentine Mütherich, "Die Stellung der Bilder in der frühmittelalterlichen Psalterillustration", in *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter*, Bonifatius Fischer ed., Stuttgart 1965–1968, vol. 2, pp. 151–122.

49 *Utrecht Psalter. Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgaube im Originalformat der Handschrift 32 aus dem Besitz der Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht*, Graz 1984; *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval art: Picturing the Psalms of David*, Koert van der Horst *[et al.]* eds, Houten 1996; Rocio Sánchez Ameireiras, *Los rostros de las palabras. Imágenes y teoría en el Occidente medieval*, Madrid 2014, pp. 181–199 *et passim*.

50 Suzy Dufrenne, *Les illustrations du Psautier d'Utrecht: sources et apport carolingien*, Paris 1978.

51 Robert Harris, "An Illustration in an Anglo-Saxon Psalter in Paris", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVI (1963), pp. 255–263.

52 Carl Nordenfalk, "Review of: *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter*", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXII (1969), pp. 158–170. See Koert van der Horst, "Picturing the Psalms" in *Utrecht Psalter* (n. 49), pp. 23–103 and now Felix Heinzer, *Wörtliche Bilder: zur Funktion der Literal-Illustration im Stuttgarter Psalter (um 830)*, Berlin 2005.

53 *Picturing the Psalms* (n. 49), p. 76

54 Francis Wormald, *The Utrecht Psalter*, Utrecht 1953.

Et comminuam eos ut pulverem ante faciem
uenti: ut lutum platearū delebo eos ;
Eripies me de contradictionibus populi ;
constitues me in caput gentium ;
Populus quem non cognoui seruiuit mihi:
in auditu auris obedivit mihi ;
Filii alieni mentiti sunt mihi ;
filii alieni inueterati sunt ;
& claudicauerunt a semitis suis ;
Viuit dns & benedictus ds meus: & exaltetur
ds salutis meae ;
Ds qui das ultiones mihi: & subdis populos sub
me ;

10/ Christ being borne by two angels, Psalter, Paris (?), ca 830 / *Württembergische Landesbibliothek* (Stuttgart), Cod. Bibl. Folio 23, fol. 22r

As in the comparison of the Godescalc Evangelistary to the Soissons Gospels, the differences between the Stuttgart and Utrecht Psalters reflect a motivated strategy, of which, part was surely to authorize particular doctrinal interpretations hotly debated at the time by means of a consistently ancient guise[55]. The Utrecht Psalter's classicism was not mere antiquarian *staffage* however; it was a constituent of meaning. Realizing the venerable trope that likened "Old Testament" to a preliminary sketch fully colored-in only by Christ's incarnation, the inspirited draftsmanship was the counterpart of the iconographic devices that rendered of the words as a prophecy of Christ. The same was true of the classical borrowings amalgamated in the Touronian books, the transforming of Saul/Paul and his followers into Romans through borrowings from the Vatican Vergil, for instance, enacted the transmutation from (textual) Jew to Christian convert (orally) promulgating the word of the incarnate Christ in the pagan world. Picturing Jerome's move from *aurea Roma* symbolized by a statue to the Holy Land and translating Hebrew scripture into the Latin Vulgate did the same. The hybrid image of the Tabernacle in the Moutier-Grandval Exodus frontispiece formed from the Tabernacle of the Ashburnham Pentateuch and the Temple of Latinus of the Vatican Vergil recapitulated visually the expansion of the covenant described by the contemporary theologian Haimo of Auxerre, who noted that the new tabernacle "accepted earthly men, that is Gentiles converting to Judaism. It is opened not only to Jews, but also to the Gentiles. Therefore, he designates it the atrium of the material sanctuary, where after the Jews, the Gentiles stand to worship"[56]. And the refiguring of King David in the First Bible of Charles the Bald by means of a constellation picture engaged the same processes, albeit with quite specific purpose of sending the message on behalf of the monks of St Martin's to their young sovereign that he should emulate the Hebrew monarch's humility and, in doing so, be exalted[57].

Establishing Christianity's dual origins in Jewish and Roman culture, Carolingian classicism constituted not simply a natural, almost transparent, transfer of features from ancient models, then, as much twentieth-century scholarship including my own assumed[58]. The translating of Scripture, especially the words and things of the Hebrew Bible, into the language of Rome performed supersession[59]. Writing in an even remote place fifty years before the Godescalc Evangelistary was painted, Bede had articulated the idea explicitly, arguing (against Jewish law) that the images brought to Northumbria from the Mediterranean basin could open up, as it were, "a living reading of the Lord's story for those who cannot read. The Greek word for *pictura* is indeed *zoographia*, that is, 'living writing'"[60]. A century after that, such classical motifs from ancient manuscripts as the rendering of dawn and figures copied from Vergil transferred to the Bible narratives made written scripture actually seem real and Christ and his saints alive in this world.

55 Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion*, Cambridge 2001.

56 "…*habuit quidem sanctum saeculare, hoc est gentiles ad judaismum transeuntes recipiebat. Patebat enim non solum Judaeis, sed etiam gentilibus. Sanctum ergo saeculare vocat locum atriorum, ubi gentiles stabant ad adorandum post Judaeos*", in *In Epistolam ad Hebraeos*, chap. 11, PL, CXVII, 878.

57 Herbert L. Kessler, "A Lay Abbot as Patron: Count Vivian and the First Bible of Charles the Bald", in *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale* (*Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, XXXIX), Spoleto 1992, pp. 647–675, reprinted in Kessler, *Pictorial Narrative* (n. 10), pp. 249–300.

58 Herbert L. Kessler, "Configuring the Invisible by Copying the Holy Face", in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, Herbert L. Kessler, Gerhard Wolf eds, Bologna 1998, pp. 129–151, reprinted in Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing* (n. 10), pp. 64–87.

59 Which may be one reason they seem only rarely to have depicted subjects from the New Testament.

60 "…*et eis quoque qui litteras ignorant, quasi uivam dominice historie pandere lectionem? Nam pictura Graece ζωγραφία, id est, uiua scriptura uocatur*", in *De templo*, II, chap. 19 (CCSL, 119A), David Hurst ed., Turnhout 1969, p. 212; Paul Meyvaert trans., "Bede and the Church Paintings in Wearmouth-Jarrow", *Anglo-Saxon England*, VIII (1979), pp. 63–77. Agobard of Lyons quoted the Bede passage in chapter 21 of his *De picturis et imaginibus* of ca 824 (CCCM LII), Lieven van Acker ed., Turnhout 1981. On Agobard see Thomas F. X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, Philadelphia 2009, pp. 313–320; Joshua M. O'Brien, "Locating Authorities in Carolingian Debates on Image Veneration: The Case of Agobard of Lyon's *De Picturis et Imaginibus*", *The Journal of Theological Studies*, LXII (2011), pp. 176–206.

11a/ Detail of Christ being borne by two angels, Psalter, Reims, 845–855 / *Universiteitsbibliotheek*, Utrecht, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae i Nr. 32, fol. 10v

LOSSUBME;
IBERATORMEUSDEINI
PSALMUS

INSAECULUM
DAVID

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Křesťanství v karolínském klasicismu

Badatelská tradice, která považuje iluminované rukopisy z 8. a 9. století za přesné kopie ztracených pozdně antických modelů, může být platná v případě textů týkajících se astronomie a některých dalších vědeckých prací. Nehodí se však pro pochopení ambiciózního klasicismu typického pro rukopisy Bible, jako jsou Evangelia z Cách a ze Soissons, První Bible Karla Holého nebo Utrechtský žaltář. Některé z raných karolínských předchůdců těchto iluminovaných kodexů, např. Godescalkův evangelistář a Stuttgartský žaltář, totiž ukazují, že styl modelů dostupných v Galii mohl být *subantique*[1], a že až iluminátoři v 9. století vytvořili povědomí o údajné klasičnosti těchto modelů právě tím, že v jejich „replikách" použili odkazy na dostupná klasická díla, jako byly například *Vergilius Vaticanus* nebo ilustrovaná *Aratea*. V některých případech ilustrátoři v 9. století dokonce měnili také ilustrace k vědeckým knihám.

Každý iluminovaný karolínský rukopis proto musí být považován ne pouze za faksimile, ale za možnou variantu pozdně antického prototypu. Důležitější však je, že některé rukopisy klasickou auru svého prototypu úmyslně zesilovaly a tím materializovaly tzv. myšlenku nástupnictví: tím, že překládaly psané Písmo Svaté do římského vizuálního jazyka, prosazovaly myšlenku, že karolínští Frankové byli dědici nejen židovsko-křesťanské, ale také pohanské kultury.

1 [ediční poznámka] Termín *subantique* koncipoval v roce 1940 Ernst Kitzinger, aby vysvětlil styl vznikající setkáním vysoké římské kultury s kulturou kočovníků. Podle Kitzingera si byly jednotlivé projevy *subantique* z pohledu formy překvapivě podobné, ať vznikaly v severní Africe či na Britských ostrovech. Srov. Ernst Kitzinger, *Early medieval art in the British Museum*, London 1940.

Abstract—The Genesis of Form of Carolingian Ivories. Structures of Reception of the Antiquity – Often, we mention *Renovatio Imperii* when we talk about the reception of ancient art during the Carolingian period. We like to imagine that Carolingian artists, for both political and religious reasons, sought out normative examples in ancient art. However, the example of ivory carvings from the period serves to demonstrate that Carolingian artists were astonishingly freewheeling in their adaptation of models from Late Antiquity; in fact, virtually without exception, they produced highly innovative compositions rather than exact copies. Thus, the results of my inquiry show that the criteria for the reception of ancient art should be reformulated to account for innovative recreation rather than exact imitation.

Stichwörter—Formgenese, Antikenrezeption, karolingische Elfenbeine, frühchristliche Spolien

Keywords—genesis of style, reception of antique art, Carolingian ivories, Early Christian spolia

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Formgenese karolingischer Elfenbeine

Strukturen der Antikenrezeption

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Allgemeine Fragen der Antikenrezeption

Die jüngste zusammenfassende Darstellung der karolingischen und ottonischen Kunst von 2009 gliedert sich nach Begriffen wie „Kunst und Politik", „Ausstattung der Liturgie" etc[1]. Nur der Beitrag von Rebecca Müller „Antike im frühen Mittelalter. Erbe und Innovation" entzieht sich einer solch klaren Funktionsbeziehung. In allen Beiträgen wird auch von dem antiken Erbe gesprochen. Aber dieses Erbe scheint so dominant zu sein, dass es nicht ausreicht, nur im funktionalen Zusammenhang von ihm zu sprechen. Die Orientierung an antiken Vorlagen, das heißt meistens an frühchristlichen Vorbildern des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts, wird mit Karl dem Großen bestimmend, so dass bei fast jedem Erzeugnis der bildenden Kunst von antikisierend geredet werden kann. Daher bedient sich die Kunstgeschichte häufig wenig differenzierend des Begriffs „Renaissance". Naheliegend ist es, die Antikenrezeption als Mittel der *Renovatio Imperii* zu verstehen und damit den Vorbildern eine normative politische Bedeutung zuzusprechen[2].

Wir wissen, dass Karl der Große die Pfalzkapelle in Aachen mit antiken Spolien ausstatten ließ, dass der Bau sich selbst an spätantiken, frühchristlichen Zentralbauten wie an *San Vitale* in Ravenna orientierte. Von Ravenna ließ er auch mit Zustimmung des Papstes ein Reiterstandbild nach Aachen bringen, das als Bild des Gotenkönigs Theoderich des Großen galt. Hier fungiert das antike Werk innerhalb eines politischen Programms.

Auch die Buchproduktion in Aachen ist im Rahmen der *Renovatio Imperii* verstanden worden. In größerer Zahl sind wohl antike und frühchristliche

1 *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst, Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Deutschland*, Bruno Reudenbach (Hrsg.), Bd. 1, München [u. a.] 2009. Es sei hier nur auf wenige grundlegende Werke verwiesen: Percy Ernst Schramm, Florentine Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, 2 Bde., München 1962; Frauke Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter. Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Gotik*, Berlin 1965; *Karl der Große: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, Wolfgang Braunfels (Hrsg.), Bd. 3, *Karolingische Kunst*, Düsseldorf 1965.

2 Zuletzt dazu Bruno Reudenbach, „Kulturelle Fusionen. Herkunft, Formung und Aufgaben der Kunst im Frühen Mittelalter", in *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst* (n. 1), ss. 9–31; vgl. auch Herbert Schutz, *The Carolingians in Central Europe, their History, Arts and Architecture. A Cultural History of Central Europe, 750–900*, Leiden 2004.

Bücher aus Italien über die Alpen gebracht worden und bestimmten insbesondere die Tätigkeit der Hofschule in Aachen. Manche antike Autoren sind nur deshalb nicht in Vergessenheit geraten, weil sie im Norden auf Pergament – anstatt auf Papyrus – kopiert worden sind[3]. Als Zäsur innerhalb der fränkischen Buchmalerei gilt das Godescalc-Evangelistar, das im Ornament noch Elemente des insularen Stils tradiert, der zuvor im Frankenreich dominant geworden war. Aber in den Figurenkompositionen wird eine neue Orientierung an frühchristlichen Vorlagen, die man in Italien fand, sichtbar. Mit diesem Evangelistar beginnt die Buchproduktion der Hofschule in Aachen. Karl der Große und seine Gemahlin Hildegard ließen es zwischen 781 und 783 von Godescalc schreiben. Das Buch steht in Zusammenhang der Romreise Karls 781 und scheint daher das Manifest einer bewusst an antiken Vorbildern verpflichteten Buchproduktion zu sein[4].

Und doch ist mit der Darlegung der großen Bedeutung, die Vorlagen für die Buchproduktion vornehmlich in Aachen gewannen, noch nicht die Antikenrezeption im Werkprozess erklärt. Obwohl wir kein Problem haben, von antikisierendem Stil zu reden, bereitet es mitunter große Schwierigkeiten, dessen Genese zu erschließen. Wenn wir im Hochmittelalter von Antikenrezeption sprechen, unterscheiden wir diese von einem mittelalterlichen Formenvokabular und der mittelalterlichen Ausbildung der Ikonographie. Einen vergleichbaren Unterschied können wir bei der karolingischen Kunst kaum machen. Nur die zuvor auch auf dem Festland verbreitete insulare, bedingt auch die merowingische, kaum noch die germanische Kunst kann als Differenzkriterium dienen. Ausschließlich bei den Ornamenten spielen Formen, die sich dieser Tradition verdanken, weiterhin eine Rolle. Es ergibt sich immer wieder erneut die Frage, wie im Einzelnen die Aneignung der Antike erfolgte und wie aus dieser Aneignung Erzeugnisse hervorgegangen sind, die als karolingisch zu erkennen sind. Das ist die alte Frage nach der Rekonstruktion von Vorbildern und danach, wie die Kunst ihre Vorbilder verstand oder nicht mehr verstehen musste, weil ihr eine antikisierende Sprache zur Gewohnheit geworden war oder sogar eine innovative Ungezwungenheit im Umgang mit den Vorlagen erlangte, die ihr erlaubte, neue eigene Konzepte zu entwickeln.

Die politische Motivation ist nur eine Facette der karolingischen Rückbesinnung auf die Antike. Auch die Wiederverwendung von antiken Stücken bleibt die Ausnahme[5]. Antikisierend bedeutet nicht notwendig, dass möglichst größte Ähnlichkeit mit dem Vorbild angestrebt wird und dass auf diese Weise das Vorbild einen autoritativen Charakter gewinnt. Es sollen nun Strukturen der Antikenrezeption frei gelegt werden, die keine Ausbildung eines normativen Verständnisses der Vorlagen bewirkt haben. Zum Gegenstand der Untersuchung werden Elfenbeine, die für Buchdeckel geschaffen worden sind.

Die Deckel des Lorscher Evangeliars

Auch spätantike/frühchristliche Elfenbeine gelangten nach Aachen, die teils wieder überschnitzt, teils als Vorlagen gebraucht wurden[6]. Die karolingischen Elfenbeine werden in verschiedene Gruppen eingeteilt, die zeitlich oder örtlich oder beides zugleich voneinander unterschieden sind. Kennzeichnend ist, dass für die meisten Gruppen nur mit Mühe stilistische Oberbegriffe gefunden werden konnten, dass dabei oft das negative Argument gewichtiger als das positive ist und dass es viele Einzelstücke gibt, die nicht zugeordnet werden können[7]. Wenn wir einige der bekanntesten Elfenbeine der Aachener Hofschule anschauen: die Deckel des Lorscher Evangeliars [**Abb. 1**, **2a**, **2b**], den Leipziger Engel, das Darmstädter Himmelfahrtsfragment, dann sind die stilistischen Unterschiede erheblich; und es ist zunächst schwer ersichtlich, wieweit die Tafeln stilistische Vorgaben übernehmen oder hingegen die Formensprache neu entwickeln.

Für die Deckel des Lorscher Evangeliars[8] – des Vorderdeckels mit der thronenden Madonna im Zentrum und des Rückdeckels mit dem stehenden Christus in der Mitte – wird als Vorlage ein fünfteiliges Diptychon, wie es im 6. Jahrhundert in Konstantinopel hergestellt worden sein könnte, vermutet. In einem solchen Diptychon ist selbst schon ein antikes Schema der Kaiserrepräsentation in die Darstellung der Herrschaft Christi und Mariae verwandelt worden. Nach der antiken

Ikonographie huldigen Konsuln oder andere Beamte dem Kaiser, dem der Platz in der Mitte vorbehalten ist. Darüber halten Genien oder Viktorien ein die Herrschaft definierendes Zeichen, Roma oder später das Kreuz oder die Büste Christi. Auf der unteren Elfenbeinleiste werden gewöhnlich huldigende Barbaren gezeigt. Als Beispiel dafür wird das Barberini-Diptychon im Louvre angeführt. Als Hinweis der frühchristlichen Verwandlung des Schemas eines Konsulardiptychons in ein Repräsentationsbild Christi und Mariae werden die beiden erhaltenen Mitteltafeln in Berlin, die ebenfalls in Konstantinopel im 6. Jahrhundert entstanden sein dürften, zitiert[9]. Die älteren Untersuchungen sahen in den Lorschern Deckeln einfach Kopien frühchristlicher Vorlagen, während neuere Überlegungen die konzeptionelle Eigenleistung betonen. Als spezifisch mittelalterliches Moment sieht Bruno Reudenbach die Kontrastierung der thronenden Madonna, auf die die Prophetie verweist, mit dem stehenden himmlischen Sieger, der von huldigenden Engeln begleitet wird[10]: Auf dem ehemaligen Vorderdeckel wird die thronende Maria von Johannes und Zacharias flankiert, während auf dem Rückdeckel Christus – wohl nach Psalm 90, 13: „*super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculabis leonem et draconem*" – auf Löwen und Drachen steht.

Der ikonographische Befund wird durch den stilistischen bestätigt, aber nur teilweise. Die Differenz zwischen Vorder- und Rückdeckel wurde konstatiert[11] und hat unterschiedliche Erklärungen gefunden. Beim Rückdeckel ist die einheitliche stilistische Ausformung der drei Mitteltafeln und des oberen Elfenbeins deutlich. Auch die untere Tafel widerspricht nicht diesem Formvokabular. Beim Vorderdeckel fällt hingegen der große Unterschied zwischen der oberen und der unteren Leiste zu den drei Mitteltafeln auf. Geht der Vorderdeckel auf stilistisch divergente Vorlagen zurück, während der Rückdeckel ein stilistisch homogenes Ensemble kopieren konnte?

Charles Rufus Morey vermutete, dass der obere Elfenbeinstreifen des Rückdeckels im Vatikan frühchristlich sei und wandte sich damit gegen die Vorstellung, in allen Tafeln karolingische Arbeiten zu sehen[12]. Noch 1999 konstatierte Paul Williamson, dass diese 1929 publizierte These weder bestätigt noch widerlegt worden sei[13]. Der Entstehungsprozess von Vorder- und Rückdeckel wäre so jedoch schwer nachvollziehbar. Die stilistische Homogenität der Tafeln des Rückdeckels würde nicht verständlich. Dieses Argument wurde seit Goldschmidts Rezension immer wieder vorgebracht[14]. Allein die Beobachtung, dass die

3 Zuletzt Bernhard Jussen, *Die Franken. Geschichte, Gesellschaft, Kultur*, München 2014, ss. 107–116; detailliert Schutz, *The Carolingians* (n. 2), ss. 135–216.

4 Florentine Mütherich, „Die Erneuerung der Buchmalerei am Hofe Karls des Großen", in *799. Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, Beitragsband zum Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999, Mainz 1999, ss. 560–571, bsd. ss. 561–562; Bruno Reudenbach, *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar – Ein Buch für die Reformpolitik Karls des Großen*, Frankfurt am Main 1998; Harald Wolter von dem Knesebeck, „Godescalc, Dagulf und Demetrius. Überlegungen zu den Buchkünstlern am Hofe Karls des Großen und ihrem Selbstverständnis", in *Karl der Große. Karls Kunst*, Ausstellungskatalog (Aachen, 20. Juni – 21. September 2014), Peter van der Brink, Ayooghi Savernaz (Hrsg.), Dresden 2014, ss. 31–45.

5 Dale Kinney, „Ancient Gems in the Middle Ages: Riches and Ready-mades", in *Reuse value. Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture*, Richard Brilliant, Dale Kinney (Hrsg.), Farnham [u.a.] 2011, ss. 97–120.

6 Hermann Fillitz, „Die Elfenbeinarbeiten des Hofes Karls des Großen", in *799. Kunst und Kultur* (n. 4), ss. 610–622; Susanne Wittekind, „Die mittelalterliche Verwendung spätantiker Elfenbeine", in *Persistenz und Rezeption, Weiterverwendung, Wiederverwendung und Neuinterpretation antiker Werke im Mittelalter*, Dietrich Boschung, Susanne Wittekind (Hrsg.), Wiesbaden 2008, ss. 285–317.

7 Grundlage der Beschäftigung mit karolingischen Elfenbeinen bleibt Aldolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser*, Bd. 1, Berlin 1914. Zur Problematik: Rainer Kahsnitz, „Die Elfenbeinreliefs der Ada-Gruppe. Hundert Jahre nach Adolph Goldschmidt. Versuch einer Bilanz der Forschung zu den Elfenbeinen Goldschmidt I, 1–39", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, LXIV (2010), ss. 9–172; vgl. auch Theo Jülich, „Fragen an die Hofschule", in *Karls Kunst* (n. 4), ss. 57–73.

8 Vollständige Literaturübersicht vgl. Kahsnitz, „Elfenbeinreliefs" (n. 7), s. 95 f.; Paul Williamson, *Medieval Ivory Carvings. Early Christian to Romanesque*, Bestandskat. des Victoria and Albert Museum, London 2010, ss. 169–175; Ulrike Koenen, „Spätantikes Vorbild – karolingische ‚Kopie'. Die Elfenbeintafeln des Lorscher Evangeliars", *Boreas*, XXVI (2003), ss. 99–115.

9 Wolfgang F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 3. Aufl., Mainz 1976, Nr. 137; vgl. Rainer Kahsnitz, „Einband des Lorscher Evangeliars", in *Karls Kunst* (n. 4), ss. 181–185, bsd. s. 183–184.

10 Bruno Reudenbach, „Die Lorscher Elfenbeintafeln. Zur Aufnahme spätantiker Herrscherikonographie in karolingischer Kunst", in *Iconologia sacra. Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas. Festschrift für Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag*, Hagen Keller, Nicolaus Staubach (Hrsg.), Berlin/New York 1994, ss. 403-416; *Idem*, „Einband des Lorscher Evangeliars", in *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst* (n. 1), s. 514; vgl. auch Hermann Schnitzler, „Die Komposition der Lorscher Elfenbeintafeln", *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3. Folge, I (1950), ss. 26–42.

11 Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen* (n. 7), Nr. 14.

12 Charles Rufus Morey, „The Covers of the Lorsch Gospels 2. The Cover in the Victoria Albert Museum", *Speculum*, IV (1929), ss. 411–429; Rebecca Müller, „Antike im frühen Mittelalter. Erbe und Innovation", in *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst* (n. 1), s. 203.

13 Paul Williamson, „Einband des Lorscher Evangeliars", in *799. Kunst und Kultur* (n. 4), ss. 733–736.

14 Adolph Goldschmidt, „Review: Gli oggetti di avorio e di osso del Museo Sacro Vaticano by C. R. Morey", *Speculum*, XIV (1939), ss. 257–262; Kahsnitz, „Elfenbeinreliefs" (n. 7), ss. 89–96.

obere Leiste wohl beschnitten worden ist, verschafft Moreys These eine gewisse Plausibilität. Der Vorschlag von Ulrike Koenen hingegen[15], in der oberen Leiste des Mariendeckels eine frühchristliche Spolie aus dem 5. Jahrhundert – in Umkehrung des Gedankens Moreys – zu vermuten, führt hingegen eher zu einer sinnvollen Erklärung. Wiederum geht Koenen davon aus, dass die obere Leiste – nun diejenige des Mariendeckels – beschädigt war und sieht daher bei dem Mariendeckel den Ausgangspunkt für die ungewöhnliche Trapezform, die bei zwei anderen Leisten übernommen worden sei.

Es ist jedoch zuerst zu klären, welche Tafeln überhaupt beschnitten worden sind. Nach der neuen Untersuchung von Williamson wurden jeweils die oberen Leisten zuerst geschnitzt. Verletzungen an den unteren Ecken führten zu der ungewöhnlichen Trapezform, der die Tafeln darunter angeglichen werden mussten. Nur anhand der zu vermutenden Fragmentierung kann nicht entschieden werden, ob dem karolingischen Schnitzer bei seiner Arbeit ein Stück Elfenbein abbrach oder ob ein beschädigtes spätantikes Elfenbein wiederverwandt worden ist. Mit zwingenden Gründen, die an den Elfenbeinen leicht überprüfbar sind, weist Williamson darauf hin, dass die mittleren Tafeln des Londoner Deckels ebenfalls auf ihren Unterseiten beschnitten worden sind wie auch die Geburtsdarstellung darunter. Diese Veränderungen seien aber nicht im karolingischen Kontext, sondern später erfolgt, weil sie sichtbare Eingriffe in die karolingische Schnitzung darstellten[16].

Der Detailvergleich zwischen den beiden oberen Tafeln, von Müller weiter ausgeführt[17], lässt keinen Zweifel daran, dass, wenn eine der beiden Tafeln spätantik ist, es nur das Elfenbein des Mariendeckels sein kann. Dieser Vergleich verschafft möglicherweise eine Vorstellung davon, wie der karolingische Schnitzer des Rückdeckels die frühchristliche Vorlage verändert hat, besonders in der Abstraktion der Gewandführung. Das Verhältnis von Körper zum Gewand wird schematischer aufgefasst. Die Wolken werden reduziert; wir sehen Rosetten als bloß ornamentale Platzfüller.

Und doch ist der Vorschlag von Koenen wieder zurückgewiesen worden[18]. Die Kritik kann durch die Gegenüberstellung der oberen und unteren Leiste des Mariendeckels unterstützt werden. Vergleichen wir Joseph, Maria und den Verkündigungsengel mit den Viktorien-Engeln, dann können wir schwerlich Kriterien ausmachen, die erlaubten, zwischen frühchristlich bei der oberen Tafel und karolingisch bei der unteren Tafel zu unterscheiden. Mit einem spätantiken Stück kann man bei der Geburtsdarstellung jedoch nicht verbinden, dass jeweils die Hinterfüße von Rind und Esel keinen Halt haben; und auch die perspektivische Darstellung des Gebäudes hinter Joseph und Maria wird zum Einwand. Wohl nur Peter Lasko hat die Tafel als spätantik angesehen[19].

Vergleicht man die beiden unteren Leisten der Deckel miteinander, dann sind ähnliche Unterschiede zwischen der Darstellung der Geburt und der Darstellung der Epiphanie zu konstatieren wie bei den beiden oberen Platten. Auf dem Rückdeckel scheinen die Architekturen vereinfacht wiedergegeben zu sein. Aber diese Differenz zwischen den beiden unteren Leisten, die mit dem Unterschied zwischen den oberen Elfenbeinen korrespondiert, kann aus den angeführten Gründen nicht dadurch verstanden werden, dass diejenige des Mariendeckels für spätantik, aber ihr Pendant des Rückdeckels für karolingisch erklärt wird.

Kahsnitz wendet gegen Koenen ein: „Alle vier Engel zeigen extrem faltenreiche, sich am Saum in dichten Schwüngen und Glockenformen aufbauschende Gewänder. Es ist der voll entwickelte Stil der Adagruppe (…) Gerade die hypertrophen, unantiken Formen der Adagruppe mit der extremen Dichte der Gewandfalten bestimmen – mit kleinen, unwesentlichen Varianten – die Gestaltung beider Reliefs“[20]. Auch wenn man alle Tafeln für karolingisch hält – und das ist wahrscheinlich –, bleibt die Frage, ob die „hypertrophen Formen (…) mit der extremen Dichte der Gewandfalten“ ein Kriterium sind, das eindeutig erlaubt, zwischen spätantik und frühchristlich zu unterscheiden. Allein

1/ Madonna zwischen zwei Propheten, unten: Geburt Christi und Verkündigung an die Hirten, oben: Büste Christi in einem Clipeus, getragen von zwei Engeln; Vorderdeckel des Lorscher Evangeliars, um 810 / *Victoria and Albert Museum* (London)

15 Koenen, „Spätantikes Vorbild“ (n. 8), ss. 99–115.
16 Williamson, *Medieval Ivory Carvings* (n. 8), s. 169; Kahsnitz, „Elfenbeinreliefs“ (n. 7), ss. 89 ff.
17 Müller, „Antike“ (n. 12), ss. 203.
18 Kahsnitz, „Einband“ (n. 9), ss. 185.
19 Peter Lasko, *Ars sacra 800–1200*, 2. Aufl., New Haven 1994, ss. 19–21.
20 Kahsnitz, „Elfenbeinreliefs“ (n. 7), s. 90.

den Vorderdeckel vor Augen wird man dieser Schlussfolgerung nur zögernd zustimmen. Auch ich meine, beim linken Engel – vom Betrachter aus gesehen – in der Art, wie die Plissierung des Gewandes über dem Unterkörper zum Lineament entwickelt worden ist und sich darin etwa von der Plissierung der Ärmel unterscheidet, den karolingischen Schnitzer erkennen zu können. Die Gestaltung der Ärmel lassen bei der spätantiken Vorlage einen weicheren, weniger schematisierten und mehr auf den Körper reagierenden Flug der Gewänder vermuten. Die Analyse des Gewandes der Christusbüste im *Clipeus* unterstützt diese Vermutung. Dennoch dürfte hinter diesem Elfenbein der Ausgangspunkt der von Kahsnitz beschriebenen karolingischen Stilisierung zu suchen sein. Denn da die Schnitzer der Adagruppe nur mit spätantiken Vorlagen operieren konnten, müssen sie ja auch in solchen Vorlagen die stilistische Anregung gefunden haben.

Die Unterschiede zwischen Maria und ihren Begleitern einerseits und Christus und den huldigenden Engeln andererseits wird entweder durch die Differenz der Vorlagen oder durch die Tätigkeit unterschiedlicher Schnitzer erklärt[21]. Kahsnitz sieht für Händescheidungen zu Recht keine hinreichende Grundlage[22]. Denn diese Scheidung individualisiert nur Formunterschiede, ohne dass dadurch die Formgenese verständlich würde. Die Tafeln des Mariendeckels gehen offenbar auf stilistisch nicht homogene Vorlagen zurück. Hier musste eine Synthese aus unterschiedlichen, auch stilistisch divergierenden Vorlagen erreicht werden. Für die Maria flankierenden Johannes der Täufer und Zacharias werden Figuren des Elfenbeinthrones des Erzbischofs Maximianus in Ravenna als Referenzfiguren genannt. Es ist auch auf die Miniaturen des Lorscher Evangeliars hingewiesen worden, was gerade bei den Prophetenköpfen und den Architekturformen naheliegt[23]. Man mag fragen, ob nicht etwa die Figur des Johannes des Täufers aus verschiedenen Vorlagen entwickelt worden ist.

21 Williamson, *Medieval Ivory Carvings* (n. 8), s. 172.
22 Kahsnitz, „Elfenbeinreliefs“ (n. 7), s. 90; vgl. auch Fillitz, „Elfenbeinarbeiten des Hofes“ (n. 6), s. 106.
23 Zusammenfassend Williamson, „Einband“ (n. 13), ss. 733–736; zuletzt Bruno Reudenbach, „Einband des Lorscher Evangeliars“, in *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst* (n. 1), s. 514.

2a, **b**/ Christus auf Löwe und Schlange stehend, zwischen zwei Engeln (Detail und ganzer Rückdeckel), Lorscher Evangeliar, mit der späteren Metallrahmung, um 810 / *BAV* (Rom), Pal. Lat. 50

Kommt hingegen – so ist erneut zu fragen – beim Rückdeckel die Einheitlichkeit dadurch zustande, dass man auf stilistisch homogene Vorlagen zurückgreifen konnte? Die ikonographische Untersuchung legt indes nahe, dass auch die Vorlagen des Rückdeckels stilistisch verschiedenartig waren. Kahsnitz verweist darauf, dass für die Madonna eine Vorlage in der Art des 8. Jahrhunderts vorgeschlagen worden ist[24], während er für den Christus des Rückdeckels ein theodosianisches Vorbild annimmt[25]. Diese Annahme gründet sich auf den bartlosen Christus mit üppigen langen lockigen Haaren, der an einen apollinischen Typus erinnert. Der theodosianische Typus ist jedoch stilistisch für die karolingische Tafel ohne Belang, während die Vorlage aus dem 8. Jahrhundert durchaus stilistisch auf die karolingische Darstellung eingewirkt haben dürfte. Kashnitz vermutet, dass sich die „allgemeinen Prinzipien" der Adagruppe besonders beim Rückdeckel Geltung verschafft hätten[26].

Es dürfte eine Übertreibung sein, hier von „allgemeinen Prinzipien" zu sprechen, die man so in anderen Tafeln der Gruppe kaum findet. Die Elfenbeine insgesamt dürften einen Entstehungsprozess repräsentieren, der die Formentwicklung verständlich macht. Wenn Kahsnitz vermutet, dass am Anfang der Elfenbeine die obere Leiste des Mariendeckels stand, dann dürfte diese Vermutung begründen, wieso hier eine größere Anlehnung an ein frühchristliches Elfenbein zu finden ist als bei dem Pendant des Rückdeckels. Das gleiche gilt für die untere Leiste des Mariendeckels, der jedoch als karolingisch durch Ungenauigkeiten der Wiedergabe zu erkennen ist, die nicht einem neuen Impetus entspringen. Die Homogenität des Rückdeckels wäre also durch eine Verfestigung karolingischer Abstraktionsformen zu erklären, die nicht mehr stilistische Unterschiede der Vorlagen reflektieren und erkennen lassen und dadurch zur formalen Struktur der Darstellung werden, zu einer Struktur, die zwar auch in einer Vorlage ihren Ausgangspunkt hat, sich aber dennoch als eigene Darstellungsweise etabliert hat und dadurch offenbar zu einem formalen Selbstverständnis gefunden hat, das nicht als hypertroph gekennzeichnet werden sollte.

Ein zerstreutes frühchristliches Ensemble und seine wechselnde Rezeption in der karolingischen Kunst

Um das Verhältnis von spätantik/frühchristlich zu karolingisch besser zu verstehen, soll der karolingischen Rezeption von spätantiken Elfenbeinen nachgegangen werden, die noch erhalten geblieben sind. Die Rede ist von drei Tafeln eines Ensembles, das heute in mehreren Museen zerstreut ist: in Berlin, Paris und Nevers [**Abb. 3**][27]. Jeweils das Pariser und das Berliner Elfenbein und möglicherweise auch dasjenige in Nevers finden wir als Vorlagen für die den Christus-Victor rahmenden Darstellungen des Oxforder Elfenbeins [**Abb. 4**], das der Hofschule Karls des Großen zugeschrieben wird[28]. Diese Elfenbeine dürften einer Tafel eines Diptychons angehört haben, zu der nach der Vorstellung Danielle Garborit-Chopins auch die Reidersche Tafel in München zu zählen ist[29]. Die rahmenden Darstellungen in Oxford, die zwar ziemlich genau den Vorbildern in der Anordnung folgen, müssen diese verkürzen, weil die Szenen aus Quer- in Längsrechtecke überführt werden müssen. Es fällt nicht schwer, einen qualitativen Unterschied im Vergleich mit der Mitteltafel, aber auch mit den Vorbildern zu konstatieren, ohne dass man sich hier genötigt sähe, von einer neuen, eigenständigen Diktion zu reden. Die Schnitzer scheinen hier ihre Vorbilder nicht als Herausforderung begriffen zu haben.

Diese spätantiken Elfenbeine sind weitergewandert; sie kamen aus Aachen in den Westen des Frankenreiches. Ihre Nachwirkung ist sowohl in Metz als auch in der Hofschule Karls des Kahlen auszumachen. Der illegitime Sohn Karls des Großen

2/ Szenen aus dem Leben Christi; Elfenbeintafel, frühes 5. Jh. / Staatliche Museen PKB, Antikensammlung (Berlin)

3/ Christus auf Löwe und Schlange stehend, umgeben von Szenen aus dem Leben Jesu, Buchdeckel, um 800 / *Bodleian Library* (Oxford)

24 John Beckwith, „Byzantine Influence on the Art at the Court of Charlemagne", in *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, Wolfgang Braunfels, Hermann Schnitzler (Hrsg.), Düsseldorf 1965, ss. 288–300, bsd. s. 300.

25 Kahsnitz, „Elfenbeinreliefs" (n. 7), s. 95.

26 *Ibidem*, s. 90.

27 Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten* (n. 9). Nr. 112–114; Gudrun Bühl, „Katalogbeiträge X4 – X6", in *799. Kunst und Kultur* (n. 4), ss. 693–696.

28 Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen* (n. 7), Nr. 5; Rainer Kahsnitz, „Buchdeckel mit triumphierendem Christus", in *799. Kunst und Kultur* (n. 4), ss. 696–698; wohl nur Koenen, „Spätantikes Vorbild" (n. 8), ss. 99, 110, hat in Zweifel gezogen, dass die Oxforder Tafel jene frühchristlichen Elfenbeine zur Vorlage hat.

29 Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, „Les trois fragments d'ivoire de Berlin, Paris et Nevers", in *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Christopher Moss, Katherine Kiefer (Hrsg.), Princeton 1995, ss. 49–56.

4/ Szenen aus dem Leben Christi; Elfenbeintafel, um 870 / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (München)

5/ Verkündigung an Maria, Anbetung der Könige, Kindermord in Bethlehem; Buchdeckel, um 850 / *BNF* (Paris), MS lat. 9393

6/ Zeugnis des Johannes (?), umgeben von Szenen der Weihnachtsgeschichte; Buchdeckel eines Lektionarium, um 850 / Universitätsbibliothek (Frankfurt/Main), MS Barth. 180

7/ Detail vom Buchdeckel eines Lektionarium, um 850 / Universitätsbibliothek (Frankfurt/Main), MS Barth. 180

Drogo wurde durch seinen Halbbruder Kaiser Ludwig den Frommen 823 zum Bischof von Metz und wohl 834 zum Erzkaplan der Hofkapelle in Aachen. Die Hofkapelle in Aachen verlor allmählich ihre dominante Funktion, zumal nach dem Tod Ludwigs des Frommen, der 840 starb. Ab 844, nachdem Drogo sogar zum Vikar des ganzen Frankenreichs ernannt worden war, scheint er den Einfluss auf den Hof Kaiser Lothars verloren zu haben. Es ist wohl der Zeitpunkt, zu dem er selbst in Metz ein Scriptorium gegründet hat. Es ist anzunehmen, dass durch Drogo Elfenbeine, die im Besitz der Hofschule waren, in den Westen gelangten[30].

Ein Elfenbein in München [**Abb. 5**], das der Hofschule Karls des Kahlen zugeschrieben wird, wird als Kopie der Berliner Tafel diskutiert[31]. Die gleiche Anordnung der drei Szenen und einige Ähnlichkeiten in Details sind der Grund dafür, das Elfenbein als Nachbildung zu betrachten. In allen drei Szenen gibt es aber entscheidende Abweichungen von der Berliner Tafel. Bei dem Kindermord von Bethlehem sitzt Herodes statt auf dem Thron auf einem Faltstuhl. Er hat einen Begleiter, während die klagenden Frauen nur noch durch eine Frau mit erhobenen Händen repräsentiert werden. Bei der Taufe Christi erinnert in der Tat Johannes der Täufer an die frühchristliche Darstellung, aber er wird spiegelbildlich zu ihr gezeigt. Besonders verwunderlich ist, dass der Jordan nun aus dem Gefäß eines antiken Flussgottes entspringt und die Beine Christi, der nun frontal gezeigt wird, bedeckt. Damit tritt eine antike Personifikation an die Stelle des aus dem Felsen herabstürzenden Wassers. Bei dem Wunder zu Kana wird nicht nur ein Haus hinzugefügt, sondern auch der assistierende Apostel durch Maria ersetzt.

Gebieten die Abweichungen, vorzuschlagen, dass ein mit der Berliner Tafel verwandtes Elfenbein die Vorlage war oder drückt sich darin der freie Umgang des Schnitzers mit dem überlieferten frühchristlichen Elfenbein aus? Wenn man die These akzeptiert, dass es sich bei der Münchener Tafel um eine direkte Kopie handelt, dann staunt man über die Bereitschaft des Schnitzers zu Veränderungen. Im Falle der Taufe Christi ist auf eine andere frühchristliche Formel zurückgegriffen worden. Man war fähig, spätantike/frühchristliche Schemata frei zu kombinieren. Das antike Motiv des Flussgottes besagt also nicht, dass es aus der frühchristlichen Vorlage entnommen worden ist, die für das Grundkonzept des Elfenbeins verantwortlich ist. Eine ähnlich freie Kombination

ist auch bei der Rezeption der Reiderschen Tafel überliefert. Sowohl die Liverpooler Tafel[32] als auch die Münchener Tafel[33] übernehmen die Darstellung der drei Frauen am Grab, setzen diese aber jeweils unter eine Kreuzigung. In der Reiderschen Tafel hingegen stellt diese Darstellung den Vordergrund der Himmelfahrt Christi dar.

Die Spuren des Berliner Elfenbeins sind auch in der sogenannten älteren Metzer Schule zu finden, die unter Drogo in enger Verbindung zu seinem Skriptorium eingerichtet worden ist. Es fällt auf, dass innerhalb der karolingischen Elfenbeine nur drei Mal der Kindermord von Bethlehem dargestellt wird, auf den beiden besprochenen Tafeln, die das Berliner frühchristliche Elfenbein kopieren und auf einem Deckel eines Evangeliars [**Abb. 6**], das 1802 aus Metz nach Paris kam[34]. Margret Ribbert stellt deshalb die Frage, ob nicht auch dieses Elfenbein von der Berliner Tafel abhängig sei[35]. Sie kommt zu dem Ergebnis, dass dem Schnitzer in Metz eine ähnliche, aber erweiterte Darstellung wie in dem Berliner Elfenbein vorgelegen haben muss[36]. Aber wieso kann man ausschließen, dass der karolingische Schnitzer nicht selbst in der Lage war, die Darstellung zu verändern und sie anderen Vorlagen anzupassen? Auffällig ist die Ähnlichkeit zwischen den beiden Herodesfiguren, die jeweils auf einem schräg gestellten Thron sitzen. In der *à-jour* gearbeiteten Darstellung wurde eine Architekturkulisse hinzugefügt. Vor die beiden klagenden Frauen wurde eine dritte gestellt. Das Motiv, dass ein Soldat ein Kind auf den Boden schleudert, wurde verdoppelt und den klagenden Kindern die *forma crucis* gegeben[37].

Dass tatsächlich die Berliner Tafel der Metzer Werkstatt zur Verfügung stand, macht ein anderes Elfenbein wahrscheinlich. In Frankfurt wird ein Lectionarium aus dem 13. Jahrhundert [**Abb. 7, 8**] aufbewahrt, das mit einem Deckel versehen ist,

30 Martin Büchsel, *Das Zeugnis des Johannes*, Frankfurt am Main 1994, s. 34 ff.

31 Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen* (n. 7), Nr. 67b; Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Elfenbeinkunst im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1978, Nr. 58; Rainer Kahsnitz, „Katalogbeitrag v-54", in *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, Katalog der Ausstellung, Michael Brandt, Arne Eggebrecht (Hrsg.), Bd. 2, Hildesheim 1993, ss. 320–322.

32 Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen* (n. 7), Nr. 139.

33 *Ibidem*, Nr. 130.

34 *Ibidem*, Nr. 72.

35 Margret Ribbert, *Untersuchungen zu den Elfenbeinarbeiten der Älteren Metzer Gruppe*, Bonn/Wittenschlick 1992, s. 61 ff.; vgl. Gaborit-Chopin, *Elfenbeinkunst* (n. 31), s. 67, weist auch schon auf den Zusammenhang hin.

36 Ribbert, *Untersuchungen* (n. 35), s. 74 ff.

37 Martin Büchsel, „Antikenrezeption und Kompositionsweise der Älteren Metzer Schule", *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLIX/L (1995/1996), ss. 9–43, bsd. s. 19.

dessen Elfenbeine ebenfalls der älteren Metzer Schule zugeschrieben werden. Bei dieser Tafel überrascht der große qualitative Unterschied zwischen den rahmenden Leisten und der mittleren Tafel nicht weniger als die Zusammenstellung der Darstellungen. Dass Szenen der Geburt Christi und der Epiphanie ein Bild umgeben, das entweder als Versuchung Christi oder als Zeugnis des Johannes gedeutet wird, sucht seinen Vergleich[38]. Das ist aber jetzt nicht das Thema.

Neben den schlichten, schon in der Verteilung der Bildfelder schlecht organisierten Folge der Weihnachtsgeschichte sticht die Mitteltafel heraus: Ebenso *à-jour* gearbeitet, gerahmt von einem schönen Akanthusornament, wird sie von einem Baum geteilt, dessen Stamm sich zu drehen scheint und einer lebendig wirkenden Baumkrone, die aus einzelnen Blättern gebildet wird. Vor dem Baum findet die Begegnung zweier Männer statt. Die Aussage des mit seiner Rechten nach unten zeigenden Mannes – er weist wohl auf einen später abgearbeiteten Gegenstand, der am Fuße des Baumes stand – wird durch den Baumstamm unterstrichen.

Es war naheliegend, für das Elfenbein eine frühchristliche oder antike Vorlage zu vermuten. Fritz Saxl dachte an ein Relief in Neapel, das Herakles und Omphale zeigt[39]. Dagegen spricht aber die Beobachtung, dass Christus hier einen Typus repräsentiert, der in frühchristlichen Elfenbeinen zu finden ist, während sein Pendant durch ein merkwürdig anmutendes rechtes Bein auffällt, das den Verdacht erweckt, dass dem Bildschnitzer eine geeignete Vorlage fehlte und er daher Schwierigkeiten hatte, eine stimmige Körperhaltung zu finden, vielleicht auch die Figur aus verschiedenen Versatzstücken entwickelte. Folgt man diesen Überlegungen, dann liegt der Komposition dieses Elfenbeines als ganzer keine Vorlage zugrunde. Wenn man davon ausgeht, dass das Berliner Elfenbein der älteren Metzer Schule zur Verfügung stand, dann ist es naheliegend, anzunehmen, dass für Christus der Frankfurter Tafel die Christusfigur der Hochzeit zu Kana als Vorlage gewählt worden ist. Das Berliner Elfenbein vermittelt hier nicht nur eine vergleichbare Grundhaltung, sondern auch zwei spezifische Details: Ähnlich sind jeweils die beiden Füße in das Ornament gesetzt, die leichte Biegung der Finger der erhobenen Hand gehört nicht zur üblichen Redegeste. Wir können hier nur von Wahrscheinlichkeit reden, die aber dann noch bemerkenswerter erscheinen muss, wenn man bedenkt, dass man in Metz nur über einen kleinen Vorrat von Vorlagen verfügt haben dürfte. Das Skriptorium arbeitete wohl nur für den eigenen Metzer Bedarf. Stellt man die möglichen karolingischen Kopien der Christusfigur der Hochzeit zu Kana zusammen, dann gewinnt der Vorschlag, das Frankfurter Elfenbein in Abhängigkeit von der Berliner Tafel zu sehen, noch an Plausibilität. Die Frankfurter Tafel gibt den frühchristlichen Typus genauer wieder als die beiden anderen Tafeln.

Dieses Elfenbein dokumentiert, dass der Schnitzer nicht nur in der Lage war, aus verschiedenen Vorlagen die Konzeption eines Themas zu entwickeln, sondern sich auch – und das ist besonders interessant – stilistisch anders zu orientieren wusste als bei der Auswahl der Typen. Nicht das Berliner Elfenbein gab die stilistische Anregung. Die Plissierung wird dynamisiert, die glatten Flächen unterbrechen nun einen bewegten Gewandstil. Die im Unterschied zum Vorbild horizontal präsentierte Schriftrolle wird zum Ausgangspunkt von sich nach unten strahlenförmig entwickelnden Gewandfalten. Auch die Darstellung des bethlehemitischen Kindermordes auf dem Buchdeckel des Pariser Evangeliars übersetzt die frühchristliche Vorlage in einen anderen Stil, in einen Stil, der mit den Miniaturen des Drogosakramentars verwandt ist. Im Umkreis des Utrechtpsalters, der mit sehr bewegten Federzeichnungen illuminiert ist, ist ein unruhiger Oberflächengewandstil entwickelt worden, besonders ausgeprägt im Evangeliar Ebos von Reims [**Abb. 9**][40]. Die Miniaturen dieses Evangeliars haben ein ungezwungenes Verhältnis zu den Federzeichnungen des Utrechtpsalters beziehungsweise seiner Vorlage. Die gleiche Freiheit findet man bei der Frankfurter Tafel, wenn man sie mit den Miniaturen des Drogosakramentars vergleicht, die zum weiteren Umfeld des Psalters gehören. Wie sehr dieser oder seine Vorlage stilistisch Arbeiten in Elfenbein beeinflussen konnten, zeigt die Hofschule Karls des Kahlen. Zwei Elfenbeine, die direkt Szenen entweder aus dem

Utrechtpsalter oder aus seiner anzunehmenden Vorlage kopieren[41], dokumentieren den unmittelbaren Zusammenhang. Bestimmend blieb für diese Werkstatt, der Hofschule Karls des Kahlen, der bewegte Darstellungsstil, unabhängig von den Vorlagen, die sie sich zunutze machte. Das oben diskutierte Münchener Elfenbein mit der Darstellung des Kindermordes von Bethlehem ist dafür selbst ein Beispiel. Die stilistische Emanzipation von den Vorlagen, die die Illuminationen des Evangeliars Ebos, aber auch die Frankfurter Tafel dokumentieren, kennzeichnet eine besonders qualitätvolle Produktion, die nach einer eigenen Struktur sucht, in der offenbar darüber entschieden werden konnte, was für gut befunden wurde. Für den Metzer Schnitzer war offenbar die unruhige Darstellungsweise attraktiver als die statische Plissierung des Berliner Elfenbeins. Obwohl er dieses als Vorlage benutzte, unterwarf er es seinem ästhetischen Urteil und folgte seiner stilistischen Präferenz.

Diese Untersuchung dokumentiert ein methodisches Problem: Welche Genauigkeit ist von karolingischen Kopien zu verlangen? Koenen definiert durch das Verhältnis der beiden oberen Leisten des Vorder- und Rückdeckels des Lorscher Evangeliars zueinander, was eine karolingische Kopie sei. Da sie diejenige des Mariendeckels für spätantik hält, kann sie die enge Anlehnung, die sie unter dieser Prämisse für die obere Leiste des Christusdeckels postuliert, zum Maßstab erheben und bezweifelt deshalb, dass in der Oxforder Tafel die überlieferten frühchristlichen Elfenbeine kopiert worden seien, ja dass es überhaupt eine andere karolingische Kopie gibt, deren Vorbild noch erhalten geblieben ist[42]. Das scheint auf den ersten Blick plausibel zu sein, kehrt aber den tatsächlichen Befund gerade um. Mit dieser Vorstellung kann man schon nicht die Formgenese der Elfenbeine des Lorscher Evangeliars erschließen. Folgt man der Rezeptionsgeschichte der frühchristlichen Elfenbeine, die der Oxforder Tafel zugrunde liegen, kommt man zu einem ganz anderen Eindruck von der karolingischen Kopierpraxis. Auch Ribbert geht offenbar – wenn auch weniger rigoros – von möglichst genauen Kopien aus und gesteht daher den karolingischen Bildschnitzern keinen großen Spielraum in ihren Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten zu.

8/ Heiliger Lukas, Ebo-Evangeliar, vor 835 / *Bibliothèque Municipale* (Epernay), MS 1, fol. 90v

38 Büchsel, *Das Zeugnis* (n. 30), s. 13 ff.; Büchsel, „Antikenrezeption" (n. 37), s. 13 ff.

39 Fritz Saxl, *Mithras. Typengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1931, Abb. 81–83.

40 Wilhelm Koehler, Florentine Mütherich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, Bd. 6, *Die Schule von Reims, Teil 1: Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1994.

41 Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen* (n. 7), Nr. 42/43; zuletzt Christoph Eggenberger, „Finessen der Schnitzkunst. Die karolingischen Elfenbeine in der Schweiz", in *Die Zeit Karls des Grossen in der Schweiz*, Markus Riek [u. a.] (Hrsg.), 2. Aufl., Sulgen 2014, ss. 202–211.

42 Koenen, „Spätantikes Vorbild" (n. 8), s. 110.

+GRAMMATA·QVI SOPHIE·QVERIT COGNOSCERE VERE·
·EN QVI·VERACES SOPHIE FVLSERE SEQVACES·
·HOC MYSTHESIS·PLENE QVADRATVM·PLAVDET·HABERE
ORNAT PERFECTAM REX HE·INRIH STEM·MATE SECTAM

Außerdem lässt sie sich nicht auf die Situation ein, dass man in Metz nur über einen kleinen Vorrat von Vorlagen verfügt haben kann. Wir müssen nicht nur fragen, wie die Produktion unter der Voraussetzung eines äußerst begrenzten Materials von statten gegangen ist, sondern müssen auch den karolingischen Schnitzern eine große konzeptionelle Fähigkeit zusprechen. Manches scheint aus der Not geboren, weil geeignete Vorlagen fehlten, anderes dem eigenen Impetus geschuldet zu sein, was Hand in Hand gehen kann – Not macht eben erfinderisch.

Der Deckel des Perikopenbuchs Heinrichs II.

Wann erlaubt ein karolingisches Elfenbein, auf eine unmittelbare frühchristliche oder auch antike Vorlage zu schließen? Weder das einzelne Motiv noch die stilistische Orientierung sind dafür ausreichend. Das macht auch die Diskussion des Elfenbeins des Vorderdeckels des Perikopenbuchs Heinrichs II. [**Abb. 10**] deutlich, das der Hofschule Karls des Kahlen zugeschrieben wird. Christian Beutler glaubt nicht nur, auf ein frühchristliches Vorbild schließen, sondern sogar genau den Anlass zu der Entstehung des vermeintlichen Vorbildes nennen zu können: Der Sieg des Kaisers Theodosius über den Usurpator Eugenius 394, der sich mit der heidnischen Opposition in Rom verbündet hatte[43]. Die Vorlage des karolingischen Elfenbeins sei ein Manifest des Sieges des Christentums über die heidnische Opposition. Die paganen Personifikationen – Sol und Luna, Oceanus und Terra, zwischen denen wohl Roma thront – würden nun gezwungen, den Sieg des Kreuzes als kosmisches Ereignis zu feiern. Die Ähnlichkeit mit dem Silberteller aus Parabiago [**Abb. 11**][44], der im kosmischen Rahmen den Triumph der Kybele mit ihrem jungen Geliebten Attis zeigt, demonstriere gerade die bewusste Entgegensetzung zu einem solch heidnischen Propagandabild.

Diese Vorstellung hat nicht nur aufgrund ihres prinzipiell spekulativen Charakters wenig Zustimmung erfahren, sondern auch deshalb, weil in diesem Elfenbein der relativ neue Typus des toten Christus ausformuliert wird, der sich zumindest im Westen nicht weiter als in die Zeit des Erzbischofs Drogo zurückverfolgen lässt[45]. Nie zuvor ist das Kreuz so deutlich als Astkreuz gezeigt worden – frühere Beispiele sind ebenfalls ausschließlich in der westfränkischen Kunst zu finden[46]. Zum Zeichen des Todes sind die Daumen nicht weggestreckt, sondern fallen in die geöffnete Hand. Ebenso fällt der Kopf auf die rechte Schulter, was zu dem Ausbiegen des Körpers führt[47]. Um das Kreuz, das die Schlange überwunden hat, ist ein ausführliches Programm entwickelt worden, zu dem weitere Antikenzitate gehören, so der dreistöckige Grabbau und die Gräber, aus denen Toten auferstehen – eine Reaktion auf Matth 27, 52–53[48].

Der neue Typus des Crucifixus ist kein hinreichendes Argument gegen die Annahme eines möglichen frühchristlichen Vorbildes. Hierin könnte ja die Vorlage verändert worden sein. Vergleichbare Kreuzigungsdarstellungen sind aber der frühchristlichen Kunst fremd. Um 400 hätte man ein christliches Triumphbild schwerlich durch eine Kreuzigungsdarstellung ausgedrückt. Als solches ist die Kreuzigung in der frühchristlichen Kunst nicht ausgebildet worden. Die frühchristliche Kunst hat gewöhnlich symbolisch auf den Kreuzestriumph durch die *Crux gemmata* hingewiesen.

Daher ist es wahrscheinlicher, dass der karolingische Schnitzer das Bild der Kreuzigung als kosmisches Ereignis entwarf und ihm dafür ein paganes Bild zur Verfügung stand. Auch um 870 waren noch die antiken Personifikationen von Sol und Luna als kosmische Symbole lesbar. Gerade bei Sol und Luna scheint er sich

9/ Figurenreiche Kreuzigung, Frauen am Grab, Auferstehung der Toten, Sol, Luna, Oceanus, Terra; Perikopenbuch Heinrichs II., Vorderdeckel, um 870, Wiederverwendung eines Elfenbeins am Anfang des 11. Jhs. / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (München), Clm. 4452

43 Christian Beutler, *Der Gott am Kreuz. Zur Entstehung der Kreuzigungsdarstellung*, Hamburg 1986.

44 Amy L. Vandersall, *The Ivories of the Court School of Charles the Bald*, Ph. Dissertation, (Yale University), Yale 1965, s. 120 ff.

45 Es wird vermutet, dass der „tote Christus" schon auf einer Ikone aus der Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts, die im Katharinenkloster des Sinai verwahrt wird, zu sehen ist; vgl. Johannes Deckers, „Das Bild der Kreuzigung im ersten Jahrtausend", in *Kreuz und Kruzifix. Zeichen und Bild*, Katalog der Ausstellung, (Freising, Diözesanmuseum, 20. Februar – 3. Oktober 2005), Lindenberg im Allgäu 2005, ss. 50–62, bsd. s. 59. Eingeschränkt muss aber gesagt werden, dass eine sichere Datierung einer Ikone in die Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts, das heißt in die Zeit des Ikonoklastenstreits, nicht möglich ist.

46 Martin Büchsel, „Die Kreuzigung zwischen Antike und Christentum", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LXXXIX–XC (1993/1994), ss. 7–33, bsd. s. 13; vgl. Rainer Haussherr, *Der tote Christus am Kreuz. Zur Ikonographie des Gerokreuzes*, Dissertation, (Universität Bonn), Bonn 1963.

47 Büchsel, „Die Kreuzigung" (n. 46), s. 7 ff.; Tobias Frese, *Aktual- und Realpräsenz. Das eucharistische Christusbild von der Spätantike bis ins Mittelalter*, Berlin 2013, s. 171 ff.

48 Zur ausführlichen Diskussion der Bildelemente vgl. Celia M. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Caroligian Era, Theology and Art of Christ's Passion*, Cambridge 2001, ss. 266–292.

10/ Triumph der Kybele mit ihrem Geliebten Attis, Silberteller aus Parabiago, Ende 4. Jh. / *Civico Museo Archeologico* (Mailand)

auf prächtige Vorlagen bezogen zu haben. Die Personifikationen der beiden Gestirne sind bei karolingischen Kreuzigungsbildern zwar üblich, nicht aber als Lenker von Pferde- und Rindergespannen – im Elfenbein jeweils als Quadrigen ausgebildet – während in der Antike gewöhnlich dem Vierspänner der Sonne der Zweispänner des Mondes gegenübergestellt wird. Der Schnitzer dürfte mehrere Vorlagen verwandt haben und diese Rezeption zugleich mit verschiedenen Neuerungen der karolingischen Kunst verbunden haben. Er hat auf ein paganes Schema zurückgegriffen, um das neuartige Bild des Gekreuzigten als kosmischen Triumph zu inszenieren, um artikuliert im Bild zu sagen, dass der Tod Christi der Sieg ist, was die frühchristliche Kunst so bildlich nicht zum Ausdruck gebracht hat.

Der Lindauer Golddeckel

Zu dieser Konzeption gibt es in der karolingischen Kunst gewissermaßen das Gegenbild, den Vorderdeckel des Lindauer Evangeliars [**Abb. 12**] , ein reich verzierter Deckel mit in getriebenem Gold gearbeiteten Figuren[49]. Die *Crux gemmata,* das Kreuz als himmlisches Siegeszeichen, rahmt wie ein Ganzkörpernimbus den ausdrücklich als lebend dargestellten Gekreuzigten. Dass das Kreuz am Himmel erscheint, machen die Personifikation von Sol und Luna zudem deutlich, die selbst innerhalb des Kreuzes erscheinen. Eindrücklich verhüllen sie ihr Angesicht – eindrücklicher als je zuvor –, um zu zeigen, dass bei der Todesstunde die Sonne ihren Schein verlor. In den Kreuzigungen der Aachener Hofschule wird durch das Abstützen der Wange mit der Hand auf den Verlust der Strahlkraft aufmerksam gemacht. Der Lindauer

11/ Kreuzigung, umgeben von Engeln, Maria und Johannes, Seelen von Auferstandenen; Prachteinband des Lindauer Evangeliars, um 870 / *Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York)

Golddeckel sagt, dass nicht die Gestirne leuchten, sondern das Kreuz am Himmel. Sol hat keinen Strahlenkranz, Luna immerhin ihre Sichel[50].

Besonders überraschend ist es, dass Maria und Johannes und wiederum Figuren, die als Seelen verstanden werden, in Analogie zu den zwei Engelpaaren, die oberhalb des Querbalkens schweben, selbst als Schwebefiguren ausgebildet werden. Bei Maria und Johannes führt das zu einer eigentümlichen Aporie. Als Körperhaltung kann ihre derartige Positionierung nur als *prostratio*, nur als ein Hinwerfen vor dem Gekreuzigten verstanden werden. Maria mit spitzen Schuhen hat mit der weit vorspringenden Nase ein auffällig unantikisch charakterisiertes Gesicht. Zum Ausdruck der Trauer hat Maria die Wange in die Hand gestützt, was merkwürdig in dieser hingeworfenen Haltung wirkt, die zugleich ein Schweben ist, eine dem Anschein nach unsinnige Synthese. Die nach vorn fallenden Gewandzipfel unterstreichen die emphatischen Gesten von Maria und Johannes. Dieser faltet in einer raumausgreifenden Gebärde die Hände. Die Stellung der Füße zeigt deutlich das Schweben an. Die ekstatisch fürbittenden oder trauernden Gesten scheinen so selbst ihres Sinnes beraubt zu werden, als sollten sie nicht die Teilnahme an der Kreuzigung, sondern mehr die Unbegreiflichkeit der himmlischen Erhöhung

49 Zu dem Lindauer Golddeckel zuletzt: Peter Cornelius Claussen, „Gold und Edelstein. Die Schätze der Heiligen. Reliquiare und andere sakrale Goldschmiedekunst aus dem Frühmittelalter", in *Die Zeit Karls des Grossen* (n. 41), ss. 172–193, bsd. ss. 187–193.

50 Büchsel, „Die Kreuzigung" (n. 46), s. 19 ff.; Johannes Reil, *Christus am Kreuz in der Bildkunst der Karolingerzeit*, Leipzig 1930, ss. 57–65; Frese, *Aktual- und Realpräsenz* (n. 47), s. 204 ff.

zum Ausdruck bringen. Ikonographisch ist es eine kühne Idee, aus der Auferstehung von Toten nach Matth 27, 52–53 emporschwebende Seelen zu machen, die von unten nach oben grüßen[51].

Reil hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, wie bewusst der Gegensatz zwischen dem unbewegten Crucifixus und den bewegten Schwebefiguren ausgearbeitet wird, selbst in Details wie den Haaren[52]. Wiederum werden bewusst Analogien zwischen den Engeln und den Figuren des unteren Registers hergestellt. Die Körperkrümmung von Maria und Johannes findet auch bei den Engeln ihren Widerhall. Während sich die Seelen emphatisch nach oben wenden, adressieren die Engel ihre Anbetung nach unten.

Der entscheidende Aspekt ist in unserem Zusammenhang das Verhältnis zur antiken frühchristlichen Kunst. In dieser Hinsicht ist das Ergebnis erstaunlich. Ikonographisch knüpft der Deckel an den schon in der frühchristlichen Kunst präsenten Typus des mit Lendenschurz bekleideten lebenden Christus an. Dennoch kann der Konzeption keine frühchristliche Vorlage zugrunde liegen, obwohl die getriebenen Figuren eine Schulung an antiker Goldschmiedekunst zeigen, gerade bei der Darstellung der Gewänder. Die größte Nähe zu einem spätantiken Vorbild dürften die schwebenden Seelen haben. Zuerst denkt man an Viktorien. Aber es stellt sich keine genaue Parallele ein. Nachgefragt bei der Klassischen Archäologie, erhielt ich die Auskunft, dass wahrscheinlich eine tanzende Mänade in diese schwebenden Figuren verwandelt worden sei, auch wenn ein genaues Vorbild nicht genannt werden kann[53]. Ähnlich wie der Goldschmied Maria und Johannes aus ihrer üblichen stehenden Haltung in ein schwebendes Niederwerfen zu transformieren wusste, hat er – folgt man diesem Vorschlag – auch keine Probleme gehabt, eine tanzende Mänade fliegenden Engeln anzugleichen. Während beim Deckel des Perikopenbuchs Heinrichs II. das pagane Schema erkennbar ist, hat der Goldschmied einen sehr freien und zugleich souveränen Gebrauch von einer antiken Vorlage gemacht. Die Seelen erscheinen auf dem Deckel nicht als Versatzstücke, sondern vermitteln eine freie Art, mit den Gewändern und der Körperhaltung umzugehen, die von den anderen Schwebefiguren aufgenommen wird. Der Lindauer Golddeckel ist ein antikisierendes und doch zugleich spezifisch mittelalterliches Werk. Es gehört zu den Arbeiten, die am deutlichsten demonstrieren, wie die karolingische Kunst zur konzeptionellen Eigenständigkeit fand, die das besondere Interesse an dem Thema Kreuzigung dokumentiert. Hier verschränken sich das freie Formverständnis und die konzeptionelle Kompetenz, die weiß, was sie zum Ausdruck bringen möchte.

Erläutern wir zusammenfassend, was Antikenrezeption und antikisierend innerhalb der karolingischen Elfenbeine heißen kann: Eine genaue Kopie einer spätantiken Vorlage lässt sich nicht finden. Auch wenn unterschiedliche Annäherungen vermutet werden können, ist die freie Kombination von Motiven aus verschiedenen Vorlagen nicht nur die Regel, sondern offenbar eine Art Selbstverständlichkeit. Die Kopie eines ganzen Werkes scheint nicht zu interessieren. Die Schnitzer sind in der Lage, zwischen Typus und Stil zu unterscheiden, so dass Figuren einer Vorlage in einem Stil wiedergegeben werden können, der nicht durch die Vorlage selbst vermittelt worden ist. Die freie Kombination von Motiven erlaubt, auf pagane Ikonographie zurückzugreifen, um ein neuartiges Thema zu inszenieren. Die Antikenrezeption kann sogar auch zur formalen und motivischen Grundlage eines freien Formverständnisses werden, mit dem neue Konzeptionen entwickelt werden, die spezifisch karolingische Situationen reflektieren. Die karolingische Kunst hat offenbar, bis auf wenige Ausnahmen, kein autoritatives Verständnis der Vorlagen entwickelt. Ein solches Verständnis hat die politisch bedingte Rückbesinnung auf die Antike nicht bewirkt. Hier zeigt sich eine Parallele zur Bilderdiskussion, die in Reaktion auf den byzantinischen Bilderstreit entstanden ist. Die karolingische Kunst war unbelastet von der Tradition von verehrungswürdigen Bildern, deren Authentizität in Konstantinopel, aber auch in Rom immer weiter gesteigert werden musste[54].

51 Reil, *Christus am Kreuz* (n. 50), s. 65.
52 *Ibidem*, s. 62.
53 Ich danke Ursula Mandel für diese Auskunft.
54 Martin Büchsel, *Die Entstehung des Christusporträts. Bildarchäologie statt Bildhypnose*, 3. Aufl., Mainz 2007, ss. 152, 156.

Genese forem karolínské slonoviny. Struktury recepce antiky

Renovatio Imperii je jedním z klíčových výrazů používaných v umělecko-historické literatuře jako důkaz recepce antiky v karolínském umění. Tento termín vyjadřuje snahu Karlovců hledat z politických a náboženských důvodů normativní vzory právě v antice. Slonovinové desky Loršského evangeliáře se zdají být ukázkou velmi přesné imitace antického vzoru. Podobnost mezi jednotlivými destičkami vrchní části vazby evangeliáře byla obzvláště důležitá, protože střídavě jedna nebo druhá byly považovány za *spolia*. Vzdáme-li se však této myšlenky, ztrácíme jediný příklad, který umožňoval mluvit o přesné kopii antického vzoru. Pokud vedle karolínských slonovin postavíme pozdně antické a raně křesťanské slonoviny, o kterých lze předpokládat, že sloužily jako předlohy, je zjevné, že řezbář karolínských děl přistupoval k modelům až pozoruhodně bezstarostně, což mu umožnilo nacházet nová řešení. Volné kombinace a odvážné změny výjimečnou úctu k originálům nenaznačují. Výsledky zkoumání slonovin dvorních škol Karla Velikého, Karla Holého a starší Metzské školy stanovují tedy nová kritéria recepce antiky a odporují studiím, které spojují napodobování antiky s přesným kopírováním.

Abstract—Rediscovering Antiquities and Reviving the Past. Byzantium during the 9th and 10th Centuries
The main aim of the present paper is to give an overview on parallel phenomena appearing in Byzantine art and literature in the ninth and tenth centuries. The author argues that both classicising artistic creations and a vast number of literary products originate from and mirror the same intent of rediscovering and conquering their own past on the part of Constantinopolitan court circles. The most compelling force behind the systematizing, redefining, reviving, and restoring activity that characterizes the ninth and tenth centuries was Byzantine intellectuals' vision of their own cultural identity that urged them to create and commission literary and artistic products expressing and bolstering their own self-image as well as their understanding of their own culture.

Keywords—Middle Byzantine artistic revival, Constantinople, Byzantine court culture, compilation movement, early Macedonian period

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1 / Isaiah and Hezekiah (detail), Paris Psalter, Constantinople, 10th century / *BNF* (Paris), MS gr. 139, fol. 446v

Rediscovering Antiquities and Reviving the Past

Byzantium during the 9th and 10th Centuries

Ádám Bollók

In his brief, illuminating critical overview of twentieth-century scholarly approaches towards the tenth-century Byzantine classicizing artistic creations, which Kurt Weitzmann encapsulated as the "Macedonian Renaissance" from the 1930s[1], John Hanson listed several criteria for illustrating the arguments that in the last decades of the twentieth century led to the rejection of Weitzmann's Renaissance theory that had since long defined Byzantine art-historical scholarship[2]. He specifically pointed out that some of the phenomena classified by Erwin Panofsky as the defining characteristics of a genuine renaissance[3] – among them a break with the past before the renaissance, the self-consciousness of artists and literary authors who perceived themselves as reviving the lost traditions of a glorious age, and the birth of literary and artistic creations following Antique models according to the same cultural dynamics – were sorely lacking in tenth-century Byzantium[4]. Moreover, Hanson convincingly argued that for medieval Byzantines, the artistic representations

1 For his early works, see especially Kurt Weitzmann, "Der Pariser Psalter Ms. Grec. 139 und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance", *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, VI (1929), pp. 178–194, reprinted in his *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*, London 1980 as "Study I"; *Idem*, "Probleme der mittelbyzantinischen Renaissance", *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, (1933), pp. 336–360. For two of his later comprehensive overviews, see *Idem*, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Princeton 1951; *Idem*, *Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance*, Cologne 1962, translated into English as "The Character and Intellectual Origins of the Macedonian Renaissance", in *Idem*, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, Herbert L. Kessler ed., Chicago 1970, pp. 176–223. For an overview on the precursors of this approach, see, e.g., Valentina Cantone, "Echoes of Antiquity in Middle Byzantine Miniatures: A Matter of Style", in *The Antique Memory and the Middle Ages*, Ivan Foletti, Zuzana Frantová eds, Rome 2015, pp. 51–85, sp. pp. 55–59.

2 John Hanson, "The Rise and Fall of the Macedonian Renaissance", in *A Companion to Byzantium*, Liz James ed., Oxford 2010, pp. 338–350.

3 Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, Stockholm 1960.

4 Hanson, "The Rise and Fall" (n. 2), pp. 345–346.

of ancient mythological subject matters were, in fact, principally "designed to entertain, rather than to edify", while the classicizing style of works of art portraying mythological subjects was intended to distance these pieces from the world of contemporary artistic creations, and thus acted "as a veil through which the viewer can observe and enjoy these risqué stories"[5].

While the careful reading of particular objects and artifact types such as the ivory caskets bearing mythological scenes discussed by Hanson[6] can shed considerable light on certain aspects of the phenomena lumped together under the term "Macedonian Renaissance" by Weitzmann, other classes of artifacts and subject matters still need to be examined from different angles. There can be little doubt that the illuminated manuscripts with secular and Christian themes made in the classicizing style were imprints of the same tenth-century interest in Antiquity as were the ivory carvings with mythological scenes, even if the classicizing style appearing in various genres had a different function and the label "renaissance" can hardly be applied in the genuine sense of the word. An inquiry into the latter could be quite instructive because the proper identification of the message borne by ivory caskets adorned with mythological themes in the classicizing style for the medieval Byzantine audience in itself calls attention to the fact that both the depicted themes and the style of their workmanship had an independent function and meaning in the visual message transmitted by tenth-century objects. Moreover, as we shall see, in some cases it is not at all certain that the tenth-century creators lacked self-consciousness when they turned to Antique and Late Antique models, or that the use of Late Antique models in the tenth century was not preceded, in the eyes of contemporary patrons, by a significant break which separated the idealized past from their own present. Likewise, it is hardly obvious whether we cannot, at least in some instances, assume some cultural correlations behind the birth of literary and artistic creations in tenth-century Byzantium[7], even if these cannot be set in the context of a renaissance in the true sense of the word. In this study, I shall briefly review some of these points regarding the broader context of the main thematic units assigned by Weitzmann to his "Macedonian Renaissance" – namely the use of a classicizing, "illusionistic" style and mythological subject matters as well as the creation and use of personifications and the coherent use of architectural backgrounds.

Given the milieu in which Weitzmann's "Macedonian Renaissance" theory was conceived[8] and the German scholarship of the 1920s and its relation to Antiquity and medieval Byzantium[9], it comes as no surprise that Weitzmann interpreted the classicizing elements appearing in Constantinople during the ninth and tenth centuries within the framework of a model assuming a passive reception of Antiquity to some extent. He saw this reception as being partly passive, at least in the sense that he did not view the tenth-century employment of the classicizing stylistic and thematic elements from the perspective of its tenth-century users (as proposed by Hanson), but as the *survival* of the Greco-Roman legacy in Byzantium. At the same time, he did regard the tenth-century Byzantine appropriation of the past as being a decidedly active process. Although generally employing his method devised for the study of manuscript illumination[10] – borrowed largely from the repertoire of philological textual criticism – that regularly involved a belief in lost archetypes for the illuminations in the analyzed manuscripts and in the illuminators' faithful adherence to these lost archetypes[11], he also contended that in the case of the tenth-century manuscripts assigned by him to the "Macedonian Renaissance", the illuminators allowed themselves a fairly broad artistic license whereby they often added personifications as well as coherent landscapes and architectural backgrounds to the archetypes[12]. This interpretative model, assuming the simultaneous existence of both active and passive appropriations, offered an attractive theoretical framework for explaining the "classical" or, more adequately put, "classicizing" artistic phenomena that were apparently far removed from each other and articulated widely differing messages on the one hand, and the use of coherent architectural backgrounds, mythological themes and personifications on the other.

One eloquent example of scholarly exercises with a focus on various lost archetypes and a linear

stylistic development is Weitzmann's study on the so-called seated Matthew miniature in the mid-tenth-century Stavronikita Gospel (Mount Athos, Monastery of Stavronikita, 43), which modern scholarship too regards as "perhaps the most classical of the illuminated manuscripts of the 'Macedonian Renaissance'" [13]. In Weitzmann's words,

> "The illusionistic element is so genuine that it is safe to assume that the Athos miniatures copy directly, with no intermediary stage, a pre-Constantinian source. […] If we had no Paris Psalter",– he adds –"this manuscript by itself would be sufficient to demonstrate the existence of a Macedonian Renaissance" [14].

In reality, however, neither the claim of a pre-Constantinian source for the architectural background appearing behind the seated evangelists and for the depiction of the seated Evangelist itself, nor a direct copying can be taken for granted[15]. That the ninth- and tenth-century illuminators created certain illuminations by combining various elements is beyond any serious doubt, and has been even more emphatically highlighted by scholars who voiced their critique *vis-à-vis* Weitzmann's thesis. As, for example, Christopher Walter noted:

> "In general, classicizing works, particularly miniatures, of this period [i.e. the 'Macedonian Renaissance'] are not composed with a single vanishing point. They are constructed piecemeal from details taken from models, whose perspective is retained but not unified in the new composition. This is particularly evident in portraits of Evangelists set against a classical architecturescape" [16].

The Byzantine artists' ability to apply the "piecemeal treatment", to use Walter's expression, in composing classicizing scenes is obvious not only from the compositional traits of tenth-century illuminations. It is likewise clearly illustrated by two later Byzantine illuminated Octateuch manuscripts. On the strength of his meticulous, page-for-page comparison, John Lowden demonstrated that the Vatopedi 602 Octateuch of the late thirteenth-century (1270–1300) was copied from a mid-twelfth-century (1125–1155) manuscript, now kept in the Vatican Library (*Vaticanus graecus* 746) [17]. The Palaeologan illuminator, however, did not only complement the miniatures with clarifying details missing from his model, but he was also able to improve its workmanship and style. The respective miniatures depicting Joshua and Caleb are apparent cases in point. The picture in the

5 Hanson, "The Rise and Fall" (n. 2), pp. 349–350. See also *Idem*, "Erotic imagery on Byzantine ivory carvings", in *Desire and Denial in Byzantium. Papers from the Thirty-first Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1997*, Liz James ed., Aldershot 1999, pp. 171–184.

6 For these caskets, see also the illuminating study by Anthony Cutler, "On Byzantine Boxes", *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XLII/XLIII (1984/1985), pp. 32–47.

7 As rightly pointed out by Theodora Antonopoulou, "'What agreement has the temple of God with idols?' Christian homilies, ancient myths, and the 'Macedonian Renaissance'", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, CVI (2013), pp. 595–622, sp. pp. 618–619.

8 For the cultural precursors, cf. Cantone, "Echoes of Antiquity" (n. 1), pp. 55–59.

9 It is hardly a coincidence that the concept of the mid- to late fourth-century "Theodosian Renaissance" originates from the same German environment of the 1920s and that it is the intellectual product of the same cultural milieu that saw greater artistic creativity in the art of Antiquity than in the art of the Middle Ages, focusing as it did on the duality of classical and non-classical styles as Weitzmann's "Macedonian Renaissance", cf. Bente Kiilerich, *Late fourth century classicism in the plastic arts. Studies in the so-called Theodosian renaissance*, Odense 1993, pp. 12–18.

10 Cf. John Lowden, *The Octateuchs. A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*, University Park, PA 1992, sp. pp. 102–104; Mary-Lyon Dolezal, "Manuscript studies in the twentieth century: Kurt Weitzmann reconsidered", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, XXII (1998), pp. 216–263.

11 As Robin Cormack ("The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela. Parisianus graecus 923. By Kurt Weitzmann", *Burlington Magazine*, CMXXXVI [1981], pp. 170–172, sp. p. 171) succinctly pointed out in his review of Weitzmann's book on Paris gr. 923 (an illustrated ninth-century manuscript of the *Sacra Parallela*), "Weitzmann takes it as axiomatic that the pictures were not invented in a florilegium manuscript, but were first composed in the books from which the quotations were taken. He therefore undertakes the formidable task of identifying each picture and deducing the original book in which the representation first appeared. By this method he reconstructs the existence of at least seventeen now lost manuscripts which were used in the creation of the cycle of Paris gr. 923". For a current view on the relation between "archetypes" and medieval "classicizing" "copies", see the illuminating study by Herbert L. Kessler, "The Christianity of Carolingian Classicism", in this volume.

12 The inconsistencies were pointed out by Lowden, *The Octateuchs* (n. 10), pp. 116–117.

13 Cyril Mango, "The Revival of Learning", in *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, *Idem* ed., Oxford 2002, pp. 214–229, sp. p. 227.

14 Weitzmann, "The Character" (n. 1), p. 200.

15 The assumption of the direct use of pre-Constantinian sources in the tenth century was one of the leitmotifs of Weitzmann's arguments in his other works too, see, e.g., Kurt Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll. A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance*, Princeton 1948, sp. pp. 84–85. At the same time, there is still an ongoing debate on whether author portraits appeared among Christian Bible illuminations at such an early date, cf. John Lowden, "The Beginnings of Biblical Illustration", in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, John Williams ed., University Park, PA 1999, pp. 9–59, sp. pp. 52–53; Herbert L. Kessler, "The Book as Icon", in *In the Beginning. Bibles before the Year 1000*, Michelle P. Brown ed., Washington 2006, pp. 77–103, sp. p. 89.

16 Christopher Walter, "Expressionism and Hellenism: A Note on Stylistic Tendencies in Byzantine Figurative Art from Spätantike to the Macedonian 'Renaissance'", *Revue des études byzantines*, XLII (1984), pp. 265–287, sp. p. 281.

17 Lowden, *The Octateuchs* (n. 10), pp. 38–40; *Idem*, "Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts. A Byzantine Phenomenon", in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, Paul Magdalino, Robert Nelson eds, Washington 2010, pp. 107–152, sp. pp. 115–118.

twelfth-century Octateuch, "a somewhat hasty workmanship" in Lowden's words[18], confines itself to merely visualizing the figures – while, in contrast, the Palaeologan illuminator enhances this "bare core" with an architectural background as well as an allusion to the vegetation[19]. The source on which the artist based himself in expanding on his model is apparent, given that he demonstrably had access to the tenth-century Joshua Roll[20]. This also holds true for the stylistic improvement that had been undertaken with close attention to the Roll, even if the Palaeologan illuminator hardly succeeded in reaching the same level of "classicization". In other works of art, the skillful use of classicizing elements can often be perceived from aspects other than merely the stylistic. For example, the placement of these elements before a coherent landscape or in an architectural setting in the new illuminations constructed piecemeal from a variety of earlier depictions forged the artistic link between the visual elements adopted from different models[21].

Demand notwithstanding, the availability of able painters was hardly enough for the creation of these superb illuminations. Sufficient financial means on the part of the patron was also a prerequisite as was the cultural climate that provided the patron with the necessary inspiration for investing an extra sum of money into obtaining the most splendid copy of a work available in the time. And the costs must have been very high indeed. At the beginning of the tenth century, Arethas is known to have purchased his copy of Euclid for fourteen *nomismata* (a sum that had most likely been paid only for copying), his copy of Plato for twenty-one *nomismata* (he paid thirteen for copying and eight for the parchment), while his corpus of Christian Apologists cost twenty-six *nomismata* (twenty for copying and six for the parchment). Later, in the mid-eleventh century, a scribe earned 150 *nomismata* for seven codices, i.e. an average of roughly twenty-one *nomismata* for one volume[22]. But these figures show only the prices of non-illuminated manuscripts. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the patron of the famous early tenth-century Leo Bible was among the highest-ranking officials in the imperial administration[23], the Niketas Bible was copied for an imperial chamberlain[24], while the Paris Gregory is believed to have been commissioned by Patriarch Photios for Emperor Basil I[25], the Paris Psalter by a member of the imperial family[26] and the Joshua Roll by someone in the circle of Basil Lekapenos, if not by the *parakoimomenos* himself[27].

Our best witnesses of the so-called "renaissance" thus originate from imperial and court circles[28] – that is, from the very circles which were also responsible for initiating and sponsoring the "compilation movement", one of the defining characteristics, if not the most characteristic phenomenon of tenth-century Byzantine literature[29]. The products of this formidable undertaking include a collection of historical excerpts covering fifty-three pre-defined subjects[30], alongside thematic collections discussing court ceremonies (*De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*)[31], providing historical overviews on Byzantine *themata* or "themes" (*De thematibus*)[32], and dealing with foreign affairs (*De administrando imperio*)[33] as well as, among others, a biography of the Emperor Basil I[34], two imperial histories (one ascribed to Genesios, the other covering the period between 813 and 961, conventionally entitled the *Continuation of Theophanes*)[35], anthologies of epigrams[36], an extensive hagiographic calendar[37], rewritten and stylistically unified hagiographical materials[38], a set of military manuals[39], and "handbooks" of horse medicine[40] and agriculture[41]. The ultimate *raison d'être* of the "compilation movement" has been variously explained from the very inception of modern Byzantine studies. Labels characteristic for post-medieval Western cultural developments such as "encyclopedism"[42], humanism[43] or renaissance[44] have been frequently

18 Lowden, "Illustrated Octateuch" (n. 17), p. 115.

19 Lowden, *The Octateuchs* (n. 10), p. 49; *Idem*, "Illustrated Octateuch" (n. 17), pp. 115–117.

20 Lowden, *The Octateuchs* (n. 10), pp. 50–52; *Idem*, "Illustrated Octateuch" (n. 17), p. 118.

21 For this function in the case of the Leo Bible and the Paris Psalter, see Hans Belting, "Kunst oder Objekt-Stil? Fragen zur Funktion der 'Kunst' in der 'Makedonischen Renaissance'", in *Byzanz und der Westen. Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, Irmgard Hutter ed., Vienna 1984, pp. 65–83, sp. pp. 68–71.

22 Nigel Wilson, "Books and Readers in Byzantium", in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen: A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium*, Ihor Ševčenko, Cyril Mango eds, Washington 1975, pp. 1–15, sp. pp. 3–4; Mango, "The Revival of Learning" (n. 13), p. 223. For the price of book production, see also Nicolas Oikonomides, "Writing Materials, Document, and Books", in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 39), vol. 2, Angeliki E. Laiou ed., Washington 2002, pp. 589–592.

23 Leo, the commissioner and donor of the Leo Bible, is not only de-

picted but also identified as *patrikios praipositos sakellarios* by the accompanying inscription in one of the frontispieces, cf. Irmgard Hutter, "Les légendes des miniatures", in *La Bible du Patrice Léon. Codex Reginensis Graecus 1. Commentaire codicologique, paléographique, philologique et artistique*, Paul Canart ed., Vatican City 2011, pp. 185–194, sp. p. 186.

24 Hans Belting, Guglielmo Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas. Ein Werk der höfischen Buchkunst in Byzanz und sein antikes Vorbild*, Wiesbaden 1979, sp. pp. 26–28; Mango, "The Revival of Learning" (n. 13), p. 227.

25 Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxenier, "The Portraits of Basil I in Paris gr. 510", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, XXVII (1978), pp. 19–24; Leslie Brubaker, "Politics, Patronage, and Art in Ninth-Century Byzantium: The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (BNF gr. 510)", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXXIX (1985), pp. 1–13; *Idem*, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium. Images as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Cambridge 1999.

26 Hugo Buchthal, "The Exaltation of David", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtland Institutes*, XXXVII (1974), pp. 330–333. In his previous study of the Paris Psalter, Buchthal expressed a more cautious opinion, cf. *Idem*, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter: A Study in Middle Byzantine Painting*, London 1938, p. 66. For the relationship between the text and the images, see also John Lowden, "Observations on Illustrated Byzantine Psalters", *Art Bulletin*, LXX (1988), pp. 242–260, sp. pp. 251–255.

27 Otto Kresten, *Biblisches Geschehen und byzantinische Kunst. Der Josua-Rotulus der Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (Cod. Vat. Palat. gr. 431) und die illuminierten byzantinischen Oktateuche*, [http://www.badw-muenchen.de/aktuell/reden_vortraege/reden_texte/2002/2002_Kresten.pdf], last accessed 10. 12. 2010; *Idem*, *Il Rotolo di Giosuè (BAV, Pal. gr. 431) e gli Ottateuchi miniati bizantini*, Vatican City 2010.

28 As Belting, "Kunst oder Objekt-Stil?" (n. 21), p. 66, rightly stressed, "*[Es handelt] sich hier um eine elitäre und ephemere Hofkunst, deren Aussehen von gelehrten Literaten bestimmt war […]*".

29 Catherine Holmes, "Byzantine Political Culture and Compilation Literature in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. Some Preliminary Inquiries", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, LXIV (2010), pp. 55–80.

30 András Németh, *Imperial Systematization of the Past. Emperor Constantine VII and His Historical Excerpts*, PhD Thesis (Central European University), Budapest 2010; *Idem*, "The Imperial Systematisation of the Past in Constantinople: Constantine VII and His Historical Excerpts", in *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Jason König, Greg Woolf eds, Cambridge 2013, pp. 232–258.

31 *Constantine Porphyrogennetos, The Book of Ceremonies (With the Greek edition of the Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae [Bonn, 1829])*, (Byzantina Australensia 18), 2 vols, Ann Moffatt, Maxene Tall eds and trs, Canberra 2012.

32 *Constantino Porfirogenito, De Thematibus. Introduzione – Testo critico – Commento*, Agostino Pertusi ed., (Studi e Testi 160), Vatican City 1952. For a recent discussion, see Paul Magdalino, "Constantine VII and the Historical Geography of Empire", in *Imperial Geographies in Byzantine and Ottoman Space*, Sahar Bazzaz, Yota Batsaki, Dimiter Angelov eds, Wahington 2013, pp. 23–42, sp. pp. 26–29.

33 *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*, Gyula Moravcsik ed., Romilly J. H. Jenkins tr., (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantiae 1), Washington 1967; see also *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio: A Commentary*, Romilly J. H. Jenkins ed., London 1962. For a recent discussion, see James Howard-Johnston, "The De Administrando Imperio: a Re-examination of the Text and a Re-evaluation of its Evidence about the Rus", in *Les centres proto-urbain russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient*, Michel Kazanski, Anne Nercessian, Constantin Zuckerman eds, Paris 2000, pp. 301–336; Magdalino, "Constantine VII" (n. 32), pp. 29–38; *Idem*, "A History of Byzantine Literature for Historians", in *Pour une «nouvelle» histoire de la littérature byzantine. Problèmes, méthodes, approches, propositions. Actes du Colloque international philologique, Nicosie – Chypre 25–28 mai 2000*, (Dossiers Byzantins 1), Paris 2002, pp. 167–184, sp. pp. 177–181.

34 For the edition and English translation of the *Life of Emperor Basil I*, commissioned by Constantine VII, see *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur liber quo Vita Basilii imperatoris amplectitur*, (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 42), Ihor Ševčenko ed. and tr., Berlin 2011.

35 *Genesios: On the Reigns of the Emperors*, Anthony Kaldellis ed. and tr., Canberra 1998; *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Libri I–IV Recensuerunt anglice verterunt indicibus instruxerunt*, Michael Featherstone, Juan Signes-Codoñer eds and trs, Berlin 2015. For these two works, the backgrounds of their commission and their relations to each other, see Paul Magdalino, "Knowledge in Authority and Authorised History: The Imperial Intellectual Programme of Leo VI and Constantine VII", in *Authority in Byzantium*, Pamela Armstrong ed., Farnham 2013, pp. 187–209, sp. pp. 200–206; Michael Featherstone, "Theophanes Continuatus: A History for the Palace", in *La face cachée de la littérature byzantine. Le texte en tant que message immédiat. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 5–6–7 juin 2008*, Paolo Odorico ed., Paris 2012, pp. 123–135.

36 See, among others, the now lost early tenth-century Anthology of Constantine Cephalas, a collection based on earlier, Antique and Late Antique epigram collections, and the roughly mid-tenth-century Palatine Anthology, compiled as a supplement to the Anthology of Cephalas (probably by Constantine the Rhodian). For an overview of the ninth–tenth-century anthologies, see Mark D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometers: Texts and Contexts*, vol. I, (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien XXIV/1), Vienna 2003, pp. 83–128. For the Anthology of Constantine Cephalas, see also *Idem*, "The Anthology of Cephalas", in *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Martin Hinterberger, Elisabeth Schiffer eds, Berlin/New York 2007, pp. 194–208.

37 For the *Synaxarion*, commissioned by Constantine VII, see Paolo Odorico, "Idéologie politique, production littéraire et patronage au X^e siècle: l'empereur Constantin VII et le synaxariste Évariste", *Medioevo Greco*, I (2001), pp. 199–219. For the state of research and the available editions, cf. also Andrea Luzzi, "Synaxaria and the Synaxarion of Constantinople", in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. II: Genres and Contexts, Stephanos Efthymiadis ed., Farnham 2014, pp. 197–208, sp. pp. 201–203.

38 For the *Metaphrastic Menologion*, see Christian Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization*, Copenhagen 2002.

39 *The Taktika of Leo VI*, (Dumbarton Oaks Texts 12), George T. Dennis ed. and tr., Washington 2010; *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 28), John Haldon ed. and tr., Vienna 1990; Dennis F. Sullivan, *Siegecraft. Two Tenth-Century Instructional Manuals by "Heron of Byzantium"*, (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 26), Washington 2000; Eric McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth. Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*, (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 33), Washington 2008.

40 For the *Hippiatrica*, see Anne McCabe, *A Byzantine Encyclopaedia of Horse Medicine. The Sources, Compilation, and Transmission of the Hippiatrica*, (Oxford Studies in Byzantium), Oxford 2007.

41 *Geoponika: Farm Work: a Modern Translation of the Roman and Byzantine Farming Handbook*, Andrew Dalby ed. and tr., Totnes 2011.

42 Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*, Munich 1897, pp. 258–264; Alphonse Dain, "L'encyclopédisme de Constantin Porphyrogénète", *Lettres d'humanité*, XII (1953), pp. 64–81; Paul Lemerle, "L'encyclopédisme à Byzance à l'apogée de l'empire, et particulièrement sous Constantin VII Porphyrogénète", *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, IX (1966), pp. 596–616; and see now the critical overview by Peter Schreiner, "Die enzyklopädische Idee in Byzanz", in *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium? Proceedings of the International Conference held in Leuven, 6–8 May 2009*, Peter van Deun, Caroline Macé eds, Leuven/Paris/Walpole 2011, pp. 3–25; as well as the illuminating remarks of Paul Magdalino, "Orthodoxy and History in Tenth-Century Byzantine 'Encyclopedism'", in *Ibidem*, pp. 143–159.

43 Paul Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au X^e siècle*, Paris 1971, and its English translation, *Byzantine Humanism, the First Phase: Notes and Remarks on Education and Culture in Byzantium from Its Origins to the 10th Century*, (Byzantina Australensia 3), Helen Lindsay, Ann Moffatt trs, Canberra 1986.

44 Cf., e.g., Weitzmann, "Intellectual origins" (n. 1). For the problem of the label "renaissance", cf. Peter Schreiner, "'Renaissance' in Byzanz?", in *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter*, Willi Erzgräber ed., Sigmaringen 1989, pp. 389–390; Ihor Ševčenko, "Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus", in *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, Jonathan Shepard, Simon Franklin eds, Aldershot 1992, pp. 167–195, sp. p. 176; Alexander Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature (850–1000)*, Athens 2006, pp. 320–322.

proposed as heuristic explanatory models, although it is by now more than obvious that none of them, in general, truly cover the Middle Byzantine intellectuals' own aims and views, even if in specific cases, various aspects of the above Byzantine phenomena do correlate, often surprisingly well, with these much later Western developments.

The ninth- and tenth-century Byzantine authors and the patrons behind them, conversely, generally speak about "order" (τάξις) and the "creation of order" in connection with their own legislative or compilative undertakings[45]. In the preface to the historical excerpts, compiled on Constantine VII's initiative, the emperor explicitly states that the number of historical events and the works recording them has increased in the course of the past centuries to the extent that it has become impossible to properly know and handle them[46]. To which we may add that not only could the sheer quantity of the respective works have appeared unmanageably high, but their availability and accessibility must also have been greatly problematic and uneven at the best. Suffice it here to allude again to the preface of the historical excerpts, in which Constantine repeatedly laments – and presumably not merely as a rhetorical element – the inadequate supply of books[47], or the oft-quoted story about the rediscovery of Leo Katakylas's military manual in the Megas Argos monastery outside Constantinople that is said to "have inspired" one of the new compilations ordered by Constantine VII[48]. As has been emphasized by Ihor Ševčenko, the gaps in the knowledge of contemporaries were so extensive in some instances that even the precise historical circumstances of Amorion's fatal Arab siege in 838 or the name of Emperor Basil I's father remained unknown or ill-represented in the compilations of Constantine's age[49]. Similarly, even the team commissioned by Constantine VII to compile the *De thematibus* was by necessity forced to rely on a rather eclectic medley of sources of widely differing source value and origins[50]. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the enormous mass of information preserved in various writings inherited from the past called for an attempt at systematization in order to make the data more easily accessible to the handful of ninth–tenth-century Constantinopolitan intellectuals[51]. Thus, it is not mere coincidence that several lexicographic works were compiled from the mid-ninth century[52]. In addition to these works, other types of collections such as military manuals or Symeon Metaphrastes's hagiographic collection served the practical needs of a wider community, even if vast portions of tenth-century military compilations, for instance, are more antiquarian than practical in scope and interest. This type of systemizing approach to satisfying practical needs characterized the compilations created as part of the later ninth-century legislative activities, which in many respects served as models for the non-legislative collections of Constantine VII's age[53]. The seemingly double-faced nature of this "compilation movement", that is, the production of extensive textual corpuses of more or less practical importance on the one hand, and the significant shortage of books and relevant information[54] on the other, is therefore quite palpable.

The process of excerpting and compiling must have been preceded by and run parallel to a meticulous, extensive and Empire-wide hunt for codices and all sorts of other written records from the later ninth century onward. This wide-ranging search seems to be the context, or at least a part of it, in which Late Antique, mostly sixth- to seventh-century illuminated manuscripts surfaced and accumulated in Constantinople. Many of them, of course, were quite certainly preserved in the capital continuously from Late Antique times, while others were probably obtained in the provinces or carried off by immigrant monks and imperial agents from monasteries in the former Byzantine territories lying beyond the ninth–tenth-century Empire. Nevertheless, the accumulation of precious illuminated manuscript might have been gradual. The Paris Gregory, with its numerous illuminations, dated to 879–883[55], the Messina codex, produced around 900[56], and the famous Leo Bible, ascribed to the 910s[57], all testify to the Constantinopolitan presence of such materials as early as the last decades of the ninth century, while the bulk of the preserved material can be assigned to the middle or later part of the following century.

The growing interest in and appreciation of the relics of the past, as is more than obvious from the shift from legislative and military issues towards history and historiography in the period's literary

output, evidently progressed from serving largely practical needs in the later ninth century towards the rising importance of more "antiquarian" approaches during the tenth[58]. The latter does not mean, of course, that the collection and re-production of "antiquarian" materials would or could not equally serve practical needs. The ninety-seven printed pages of Philoteos' Lists of Precedence (*Klétorologion*), commissioned by Emperor Leo VI, as opposed to the over seven hundred printed pages of the Book of Ceremonies[59], assembled for Constantine VII, aptly illustrate this point. While the former describes the secular court hierarchy and the order of precedence in seating at imperial banquets and supplements it by attaching a separate, pre-existing seventh-century compendium on the seating of the clergy, thereby preparing a practical manual fairly narrow in scope[60], the latter attempts to cover all available information on court ceremonies, citing, among others, exhaustive sections on old practices long sunken into oblivion, with an eye to revising, re-defining and, even more, reviving and re-inventing court rituals[61]. The practical side of this restructuring and redefining enterprise is unmistakable, even if the employed methods and the achieved results are visibly "antiquarian" at first sight; the accumulated knowledge appears rather haphazard in a number of cases, and the majority of the existing treatises are incomplete, unfinished or only partly preserved[62], that is, in brief, the project, at least as

45 Cf., e.g., *Book of Ceremonies*, Preface to Book I, English translation: *Constantine Porphyrogennetos, The Book of Ceremonies*, (n. 31), pp. 4–5. For the legislative character of this collecting and systemising activity so typical during the reign of Leo VI, see Paul Magdalino, "The Non-Juridical Legislation of Leo VI", in *Analecta Atheniensia ad ius Byzantium spectantia* I, (Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, Athener Reihe 10), Spyros Troianos ed., Athens/Komotini 1997, pp. 169–182; *Idem*, "Orthodoxy and History" (n. 42); *Idem*, "The Distance of the Past in Early Medieval Byzantium (7th–10th centuries)", in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell'alto medioevo*, XLVI Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, Spoleto 1999, pp. 115–146, sp. pp. 121–123, 130.

46 Németh, *Imperial Systematization* (n. 30), pp. 184–186; for the broader context of the concept of *taxis* and *eutaxia*, see Magdalino, "The Non-Juridical Legislation" (n. 45), p. 172; *Idem*, "Orthodoxy and History" (n. 42), pp. 152–153.

47 *Ibidem*. For the availability of books during the previous centuries, i.e. in the later eight and earlier ninth centuries, see Cyril Mango, "The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750–850", in *Byzantine Books* (n. 22), pp. 29–45.

48 *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Three Treatises* (n. 39), pp. 94–97: Text "C", lines 19–39.

49 Ševčenko, "Re-reading" (n. 44), p. 199.

50 Cf. Magdalino, "Constantine VII" (n. 32), pp. 27–29.

51 For the narrow circle of these intellectuals and their network of connections, see, for example, Patricia Varona Codesco, Óscar Prieto Domínguez, "Deconstructing Photios: Family Relationship and Political Kinship in Middle Byzantium", *Revue des Études Byzantines*, LXXI (2013), pp. 105–148; cf. also Mango, "The Revival of Learning", (n. 13), p. 226, who estimated their number as "perhaps no more than a couple of hundred persons passing at a given time through the educational establishment, and that for the whole empire." For the ninth–tenth-century *literati*, see Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature* (n. 44), pp. 316–320.

52 Cf. the summary given by Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature* (n. 44), pp. 313–314 (with further literature).

53 For the later ninth-century law codes and legislative activity, largely inspired and initiated by Patriarch Photios, as well as for how they served as models for tenth-century non-legislative collections, see Magdalino, "The Non-Juridical Legislation" (n. 45); *Idem*, "Orthodoxy and History" (n. 42); *Idem*, "Knowledge in Authority" (n. 35); *Idem*, "The Distance of the Past" (n. 45), sp. pp. 119–122 (all with the authoritative literature).

54 As emphasised and elegantly illustrated by Ševčenko, "Re-reading" (n. 44), pp. 189–195.

55 For the illustrations of the Paris Gregory and its sources, see Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning* (n. 25), for its date, see Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "Portraits of Basil I" (n. 25); Brubaker, "Politics, Patronage" (n. 25), p. 1.

56 Cod. Messan. F.V. 18; Lidia Perria, Antonio Iacobini, "Il vangelo di Dionisio: il codice F.V. 18 di Messina, l'Athous Stavronikita 43 e la produzione libraria constantinopolitana del primo periodo macedone", *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, N.S., XXXI (1994), pp. 81–163, sp. pp. 86, 92, 100–102; *Idem*, *Il vangelo di Dionisio. Un manoscritto bizantino da Costantinopoli a Messina*, Rome 1998, p. 26.

57 For the date proposed on palaeographical and art historical grounds, see Paul Canart, "Notice codicologique et paléographique", in *La Bible du Patrice Léon* (n. 23), pp. 3–57, sp. p. 45; Irmgard Hutter, "The Decoration", in *Ibidem*, pp. 195–272, sp. pp. 264, 270–272; for a slightly later date (920s–930s), see Suzy Dufrenne, Paul Canart, *Die Bibel des Patricius Leo, Codex Reginensis Graecus* 1 B, Zürich 1988, p. 66.

58 As emphasised by Magdalino, "The Non-Juridical Legislation" (n. 45).

59 For the different length of these two treatises, cf. the printed pages of the Bonn edition, reprinted with an English translation in *Constantine Porphyrogennetos, The Book of Ceremonies* (n. 31). A critical edition of the entire treatise is only available for the *Klétorologion*: Nicolas Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles. Introduction, texte et commentaire*, Paris 1972.

60 For Philoteos' work and Leo VI's purpose in commissioning it, cf. Magdalino, "The Non-Juridical Legislation" (n. 45), pp. 173–174; Jeffrey Michael Featherstone, "Der Grosse Palast von Konstantinopel: Tradition oder Erfindung?", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, CVI (2013), pp. 19–38.

61 Featherstone, "Der Grosse Palast" (n. 60).

62 Cf., e.g., Holmes, "Byzantine Political Culture" (n. 29), pp. 60, 63–64. It is often very difficult to establish whether a particular work was made in the form envisioned by the commissioner, or whether it was left incomplete during the gathering of the material or its editing. Thus, for example, it has been suggested that *De administrando imperio* was not completed during Constantine VII's lifetime and that the collection surviving as a kind of dossier received its currently known form in the late eleventh century, as assembled for Caesar John Doukas, cf. Brigitte Mondrain, "La lecture du De administrando imperio à Byzance au cours des siècles", *Travaux et Mémoires*, XIV (2002), pp. 485–498. However, even if this seems unlikely, it is possible that some of the projects commissioned by Constantine VII were not completed during the emperor's lifetime. *De ceremoniis* acquired its currently known final form after Constantine VII's death, during the reign of Nicephoros Phocas, due to Basil Parakoimomenos; a closer look reveals that only Book I was properly edited, while Book II visibly lacks the same level of final editing. Likewise, the historical excerpts and *Theophanes Continuatus* were cast in their final form under Basil Parakoimomenos, cf. Jeffrey Michael Featherstone, "Basileios Nothos as Compiler: The *De Cerimoniis* and *Theophanes Continuatus*", in *Textual Transmission in Byzantium: between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung*, Inmaculada Pérez Martín, Juan Signes Codoñer eds, Turnhout 2014, pp. 355–374; *Idem*, "Der Grosse Palast" (n. 60); Németh, "The Imperial systematization" (n. 30) (all three with further literature). For Basil's life and person, see the summary given by Steven H. Wander, *The Joshua Roll*, Wiesbaden 2012, pp. 106–132.

envisioned by Constantine VII[63], could have finally resulted only as a partial success.

The purpose and the concept underlying the ninth- and tenth-century systematization, purification, redefinition and revival were twofold. On the one hand, as Paul Magdalino has pointed out, the selection and excerpting of texts originating from the most diverse realms of the past and the compilation of a new canon from them served the need of creating a basis for intellectual orthodoxy, which in turn was the foundation on which an orthodox imperial culture was built[64]. On the other hand, the creation of vast compilations played a prominent role in the undertaking whose main goal was "to repair the gap" left by the dark centuries of the Transitional period[65] by shaping their own age, at least in principle, into an unbroken continuation of the glorious past, of the age of Constantine the Great, Justinian and Heraclius[66]. The overt tension between the theoretical postulates and the constraints caused by the actual availability of financial and material resources, however, strongly determined the final outcome of the endeavor. This situation is unmistakably reflected by the significant gaps in the period's knowledge, by the compilations apparently based on sources of uneven quantity and quality as well as by the unfinished treatises and the works that, to the modern eye, seem to be poorly edited. Still, despite all the difficulties and shortcomings, the surviving products of these remarkable "compilation enterprises" constitute one of the most impressive medieval attempts at conquering and assimilating the classical past.

A similar duality has been noted by Henry Maguire when analyzing tenth-century epigrams describing Late Antique and tenth-century works of art. A meticulous examination of one of John Geometres' epigrams on an aquatic musician depicted most probably on a Late Antique floor mosaic still visible in tenth-century Constantinople led Maguire to conclude that the poet had only a limited knowledge of classical mythology, this being the main reason that he was unable to properly identify the portrayed figures and the iconography[67]. In contrast to John's vague references to classical deities and other subject matters, the ninth–tenth-century silver-gilt inkpot now kept in Padua demonstrates that sophisticated appropriations of the past were not at all unusual. By comparing the epigrams accompanying two silver pens with classicizing motifs given to Romanos II, and with the figures of Ares and Eros in particular, appearing on the Padua inkpot, Maguire suggested an understanding of the displayed mythological images as subtle and appreciative references to the qualities of the inkpot's owner[68].

The dichotomies between the postulated unbroken continuity with the past and everyday reality, the official condemnation of the classical polytheist Greco-Roman past by the Church and the necessarily regular encounters with "pagan" phenomena, still present in sixth- and seventh-century contexts, during the ninth- and tenth-century search for antiquities, or between the desired level of learning and the actual situation all contribute to the partly ill-understood nature of the Middle Byzantine revival. However, facing these issues must have been a daily experience in tenth-century Constantinople, too. Let me evoke here a single aspect of the problem. Several Late Antique relics made in the "classical" style, or, more properly put, in one of the "classical styles", must have been still visible in Constantine the Great's city during both the Transition period and the Middle Byzantine revival. This is supported by the period's texts which regularly mention and describe the Antique and Late Antique monuments on display in tenth-century Constantinople. Of the many detailed reports, let me allude to the scenes described in Leo Choirosphaktes' *ekphrasis*, which Cyril Mango has convincingly identified with the mosaics of the fifth-century baths in the Marina Palace[69], and the above-mentioned Antique or Late Antique mosaic described by John Geometres[70]. Mention must be

2/ The Anointing of David, Paris Psalter, Constantinople, 10th century / *BNF* (Paris), MS gr. 139, fol. 3v

63 For the conceptual differences between the age of Leo VI and Constantine VII, see Magdalino, "The Non-Juridical Legislation" (n. 45).
64 Magdalino, "Orthodoxy and History" (n. 42), p. 147.
65 Mango, "The Revival of Learning" (n. 13), p. 226.
66 Cf. Magdalion, "The Distance of the Past" (n. 45).
67 Henry Maguire, "Epigrams, Art, and the 'Macedonian Renaissance'", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XLVIII (1994), pp. 105–115, sp. pp. 111–112.
68 *Ibidem*, pp. 112–114.
69 Cyril Mango, "The Palace of Marina, the Poet Palladas and the Bath of Leo VI", in *Eufrosynon. Afierōma ston Manolē Khatzidakē*, vol. I, Athens 1991, pp. 321–330; see also Paul Magdalino, "The Bath of Leo the Wise and the 'Macedonian Renaissance' Revisited: Topography, Iconography, Ceremonial and Ideology", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XLII (1988), pp. 97–118.
70 Maguire, "Epigrams, Art" (n. 67).

made of the great bronze doors of the Senate on the Forum of Constantine the Great portraying the battle of the giants against the gods, mentioned in the tenth-century Life of Saint Andrew the Fool[71], and Constantine the Rodian's *ekphrasis*[72], transported to Constantinople from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The latter is particularly interesting from our perspective, since it may have resembled the miniature from a tenth-century copy of Nikander's *Theriaka*[73], in which the giants are depicted in the usual classical manner. Weitzmann quoted this depiction as one of the emblematic witnesses of his "Macedonian Renaissance"[74]. The giants on the doors are, however, called "thong-legs" in the Life and represented the symbols of evil to St Andrew. The interpretation of the real meaning of the scene, on the other hand, may not have posed a genuine problem for most protagonists of contemporary Byzantine *paideia*, all of whom had received a thorough education in ancient rhetoric and mythology[75], even if John Geometres' example does provide a cautionary lesson in this respect.

Aside from the testimony of contemporary literary sources, we know of countless relics that were easily accessible to Constantinopolitans with an interest in the Late Antique past. We may allude to the many different ancient works of art taken to Constantinople from the age of Constantine the Great that had accumulated in the city[76], which were on display during the ninth and tenth centuries in the Byzantine capital despite the losses during successive centuries. Moreover, several artistic creations had been made in the late classical style from the Constantinian period onwards[77] (one of which may have been the mosaic in the fifth-century baths in the Marina Palace quoted above). The adornment of the Late Antique Eastern Roman capital with public monuments gained a true impetus at the very time, from the reign of the Theodosian dynasty (when the city became the permanent seat of imperial power) when the classical style gained increasing prominence in Late Antique art[78]. Monuments such as the column and the obelisk base of Theodosius I[79], and the columns of Theodosius I[80] and Arcadius[81], to mention just a few famous examples, would have acted as a constant visual reminder of what ninth- and tenth-century Byzantines regarded as their own glorious past.

The above enumerated monuments are illuminating on many counts. Firstly, because they illustrate one of the many ways of how Byzantines necessarily chanced upon the relics of their own past all around their capital city[82]. Nevertheless, these encounters also frequently resulted in the spoliation of these ancient monuments that often not only involved the destruction of the original context, but the creation of a new, meaningful one, in which the spoliated carvings lent the atmosphere and authority of the past to the new building[83]. In other instances, spoliated antiquities were submitted to more radical alterations so as to convert their content to meet the needs of their new owners[84]. Secondly, the above-quoted written accounts allow us to visualize a number of extant models available for tenth-century artists when creating classicizing works of art. In addition, other sources expand this list with the embossed silver *missoria* of Jordanes, most likely the *magister militum per orientem* during the reign of Arcadius, the platters called *Likinios* (presumably depicting the fourth-century emperor), *Ekhthoktronos* and *Panaretos*, and the *missorium* displaying Penelope and the Suitors kept in the hospice of Eubolos[85]. The Book of Ceremonies also refers to "chased silver basins and ewers"[86], probably representing Late Antique products such as the ones depicted in the Paris Psalter[87], readily available in the Great Palace for ritual washing when the ambassadors from Tarsus were received in 946. The same treatise speaks about "chased silver platters and plates […] still hanging on the great cornice of the Chrysotriklinos, and the small chased plates […] hanging in the window vaults of the dome"[88]. Mention is also made of ancient thrones assigned to Emperors Constantine the Great and Arcadius (r. 395–408)[89] as well to Emperor Maurice (r. 582–602)[90], in whose case we may be fairly certain of their Late Antique manufacture, even if the reference to Constantine the Great's name appears to be simply a means of the period's customary legitimating efforts. In view of the Byzantine artists' ability to imitate and alter styles in order to highlight the message to be conveyed[91], to transfer iconographical units from one medium to another and to create images "piecemeal from details taken from [various]

models"[92], it could be anticipated that classical scenes (mythological ones among them), personifications and coherent architectural backgrounds as well as the classicizing, "illusionistic" style would easily make their way into the repertoire of tenth-century visual arts[93]. Byzantine artists, and miniaturists in particular, as their ninth-century Carolingian counterparts, were "master copiers", to use Herbert L. Kessler's phrase[94], and thus the creative use of models abounding in the available Late Antique illuminated manuscripts and among the "external visual sources" surrounding them cannot have posed a challenge when creating works of art *moda all'antica*[95].

In the light of the above, we may confidently assert that the mediums of the archaizing elements and styles were not exclusively the Late Antique painted books discovered during the search for old manuscripts. Obviously, this hardly means that, very often, the principal models for the artists creating illuminated manuscripts containing a wealth of classicizing elements were not Late Antique manuscripts. The demand for them had no doubt soared owing to the very fact that the intellectuals of the Byzantine capital could turn to and consult a great number of Late Antique works of art, which were not simply relics of the past, but an integral part of the imperial palace as well as of the wider built environment around them. Late Antique works of art were thus a major source of inspiration as well as models for the commissioners and creators alike, whether for *all'antica* illuminated manuscripts, ivory

71 *The Life of Saint Andrew the Fool*, lines 1919–1933, for the text and its English translation: *The Life of Saint Andrew the Fool*, (Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 4:2), vol. II, Lennart Rydén ed. and tr., Uppsala 1995, p. 141. For arguments for the *Vita*'s tenth-century date and for the urban landscape appearing in it, see Paul Magdalino, "'What we heard in the lives of the saints we have seen with our own eyes': the holy man as literary text in tenth–century Constantinople", in *The Cult of Saints in Christianity and Islam: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, James Howard-Johnston, Paul Anthony Hayward eds, Oxford 1999, pp. 83–112, sp. pp. 86–87, 91–92, 96, 99, 108–112, with further literature.

72 Henry Maguire, "Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art", *Gesta*, XVIII (1990), pp. 217–231, sp. p. 220.

73 *Ibidem*.

74 Weitzmann, "Classical Heritage" (n. 1), pp. 142–143.

75 Cf. Antonopoulou, "'What agreement" (n. 7). For two recent brief overviews of Middle Byzantine education (both with further literature), see Athanasios Markopoulos, "Teachers and Textbooks in Byzantium, Ninth to Eleventh Centuries", in *Networks of Learning. Perspectives on Scholars in Byzantine East and Latin West, c. 1000–1200*, Sita Steckel, Niels Gaul, Michael Grünbart eds, Zürich/Berlin 2014, pp. 3–15; Michael Grünbart, "Paideia Connects: The Interaction between Teachers and Pupils in Twelfth-Century Byzantium"; *Ibidem*, pp. 17–31.

76 Cf. Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, Cambridge 2005; Franz Alto Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike. Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos,* Mainz 1996, pp. 143–268, 309–387; Helen Saradi, "The Antiquities in Constructing Byzantine Identity: Literary Tradition versus Aesthetic Appreciation", *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, XVII (2011), pp. 95–114, sp. pp. 95–101.

77 For an attempt at identifying one of these works, see Bente Kiilerich, "The Byzantine Artist and his Models: The Constantinian Mosaics at Nabeul (Tunisia) and *perennial Hellenism*", in *Medioevo: i modelli. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma 1999*, Milano 2002, pp. 221–220.

78 Cf. Kiilerich, *Late fourth century classicism* (n. 9).

79 Bente Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base in Constantinople: Court Art and Imperial Ideology*, (Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia 10), Rome 1998.

80 Kiilerich, *Late fourth century classicism* (n. 9), pp. 51–55; Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal* (n. 76), pp. 197–198.

81 Edwin Hanson Freshfield, "Notes on a Vellum Album containing some original sketches of public buildings and monuments, drawn by a German artist who visited Constantinople in 1574", *Archaeologia*, XXII (1922), pp. 87–104; Kiilerich, *Late fourth century classicism* (n. 9), pp. 55–64; Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal* (n. 76.), p. 209; John Matthews, "Viewing the Column of Arcadius at Constantinople", in *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, David Brakke, Deborah Deliyannis, Edward Watts eds, Farnham 2012, pp. 211–223.

82 Cantone, "Echoes of Antiquity" (n. 1), has already noted that these monuments and relics no doubt had an impact on the classicizing works of art of the tenth century. For various levels of medieval appropriations of ancient statuary as reflected in the Byzantine literature, cf. Saradi, "The Antiquities" (n. 76), pp. 101–108.

83 Cyril Mango, "Ancient spolia in the Great Palace of Constantinople", in *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Christopher Moss, Katherine Kiefer eds, Princeton 1995, pp. 645–657; *Idem*, "L'attitude byzantine à l'égard des antiquités gréco-romaines", in *Byzance et les images*, André Guillou, Jannic Durand eds, Paris 1994, pp. 95–120; Nigel Westbrook, "Spoliation and Imitation: Continuity and Radical Disjunction in Byzantine Palatine Architecture", in *Byzantine Narrative: Papers in Honour of Roger Scott*, (Byzantina Australiensia 16), John Burke *[et al.]* eds, Melbourne 2006, pp. 444–461.

84 Cf., e.g., Mango, "L'attitude byzantine", (n. 83), pp. 102–103, 114.

85 Mango, "The Palace of Marina" (n. 69), p. 330; Anthony Cutler, "The Memory Palace of Constantine Porphyrogenitus", in *Memory & Oblivion. Proceedings of the* XXIV*th International Congress of the History of Art Held in Amsterdam, 1–7 September 1996*, Wessel Reininck, Jeroen Stumpel eds, Amsterdam 1999, pp. 693–699, sp. pp. 696; and see also Magdalino, "Constantine VII" (n. 32), p. 28.

86 *Book of Ceremonies* II. 15, Greek text and English translation: *The Book of Ceremonies* (n. 31), p. 586.

87 Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Ms. Gr. 139, fol. 446v: Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (n. 26), Fig. 14; cf. Cutler, "The Memory Palace" (n. 85), p. 697. Another Antique metal vessel appears in the same manuscript (on fol. 3v), cf. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (n. 26), Fig. 3.

88 *Book of Ceremonies* II. 15, Greek text and English translation: *The Book of Ceremonies* (n. 31), p. 586.

89 *Ibidem*, p. 587.

90 Alexander P. Kazhdan, Michael McCormick, "The Social World of the Byzantine Court", in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, Henry Maguire ed., Washington 1997, pp. 167–197, sp. p. 195.

91 Cf., e.g., Maguire, "Style and Ideology" (n. 72).

92 Walter, "Expressionism and Hellenism" (n. 16), p. 281.

93 This possibility was hardly confined to the tenth century, cf. the discussion of the mythological images appearing on the Darmstadt casket and their possible sources by Alicia Walker, *The Emperor and the World. Exotic Elements and the Imaging of Middle Byzantine Imperial Power, Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries CE*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 110–122.

94 Kessler, "The Christianity" (n. 11).

95 Belting, "Kunst oder Objekt-Stil?" (n. 21), p. 74.

carvings, or artistic creations in other genres[96]. It comes as little surprise, then, that there are so many different, well distinguishable styles among the tenth-century classicizing creations – often even among the illuminations of the same manuscript – given that their models were drawn from different ages and, on occasion, from different mediums.

Whichever the case, the discovery of a few classical, mostly Late Antique manuscripts during the search for the books representing the repositories of Christian and classical knowledge were doubtless of utmost importance. John Lowden and Otto Kresten's research on the Joshua Roll (*BAV*, Cod. Vat. Palat. gr. 431) brought a new breakthrough in this respect because by demonstrating that the Joshua Roll, most probably made between 955 and 975, was a facsimile-like copy faithfully reproducing the minor details and style of a Late Antique roll, they provided conclusive evidence about the type of manuscripts from which the painters of the Macedonian era drew their inspiration and, also, that most of the elements such as personifications, regarded as tenth-century additions by former research, could beyond a shadow of a doubt be found in the original Late Antique manuscripts[97]. Of course, this is hardly surprising in itself, given the role of personifications in Late Antique art in general[98], and the few Late Antique Eastern manuscripts in particular, such as the Rebekah and Abraham's Servant illustration of the sixth-century Vienna Genesis[99], to mention a famous example. Still, neither the use of Late Antique models nor the fact that these artistic works were undoubtedly intended to be "classical" regarding their appearance prevented the copyists from making the necessary changes in their model to ensure that the imagery created by them conform to the visual message of their own age. In other instances, what would at first glance appear to be a mere archaizing architectural background providing a coherent architectural landscape for the depicted scene from a form-historical perspective, is actually an intelligible component of the iconography. To quote a single eloquent example, I refer here to the frontispiece to the Book of Leviticus in the Leo Bible. In Herbert L. Kessler's words, this miniature:

> "[R]epresents Aaron conducting the ark of the Covenant borne on the shoulders of six Levites and followed by Moses; in so doing, it not only integrated Joshua's later account of the Levites entering the Holy Land into the Pentateuch, but also incorporated an allusion to the Christian liturgy that superseded the old order. The tall building with an attached apse in the background is clearly a church into which the ark containing scripture is being brought; and, swinging a censer in front of the procession, Aaron is figured as the precursor of Christian priests"[100].

Moreover, the archaizing style of the works likewise communicated the message of their own age. From his study of various re-used Late Antique objects and the creation of tenth-century "copies" of Late Antique works of art, representing another aspect of this phenomenon, Anthony Cutler concluded that:

> "Their very creation demonstrates the construction of a fictive extension of the pre-Iconoclastic past, of a collective memory composed of such shards as were available"[101].

Cutler's formulation captures one of the essential characteristics of ninth- and tenth-century Byzantine attitudes. The construction of their present as an unbroken continuum of a fictive past from accessible sherds seems to have been the main drive behind the intellectuals' passionate interest in all fragments of the ancient times, although with a clear preference for Christian Antiquity, the latter being a necessary prerequisite for remaining within the boundaries of an expected "orthodoxy". The preference for Christian themes and periods did not mean that "pagan" themes and imagery could not appear either in literary works or visual arts, whether in an ecclesiastic or a secular milieu[102].

Thus, the term "culture of *sylloge*", i.e. a "culture of collection"[103], is more of a descriptive rather than an explanatory label for the literary culture of ninth- and tenth-century Byzantium, even if the production of both practically and culturally significant and meaningful compilations was one of main means and forms of contemporary literary production. Similarly, Kitzinger's "perennial Hellenism"[104] in the field of visual arts is a descriptive category rather than an explanatory model. Neither was the "gaining of authority" the single

most important motivation for compiling vast historical, military, hagiographic or agricultural collections[105], although it was no doubt an important driving force for individuals involved in the creation of those writings if the patron was imperial or a high-ranking individual known in the imperial court – however, the work itself was done outside the emperor's immediate circle. The aim of restoring "the mandarin literary circles of Late Antiquity"[106] was a central factor, but it is probably more of a symptom and a consequence of an ultimate need rather than the cause itself. It seems to me that the most compelling force was Byzantine intellectuals' vision of their own cultural identity that urged them to create and commission literary and artistic products expressing and bolstering their own self-image as well as their understanding of their own culture. That the latter was based on a fictive representation of the past is not only understandable, but also rather necessary in view of the historical gap dividing the Byzantium of the sixth–seventh and the ninth–tenth centuries[107]. Constructing a Byzantine self-identity in the early Macedonian period, therefore, was inevitably coupled with constructing their own view of a glorious past. The "revival" of a partly fictional past was, however, strictly confined to carefully selected, socially and culturally meaningful elements[108] fitting into the broader framework of the desired purification, systematization, re-invention and re-definition of their "great tradition" conforming to the intellectual orthodoxy of the post-Iconoclastic period[109]. Meaningless materials, or those considered to be dangerous, were either deliberately omitted as hundreds of lost literary works and artistic masterpieces painfully attest to, or were re-written, re-modelled and re-contextualized. The patrons' and artists' preference for applying conscious archaisms as personifications, architectural backgrounds or the "classicizing style", irrespective of whether these were present to such a great extent in the preserved and rediscovered antiquities inherited from late Antiquity, points to the fact that these phenomena did not simply capture the imagination of ninth- and tenth-century Byzantine intellectuals, but were regarded as meaningful and appropriate devices for expressing their vision of a present rooted in

96 Cf., e.g., the ornamentation of the renowned San Marco Cup, whose mythological scenes set in medallions and the portrait busts between them are generally derived from Roman and Late Antique carved gems, and the coins from the same ages. Anthony Cutler, "The Mythological Bowl in the Treasury of San Marco at Venice", in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honour of George C. Miles*, Dickran Kouymjian ed., Beirut 1974, pp. 235–254; Cyril Mango, Marlia Mundell Mango, "Cameos in Byzantium", in *Cameos in Context*, (The Benjamin Zucker Lectures 1990), Martin Henig, Michael Vickers eds, Oxford/Houlton 1993, pp. 56–76. More recently, a twelfth-century context was suggested instead of the traditional tenth-century date, cf. Alicia Walker, "Meaningful Mingling: Classicizing Imagery and Islamicizing Script in a Byzantine Bowl", *The Art Bulletin*, XC (2008), pp. 32–53.

97 Lowden, *The Octateuchs* (n. 10), pp. 118–119; *Idem*, "Illustrated Octateuch" (n. 17), pp. 131–132; Kresten, *Biblisches Geschehen* (n. 27); *Idem*, *Il Rotolo* (n. 27).

98 Ruth Leader-Newby, "Personifications and paideia in Late Antique mosaics from the Greek East", in *Personification in the Greek world: from Antiquity to Byzantium*, Emma Stafford, Judith Herrin eds, Aldershot 2005, pp. 231–246; *Idem*, "Name Labels on Late Antique Mosaics", *British Academy Review*, IV (2001), pp. 48–51, *Idem*, "Inscribed mosaics in the Late Roman Empire: perspectives from East and West", in *Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World*, Zahre Newby, Ruth Leader-Newby eds, Cambridge 2007, pp. 179–199, sp. pp. 179–181, 194–198.

99 Fol. 7r–v, Cod. theol. gr. 31, *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: Wiener Genesis: Purpurpergamenhandschrift aus dem 6. Jahrhundert. Vollständiges Faksimile des Codex theol. Gr. 31 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Otto Mazal ed., Frankfurt 1980, fol. 7r–v; Barbara Zimmermann, *Die Wiener Genesis im Rahmen der antiken Buchmalerei. Ikonographie, Darstellung, Illustrationsverfahren und Aussageintention*, (*Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz B.13*), Wiesbaden 2003, pp. 111–115, tab. 5–6, fig. 13–14.

100 Kessler, "The Book as Icon" (n. 15), p. 95.

101 Cutler, "The Memory Palace" (n. 85), p. 695.

102 For the reasons of using mythological references in ninth- and tenth-century Christian homilies, while remaining within the boundaries of the period's "orthodoxy", see Antonopoulou, "'What agreement" (n. 7), pp. 616–621; for the use of such themes in the visual arts, see Hanson, "The Rise and Fall" (n. 2); *Idem*, "Erotic imagery" (n. 5). It is interesting to see that at the very beginning of the Middle Byzantine revival, there are also instances reflecting an experimentation with classical pagan themes, cf. Mark Lauxtermann, "Ninth-century classicism and the Erotic Muse", in *Desire and Denial* (n. 6), pp. 161–170.

103 Paolo Odorico, "La cultura della *συλλογή*. 1) Il cosiddetto enciclopedismo bizantino 2) Le tavole del sapere di Giovanni Damasceno", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, LXXXIII (1990), pp. 1–21, sp. pp. 1–12. Paul Magdalino ("Orthodoxy and History" [n. 42], p. 143) suggested that Odorico's term could be rendered as the "florilegic habit" in English.

104 Ernst Kitzinger, "The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVII (1963), pp. 95–115; *Idem*, "The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art Reconsidered", (Akten des XVI. International Byzantinistenkongress I/2), *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, XXXI/2 (1981), pp. 657–675.

105 Cf. Holmes, "Byzantine Political Culture" (n. 29).

106 Mango, "Revival of Learning" (n. 13), p. 226.

107 For the gap between the Late Antique Eastern Roman Empire and medieval Byzantium, see Cyril Mango, "Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium", in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition. University of Birmingham Thirteeth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, 1979*, Margaret Mullett, Roger Scott eds, Birmingham 1981, pp. 48–57; Magdalino, "The Distance of the Past" (n. 45).

108 For the constraints on the meaningful re-use of old customs and rituals, cf. also Featherstone, "Der Grosse Palast" (n. 60), p. 35.

109 Magdalino, "Orthodoxy and History" (n. 42). For further components guiding the selections, cf. *Idem*, "The history of the future and its uses: prophecy, policy and propaganda", in *The Making of Byzantine History. Studies dedicated to David M. Nicol*, Roderick Beaton, Charlotte Roueché eds, Aldershot 1993, pp. 3–34, sp. pp. 25–26.

and organically continuing the past, and thereby for making visual statements about their own identity. Similarly to the proper interpretation of the imagery drawn from classical mythology, the recognition and appreciation of these visual elements called for an erudition that could solely be acquired through *paideia*, both a prerequisite to as well as a token of being part of a privileged and cultured elite. Similar in many ways to the construction of identity in Antiquity and late Antiquity[110], the familiarity with this cultural code linked and, at the same time, distinguished this elite from the Empire's other subjects[111].

The intense search for a link with the Late Antique past was strongly allied to the dominant Byzantine self-perception that emerged from the Middle Byzantine period onward, after the triumph of orthodoxy, which saw the Iconoclastic period as a drastic interruption or break with the past, after which both the Church and the state in general, and the Macedonian emperors in particular, needed to return to the orthodox tradition of the past following the errings resulting from the misguided policy of bad sovereigns. This was reinforced by the Macedonian Dynasty's need to justify its own rule by casting its immediate predecessors in a bad light[112]. This vision of the Late Antique past was by necessity a "construction of a fictive extension of the pre-Iconoclastic past, of a collective memory composed of such shards as were available"[113] designed to conform to and define "orthodoxy" at all levels of Byzantine intellectual culture. Still, its very creation in itself demonstrates that the Byzantine intellectuals perceived a significant break between their own age and the glorious past that needed to be repaired by every available means. Neither the perception of the Iconoclastic period as an enormous break, nor the need for the revival of a fictive past was alien to the period's influential thinkers. They used all available means for attaining this goal: rituals[114], literary works as well as the works of art created in the period. We encounter different forms of how the past was used and of how the Byzantines identified with the past – not least because a different theme was chosen as the proper decoration of an illuminated manuscript donated for use in a monastery[115] and of a carved ivory casket intended for profane use among the furnishings of a Constantinopolitan palace. The link with the Antique past and with Antique culture serving as an example for the present was evident in the case of both, as was the cultural sophistication of the patron/owner, whose wide-ranging erudition acquired through *paideia* could be demonstrated through these creations. These artistic creations, which were quite costly as we have seen above, could hardly have been born without the intellectual milieu in which the past was revived, systematized, revised, re-defined and re-invented, as can be gleaned from the study of ninth- and tenth-century literary works.

110 Marice E. Rose, "The Trier Ceiling: Power and Status on Display in Late Antiquity", *Greece and Rome,* LIII, (2006), pp. 92–109.

111 For the Roman identity of the educated elite as well as the different identity elements among the members of the lower social strata in medieval Byzantium, see Ioannis Stouraitis, "Roman identity in Byzantium: a critical approach", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, CVII (2014), 175–220.

112 Cf., e.g., Leslie Brubaker, John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850: A History*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 787–799; Featherstone, "Der Grosse Palast" (n. 60), pp. 29–30. Magdalino, "The Distance of the Past" (n. 45), sp. pp. 133–146.

113 Cutler, "The Memory Palace" (n. 85), p. 695.

114 Cf. Featherstone, "Der Grosse Palast" (n. 60).

115 A point made by Anthony Culter, "Uses of Luxury: on the Functions of Consumption and Symbolic Capital in Byzantine Culture", in *Byzance et les images* (n. 83), pp. 287–327, sp. pp. 292–293, in the case of the Stavronikita Gospel.

Znovuobjevování starověkých památek a oživování minulosti v Byzanci v průběhu 9. a 10. století

Hlavním cílem tohoto článku je předložit obecný přehled souběžných jevů, které se objevovaly v byzantském umění a literatuře v průběhu 9. a 10. století. Autor zastává názor, že klasicizující umělecká tvorba, stejně jako velké množství literárních děl, je zároveň výsledkem a odrazem stejného záměru: znovuobjevení a podmanění si vlastní minulosti v prostředí konstantinopolského dvora. Lidé náležející do těchto kruhů byli odpovědní za započetí a finanční podporu tzv. „kompilačního hnutí", které se stalo jednou z určujících charakteristik byzantské literatury pozdního 9. a 10. století.

Produkty tohoto působivého počinu zahrnují rozsáhlou sbírku výňatků z historických děl, pokrývající padesát tři předem definovaných námětů. Mezi nimi nalezneme tematické kompilace zabývající se dvorskými slavnostmi, poskytující historický přehled byzantských „témat" (*themata*) nebo texty, které se vypořádávají se zahraničními záležitostmi. Patří sem také, mimo jiné, životopis císaře Basila I. a dějiny císařství mezi lety 813 a 961, antologie epigramů, rozsáhlý hagiografický kalendář, nebo „příručky" koňského lékařství a zemědělství. Tvorba těchto děl vyžadovala shromáždění a systematické uspořádání obrovského množství informací, uloženého v nejrůznějších textech zděděných z minulosti. Záměr a koncept stojící na pozadí tohoto úsilí byl dvojí. Výběr a vypisování textů vzešlých z rozmanitých oblastí historie a následná kompilace nového kánonu sloužily potřebě vytvoření podkladu intelektuální ortodoxie, na níž byl potom vystavěn základ císařské kultury. Na druhou stranu, produkce rozsáhlých sbírek hrála zásadní roli v rámci úsilí o „zacelení trhliny", zanechané temnými staletími „přechodného období ", prostřednictvím formování vlastní epochy, a to alespoň v principu, v nepřerušené pokračování slavné minulosti.

Stejné cíle byly sledovány v klasicizující umělecké tvorbě tohoto období. Ta byla inspirována v první řadě pozdně antickými iluminovanými rukopisy, které byly, díky rozsáhlému pátrání napříč celým císařstvím, shromážděny v hlavním městě. Zároveň ji podnítila také různorodá antická a pozdně antická umělecká díla, která zůstala zachována jak na konstantinopolském dvoře, tak také po celém městě, a byla tedy snadno dostupná jeho obyvatelům, kteří se zajímali o vlastní minulost. Protože byzantští umělci, a miniaturisté především, byli „mistři kopírování", kreativní využití modelů, jimiž překypovaly dostupné pozdně antické iluminované rukopisy, a které byly přítomny ve „vnějších vizuálních zdrojích", jež je obklopovaly, jim při vytváření děl způsobem *all'antica* nemohlo činit potíže.

Po prozkoumání hlavních paralel, rozeznatelných mezi literárními a uměleckými díly, autor dochází k závěru, že jedním z nejsilnějších impulsů, stojících za objednáváním a vytvářením těchto klasicizujících uměleckých děl, byla snaha o vyjádření vize přítomnosti, která byla zakořeněná v minulosti a organicky z ní vyrůstala. Tímto způsobem byzantští intelektuálové ve své tvorbě prostřednictvím vizuálních prohlášení sdělovali svoji představu vlastní kulturní identity.

Abstract—The Illustrated Life of Apollonius and Tarsia. A "Papyrus-style" Narrative in Ottonian Art
Made around the turn of the first millennium the *Apollonius pictus* manuscript of the Hungarian National Library preserves the oldest known illustration cycle of a Late Antique adventure story, the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*. Until very recently the only art historian who recognized the importance of the manuscript was Kurt Weitzmann, who believed that the style of the thirty-eight red line-drawings of the manuscript revealed classical ancestors, which, within the theoretical framework Weitzmann constructed, meant that the images were derived from a lost Late Antique original. Leaving aside the problems of a speculative archetype my paper is an attempt to unfold the textual and visual associations, both Late Antique and Ottonian, the manuscript evoked in the circle of its medieval readers. To this end I investigate the possible visual messages of the "papyrus-style" layout-structure of the manuscript, and that of the characteristic motifs of the single images.

Keywords—Apollonius pictus, Ottonian book-culture, narrative illustration, layout, Werden an der Ruhr, Fulda, National Széchényi Library Budapest

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The Illustrated **Life of Apollonius** and Tarsia

A "Papyrus-style" Narrative in Ottonian Art[1]

Anna Boreczky

The *Apollonius pictus* manuscript of the Hungarian National Széchényi Library (OSZK), in fact a fragment consisting of three and a half large parchment leaves, preserves the oldest known illustration cycle of a Late Antique adventure story, the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* [**Fig. 1**]. Made around the turn of the first millennium, the manuscript was intensely used until the early thirteenth century in the imperial Benedictine monastery at Werden an der Ruhr, as attested among other things by a number of German names written next to the depictions of the protagonists of the romance[2]. While the manuscript has a privileged position in the early history of the illustrated medieval romance, it hardly fits into the general image of monastic book-culture or Ottonian art; at least at first sight it has nothing in common with those representative ecclesiastical-liturgical books that, given their number and high quality, necessarily dominate our perception of Ottonian book production[3].

Kurt Weitzmann, the only art historian who recognized the importance of the manuscript before its recent publication[4], believed that the style of the figures and compositions revealed classical ancestors[5], which, within the theoretical

1 This paper is a result of my research on the "Illustrated Apollonius: Transformations of a Medieval Bestseller" I started as a 2013–2014 member at the Historical School of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, with the support of the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, and currently conduct with the support of the Bolyai János Research Grant of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

2 On the German and Latin notes that were written into the manuscript in the course of its use in the eleventh–thirteenth century, see Andreas Nievergelt, "Additamenta ioculatorum. Volkssprachliche und lateinische Sekundäreintragungen in der Handschrift Budapest, OSZK Cod. Lat. 4", in *Apollonius pictus. An Illustrated Late Antique Romance around 1000. Egy illusztrált késő antik regény 1000 körül. Facsimile edition of the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri (National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 4)*, Anna Boreczky, András Németh eds, Budapest 2011, pp. 99–126. On the origin of the manuscript from Werden an der Ruhr, see Anna Boreczky, "Apollonius Pictus: Object and History", in *Ibidem*, pp. 23–42.

3 For a comprehensive overview see Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination. An Historical Study*, London 1991.

4 *Apollonius pictus. An Illustrated Late Antique Romance* (n. 2).

5 Kurt Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, Cambridge, MA 1959, pp. 102–104.

framework Weitzmann constructed, meant that the images were (directly or indirectly) derived from a lost original and reflected the characteristics of the archetype. Although the archaic features of the manuscript would provide a plausible explanation for its seeming uniqueness within the Ottonian environment, in fact Weitzmann's idea raises more questions than it answers. To be sure, the logic of his methodology built on lost models can not be seriously challenged, taking into account the known existence of several chains of illustrated medieval manuscripts copied from one another. Based on the analyses of András Németh, I also tend to accept that the concept of the image-cycle of *Apollonius pictus* is roughly contemporaneous with the birth of the Latin version of the romance, as it seems to be the result of a consequent, interpretative reading of an intact text[6]. However, from the probably fifth(-sixth)-century selection of the episodes that were to be visualized, it does not necessarily follow that the "original" arrangement of the images on the page was identical with that of our Apollonius. But, leaving aside the problems of an archetype, the questions that interest me are related to the Ottonian reception of a Late Antique work. Can we take it for granted at all that the patron, the scribe, the artist and/or the readers were (all) aware of the Late Antique origin of the romance? Was the manuscript intended to be an authentic representative of a book that held historical value? What did the story: the Odyssey of king Apollonius and the tribulations of his daughter, Tarsia, who managed to keep her virginity even in a brothel, mean in a monastic community? Are there any traces of an Ottonian reading in the image-cycle? Were the depictions directly created to modernize an old text by commenting upon it[7]? In order to understand the Ottonian relevance of *Apollonius pictus* whether there was indeed an earlier illustrated copy transmitting Late Antique features on hand is of secondary importance. Remains of classical Antiquity were present and they had their impact on Ottonian culture in several ways. Of real interest are the textual and visual associations, both Late Antique and Ottonian, the manuscript evoked; and this paper is an attempt to reveal them[8].

Illustrations were of primary importance for those who conceived and/or created *Apollonius pictus*, as can be seen from a rather unusual working-process in the course of which images were put on the parchment before the text was copied. Since the images are inserted into the text columns by the section of the text they depict (interlinear illustrations), and therefore their arrangement on the page is not standardized but determined by the length of the corresponding episodes, the construction of the manuscript required careful calculation. However, contrary to what I had formerly supposed[9], it does not necessarily mean that an illustrated model had to be used, even if a newly discovered fragmentary image attests that *Historia Apollonii* was indeed illustrated earlier, around 600, the latest[10].

With its uncolored, unframed red drawings inserted into the text columns, *Apollonius pictus* is a preeminent representative of the "papyrus style", Kurt Weitzmann's term for describing the method of textual illustration he believed was typical of

1 / Apollonius introduces Tarsia to her mother, Apollonius' family holds a feast and sails to Tarsus, The punishment of Tarsia's wicked foster parents, Tarsia saves the life of Theophilus; *Apollonius pictus*, Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca 1000 / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3v

6 See András Németh, "Continuous Narration through Scenic Depictions. The *Apollonius Pictus*" in the present volume. It can not be excluded that the Latin text was based on an earlier Greek version of the story, which, of course, might have been also illustrated. Since we do not know anything about the narrative structure of such a hypothetical Greek text, its possible images will not concern us here either.

7 On the use of images for commenting upon earlier texts see e.g. Magdalena Elizabeth Carrasco, "Spirituality in Context: The Romanesque Illustrated Life of St. Radegund of Poitiers (Poitiers, Bibl. Mun. MS 250)", *The Art Bulletin*, LXXII (1990), pp. 414–435; *Idem*, "Sanctity and Experience in Pictorial Hagiography: Two Illustrated Lives of Saints from Romanesque France", in *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe*, Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Timea Szell eds, Ithaca/London 1991, pp. 33–66.

8 So far the only study on *Apollonius pictus* that investigates similar questions and on the observations of which I will build, is Herbert L. Kessler, "Late Antique and Medieval Contexts of the Apollonius Fragment", in *Apollonius pictus. An Illustrated Late Antique Romance* (n. 2), pp. 63–73.

9 Anna Boreczky, "The Wanderings of King Apollonius of Tyre in the Realm of Imagination. Late Medieval Visual Narratives from a Late Antique Perspective", in *Res gestae – res pictae. Epen-Illustrationen des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts.* (Codices manuscripti, Supplementum 9), Maria Theisen, Constanza Cipollaro eds, Purkersdorf 2014, pp. 78–91, sp. p. 80. Finding the precise place of the images on the page must have been difficult, but not insolvable, once the length of the corresponding sections of the text and possibly the number of lines required were known.

10 This is in the palimpsest Ara. NF. 8. in the possession of the Monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai that will be published by Michelle P. Brown, "The Bridge in the Desert: Towards Establishing an Historical Context for the Newly Discovered Latin Manuscripts of St. Catherine's Sinai", in *East and West*, Proceedings of the Symposium at La Sapienza (Rome, 14 May 2014), Arianna Dottone ed., forthcoming. I owe grateful thanks to David Ganz for informing me about this highly important finding and for Michelle P. Brown for letting me read her forthcoming study that puts the fragment into the fascinating context of St Catherine's multi-cultural relationships.

ancient books, based on papyrus-roll fragments and medieval codices that were probably rooted in classical models[11]. But was the "papyrus style" seen as a classical layout around 1000 as well? In my attempt to get closer to answering this question I will survey a variety of layout-structures and will place *Apollonius pictus* among them. My approach is based on the recognition that, like the form and appearance of the book (scroll/roll, or volume) that are laden with symbolical meanings, the page is a communicative image, which, composed of lines, text-columns, initials, pictures, marginal notes and decorations, plays an important role in the shaping of ideas, both visual and textual, and structures the rhythm of their perception. As such, the layout and the distribution of images, be they either standardized or varied within a volume, were of primary importance when patrons, editors, scribes and artists were to design a particular book. Even in those cases when the seemingly simple method of copying the solutions of a model on hand was chosen, the format had to meet the actual needs and expectations of the recipients.

Inserting images into the text-column at the proper textual place was a known method for illustrating narratives in the second–third century, and it kept its importance among the frequently used strategies of visual story-telling throughout the Middle Ages, and even far beyond. Although most of the codices applying this method have in common with one another the fact that their layout is ruled by the length of the selected texts that were to be illustrated instead of a previously determined page-design, and, therefore, it is usually irregular, they still show a great variety. The number of illustrations that constitute the given narrative cycle and the number of text-columns per page are the most important factors in play, in addition to the specific characteristics of the images, their quality, style, and genre/technique, which range from sketchy drawings imbedded into the text without any formal isolation to fully painted and framed miniatures. The number of the illustrations and text-columns determine the distribution of the images within the book, the density of the image-cycle, and thus the rhythm of the shifts between text and image. Working with a two-column-page system and with at least two but generally five to eight column-pictures on each and every page, *Apollonius pictus* invites for an almost simultaneous reading of interwoven texts and images, which, as we will see, was unusual, though not unique [**Fig. 1**].

The oldest examples for narratives that are illustrated with inserted images: the remains of an unidentified romance (Paris, *BNF*, MS Suppl. Gr. 1294) and that of a parodistic Heracles-poem with narrative elements (Oxford, Sackler Library, Oxy. Pap. 2331), are fragments of papyrus rolls from the second–third century[12]. Preserving somewhat more than the width of two text columns and two to three unframed line-drawings (coloured in the first, uncolored in the second case), their "papyrus-style" structure is very similar to that of our *Apollonius*. However, the Latin *Historia Apollonii* was written hundreds of years later, in the fifth(-sixth) century, when the codex already replaced the roll and when the oldest extant illustrated codices were produced. The transformation of the form of the book, the gradual shift from roll to codex with the appearance of the parchment page required a new division of content, both textual and visual. The long, uninterrupted sequences of text columns that were typical for the roll gave place to the short units of the page, which usually embraced one or two text-columns. On the other hand the codex invited artists to use the whole page for illustration. The page as a base-unit of the codex made a certain separation of images and texts also possible.

As a result of these alterations, Late Antique and Early Christian manuscripts used various strategies for visual storytelling. Similar to the *Apollonius pictus* the Quedlinburg Itala, a fragment from the Book of Kings and Samuel (Berlin, *Staatsbibliothek*, MS theol. lat. fol. 485) has two-column-pages, however its images are not inserted into the text but are arranged on independent, multi-scenic picture-pages that precede the related sections of text, thus introducing it[13]. The Vienna Genesis (Vienna, *ÖNB*, Cod. theol. gr. 31) is also built on the alteration of the text and image, but every page of it is divided into an upper textual and a lower visual zone. Depictions and their standardized position was so important for

those who were in charge of constructing/producing the manuscript, that they even shortened the related chapters so that they fit the space assigned for them. As its remains attest, there were inserted images in the Cotton Genesis (London, British Library, Cotton Cod. Otho. B. VI)[14]; and we find the same system of illustration in the two most important fifth-century illustrated manuscripts with literary content, the *Vergilius Romanus* (Vatican City, *BAV*, Cod. Vat. lat. 3867) and the *Vergilius Vaticanus* (*BAV*, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225)[15]. Nevertheless, framed and painted pictures are set into one-column-pages in these books; moreover, there are whole-page miniatures and unillustrated folios, as well, with the result that the continuity of the visual story is broken up every now and then. Although drawing conclusions on the basis of a sketchy outline of a source-material that have been heavily decimated in the course of centuries is uncertain, it can hardly remain unnoticed that fifth-century narrative picture-series were distributed in the book-volume according to principles other than those *Apollonius pictus* follows. They typically work with one-column-pages and with a much smaller number of framed images eventually separated from their direct textual environment. Still, there is an important exception, the two text columns and six images of the Berlin *Consularia* (Berlin, *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung*, P 13296), a single page from a chronicle-like text, which will later help us reconstruct the visual context of the page-design of our Apollonius[16] [**Fig. 2**].

Two-column-page structures with inserted images have come down to us in a bit larger number from the Carolingian period; however, these volumes do not necessarily contain narratives but give shape to scholarly texts and treatises. It is very telling (and perhaps attests to economical considerations) that two related series of constellation-images distributed in two-column-page structures constitute parts of larger texts that were otherwise written in one-column layout (*ÖNB*, Cod. 387; Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm. 210). The unframed images inserted into the text in the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, *Universiteitsbibliotheek*, MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr. 32) or in the Carolingian copies of the comedies of Terence (such as *BAV*, Cod. Vat. lat. 3868 and *BNF*, MS. lat. 7899) can not provide pertinent analogues to the characteristic page-design of *Apollonius pictus* either (while Weitzmann compared the significance of *Apollonius pictus* in the reconstruction of classical romance illustration directly to the role Terence manuscripts play in the reconstruction of the illustrated drama[17]). The famous drawings of the Utrecht Psalter occupy the full width of the page the text of which is arranged in three columns, moreover, they do not form a continuous narrative. In turn, the illustrations of the Terence comedies, the prototype of which was very likely produced around 400 (!), follow one another in a dense sequence, but since the book is made up of pages with one text column and one to two images, its visual effect differs significantly from that of our *Apollonius*[18].

Images of a narrative cycle distributed in a two-column-page layout appear around 900 in the *Liber Peristephanon* of the late fourth/early fifth-century Christian poet, Prudentius (Bern, *Burgerbibliothek*,

11 Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, Princeton 1947.

12 For the interpretation of the text and images of the Heracles poem in the context of parody see P. Maas, "The ΓΡΥΛΛΟΣ Papyrus", *Greece and Rome*, V/2 (1958), pp. 171–173.

13 Inabelle Levin, *The Quedlinburg Itala. The Oldest Illustrated Biblical Manuscript*, Leiden 1985.

14 Kurt Weitzmann, Herbert L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis. British Library Codex Cotton Otho B VI*, Princeton 1986. See also John Lowden, "Concerning the Cotton Genesis and other Illustrated Manuscripts of Genesis", *Gesta*, XXXI (1992), pp. 40–53. For a new interpretation of the relationship between the Cotton Genesis and the San Marco mosaics see Herbert L. Kessler, "The Cotton Genesis in situ. An Early Christian Manucript Cycle on the Walls of a Thirteenth-Century Venetian Church", in *The Antique Memory and the Middle Age*s, Ivan Foletti, Zuzana Frantová eds, Rome/Brno 2015, pp. 11–28.

15 David H. Wright, *The Roman Vergil and the Origins of Medieval Book Design*, London 2001; *Idem*, *The Vatican Vergil. A Masterpiece of Late Antique Art*, Berkeley 1993. The original layout of the third literary manuscript, the Ambrosian Iliad, is hard to reconstruct, since its images were cut out of the pages.

16 Instead of the late fourth – early fifth century the fragment has been recently dated to the late fifth – early sixth century by Richard W. Burgess, Jitse H. F. Dijkstra, "The Berlin 'Chronicle' (*P. Berol.* Inv. 13296): A New Edition of the Earliest Extant Late Antique *Consularia*", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, LVIII/2 (2012), pp. 273–301, sp. p. 286. The digital record of the fragment is to be found under [http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/record/?result=0&Alle=13296&order=Enddatum-DESC,startdatum-DESC], last accessed 15. 12. 2015.

17 Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (n. 5), p. 102.

18 For a reconstruction of the lost original Terence and its datation, see David H. Wright, *The Lost Late Antique Illustrated Terence*, Vatican City, 2006, sp. pp. 209–211. For a complete presentation of the whole tradition of Terence manuscripts one has to consult Leslie Webber Jones, Charles Rufus Morey, *The miniatures of the manuscripts of Terence, prior to the 13th century*, Princeton 1930. See also C. R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Gestures and the Roman Stage*, Timothy Graham ed., Cambridge 2000.

2/ Unidentified scenes; scenes from lives of saints (Laurence, Cyprian, Timothy, Luke, Andrew), *Consularia*, late 5th – early 6th century / *Staatliche Museen, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung* (Berlin), P 13296

3/ Scene from the life of Romanus of Antioch, Prudentius: *Peristephanon* X, Region of Lake Constance, ca 900 / *Burgerbibliothek* (Bern), Cod. 264, p. 135

Cod. 264, fols 122–149)[19]. Here episodes from the life and passion of Romanus of Antioch are illustrated with colored drawings, of which the majority occupy the width of two columns [**Fig. 3**], in a manner similar to the contemporary illustrations of Prudentius' *Psychomachia* (BNF, MS lat. 8318) where the semi-narrative/semi-allegorical scenes fit alternately to the width of one or two columns. In Weitzmann's theory, these broader images are witnesses of a gradual development in the course of which the small column-picture of the papyrus roll grew "in size and splendor of execution… until it reached perfection" in the whole-page miniature of the codex[20]. I wonder, however, whether we can, at least tentatively, reverse the supposed direction of this process. The first illustrated editions of Prudentius' works might have been conceived not long after he wrote his poems, i.e. in the fifth century[21]. What if these volumes, in a way similar to the majority of those extant fifth-century manuscripts that contain narrative images inserted into the body of their text, worked with one-column per page structures, as well, and then their wider images had to be reduced in the Carolingian copies so that they fit the width of a single column in a two-column-page layout? A strange feature of the arrangement of the text in the Romanus-vita seems to enhance the possibility of that this was the case: at some points the consecutive lines of the poem run across the page (with an intercolumnar gap between them), instead of following one another vertically in the first and then the second column[22].

In the tenth/eleventh century, the tradition of two-column-page books illustrated with column-pictures continued among scholarly-encyclopaedic works, as can be seen for instance in the example of the oldest extant illustrated copy of *De rerum naturis*, one of the popular works of the famous Caroligian scholar, Hrabanus Maurus (Montecassino, *Biblioteca dell'Abbazia*, MS 132). Copied in Montecassino, this manuscript itself is

19 On the illustrated passion of Romanus of Antioch see Cynthia Hahn, "Speaking without Tongues. The Martyr Romanus and Augustine's Theory of Language in Illustrations of Bern Burgerbibliothek Codex 264", in *Images of Sainthood* (n. 7), pp. 161–180.

20 Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (n. 11), p. 83.

21 For a fifth-century datation of the prototype of the illustrated *Psychomachia* and for its comparison with *Apollonius pictus* see Kessler, "Late Antique and Medieval Contexts" (n. 8), pp. 63–73, sp. p. 67.

22 See [http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/bbb/0264/], last accessed 11. 12. 2015.

Tandem retexis uocibus ypheus.
Ætate nra compbata antiquitas.
Coram refulsit ore conspicabili.
Ne fluctuaret uentas dubia fide
Si non patere teste usu communi. .,
Hinc nos & ipsum n perire credimus
Corpus sepulchro qd uouandum tradimus.
Quia xpc inse mortuum corpus cruci
Soum cantatum uocit adsolui patris.
Viamq. cunctis ad resurgendum dedit .,
Nec illa nra est. nos patibula asendim.
Nobis pompus xpc. & nobis ds.
Xpc rursus ipse qui mortis homo est .,
Natura simplex mortun & morte domat.
Reditq. in illud qd perire nesiat .,

Dextre pauca sit satis dominus
Nrae salutis deq. possis spe .,
Dum tam filebo margaritas spargere
Xpi uetamur immundos sues.
Lutulenta sem ne teterant animalia .,
Sed quia profunda n licet lustrare
Ratione tecum consulamus proxima.
Interrogetur ipsa naturalium
Simplex sine arte sensuum sententia.
Tua importas fac ut adsit arbiter .,
DA SERVIENTI CIRCITER VERVM ANIMVS.
Qui sit fauoris liber. & non odium
Quoquo. nec ullu momenti inutilis cadat .,
Perclitemur quid recens infantia
Dicat sequendu. quid nouus sapiat uigor .,

HAEC ILLI SCI MARTYRIS VOCEM LIBIN;
Parium nec olim lacte depulsum copi.

Amplexus unum dominum infantem
Captumq. adesse puppe; quid tuis rogis

4/ Scene from the Life of St Kilian, *Libellus* of St Kilian and St Margaret, Fulda, ca 970 / *Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek* (Hannover), Hs. I. 189, fol. 4v

5/ Scenes from the life of Alexander the Great, Godfrey of Viterbo: *Pantheon*, Italy, 13th century / *BNF* (Paris), MS Lat. 5003, fol. 93v

an heir of Late Antique knowledge transmitted by the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, the most important source Hrabanus used[23]. Besides cultivating the bequest of the past tenth/eleventh-century communities also created new, or directly first illustrated editions of given texts. From the tenth century on we see the emergence of a new type of illustrated books, that of saints' *libelli*, which were to promote the cult of local patrons and therefore usually contained the life of one, occassionally two related saints[24]. These books are of special importance for they may give us a glimpse into the birth of tenth/eleventh-century visual narratives. Based on the data provided by Cynthia Hahn, it seems that although tenth/eleventh-century *libelli* like the cycle depicting the life of St Benedict in twenty-two whole-page miniatures comprising of all together sixty-five scenes (*BAV*, Cod. Vat. lat. 1202) may embrace very long series of images, they usually combine text-pages and illustrated ones[25], and this is also true for those where images are inserted into the body of the text, typically written in one-column-page layout [**Fig. 4**]. In this way, illustrations not only articulated the text, but, breaking up its continuity, they also directed the reader to deepen his or her devotion by stopping and meditating at certain points.

Now it seems that with the exception of the Berlin *Consularia* it is indeed difficult to find manuscripts containing visual narratives the page-design of which is identical with that of *Apollonius pictus*. Still, I believe it was not completely unique. From the thirteenth century on, a variety of narratives were clad in similar forms – of course in other instances these very same stories could have been told by means of different layout-structures as well. A thirteenth-century Italian copy of Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon* (*BNF*, MS lat. 5003), a historical work from the end of the twelfth century which contains among other texts a version of the *Historia Apollonii*, is of special interest for us [**Fig. 5**]. This manuscript illustrates the story of Alexander the Great with a dense sequence of images: some-

23 For the monographic presentation of the manuscript with an analyses of the birth of its image cycle see Marianne Reuter, *Text und Bild im Codex 132 der Bibliothek von Montecassino „Liber Rabani de originibus rerum". Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Illustrationspraxis*, Munich 1984.

24 The standard work on saints' *libelli* is Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart. Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century*, Berkeley 2001. See also Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations*, Cambridge/New York 1994.

25 Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart* (n. 24), pp. 333–343. For a recent study on the illustrated Benedict-*vita* see Teemu Immonen, *Building the Cassinese Monastic Identity. A Reconstruction of the Fresco Program of the Desiderian Basilica (1071)*, PhD Thesis, (University of Helsinki), Helsinki 2012, pp. 116–135.

times there are even six column-pictures on a two-column-page. Whether it is a descendent of a Late Antique cycle which, at the same time, would enhance the possibility of the former existence of a similar prototype in the case of *Apollonius pictus*, is a question that can not be definitely answered[26]. In turn, in the case of a similarly structured fourteenth-century copy of Guido de Columnis' *Historia destructionis Troie* (Cologny, *Fondation Martin Bodmer*, MS 78), the ultimate source of which is the twelfth-century romance of Benoît de Sainte-Maure, the impact of an Antique model is more than unlikely[27].

Although there is a lot of work to be done before we get a detailed and relatively precise image of the medieval history of the narrative book design, on the basis of the evidence the Berlin *Consularia*, the *Pantheon* and the *Historia Troiana* provide, we may arrive at the conclusion – and here we return to our original question concerning the Ottonian understanding of the visual message of *Apollonius pictus* – that the specific layout-structure of the manuscript was seen as an appropriate form of telling (hi-)stories of classical origin. Now let us see whether the study of the repertoire of motifs and that of the visual language of the single images can justify and/or articulate this impression.

As Weitzmann stated long ago, the style of the figures and compositions of *Apollonius pictus* reveals classical ancestors. But do we speak about imitation based on classical models known to the Ottonian artist either from an illustrated *Apollonius* or from other classical sources? Or is it rather a sovereign style created in the mode of classical art?

It seems that the represented elements of material culture, such as costumes or ships, can hardly help in answering this question. Men in *Apollonius pictus* are clad in the short *tunica* and *chlamys* of soldiers with a round clasp on the right shoulder [**Fig. 6**], while women are seen in less specifically classical garments, sometimes a long *tunica*, sometimes a dress similar to a *dalmatic*, the middle and the hem of which is decorated with dots [**Fig. 7**]. In contrast with Late Antiquity when women could be represented without any headwear, in the *Apollonius pictus* they always cover their heads with something like a *palla*. Since these costumes had been frequently depicted over a long period of time, they cannot be precisely dated. The classical *tunica* and *chlamys* of St Nazarius on an ivory carving (Hannover, *Museum August Kestner*, Inv. nr. 410) dated to the late tenth century and possibly shaped after a model from around 400 is, e.g., strikingly similar to men's costumes in our Apollonius[28] [**Fig. 8**]. In the same way, ships on which King Apollonius sails can be compared to classical and medieval depictions alike. Some of them are similar to Roman merchant ships, while some others resemble, to a certain extent, the ships of a thirteenth-century copy of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* (*BNF*, MS fr. 1610, fol. 17v). Kessler likened the animal head on the prow of one of Apollonius' ships to the decoration of Noah's Ark in the late tenth-century Caedmon-Paraphrase (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, fol. 68)[29]. Also, some compositions of *Apollonius pictus* prove to be long-lived pictorial *topoi*; one example is the last scene of the manuscript, where an attempt is made to kill a certain Theophilus [**Fig. 1**]. To draw one's sword while grasping the hair of someone else, as we see it here, had been a recurring representational form of attacking an enemy or slaying a martyr at least from the sixth century on, as attested by an ivory pyxis with scenes from the martyrdom of St Menas (British Museum, 1879, 1220.1), or an illustration of Prudentius' *Psychomachia* in the very same codex that contains the Passion of Romanus of Antioch as well (Bern, *Burgerbibliothek*, Cod. 264, fol. 89), to name only a few examples.

In a way similar to that of the scene representing the attack against Theophilus, most of the depictions of *Apollonius pictus* can be understood

26 A sensitive analysis of this problem is Krystyna Secomska, "The Miniature Cycle in the Sandomierz Pantheon and the Medieval Iconography of Alexander's Indian Campaign", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXVIII (1975), pp. 53–71. See also Giulia Orofino, "Il contributo di Federico II all'iconografia profana. Le illustrazioni del Romanzo di Alessandro", in *Federico II e le nuove culture*, Atti del XXXI convegno storico internazionale (Todi, 9–12 ottobre 1994), Spoleto 1995, pp. 393–415, sp. p. 405.

27 On the medieval tradition of the illustrated history of Troy see Hugo Buchtal, *Historia Troiana. Studies in the history of Medieval Secular Illustration*, London/Leiden 1971.

28 Anton von Euw, "Der Heilige Nazarius", in *Rhein und Maas. Kunst und Kultur 800–1400*, Anton Legner ed., Cologne 1972, p. 181.

29 Kessler, "Late Antique and Medieval Contexts" (n. 8), sp. p. 68.

6/ Athenagoras calls the citizens of Mytilene to the forum, *Apollonius pictus,* Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca 1000 / *oszk* (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2v (detail)

7/ Tarsia gives the property of the brothel-keeper to the overseer and liberates her mates, Apollonius pictus, Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca 1000 / oszk (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2v (detail)

8/ Ivory carving depicting St Nazarius, Trier (?), Lorsch (?), 10th century / *Museum August Kestner* (Hannover), Inv. Nr. 410, photo by Christian Tepper

9/ Apollonius gives gold pieces to Tarsia and sends her away, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca 1000 / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4v (detail)

10/ Apollonius rewards the citizens of Mytilene, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca 1000 / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2v (detail)

11/ Apollonius at Tarsia's "sepulchre", *Apollonius pictus*, Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca 1000 / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4r (detail)

both in a pagan and a Christian context. Actually, the possibility of its multi-layered reading was very likely one of the most important factors that contributed to the medieval popularity of the romance. From the adventurous fate of a family it could be easily transformed into an exemplum of virtuous life: that of the righteous king Apollonius, his faithful wife, Lucina, who, losing her husband for a while, lived the meritorious life of a priestess of a virgin-Goddess, the Ephesian Diana (Artemis), and their daughter, Tarsia, who kept her chastity even within the worst tribulations until finally she got married. With its somewhat stereotypical protagonists, two of whom are noble women, *Historia Apollonii* was a specifically instructive story for nuns and young girls, presenting possible life-models for them while speaking about reward gained for tribulation: salvation achieved through suffering[30]. Not surprising, these layers of meaning left traces on some motives and compositions of *Apollonius pictus* as well. As Kessler pointed out, the depiction of the family reunion at Ephesus may evoke the image of the Last Supper and that of the Marriage at Cana[31] [**Fig. 1**], while the figure of an angel instructing King Apollonius in his dream as well as a cross drawn next to the most dramatic episode of the plot, the recognition of Tarsia by his father, Apollonius, openly speak to the Christian connotations of the story. Yet, it is not completely certain that credit has to be given to the Ottonian artist for all of these pictorial interpretations.

The possible Christian reading of the romance might have been clear already in the fifth century and, indeed, there is a motive the Christian references of which were presumably more evident in the fifth than in the tenth/eleventh century. Although barely visible today, in the image of the Ephesian temple of Diana there is a human-sized beast with claws, an obvious and ageless allusion to the demonic character of pagan faith and, moreover, probably a direct and literal allusion to the Godess's devotees, as well. Ephesus, one of the most important cities of the Roman Empire and a primary target of early Christian missionaries, was a powerful cult-center of Diana (her temple was one of the seven wonders of the

12/ Martyrdom of St Margaret of Antioch, *Libellus* of St Kilian and St Margaret, Fulda, ca 970 / *Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek* (Hannover), Hs. I. 189, fol. 32r

13/ The overseer of the brothel leads Tarsia away to take her chastity, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden an der Ruhr (?), ca 1000 / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 1v (detail)

ancient world), therefore, conflicts between her devotees and early Christians were unavoidable. Indeed, Apostle Paul writes to the Corinthians about the Ephesian beasts he had to fight with[32]; and, since Diana was widely known as the mistress of wild beasts, Paul very likely refers to the followers of her cult[33]. Was the beast in the drawing an element of anti-Diana rhetoric (to use Frayer-Griggs' words) that altered the otherwise positive role she played in the *Historia* as the patron of Lucina? Is there a rift between the positive and negative, the pagan and the Christian image of Diana? Or, as I would rather suggest, does her double-faced character represent different, but not exclusive layers of fifth-century reality?

As might be seen from this single example, *Apollonius pictus* speaks a sophisticated visual language, even if the execution of its drawings is sketchy, perhaps unfinished (?) and somewhat harsh. The emotions, the changing social positions, and relationships of the protagonists are also clearly indicated. Apollonius, receiving the news about the alleged death of his daughter, as well as Athenagoras, wondering about the relationship between Apollonius and Tarsia, point at their forehead with a traditional gesture of perplexity [**Fig. 9**][34]. Tarsia changes her simple *tunica* for an ornate dress after she is liberated from the brothel and restored to her social rank [**Fig. 7**]. When depicting the dialogues and contacts of the protagonists, the Ottonian artist uses a rich body-language, a repertoire of gestures and postures that are strikingly similar to the expressional forms of the otherwise more elaborate images of a *libellus*, that of Sts Kilian and Margaret (Hannover, *Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek*,

30 On the possible Christian interpretation of the *Apollonius Pictus* see Kessler, "Late Antique and Medieval Contexts" (n. 8), sp. p. 71. The standard work on the transformations of the *Historia Apollonii* and its many versions is Elizabeth Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre. Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations, Including the Text of the Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri with an English Translation*, Cambridge 1991. For some episodes from the medieval illustration history of the romance see Anna Boreczky, "The Wanderings of King Apollonius of Tyre" (n. 9), pp. 78–91.

31 Kessler, "Late Antique and Medieval Contexts" (n. 8), sp. p. 68.

32 1 Cor 15, 32.

33 For this interpretation see Daniel Frayer-Griggs, "The Beasts at Ephesus and the Cult of Artemis", *Harvard Theological Review*, CVI (2013), pp. 459–477.

34 Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Gestures* (n. 18), pp. 65–70, 102–111 follows the history of this gesture from the tradition of Terence-illustrations to the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon art.

HS. I. 189)[35] [**Figs 4, 6, 10, 11, 12**]. Made around 970 in Fulda this volume may have been in the possession of the prestigious Benedictine nunnery at Essen, the residence of some family-members of the Ottonians, which was only a few miles away from Werden an der Ruhr, where, in turn, *Apollonius pictus* was kept[36]. There was a lively exchange between the two institutions and their libraries, and also the cross-relationships of Fulda-Essen-Werden are known, therefore, the connections of the two manuscripts might strengthen the theory of the Essen possessorship of the Kilian- and Magaret-*vita* and, on the other hand, raise the possibility that *Apollonius pictus* was made in Fulda around 970, perhaps for the use of a community of nuns[37]. However, questions of dating and localization are of secondary importance for us right now, when the relationship of the two manuscripts speaks about much more than a common style. The analogous illustrations in the *libellus* reveal the Ottonian associations the pictures of *Apollonius pictus* generated. The image of the overseer of the brothel leading Tarsia away to rape her evoked that of St Margaret led to the scaffold, even the unnatural posture of the men who grasp the hand of Tarsia/Margaret is identical [**Figs 12, 13**]. Similarly, the image of St Margaret praying before her martyrdom was virtually interchangeable with that of Tarsia begging for her virginity, which, in fact, meant her life. It seems that the connections of the *Historia Apollonii* and the Margaret-*vita* were still evident in the fifteenth century, when they were copied together into a single volume, which, no wonder, belonged to a noble woman, Louise de La Tour d'Auvergne, wife of Jean, seigneur de Créquy (*BNF*, MS fr. 20042).

When we project the images we gained from the study of the page-design of *Apollonius pictus* and that of its individual depictions on one another, we arrive at an understanding of the complexity of the manuscript, which keeps imprints of both Late Antique and Ottonian art. However, the classical and the medieval features can not be sharply distinguished from one another. It would be an oversimplification to think that the page-design was the heir of a Late Antique archetype while the single images were recast according to the fashion of an Ottonian style. It is possible that the "original" layout of an illustrated *Historia Apollonii* was different from that of *Apollonius pictus*, which, in turn might reflect a Carolingian re-organization of textual and visual elements. On the other hand, some of the Late Antique motifs of the individual images, like the Ephesian beast, may derive from a fifth(-sixth)-century model, while others rather speak about the continuous present and the Ottonian interiorization of classical art. This organic co-existence of past and present was the appropriate form of a story the pagan and Christian elements of which were not exclusive but, to a certain extent, interchangeable. To the Ottonian eye, the manuscript made the impression of a story of classical origin, and, at the same time that of the illustrated *vita* of Apollonius and Tarsia.

35 The first detailed study of the illustrations of the Margaret-*vita* is Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler, "Zur Illustrationen der Margaretenlegende", *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, III/17 (1966), pp. 17–48. The facsimile of the manuscript was published with a commentary by Cynthia Hahn and Hans Immel, *Passio Kiliani, Ps. Theotimus, Passio Margaretae, orations*, Graz 1988. See also Cynthia Hahn, "Picturing the Text. Narrative in the Life of the Saints", *Art History* XIII/1 (1990), pp. 1–33; and for a recent study, see Christoph Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar in Göttingen. Benediktinische Observanz und Römische Liturgie*, Petersberg 2009, pp. 71–86.

36 Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar* (n. 35), pp. 71–86, argues that the manuscript was made before 968, however, his reasoning is not really convincing for me.

37 When investigating the possible relationships between *Apollonius pictus* and the tenth–eleventh century book production of Fulda paleographic aspects will have to be considered together with the evidence provided by the mother codex of *Apollonius pictus*, a volume that contains the complete works of Vergil and the *carmina figurata* of a tenth-century monk from Werden an der Ruhr, Uffingus (Budapest, *OSZK*, MS lat. 7).

Ilustrovaný životopis Apollonia a Tarsiy:
vyprávění v *„papyrus-style"* v otonském umění

Rukopis *Apollonius pictus* z maďarské Národní Széchényiho knihovny (Cod. Lat. 4) představuje nejstarší známý ilustrovaný cyklus pozdně antického dobrodružného příběhu, *Historia Apolonii regis Tyri*. Manuskript byl vytvořen kolem roku 1000 a až do počátku 13. století byl hojně využíván v říšském benediktinském klášteře ve Werdenu. Zatímco tomuto rukopisu nemůžeme upřít jeho privilegovanou pozici v raných dějinách středověké romance, jen stěží bychom jej mohli zařadit do obecného obrazu klášterní knižní kultury nebo otonského umění. Alespoň na první pohled nemá nic společného s reprezentativními církevními liturgickými knihami, které, vezmeme-li v potaz jejich početnost a vysokou kvalitu, nevyhnutelně dominují našemu pohledu na otonskou knižní produkci.

Až do nedávna byl Kurt Weitzmann jediným historikem umění, který rozpoznal význam tohoto rukopisu. Věřil, že styl jeho třiceti osmi červených kreseb poukazuje na svoji klasickou předlohu, což v rámci Weitzmannova teoretického rámce znamenalo, že vyobrazení byla odvozena (přímo či nepřímo) ze ztraceného pozdně antického originálu. Tento článek ponechává stranou otázku archetypu a snaží se o odhalení textových a vizuálních asociací, jak pozdně antických, tak také otonských, které manuskript evokoval v okruhu svých středověkých čtenářů. Za tímto účelem autorka zkoumá možná vizuální sdělení (rozvržení rukopisu v *„papyrus-style"*) a charakteristické motivy jednotlivých vyobrazení.

Skrze studium koncepce stránek rukopisu a jeho dílčích vyobrazení autorka dospívá k porozumění komplexitě díla, kterou nelze uchopit pomocí zjednodušeného modelu interpretace. Je nepravděpodobné, že archaické *„papyrus-style"* rozvržení *Apollonia* vychází z pozdně antické předlohy. Naopak jednotlivé kresby, mluvící otonským vizuálním jazykem, přechovávají stopy pozdně antického umění, z nichž některé motivy mohou být nepochybně odvozeny od modelu z 5. či 6. století, zatímco jiné jsou spíše svědky plynoucí přítomnosti a otonského ztotožnění se s klasickým uměním. Tato organická koexistence minulosti a přítomnosti byla vhodnou formou pro vyjádření příběhu, jehož pohanské a křesťanské aspekty nebyly exkluzivní, ale do určité míry zaměnitelné. Na otonského diváka působil rukopis dojmem příběhu klasického původu, a zároveň ilustrované hagiografie.

Abstract* — *Concerning the Architectures of the* Apollonius pictus. *On the Transmissions of Models during the Early Middle Ages—The almost unknown „Apollonius fragment" of the National Széchényi Library is the earliest known illustrated copy of *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, a Late Antique romance on the adventures of king Apollonius and his daughter, Tarsia. The fragment's uniquely rich secular narrative image cycle appears to be, with its thirty-eight pen-work drawings, a faithful rendering of its Late Antique model. The fragment is one of the most extensive secular narrative image cycles of Late Antique origin and is of primary importance in the history of secular narrative book illustrations both in the context of Late Antique art and that of the Ottonian period. In this article, the author focuses on the architectural representations of the scenes of the Picture-Cycle of the *Apollonius* fragment in order to try to clarify the narrative strategies, the representation of movement, effects of perspective and classical sources.

Keywords—Budapest, Apollonius, iconography, manuscript, drawing, 11th century, Werden, architectural representation, curtains, mausoleum

Mots-clefs—Budapest, Apollonius, iconographie, manuscrit, dessin, XIe siècle, Werden, représentation d'architecture, rideaux, mausolée

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Au sujet des architectures de *l'Apollonius pictus*

Autour de la transmission de modèles à travers le Haut Moyen Âge

Xavier Barral i Altet

Les feuilles conservées à la Bibliothèque nationale Széchényi de Budapest (*OSZK*, Cod. Lat. 4) de l'*Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* présentent en alternance avec le texte trente-huit dessins à l'encre soigneusement mis en page, avec des interventions postérieures, qui témoignent d'une réflexion sur la planification du rapport texte-image. Il s'agit, comme on le sait, de la copie la plus ancienne illustrée du récit des aventures du roi Apollonius et de sa fille Tarsia. La présence du manuscrit à Budapest est la conséquence de vicissitudes historiques de l'époque moderne, mais son contexte culturel d'origine est ottonien (on l'attribue au *scriptorium* du monastère bénédictin de Werden)[1].

Il s'agit probablement de dessins élaborés dans le cadre d'une école monastique. À l'intérieur d'un texte copié avec soin venaient se placer des dessins dont l'élaboration appartenait au processus formatif des élèves. Les dessins, qui apparaissent souvent inachevés, témoignent d'une grande spontanéité dans l'esprit de copie fidèle et attentive d'un original précédent. Ces dessins, leur style et leur contenu iconographique, sont d'une grande importance pour comprendre la formation du langage pictural, même monumental, de la première époque romane, en partant de modèles hérités de l'Antiquité en général et de l'Antiquité tardive en particulier. Comme dans la narrativité historique antique, on a introduit des stratégies de séparation entre des épisodes qui ne se matérialisent pas par des éléments structurels précis. On y trouve également des commentaires sous forme d'inscriptions identificatrices.

1 *Apollonius pictus. An Illustrated Late Antique Romance around 1000. Facsimile Edition of the Historia Apollonii regis Tyrii (National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 4)*, Anna Boreczky, András Németh éds, Budapest 2011.

1/ Tarsia donne des pièces d'or à Léno, le procureur, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden, début du XI^e siècle / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 1v

2/ Tarsia devant le temple d'Artémis à Éphèse, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden, début du XI^e siècle / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3r

Les illustrations de ce roman d'aventures du tout début du XI^e siècle sont un témoignage unique sur l'élaboration d'une manière de représenter la narration, dans ce cas épique, séculière, historique, qui a comme origine le récit continu des colonnes romaines et qui aboutira aux systèmes d'explication par bandes illustrées superposées d'histoires non moins fabuleuses de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans les grandes bibles illustrées d'époque romane. Mais c'est dans la Broderie de Bayeux où nous constatons l'aboutissement le plus direct des stratégies de représentation historique mises en place timidement dans les illustrations du manuscrit de Budapest : astuces représentatives, mouvements des personnages, effets de perspective ou hiérarchies sociales, mais aussi dans la composition, les attitudes, les vêtements des personnages, les gestes et les dialogues, bref dans la mise en scène générale.

Ayant traité de ces questions par le passé[2], je voudrais centrer mon exposé, dans le cadre du colloque de Budapest, sur une réflexion à propos des représentations d'architectures. Celles-ci ne sont pas très nombreuses au sein des illustrations conservées du manuscrit d'Apollonius, mais elles sont très intéressantes. On y voit des villes figurées sous la forme d'une enceinte à tours, des architectures domestiques de palais, un tombeau-mausolée et un portique à rideaux.

Au second registre du fol. 1v parmi ceux conservés, dans la scène dans laquelle Tarsia donne des pièces d'or à Léno, le procureur, les personnages se situent devant une architecture qui est celle d'un lupanar, d'un bordel [Fig. 1]. Cette identification est confirmée par l'inscription qu'identifie le personnage situé derrière Tarsia, qui est appelé *villicus puellarum*, le tenancier de l'endroit. L'architecture, coupée comme le folio à gauche, est très simple, une façade en grand appareil bien dessiné, percée d'une ouverture en plein cintre très haute, surmontée d'un toit en bâtière dont on voit la partie frontale avec des tuiles dessinées par un quadrillage régulier. Dans ce cas, on a associé sur un seul plan la vue frontale de la façade avec celle latérale de la couverture.

En bas de la page, la dernière scène de ce même folio représente Tarsia, identifiée par une inscription, suppliant le tenancier de l'épargner [Fig. 3]. Les personnages se situent entre deux architectures : à gauche, un édicule fermé par un rideau est couronné par la forme d'une coupole ou d'un fronton semi-circulaire percé d'une ouverture en plein centre dans laquelle on a bien précisé la présence de deux colonnettes portant deux chapiteaux. L'édicule lui-même est composé de deux colonnes surmontées de chapiteaux probablement corinthiens qui supportent la coupole ou fronton. Le rideau fermé qui cache l'intérieur est monté à l'aide d'anneaux sur une robuste tringle qui relie les colonnes à la hauteur des bases des chapiteaux. L'auteur du dessin a voulu montrer le caractère mobile de ce rideau en laissant un espace entre la tringle et le linteau qui porte la structure supérieure entre les chapiteaux. De l'autre coté de la

scène, derrière le tenancier, apparaît une architecture, probablement celle du bordel, dont la façade est identique à celle du lupanar de la scène des pièces d'or entre Tarsia et Léno. La couverture de l'édifice, en revanche, n'est plus représentée sous la forme d'un toit en bâtière, mais reprend le dessin semi-circulaire d'une coupole ou fronton percé d'une fenêtre, en créant ainsi une symétrie à l'intérieur de la vignette avec l'architecture à rideau que je viens de décrire. Le lupanar, cependant, ne se présente pas ici comme un édicule à colonnes mais comme une architecture pleine, afin de chercher à créer une relation entre les deux architectures et à souligner à la fois l'intérieur et l'extérieur d'un même édifice : la maison close.

La première scène de la colonne de droite du fol. 3r montre Apollonius, Athénagoras et Tarsia arrivant au temple d'Artémis à Èphèse [Fig. 2]. Celui-ci est représenté de manière à voir à la fois l'extérieur et l'intérieur : l'extérieur est figuré comme un édicule à colonnes ou une façade dont deux colonnes, les seules représentées, encadrent la porte d'entrée. Les colonnes monolithes sont posées sur des bases pyramidales à gradins et portent des chapiteaux corinthiens ou composites. La partie supérieure est figurée à nouveau sous la forme d'un demi-cercle, coupole ou plutôt fronton semi-circulaire, percé d'une ouverture en plein centre, ici très large. Une porte en bois à deux battants protège symboliquement l'entrée de l'édifice au niveau du sommet des bases et laisse voir à l'intérieur un édicule à coupole pyramidale.

Dans la même colonne de droite une deuxième scène représente Lucina, la prêtresse principale du temple, au moment ou elle reconnaît son mari Apollonius. Il semble que la scène se situe devant d'une architecture dont malheureusement les détails ne sont pas reconnaissables.

Au folio suivant (3v) les deux scènes de la colonne de droite montrent des architectures. Dans la première [Fig. 4], un groupe de personnages (parmi lesquels Stranguillio, Dionysiadas, Apollonius et Tarsia) se situe devant d'une architecture qui représente un monument décomposé, au mur de façade en grand appareil, à la couverture en bâtière, dont les tuiles sont représentées en quadrillage, et devant lequel Tarsia couvre ce qui correspondrait à l'ouverture de la façade et au fronton. Beaucoup plus intéressant est le découpage situé à gauche, derrière Tarsia, où on a représenté trois fenêtres en plein cintre alignées sur un plan oblique, et une fenêtre droite sur le mur cherchant à montrer la perspective d'une série de fenêtres latérales comme celles de la nef principale d'une église, par exemple. Au-dessous, dans la scène dans laquelle les habitants de Tarse jettent des pierres à Stranguillio et Dionysiadas jusqu'à provoquer leur mort, sous l'inscription *interfectores*, apparaît, à gauche, la représentation d'une ville habitée [Fig. 5]. Celle-ci est figurée sous la forme d'une façade entre deux tours monumentales dont seulement celle

3/ Tarsia supplie le tenancier de l'épargner, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden, début du XI^e^ siècle / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 1v

4/ Tarsia devant une architecture, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden, début du XI^e^ siècle / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3v

2 Xavier Barral i Altet, « Observations sur la fonction et les stratégies de représentation des images de l'Apollonius de Budapest au début de l'époque romane », in *Apollonius pictus* (n. 1), pp. 127–142.

5/ Représentation d'une ville habitée, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden, début du XI^e siècle / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3v

6/ Le tombeau monumental de Tarsia, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden, début du XI^e siècle / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4r

de droite a été figurée. La façade proprement dite est en réalité un mur simple construit en grand appareil et percé d'une ouverture monumentale en plein cintre : c'est clairement la représentation d'un pan de mur droit entre deux tours. La représentation de la tour a été privilégiée : elle est forte et robuste, circulaire, s'appuyant sur une très large base inspirée des bases des colonnes mais caractéristique des tours fortifiées. Le couronnement est celui d'un toit conique doté d'un ample chemin de ronde. Les habitants de la ville, nombreux, sont représentés derrière le mur, entassés dans la partie haute de l'image, entre les tours.

Finalement, dans la colonne de droite du fol. 4r, la première scène montre le tombeau monumental de Tarsia [**Fig. 6**]. Il apparaît dans une représentation strictement frontale à quatre niveaux. Le niveau inferieur correspond à une façade dotée de cinq ouvertures qui représentent une sorte de portique à arcades en plein cintre, colonnes et chapiteaux. Au-dessus de ce niveau, un mur plein représenté par un quadrillage barre la totalité de la façade. Cette représentation strictement frontale veut évoquer l'architecture en élévation d'un tombeau-mausolée formé probablement d'un bloc carré entourant un noyau central qui dépasse en hauteur le niveau de la façade rectangulaire. Ce noyau central est composé d'un premier étage, également rectangulaire mais doté seulement de trois ouvertures, surmonté de deux autres étages qui évoquent le tambour d'une coupole ou le sommet d'un tour.

Les constructions figurées dans le manuscrit n'échappent pas en général à la logique générale des représentations d'architecture de l'époque carolingienne[3]. Les schémas de représentation sont hérités des figurations antiques comme celles de la colonne de Trajan par exemple [**Fig. 7**], ou de reproductions de palais et de façades que le Moyen Âge a repris à l'Antiquité tardive[4], et que

l'on peut résumer à travers la mosaïque du palais de Théodoric de l'église Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf à Ravenne[5]. Le débat engagé au début des années soixante-dix du vingtième siècle entre Géza de Francovich et Noël Duval prenait comme point de départ l'essai de Ejnar Dyggve sur la mosaïque de Ravenne[6]. Il serait inutile d'utiliser la mosaïque ravennate pour mieux comprendre les architectures du manuscrit d'Apollonius, mais le débat au sein duquel entrait avec force de Francovich en 1970 reste toujours valable dans la mesure où il portait essentiellement sur une question centrale qui touche toutes les architectures représentées[7], c'est à dire s'agit-il de simples stéréotypes qui servent de fond ou d'encadrement pour les scènes, ou bien des reproductions réelles d'une architecture existante ?

Les représentations d'architectures du manuscrit d'*Apollonius* appartiennent soit à cette tradition de façade palatiale, soit à celle de l'édifice décomposé, montrant souvent à la fois l'intérieur et l'extérieur, comme on le voit dans les représentations d'églises du Psautier d'Utrecht [**Fig. 8**][8]. L'architecture devant laquelle se tiennent les personnages de la première scène de la colonne de droite du fol. 3v [**Fig. 4**] appartient à cette tradition d'architectures décomposées, tandis que celle inférieure de la même colonne de droite [**Fig. 5**] est une ville peuplée qui correspond au schéma traditionnel de représentation de façades de ville

3 Xavier Barral i Altet, « La representación del palacio en la pintura mural asturiana de la Alta Edad Media », in *España entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico* (Actas del XXIII congreso internacional de historia del arte, Granada, 1973), Grenade 1976, I, pp. 293–301.

4 Karl M. Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*, Vienne 1969 (3ème éd.).

5 Géza de Francovich, *Il* palatium *di Teodorico a Ravenna e la cosiddetta "architettura di potenza"*, Rome 1970.

6 Ejnar Dyggve, Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum. *La basilica ipetrale per cerimonie. Studi sull'architettura dei palazzi della tarda antichità*, Copenhague 1941.

7 Adriano Peroni, Tania Velmans, Paolo Cuneo, « Architettura raffigurata », in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, II, Rome 1991, pp. 406–411.

8 Noël Duval, « La représentation du palais dans l'art de Bas-Empire et du Haut Moyen-Age d'après le Psautier d'Utrecht », *Cahiers Archéologiques*, XV (1965), pp. 207–254.

7/ Architectures et pont de bateaux, colonne de Trajan, Rome, 107–113

8/ Architectures décomposées, IXe siècle / *Universiteitsbibliotheek* (Utrecht), MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr. 32, fol. 65v

9/ Coffret de Projecta, Rome, ca. 380 / British Museum (Londres)

10/ L'évangéliste Matthieu, Evangéliaire d'Ada, début du IXe siècle / *Stadtsbibliothek* (Trèves), Cod. 22

11/ Détail d'une architecture, peinture murale, *San Julián de los Prados*, Oviedo, IXe siècle

ou de châteaux à deux tours[9] que l'on voit depuis l'iconographie romaine jusqu'à la première scène de la broderie de Bayeux[10].

Dans les illustrations d'architecture du manuscrit de Budapest on trouve déjà les différents éléments qui caractérisent les schématisations architecturales de la période romane. En général, on fait appel à des éléments concrets pour donner une idée d'un ensemble architectural. Les différents éléments sont projetés sur un même plan tandis que l'identification de l'édifice se fait à travers des indicatifs monumentaux empruntés aussi bien à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur du monument. C'est une façon de faire qui est un héritage d'une longue tradition[11] qui remonte à l'Antiquité tardive mais qui a été particulièrement étudiée pour le Psautier d'Utrecht [**Fig. 8**] ; la représentation cherche plus la synthèse que la reproduction réelle de l'emplacement des éléments structuraux. La ville, par exemple, est résumée par une façade [**Fig. 5**][12] qui pourrait évoquer aussi bien un palais, tandis que l'architecture de la scène supérieure du fol. 3v [**Fig. 4**] pourrait correspondre également à une église dans un contexte d'iconographie chrétienne. Probablement, dans ce cas, l'habitude des artistes de dessiner des églises les a portés à utiliser ce type de bâtiment, au demeurant polyvalent, dans un roman d'aventures.

Pour mieux comprendre la filiation antique et tardo-antique des architectures représentées dans le manuscrit d'*Apollonius* on pourrait faire appel à de nombreux exemples. À titre d'exemple, rappelons l'architecture représentée sur la face postérieure du couvercle du célèbre coffret de Projecta [**Fig. 9**][13], et pour saisir les cheminements de ce

9 Xavier Barral i Altet, « Ville-symbole ville-souvenir. À propos d'une mosaïque romane de Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux », in *Mondes de l'Ouest et villes du monde. Regards sur les sociétés médiévales. Mélanges en l'honneur d'André Chédeville*, Catherine Laurent, Bernard Merdrignac, Daniel Pichot éds, Rennes 1998, pp. 561–567.

10 Xavier Barral i Altet, « *Edward rex* : il contesto architettonico nella prima scena del ricamo di Bayeux », *Ikon. Journal of Iconographic Studies*, V (2012), pp. 139–150.

11 Fernando Galtier Martí, *La iconografía arquitectónica en el arte cristiano del primer milenio. Perspectiva y convención: sueño y realidad*, Saragosse 2001, sp. pp. 428–432.

12 Pierre Lavedan, *Représentation des villes dans l'art du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1953.

13 Edmond Barbier, « La signification du cortège représenté sur le couvercle du coffret de "Projecta" », *Cahiers archéologiques*, XII (1962), pp. 7–33. Un avis différent : Géza de Francovich, « Il soggetto della scena rappresentata nel lato posteriore del coperchio della cassetta di Projecta nel British Museum di Londra », in *Idem*, *Il* palatium *di Teodorico* (n. 5), pp. 81–88.

12/ Mausolée/église de Sainte Constance, Rome, IVe siècle

13/ Crucifixion et le tombeau du Christ, ivoire carolingien, trésor de la cathédrale, Nancy, IXe siècle

14/ Le tombeau du Christ, IXe siècle / Utrecht, *Universiteitsbibliotheek* (Utrecht), MS Bibl. Rhenotraiectinae I Nr. 32, fol. 8r

15/ Copie de la *Civitas Veronensis depicta* de la fin du Xe siècle, Bibliothèque capitulaire, Vérone, XVIIIe siècle

type d'images à travers le haut Moyen Âge il suffit d'évoquer les encadrements architecturaux des évangélistes des manuscrits carolingiens de l'école de la cour de Charlemagne, dits du groupe d'Ada [Fig. 10] ou la non moins connue scène de la fontaine de vie de l'Evangéliaire de Saint-Médard de Soissons, ou encore dans un contexte fort différent les illustrations architecturales de la peinture asturienne de *San Julián de los Prados* à Oviedo [Fig. 11].

Pour revenir au problème de l'identification des architectures du manuscrit par rapport aux monuments réels, deux images sont particulièrement intéressantes. La première est le temple d'Artémis à Ephèse du fol. 3r [Fig. 2], qui n'est pas sans rappeler certains détails du célèbre temple dans la reconstruction de sa phase hellénistique. Il est difficile cependant d'aller plus loin dans cette proposition car, bien que le temple d'Ephèse ait toujours été, au cours du Moyen Âge, un monument mythique, le souvenir réel de son architecture avait certainement disparu depuis sa destruction au début du v^e siècle[14]. La deuxième image du manuscrit en cause (fol. 4r) est le tombeau de Tarsia [Fig. 6]. Il se présente comme un mausolée antique de plan carré, avec un espace central surélevé, donc probablement à déambulatoire central annulaire, du type de celui de Sainte Constance à Rome [Fig. 12][15]. Il est évident également que le tombeau de Tarsia dans le manuscrit se réfère aussi et probablement sur-

16/ Architecture représentée, Broderie de Bayeux, début du XII^e siècle / Musée de la Tapisserie (Bayeux)

17/ Architecture représentée, Broderie de Bayeux, début du XII^e siècle / Musée de la Tapisserie (Bayeux)

18/ Rideaux ouverts, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden, début du XI^e siècle / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 1v

19/ Rideaux ouverts encadrant la *fenestella*, Autel-reliquaire, Saint-Apollinaire le Neuf, Ravenna, VI^e siècle

tout à la tradition de représentations du tombeau de Christ, si fréquentes notamment à l'époque carolingienne sous la forme d'un édifice de plan carré, surmonté en son sommet d'une tour ou d'une superposition d'édicules, comme on le voit par exemple dans l'ivoire du IX^e siècle du trésor de la cathédrale de Nancy [**Fig.13**][16], ou dans le psautier d'Utrecht [**Fig.14**].

14 Ian Jenkins, « The Temples of Artemis at Ephesos », in *Greek architecture and its sculptures*, Londres 2006, pp. 47–70; Sur les fouilles récentes voir maintenant, Urbes extinctae. *Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns*, Neil Christie, Andrea Augenti éds, Farnham 2012, pp. 31–33.

15 Achim Arbeiter, Jürgen J. Rasch, *Das Mausoleum der Constantina in Rom*, Mayence 2007 ; *Monumenta: i mausolei romani tra commemorazione e propaganda celebrativa*, Massimiliano Valenti éd., Rome 2010.

16 Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1978, p. 187.

20/ Détail d'une architecture avec rideaux ouverts, peinture murale, *San Julián de los Prados*, Oviedo, IXe siècle

21/ Rideau sur tringle et tissus muraux, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden, début du XIe siècle / *OSZK* (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2r

À la fin du Xe siècle, l'évêque Ratier de Vérone fit exécuter une vue de sa ville [**Fig. 15**]. Celle-ci apparait entourée de murs puissants, dotés de fortes tours, à l'intérieur desquels le noyau urbain est composé de monuments publics et privés, identifiés de façon explicite à l'aide d'inscriptions. Certaines architectures sont couvertes de coupoles tandis que d'autres sont présentées comme des églises. La ville de Vérone y est représentée comme une ville antique, et les édifices sur lesquels on veut attirer l'attention sont des monuments antiques qui donnent toute la représentativité historique à la ville. Plus qu'à des modèles carolingiens, l'évêque Ratier semble s'inspirer dans son projet monumental de mémoire de la ville à des représentations antiques[17].

À la même réalité que nous trouvons à la fin du Xe siècle dans la vue de Vérone semblent se référer les illustrations du manuscrit d'*Apollonius*. Plus tard, au début du XIIe siècle, dans la Broderie de Bayeux nous assisterons à une réalité nouvelle, qui est celle de l'art roman pleinement formé. Prenons comme exemple l'édifice à coupole centrale, château, ville ou forteresse, qui est figuré dans la Broderie de Bayeux juste après la scène dans laquelle le duc Guillaume reçoit les émissaires d'Harold [**Fig. 16**]. Une large façade représentée avec un appareil en alternance de couleurs est percée d'une grande ouverture, une porte monumentale en plein cintre sur colonnes et chapiteaux. Au-dessus, une fortification crénelée est dotée de puissantes tours de plan carré situées aux angles. Dans cette partie de l'édifice apparaissent des personnages dont un est armé d'une lance ; ils évoquent la garnison du palais-château de Guillaume. Au centre de l'édifice se dresse sur un deuxième plan un bâtiment à coupole dont le tambour clairement saillant est percé d'ouvertures en plein centre et d'*oculi*.

22/ Tissus sur structure en bois, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden, début du XI^e siècle / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2r

23/ Rideau de fond sur tringle, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden, début du XI^e siècle / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4v

24/ Tissus sur structure en bois, *Apollonius pictus*, Werden, début du XI^e siècle / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4v

Plus loin dans la broderie [Fig. 17], une architecture située sur les côtes anglaises au moment du débarquement d'Harold représente un édifice à plusieurs niveaux, presque une tour, avec, au rez-de-chaussée, une entrée monumentale en plein cintre ; à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'une entrée de ville ou de palais avec un passage inférieur ouvert. Deux niveaux de fenêtres – trois au premier niveau et une plus haute au second – encadrent des personnages, dont seule la tête est visible, qui regardent l'arrivée du bateau. La construction est couronnée d'une couverture polychrome carénée à acrotères. Devant l'édifice, face à la mer, un balcon *loggia* sur lequel est placé un guetteur debout est porté par deux colonnes qui dégagent au rez-de-chaussée un vaste porche. La partie frontale du balcon ouvragé est ornée d'un protomé d'animal. L'édifice est situé dans le port face à la mer. Il est solennel et résidentiel. Son apparence est urbaine. Il pourrait s'agir d'une tour fortifiée de ville, mais la *loggia* frontale fait plutôt penser à un palais. L'eau arrive jusqu'aux pieds de l'édifice, bien que celui-ci est posé sur terre comme l'indiquent les lignes de sol.

J'ai choisi ces deux représentations architecturales de la Broderie de Bayeux et j'aurais pu en choisir d'autres, comme la tour-mausolée située immédiatement à côté de la scène du clerc et d'Aelfgyva. Toutes ces architectures évoquent le cheminement des modèles qui depuis l'Antiquité – les colonnes de Trajan et de Marc-Aurèle ou les sarcophages tardo-antiques par exemple – mènent à l'art roman en passant par les ivoires ou les manuscrits carolingiens, sans oublier les peintures murales, et les dessins du manuscrit d'*Apollonius*.

17 Xavier Barral i Altet, « Verona : l'immaginario della città intorno al Mille », *Verona illustrata. Rivista del Museo di Castelvecchio*, XIX (2006), pp. 35–42 ; *Idem*, « Scelte iconografiche al servizio di un'idea autobiografica: la Verona di X secolo secondo il vescovo Raterio », in *La più antica veduta di Verona. L'Iconografia rateriana. L'archetipo e l'immagine tramandata* (Atti del seminario di studi, Verona, 6 maggio 2011), Antonella Arzone, Ettore Napione éds, Vérone 2012, pp. 133–151.

Une brève note en conclusion sur l'une des originalités des dessins d'architecture du manuscrit d'*Apollonius* : l'utilisation qui est faite de rideaux, de tissus et des bateaux comme des vraies architectures ou plutôt des encadrements architecturaux des scènes représentées [**Figs 18, 20–22**]. Il s'agit là encore d'habitudes anciennes dont les dessinateurs du manuscrit ont usé abondamment et ceci de deux points de vue : les rideaux servent en effet pour encadrer la scène représentée comme dans les manuscrits carolingiens ou pour dévoiler l'histoire comme par exemple dans la vignette du dialogue entre Tarsia et le tenancier du fol. 1v [**Fig. 18**]. La tradition de représenter les rideaux fermés [**Fig. 3**] pour cacher ce qui se déroule derrière ou ouverts [**Fig. 18**] pour signifier la participation du spectateur à l'événement traverse l'Antiquité chrétienne [**Fig. 19**] et la période carolingienne [**Figs 8, 11, 20**][18]. D'autres épisodes illustrés dans le manuscrit se situent sur une file de bateaux disposés de façon semblable aux ponts de bateaux que l'on voit sur la colonne Trajane [**Figs 7, 21–24**]. Ici, les bateaux sont posés au sol et non pas dans la mer. Il n'y a pas d'eau et les bateaux s'insèrent dans l'histoire, une histoire maritime, avec un stratagème qui consiste à utiliser les rideaux et les tissus comme une scénographie de fond de scène. On le voit deux fois au fol. 2r et également deux fois au fol. 4v, avec des variétés de présentation : les rideaux sont tantôt portés par des anneaux suspendus à une tringle unique qui couvre tout le fond de la scène, tantôt les tissus s'appuient comme des rideaux enroulés sur une structure légère en bois qui ne doit pas être confondue avec les mâts des bateaux [**Figs 21–24**].

Les architectures représentés dans *l'Apollonius pictus* de Budapest et les stratégies de représentation mises en place pour accompagner sur le plan monumental les personnages de l'histoire sont intéressantes dans la mesure où elles dévoilent un cheminement culturel, qui depuis l'Antiquité et l'Antiquité tardive conduit au contexte artistique ottonien et débouche sur les représentations de l'époque romane[19].

18 Sur cette utilisation des rideaux à l'époque carolingienne voir André Grabar, « Une fresque visigothique et l'iconographie du silence », *Cahiers Archéologiques*, I (1945), pp. 124–128.

19 J'ai volontairement laissé de côté, dans cet article, les comparaisons avec les représentations d'architecture dans le monde byzantin et plus particulièrement celles de la période médiévale. Pour l'essentiel on peut consulter maintenant, sur ces images dans le contexte byzantin, l'article de Elisabeth Yota, « La représentativité de la réalité architecturale dans l'art byzantin », *Iconographica*, IX (2010), pp. 11–25, et le livre collectif dirigé par Slobodan Ćurčić, Evangelia Hadjitryphonos, *Architecture as Icon: Perception and Representation of Architecture in Byzantine Art*, New Haven 2010.

Zobrazení architektury v rukopisu *Apollonius pictus*. O přenosu modelů v raném středověku

Téměř neznámý „fragment *Apollonius*" z Národní Széchényiho knihovny v Budapešti (Cod. Lat. 4) je nejranější dochovanou ilustrovanou kopií spisu *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*, pozdně antické romance líčící dobrodružství krále Apollonia a jeho dcery Tarsiy. Text je doprovázen ojediněle bohatým sekulárním obrazovým cyklem, sestávajícím z třiceti osmi pečlivě rozmístěných perokreseb. Ilustrace byly vytvořeny na samém počátku 11. století a představují jedinečné svědectví o způsobu zachycení narace. Tento článek se zaměřuje na vyobrazení architektury, která v Apolloniově rukopisu nejsou příliš početná, ale jsou nesmírně zajímavá. Najdeme mezi nimi města zobrazená v podobě věžových opevnění, palácové stavby, mausoleum a sloupoví se závěsy. Schémata vyobrazení jsou odvozena z antických figurálních scén nebo reprodukcí paláců a fasád, které středověk převzal z pozdní antiky. Diskuse se zaměřuje na funkci těchto obrazů: byly to jednoduše stereotypy, které sloužily jako pozadí nebo zarámování scén, nebo skutečné reprodukce existujících staveb? Článek se dotýká také geneze vyobrazení scény se závěsy (*cortinae*).

***Abstract—Continuous Narration through Scenic Depictions. The* Apollonius pictus**—A unique narrative pictorial cycle survives in the *Apollonius pictus*, an Ottonian copy of a Late Antique illustrated romance, the *Historia Apollonii*. The fragment of the cycle depicts a continuous narration from the perspective of the romance's storyteller who was careful to maintain the linearity of time and space when retelling the adventurous story of King Apollonius and his family. The contaminated text of this fragmentary manuscript underwent at least two steps of transition which transformed the depictions to an extent which is difficult to asses. Instead of the individual depictions, however, I focus on their cyclic cohesion which likely fossilized the essence of a Late Antique illustrated model.

As an experimental method, I analyzed the pictorial cycle of the *Apollonius pictus* as a cycle of scenes by the dramatic scene division. I demonstrate that the pictorial cycle carefully follows division by action space and tends to depict dialogues separately. Time to time the illustrator conflates more scenes within one image space or fragments one scene in two depictions. These pictorial interpretations highlight the Christian understanding of the romance, the praise of virtuous acts, the punishment of evil deeds, the power of chastity, divine intervention, the act of mercy, and moral growth.

Keywords—narrative illustrations, Late Antique pictorial cycle, illustrated fiction, Apollonius pictus, narrative techniques, joint transmission of text and image, Historia Apollonii

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Continuous Narration through Scenic Depictions

The Apollonius pictus

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The *Apollonius pictus* (Budapest, *Országos Széchényi Könyvtár*, Cod. Lat. 4) is an illustrated copy of the History of Apollonius, King of Tyre (*Historia Apollonii*) from the early eleventh century[1]. It contains an exceptionally rich pictorial cycle of an illustrated fiction, a rare example which – according to Kurt Weitzmann – survives from Late Antiquity[2]. The three and a half known folios of the *Apollonius pictus* include 38 clearly visible and 4 faded depictions, with traces of a further eight illustrations. The density of the image cycle is surprisingly high, closely following the plot of the *Historia Apollonii*. This tortuous and fascinating story tells how Apollonius, King of Tyre, his wife Lucina, and their daughter Tarsia were first separated and then reunited through a series of adventures. Given the extant part of the *Apollonius pictus* (chs 31–50) and its 50 illustrations, including the truncated (eight) and faded (four), one can

1 *Historia Apollonii* in Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. lat. 4. See its facsimile edition: *Apollonius Pictus, Egy illusztrált, késő antik regény 1000 körül./ An Illustrated Late Antique Romance Around 1000,* Anna Boreczky, András Németh eds, Budapest 2011.

2 Two other papyrus fragments have been interpreted as illustrated novels: the "romance papyrus", Paris. Suppl. gr. 1294 and the "Heracles papyrus", P. Oxy. 2331, mentioned in Kurt Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, Cambridge, MA 1959, p. 100; *Idem*, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, Princeton 1947, p. 52; *Idem*, revised edition, Princeton 1970, pp. 230, 239–240 (*addenda* with the "Heracles papyrus"). It is more likely that both belong to genres other than the novel. See also Lucas Herchenroeder, "Τί γὰρ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν λόγον; Plutarch's Gryllus and the So-called Grylloi", *American Journal of Philology,* CXXIX/3 (2008), pp. 347–379, sp. pp. 355–359; Rolf Kussl, *Papyrusfragmente griechischer Romane*, Tübingen 1991, p. 178; Charles Astruc, "Suppl. gr. 1294", in *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. 3e Partie. Supplément grec. III. No. 901 à 1371*, Charles Astruc, Marie-Louise Concasty eds, Paris 1960, pp. 556–557. Other illustrations that were possibly inspired by ancient novels are scarce and do not constitute a cycle. Their relationship to a specific text is always problematic: Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (n. 2), pp. 99–111.

suspect that the entire romance, which occupied an estimated 10 folios in its complete length, included altogether 140–150 illustrations[3].

For Kurt Weitzmann, the density of depictions and their frameless insertion within the text made the *Apollonius pictus* a derivation of a hypothetical model in "papyrus style", a term coined in literature to denote a method of textual illustration observed in manuscripts from Classical Antiquity which included frameless depictions inserted within the text column. When arriving at this conclusion, Weitzmann was influenced by his vision of linear transmission of earlier models in the fashion of text editors' method of reconstructing the *Urtext*, the lost original and the archetype. He ignored, however, the complications of joint transmission of images and texts, which transformed both. In addition, he did not take into consideration that ancient methods of illustration were occasionally applied afresh much later than the time of their typical appearance[4]. Because of these implications, his simplified deduction that the *Apollonius pictus* is a copy of a Late Antique model has been challenged and refined regarding the problem of the form and layout of the earliest model, the successive steps of transmission, and the resulting transformation the depictions underwent[5]. Nevertheless, his basic theory on the Late Antique origin of the cycle has been confirmed rather than disproved with philological methods.

In the following short detour I summarize the conclusions of my textual survey of the *Apollonius pictus* which lay a solid basis to the forthcoming analysis of the pictorial cycle as a transformed version of a very early model[6]. The transfer of the images from earlier models left traces in the text of the *Apollonius pictus* (*siglum* φ) at least in two consecutive steps. The penultimate step produced a copy (*siglum* Rα) most probably in Carolingian or insular script[7]. Rα is a result of the contamination of two manuscripts, one with illustrations and another without. It is very likely that the text of the illustrated redaction, closer to RA (hereafter RA-ill), was the point of reference in the process of its contamination with redaction RB. It is very unlikely that the actual contamination took place in the *Apollonius pictus* at the turn of the eleventh century[8]. The reason to combine two manuscripts and create a new one must have been motivated by the damaged and truncated state of preservation of RA-ill[9].

The unknown level of contamination of RA-ill with RB has discouraged editors from exploiting the potential of the Budapest fragment when establishing the Late Antique redactions of the *Historia Apollonii*[10]. The two major redactions, as currently reconstructed, are mostly based on manuscripts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the earliest copy of each is incomplete[11]. The contaminated text of the *Apollonius pictus* is replete with textual deficiencies such as lacunae, coupled sections juxtaposing the versions of redactions RA and RB[12], and many other scribal mistakes. They make the text of the *Apollonius pictus* incomprehensible at several points to such an extent that a single mind could not possibly have devised from them a coherent cycle of illustrations. The evidence of textual contamination and corruption in the *Apollonius pictus* as well as the careful application of a Late Antique narrative strategy, as will be demonstrated, make me assume that the first version of the pictorial cycle is very close to the creation of the *Historia Apollonii* in late-fifth century Rome[13].

My acknowledgement of a pictorial cycle in two earlier models does not offer clues for iconographic or stylistic analysis. What survives in *Apollonius pictus* is the result of the last transformation that took place in Werden an der Ruhr under the influence of the Ottonian artistic tradition. These transformations invite further studies from art historians. As a philologist, I do not intend to approach the problem of transformation and its implications for art history in this paper. My contribution will only explore the narrative strategy of the cycle as a whole by pointing out some rules of its relationship with the narrative strategy of the romance.

I will demonstrate that the inventor of the pictorial cycle, who may have been an illustrator or a commissioner, envisaged the plot of *Historia Apollonii* as a series of episodes, each including dialogues or soliloquy. An external narrator retells the story in third person while remaining at the level of a neutral observer. Unlike most ancient novels, the external narrator of the *Historia*

retells the story in a few interwoven chains of continuous actions spaces, more typically characteristic of first-person narratives and plays[14]. This narrative strategy is a unique combination that enables the depiction of successive events through the lens of this narrator and permits the role of first-person narration of earlier events to protagonists, which the illustrator never depicts. The episodes follow each other without breaking the linear succession of events in space and time. Parallel episodes in different locations – like those in Tarsus and Mytilene – unfold themselves one after another without disturbing spatial and temporal unity[15]. The inventor of the pictorial cycle found a parallel between the narrative strategy of the *Historia* and that of comedies like those of Terence or Plautus. This encouraged the inventor of the cycle to borrow the illustration method from illustrated comedies or plays and to apply it to the *Historia Apollonii*.

Iconographic, stylistic, and other details no doubt underwent serious transformations on the way from this "first" model to the actual copy of the *Apollonius pictus*. Yet the coherent rationale of the pictorial cycle, in terms of its close dependence on the external narrator's lens, likely preserved the primary essence from the earliest model. With the analogy of the illustrated Terence-tradition, it is not unlikely that the "original concept" of the illustration cycle of the *Historia Apollonii* is indeed Late Antique[16]. This technique was a more typical part of the visual culture in the Late Antique world, rather than centuries later.

Recognizing texts via depicted scenes

Certain texts or stories are widely known to the point that they become canonical, common measures of reference and understanding in a broad circle of a community. Canonical texts such as the Bible, the basic epic poems, Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, Vergil's Aeneid, and many other texts were part of the school curriculum. Thus they became shared knowledge of a certain social group with a shared level of education. A depiction of a well-known passage was a clear reference on its own, without any need for accompanying text. However, some depictions may potentially refer to several possible canonical texts. A banquet scene,

3 András Németh, "Text versus Image? The Illustrated *Historia Apollonii:* Late Antique, Carolingian and Ottonian Times", in *Apollonius Pictus* (n. 1), pp. 75–98, sp. p. 80. My calculations are based on redaction Rα and the usual eight depictions per page ratio except for the long summaries told by internal narrators and the riddles. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (n. 2), p. 103, suspects 200 illustrations. His estimate seems to be a bit high. The abbreviation ch. will introduce chapter numbers of the *Historia Apollonii* following the editorial conventions.

4 Herbert Kessler, "The Late Antique and Medieval Contexts of the Apollonius Fragment", in *Apollonius Pictus* (n. 1), pp. 63–74, sp. p. 71.

5 On this problem with a special focus on layout, see Anna Boreczky, "The Illustrated Life of Apollonius and Tarsia: a 'Papyrus-style' Narrative in Ottonian Art" in the present volume. On the medieval features of the image cycle, see Xavier Barral i Altet, "Observations sur la fonction et les stratégies de représentation des images de l'Apollonius de Budapest, au début de l'époque romane", in *Apollonius Pictus* (n. 1), pp. 127–140. See also Kessler, "The Late Antique" (n. 4).

6 See my transcription in András Németh, "The Text of Apollonius pictus: A Critical Transcription", in *Apollonius Pictus* (n. 1), pp. 153–174, sp. pp. 158–159.

7 *Idem*, "Text versus Image?" (n. 3), p. 89.

8 The other extant copy of redaction Rα, Leipzig, *Universitätsbibliothek*, Cod. 431 (*siglum* F) is not a direct copy of *Apollonius pictus* but follows a common, already contaminated ancestor. Németh, "Text versus Image?" (n. 3), pp. 85–86.

9 Many short and two long lacunae imply the damages of RA-Ill. The long lacunae, shared in Fφ, has the length of ca. 1120 letters (RA 34.16–35.8). The other one (RA 13.8–14.25) is of double length (ca 2210 letters) and is only preserved in F since this section does not survive in φ. If these lacunae are the results of physical loss one should postulate illustrated versions of a single leaf and a double leaf. On the lacunae, see Németh, "Text versus Image?" (n. 3), pp. 86–89.

10 Elimar Klebs gives a long list of examples where Rα(φF) has a variant more favorable than RA: Elimar Klebs, *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung über ihre lateinische Urform und ihre späteren Bearbeitungen*, Berlin 1899, pp. 61–62. George Kortekaas attributes less importance to Rα(φF) in establishing the text of RA. Thus, except for a few cases, he did not include the variant readings of Rα(φF) in his apparatus. *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri. Prolegomena, text edition of the two principal Latin recensions, bibliography, indices and appendice*s, George A. A. Kortekaas ed., Groningen 1984, pp. 72–80, sp. p. 79.

11 The earliest copy of RA is in Florence, *Biblioteca Laurenziana*, Cod. Plut. 66.40, fols 62r–70v, while the earliest copy of RB is in Leiden, *Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit*, Voss. lat. 113 B, fols 30v–38v; both are from the ninth century.

12 Németh, "Text versus Image?" (n. 3), pp. 86–88, 92–93.

13 The major textual redaction of *Historia Apollonii* came to birth in Late Antique Rome. See the several elements of Roman hagiography, the lives of St Agnes (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, conventionally abridged as BHL, 156), St Sebastian (BHL 7543), and St Eugenia (BHL 2666). Kortekaas, *Historia Apollonii* (n. 10), pp. 105–106; *Idem*, "Enigmas in and around 'The Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri'", *Mnemosyne*, LI (1998), pp. 176–191, sp. p. 179; Stelios Panayotakis, "The Temple and the Brothel: Mothers and Daughters in Apollonius of Tyre", in *Space in the ancient novel*, Michael Paschalis, Stavros A. Frangoulidis eds, Groningen 2002, p. 98–117, sp, pp. 109–111; Cécile Lanéry, *Ambroise de Milan hagiographe*, Paris 2008, pp. 364–365. Based on stylistic evidence, Herbert Kessler suspects that the original illustrated copy was produced in the fifth century in codex format and probably in Rome: Kessler, "The Late Antique" (n. 4), p. 67.

14 On the conscious treatment of action space, see David Konstan, "Narrative Spaces", in *Space in the ancient novel* (n. 13), pp. 1–11, sp. p. 3.

15 E.g., RA 37,1 "*Cum haec in Metulina aguntur, venit Apollonius*…".

16 On the layout and text and image relationship of the lost Late Antique manuscript, see David H. Wright, *The Lost Late Antique Illustrated Terence*, Vatican City 2006, sp. pp. 206–224.

for example, may represent the last supper, or Aeneis retelling his adventures in Cartage, or the banquet scene of the gods in the Iliad, or perhaps the banquet scene in Ephesus after Apollonius' family is finally reunited. The depictions alone do not provide enough bases for identification of the story behind them. What makes these scenes recognizable? The observer seeks peculiar features and contextual clues to differentiate between similar banquet scenes — the number of participants depicted or their gender, names copied above the depicted figures. In addition, the juxtaposition of further depictions from the same narrative, familiar to the observer, reduces the number of alternative interpretations of the possible shared contexts. Let us have a closer look at these two techniques in Late Antique manuscripts.

In the *Apollonius pictus*, the depicted figures are often identified with nametags. The use of these nametags is not consistent. Occasionally, they do not identify depicted figures and identifications sometimes seem to be wrong[17]. It is very likely that the transmission of the depictions led to the dispersion or distortion of several of them. The difficulty the scribe had in distinguishing between nametags and the body text appears in two cases when nametags were infiltrated into the body text in the *Apollonius pictus*[18]. Similarly, they are present in early manuscripts of Roman comedies and label the speaker protagonists. Collecting the names of the speaker protagonists at the beginning of each scene, in the sequence of their appearance on the stage, was a conventional way of dividing the plays into scenes in unillustrated copies of plays[19]. In addition to breaking the text between subsequent scenes, these nametags helped the reader's memory to follow the alternating speakers by using a *siglum*, referred to in the nametags[20]. In a similar fashion, some papyri containing epic poetry distinguished between speakers, the external narrator, and the poet and in such a way distinguished between scenes too, according to the alteration of speakers[21].

The division of dramatic texts into scenes is normally clear, and differs between redactions of certain Roman comedies only in few instances. Early Plautus and Terence manuscripts include such means of division of the text into scenes[22], as is well visible in the fifth-century Bembine Terence (Vatican City, *BAV*, Cod. Vat. lat. 3226)[23] [**Fig. 1**]. In the illustrated Vatican Terence (*BAV*, Cod. Vat. lat. 3868), depictions were normally inserted right at the point where the nametags should have been. The names of speaking protagonists above the depicted figures may have derived from an unillustrated copy. The Vatican Terence has three figures depicted at the division between scene 1 and 2 in act II (Eunuch, vs 208–231 and vs 232–264): Gnatho the parasite enters the stage after Phaedria and Parmeno the slave had finished a dialogue and Phaedria left the stage while Parmeno remains [**Fig. 2**]. While leading Pamphila, the young slave girl, Gnatho has a longer soliloquy, set apart from Parmeno who speaks to the audience. Finally, Gnatho begins a dialogue with Parmeno. Pamphila remains silent in the scene. At this point, the Bembine Terence has the names only of the two speaker protagonists of the scene with Greek letters in red, which are repeated also in red in the left margin of the text to identify the speakers: "A [alpha] – *Gnatho parasitus*" and "B [beta] – *Parmeno servus*" (*BAV*, Cod. Vat. lat. 3226, fol. 10v). The Vatican Terence includes the same names without the Greek letters: "*Gnatho parasitus*" and "*Parmeno servus*"; a later glossator added "*Puella*" above Pamphila's figure in narrow pen (*BAV*, Cod. Vat. lat. 3868, fol. 21v)[24]. The three figures of the scene

17 E.g., on Budapest, *OSZK*, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2va (ill. 19), Leno is written instead of Athenagoras. On the same page (ill. 22), Apollonius is written instead of Athenagoras. See Németh, "The Text" (n. 6), pp. 167–168.

18 On Budapest, *OSZK*, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2rb, the scribe mistakenly copied two nametags (those put into curly brackets): "*et sedens puella* {*Tarsia, Apollonius rex*} [ill. 17] *cepit flere et dicere*". On fol. 3va, above ill. 33, a label entered the text body: "*Constituti ipso loco suo sacerdotem, qui ei sequens erat* {*Tarsia, uxor illius*} *et cara*".

19 Principally, the scene division breaks the text at the entrance or at the departure from the stage of one or more new protagonists. Reinhard T. Weissinger, *A Study in Act Divisions in Classical Drama*, Iowa 1940, p. 57 and, on manuscript evidence, pp. 83–88.

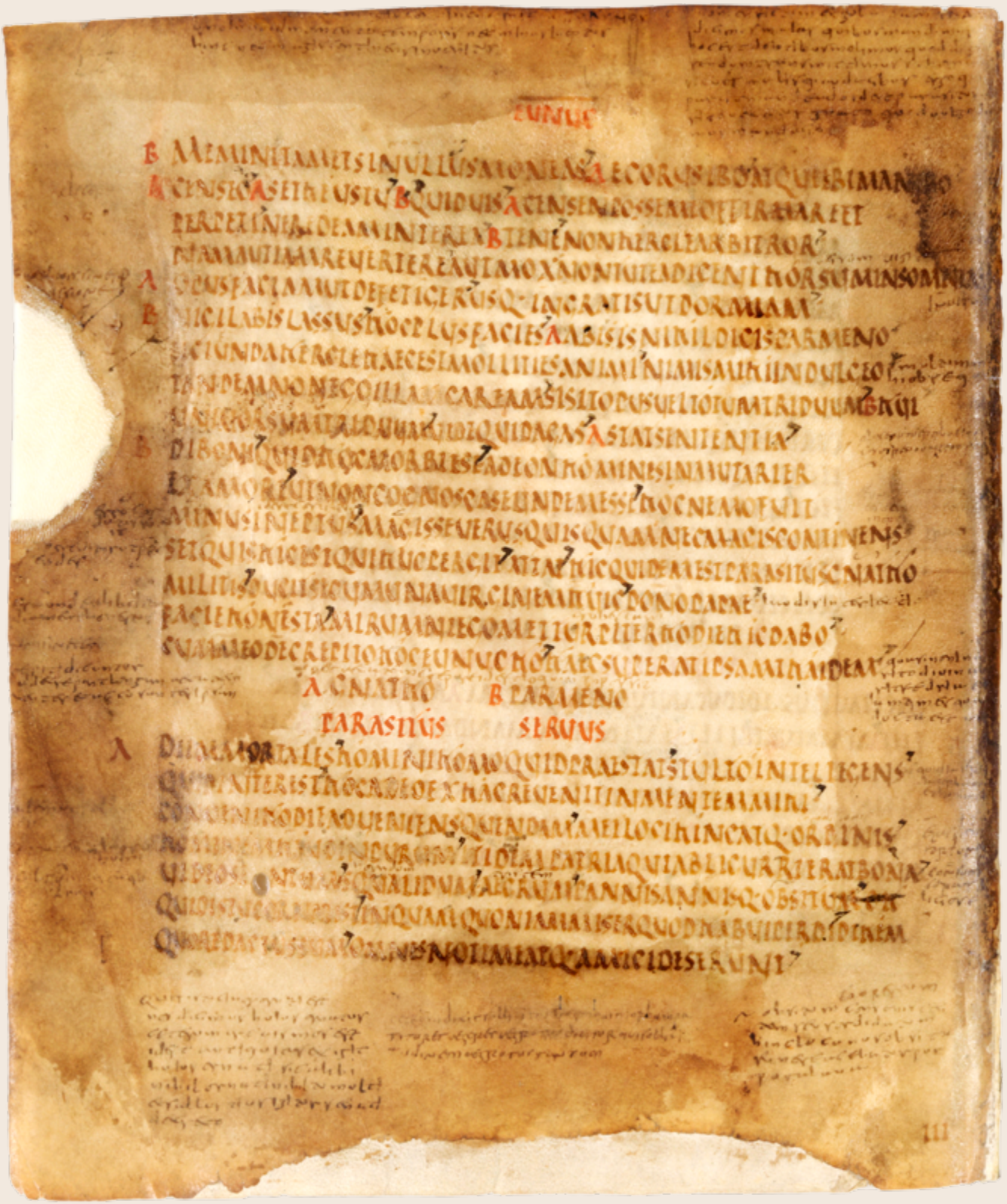
20 Jean Andrieu, *Le dialogue antique: structure et présentation*, Paris 1954, pp. 248–257.

21 *Ibidem*, pp. 294–297. E.g., London, British Library, P. Lond. lit. 28 (Bankes Homer, second century), *Ilias*, XXIV, 127–804. See its photo at [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=papyrus_114_f001r] last accessed 5. 3. 2014. On dramatized Homeric papyri, see Giuseppina Azzarello, "Sprecherhinweise in homerischen Papyri", in *Graeco-Roman Fayum. Texts and Archaeology*, Sandra Luisa Lippert, Maren Schentuleit eds, Wiesbaden 2008, pp. 27–44.

22 E.g., the *Plautus* (Vat. Palat. lat. 1615, siglum B), the *Bembine Terence* (Vat. lat. 3226) and some other copies.

23 Elaine M. Coury, *Terence Bembine Phormio: a palaeographic examination*, Chicago 1982.

24 Wright, *The Lost Terence* (n. 16), p. 39.



1/ Scene division Act II, scenes 1–2, Bembine Terence, 4th or 5th century / *BAV* (Vatican), Cod. Vat. lat. 3226, fol. XV

utinam tam aliquid inuenire facile possit phaedria quam hoc perībit; PHA ego
quoq; una pereo quod mihi est carius. ne istuc tam iniquo patiare animo;
PAR minime. quin effectum dabo; sed num quid aliud imperas? PHA munus nrm ornato
uerbis quod queat. & istum aemulum quod queat ab ea pellito; PAR aut mini
tam etsi nullus moneas; PHA ego rusibo atq; ibi manebo; PAR censeo; PHA sed heus tu.
PAR quid uis? PHA censen posse me obsurmare & ppetri ne redeam interea? PAR tene. non
herde arbitror; nam aut iam reuerter aut mox noctu te adigent horsum insomnia.
PHA opus faciam. ut defetiger usque ingratius ut dormiam; PAR uigilabis lassus. hoc plus
facies; PHA ah nihil dicis parmeno, eicaunda herde haec est mollities animi nimis
mihi indulgeo, tandē non ego illa carear. sit opus uel totum triduum. PAR hui uni
uersum triduum uide quid agas; PHA stat sententia. PAR di boni. quid hoc morbi. adeon
homines immutarier & amore. ut non cognoscas eundē ee hoc nemo fuit minus inep
tus magis se ueprus quisquam. nec magis continens; sed quis hic est qui huc pgit. at tach hic
quidē est parasitus gnatho militis ducit secū una uirginē. dono huic papae facie
honesta. mirum ni ego me cur piter hodie hic dabo. cum meo decrepito hoc
eunucho. haec superat ipsam thaidem;

GNA di immortales. homini homo quid praestat stulto intellegens. quid interest. hoc
adeo & acre uenit in mentē mihi; conueni hodie aduenientem quendā mei loci
hinc atq; ordinis hominem. haud impurum. eadem patria qui abligurrit erat bona
uideo sentum squalidum. aegrum. pannis annisq; obsitum; quid istuc inquam
ornati est. quoniam miser quō habui pdidi; eum quo redactus sum. omnes noti me
atq; amici deserunt; hic ego illum contempsi praeme; quid homo inquam

are all depicted. In sum, the depictions were inserted in the manuscript at natural text breaks and in some ways reinforced the articulating function of the nametags.

Juxtaposed depictions of successive scenes from a narrative were equally able to create a clear reference to a particular text. Weitzmann regards this solution as an epitomized cycle[25], an unfortunate label[26], when some key moments of a particular story are depicted. He understood a cycle complete when scenic depictions were in chain, each observing the unity of time and place[27]. This solution is very rare but the pictorial cycle of the *Apollonius pictus* belongs to this category.

Unlike the canonical texts such as Homer's and Vergil's epic poems, the *Historia Apollonii* was a complex and lesser known story where an "epitomized cycle" of various depictions without the text could hardly enable the observer to recognize the particular story. At this point, the widespread notion of canonical texts is important to emphasize. Homer's and Vergil's epic poems were very well known among the educated circles of Roman society in Late Antiquity. They were able to identify the context via only an "epitomized cycle" of juxtaposed depictions. A play of a new comedy (e.g. Menander)[28] or its adaptations such as Terence's comedies are more difficult to identify via an "epitomized cycle" because the scenes of the plot cannot be depicted to appear distinctive and specific to the precise play. Here, the writers of comedies creatively chose their protagonists from a repository of character types and enacted stereotypical interactions among them. Without text or nametags, several juxtaposed scenes can still easily refer to many different plays. The same depiction with different tags on the figures can easily depict another scene from another comedy, masks expressing similar characters and gestures depicting similar interactions between protagonists[29]. These depictions more strongly depend on the surrounding texts than the illustrations of canonical epic texts or tragedies do.

Apollonius pictus in this context

Relying on the articulating function of the scene depictions in the Vatican Terence, I attempt to apply an analytic tool that focuses on internal consistency and rationale of the pictorial cycle of the *Apollonius pictus*. As a result of the cautious attention to the linear spatial and temporal sequence of the plot, as shown above, the *Historia Apollonii* can be conceived as a series of dialogues among the main protagonists. These dialogues are interwoven with connective phrases of an external narrator who remains neutral and hides his or her personality. The reader of the *Historia Apollonii* feels no tension between the narrator and the narrated story. The narrator unfolds the events in a way that helps the reader see consecutive scenes in the text as if in a play. This characteristic of the romance in some ways encouraged the idea to depict — from the narrator's viewpoint and in the fashion of illustrated comedies — each scene right at the point where the actual scene follows[30].

The unknown author of the *Historia Apollonii* invented another tool to make the tortuous plot easier to follow and reinforced the internal references to various events in different action spaces. In contrast with the neutral external narrator, internal narrators — the protagonists themselves — were given a significant role within the romance. It is not the external narrator who gives the recurrent summaries of the previous events. It is always one of the protagonists of the plot (internal narrator) who retells the same story to another (internal narratee). These recurrent retrospective summaries between different pairs of protagonists have a significant role in the narrative and move the plot forward. For example, it is a turning point that Tarsia learns about the true story of her origin, her royal ancestry and her father Apollonius, from her nurse (ch. 29). The same story repeatedly helped Tarsia preserve her chastity

2/ Scene division Act II, scenes 1–2, Vatican Terence, 9th century / *BAV* (Vatican), Cod. Vat. lat. 3868, fol. 21v

25 Weitzmann, *Illustrations* 1947 (n. 2), pp. 23–28.

26 By defining it epitomized cycle, Weitzmann suspects that a complete cycle existed, an unnecessary presumption. Weitzmann sees a stemmatic relationship between image cycles in the analogy of the stemmatic reconstruction of corrupted texts. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book* (n. 2), p. 33.

27 Weitzmann, *Illustrations* 1947 (n. 2), 17–18.

28 Sérafim Charitonidis, Lilly Kahil, René Ginouvès, *Les mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène*, Bern 1970; Sebastiana Nervegna, *Menander in Antiquity. The Contexts of Reception*, Cambridge 2013, pp. 264–270.

29 Charles Reginald Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Gestures and the Roman Stage*, prepared for publication by Timothy Graham, Cambridge 2000.

30 In this regard, the *Apollonius pictus* is similar to the *Terentius Vaticanus* in which the illustrations normally depict the first lines of each scene. Wright, *The Lost Terence* (n. 16), p. 213.

in the brothel (e.g., ch. 34) and later led to both recognitions: the one between Apollonius and his daughter, Tarsia (ch. 45) and the one between Apollonius and his wife, Lucina (ch. 48). These long textual sections are not illustrated and, as will be shown, are framed by a duplicate depiction of the same scene.

The first illustrator of the *Historia Apollonii* relied on the narrative strategy of the text and depicted the plot in a series of consecutive dialogues and action spaces. Other Late Antique illustrations of narrative literary texts (comedies and epic poetry) used depictions to articulate the text at points where characters or the action space change. This principle holds true in the *Apollonius pictus*. Each change between action spaces at the level of cities is highlighted with a separate depiction starting with the change between Tarsus and Mytilene[31]. Then a new chain of continuous action spaces begins with Apollonius' arrival from Egypt to Tarsus[32], and then from Tarsus(–Tyrus) to Mytilene[33] where the two chains meet and continue in the route Mytilene(–Tarsus)–Ephesus[34], Ephesus–Antioch[35], Antioch–Tarsus[36]. Whenever a divine intervention changed Apollonius' intention to sail to a destination (Tarsus–Tyrus and a storm diverting the ships to Mytilene [**Fig. 3**]; Mytilene–Tarsus and the divine intervention via an angel advising instead to sail to Ephesus), this change is always highlighted with two depictions instead of one. Furthermore, abrupt changes of action space without dialogues and without the change of protagonists are highlighted through separate depictions (e.g., Ephesus–Antioch, Antioch–Tarsus). By paying careful attention to changes of action space, which enjoy importance superior to those of dialogues and places within a major unit of space like a city, the first illustrator consciously attempted to emphasize the dramatic characteristics of the text. In this system, a few departures from the principles seem to be emphatic and need to be explained.

Visual links and emphasis by conflation, fragmentation, and repetition

In what follows, I will distinguish between three techniques. When doing so, I rely on a strict definition of a scene according to dramatic division. In my view, scenes break by changes of action space at the level of a city like Mytilene, by changes between smaller places of actions like the harbor, the brothel, or the forum in Mytilene, and by separating dialogues in a smaller place roughly by the rules we saw in the Vatican Terence. If more than one scene is depicted within one image space in the *Apollonius pictus*, I regard it conflation. Whenever a single scene receives more depictions, I will use the term fragmentation. I will interpret the frequent occasions when depictions of distant scenes have anything in common in terms of function or gestures as repetition. I make an experimental distinction between these techniques only to use them as tools when describing the narrative strategy of the pictorial cycle by its dependence on the text. The illustrator creatively combines them to establish links and emphasis of many kinds and visually interpret the narrative strategy of the *Historia*. These techniques enrich the depictions to express much more in their cyclic level than on their own.

Conflation of two scenes can express parallel events[37], hierarchy of consecutive events, or the fast succession of events within a single episode. This is a technique present in Late Antique illustrated narrative texts. An example is given from the Vatican Virgil and another one from the *Apollonius pictus* for the same function. The story of Laocoon (*BAV*, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 18v: Aeneis II, 201–224)[38] is depicted through the conflation of three scenes that happen on the shore next to Troy within a single frame [**Fig. 4**]. The lower left corner depicts the preparation of sacrifice in front of the temple of Neptunus by Laocoon. In the background serpents are coming from the sea and in the right side of the image Laocoon and his sons are struggling with the serpents. In scene three, Laocoon is depicted enlarged with the established iconography of this scene as we know it from the Vatican Laocoon Group. This central scene is decomposed into a narrative by separating and reconfiguring its various elements. The serpents (A), the temple of Neptunus (B), the altar (C), and Laocoon (D) are depicted twice within a single frame in the patterns (1) AB, (2) BCD, and (3) ACD. The transformation of a single central depiction into a narrative sequence of scenes enables the reader to recompose the actual narrative from the causal and sequential links between elements.

In a similar combination of successive events, the illustrator of the *Apollonius pictus* manifested his intent to depict the logical link of actions between successive dialogues, perhaps encouraged by the obscurity of the text. At a certain point of the romance, the illustrated redaction (RA-ill) does not emphasize change of place between two dialogues, which follows only from context. After Apollonius' agreement to marry his daughter to Athenagoras, the prince is running to the forum to arouse his citizens to punish the evil brothel keeper. The actual text of the *Apollonius pictus* includes this passage twice, first an interpolation from RB and then the concise version of RA[39]. Unlike RA, redaction RB clearly distinguishes between two places where Athenagoras speaks: the curia, which is a restricted interior area to the municipal magistrates, and the public area of the forum, open to all citizens. In the corresponding depictions (ills 20–21) [**Fig. 5**][40], however, the lack of walls or curtains shows that the illustrator of the contaminated model ignored the distinction between the curia and the forum, very likely following RA-ill. Moreover, the extant text does not describe how Athenagoras left the curia and through which channel the citizens of Mytilene were alarmed to run together to the forum. The illustrator noticed the problem and seems to have felt need to handle it.

Ill. 20 does not have a clear reference to the surrounding text. It seems to depict Athenagoras' speech in the curia, which appears in the first section of the subsequent illustration (ill. 21) as well. The seated speaker is depicted in *chlamys* and barefoot, hinting at a specific meaning, impossible to decipher. This separate scene perhaps distinguishes between the curia and the open space of the forum, although without showing the curia as an interior space. If so, the first action of ill. 21 serves as a connective element with the other two actions depicted within the same image space. Ill. 21 depicts three conflated actions, two speeches by Athenagoras and their result, each depicted as interaction between two protagonists (chs 44–45). In the first action on the left, both the speaker and the listener wear *chlamys* referring to the magistrates at curia. In the second action the speaker is wearing *chlamys* and the listener a tunic

3/ Change of action, between Tarsus–(Tyrus)–Mytilene, *Apollonius Pictus*, Werden, around 1000 / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4rb (ills 9–10)

31 Budapest, OSZK, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 1rb, ill. 7*(lost scene, well located): ch. 33. The location follows from the text that survives: "*Igitur qui Tarsyam rapuerunt advenerunt in civitatem Metulinam*". At this place there is a change of action space between Tarsus and Mytilene, Németh, "The Text" (n. 6), p. 158. I revise the identification of the lost scene in my edition.

32 Budapest, OSZK, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4ra, ill. 5 (well located): ch. 37: "*Cum hec Metullina aguntur, venit Apollonius post quattuordecim annos ad domum Strangulionis et Dionisiadis ad civitatem Tarsiam*". At this point, there is a change of action space between Egypt and Tarsus, see Németh, "The Text" (n. 6), p. 160.

33 Budapest, OSZK, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 4rb, ills 9–10: chs 38–39. Apollonius leaves for Tyrus and arrives at Mytilene and speaks to his servants. Two depictions express a duplicate change of scenes and a divine intervention.

34 Budapest, OSZK, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3ra, ills 28–29: ch. 48. Apollonius, Tarsia, Athenagoras leave for Tarsus but arrive to Ephesus. Two depictions express a duplicate change of scenes and a divine intervention.

35 Budapest, OSZK, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3va, ill. 34: ch. 50: "*Veniens igitur Tyrius Apollonius Antiochiam, invenit sibi reservatum regnum*".

36 Budapest, OSZK, Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3va, ill. 35: ch. 50: "*<perg inde Tyrum>*".

37 E.g. In the Vatican Vergil (Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 48v), a conflated image depicts that Aeneas enters the underworld (*Aeneis*, VI, 417–433). Here two parallel scenes are depicted within a framed image. At the bottom, we see how Aeneas watches the Sybil pacify Cerberus when entering the underworld with Aeneas. At the top, Minos is depicted as he is reconsidering the fate of who wrongly condemned to death. David H. Wright, *The Vatican Vergil: a masterpiece of late antique art*, Berkeley 1993, pp. 79–81, sp. pp. 50–51.

38 *Ibidem*, pp. 22–23. Other examples are Libation and Venus, and Creusa. Vat. lat. 3225, f.22r: Creusa and Ascanius (*Aeneis*, II, 673–691): (1) Creusa restrains Aeneas; (2) Flame above Ascanius' head; (3) Anchises recognizes the omen.

39 Németh, "The Text" (n. 6), pp. 167–168 (chs 45–46).

40 The illustrations follow the numbers of the critical transcription of the *Apollonius pictus* (ills 1–38); ills 1*–4* refer to the faded depictions on f. 1ra and ills 5*–12* do so to the image spaces of the lost column (fol. 1rb–va). See Németh, *The Text* (n. 6).

4/ Story of Laocoon, Aeneis II, 201–224, Vatican Vergil, Rome, ca 400 / *BAV* (Vatican), Cod. Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 18v

that refers to the average public in the forum. The last action, also in the forum, depicts the consequence of the second: a citizen, wearing a tunic, drags the brothel-keeper Leno in chains. The effect of the speech among the audience is depicted by embraced hands between the citizen who is listening to the magistrate and another citizen who is dragging the brothel keeper in chains. Here two similar successive events are combined with causal connection. The three actions are separated by the position of the active characters, each turning his back to the other, but with a link between the second and third actions. Although there is no frame, the conflation seems to be conscious, not accidental.

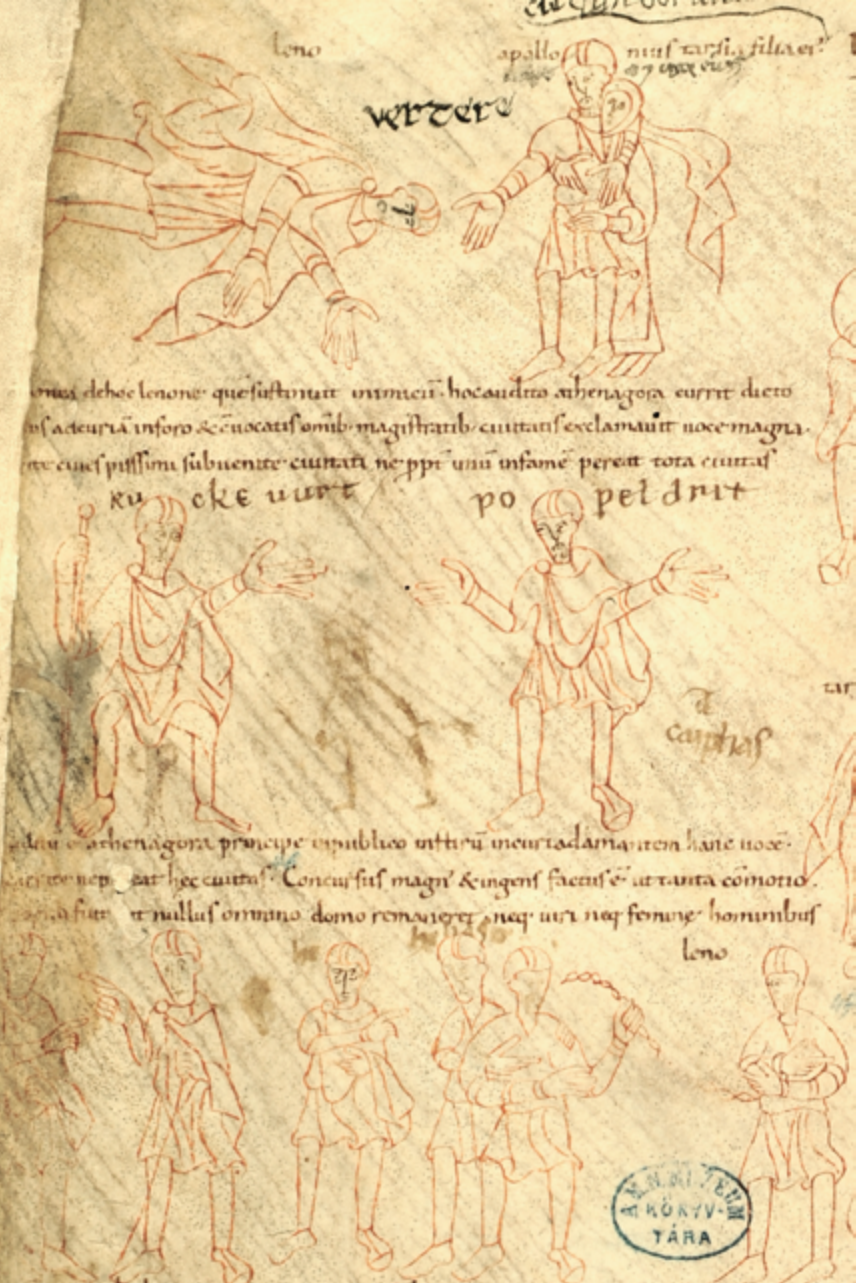
Another conflated image (fol. 2vb: ill. 24) depicts Tarsia's dialogue with the overseer while handing him money and Tarsia's next dialogue with her companions in which she is giving the property of the brothel keeper to them, including their freedom. Emphatically, depicted clothes of the protagonists express moral values and change of status. In the first part, Tarsia is depicted, to the surprise of the viewer, barefoot and in her simple dress when giving the money to the overseer who is wearing tunic, although he earlier wore *chlamys*. In the second, their clothes highlight the change of status of Tarsia and her companions. Tarsia is wearing the most ornate dress among the three types in which she is depicted and her companions are wearing their more ornate dresses, one of the types which Tarsia too wore before. Here the duplicate depiction of the same protagonist and the change of clothes within a single image space emphasize development of status and expression of virtuous act.

At this point we arrive at a more interesting problem – the technique of fragmenting a single scene, which seems to add emphasis to certain elements of the text. In the next example the illustrator confronts Tarsia's ornate and simple dresses and makes a distinction between the private part of the house (*cubiculum*) and the public part, thus emphasizing Christian values, the power of chastity to overcome social status, and the act of mercy, all mentioned in the text. Let us revisit the narrative technique of the pictorial cycle in a chain of actions that take place in one place – the brothel. Before the dialogue between Tarsia and the overseer is fragmented in two depictions, one image space conflates two consecutive dialogues (fol. 1vb: ill. 2). The first, between Tarsia and Leno (brothel keeper), depicts Tarsia as handing over the money she earned to the brothel keeper in the presence of the overseer [**Fig. 6**]. In the next dialogue, the brothel keeper orders the overseer to rape the virgin Tarsia (ch. 35). Since the protagonists did not change, the obedient overseer's act of taking Tarsia to the bedchamber is depicted within the same image space. Tarsia is depicted in a more ornate dress when she is handing over the money she earned to the brothel keeper than the dress she is wearing as the potential victim of the overseer. (She is depicted in the same simple dress when receiving money from Athenagoras in a subordinate position in the brothel).

At the moment when Tarsia and the overseer arrive at his bedroom, depicted with two side curtains, Tarsia is wearing the ornate clothes again, which emphasizes her unexpected power drawn from her chastity and moral purity. In the next depiction, Tarsia is begging to the overseer in her simple dress within the house but outside the bedroom, perhaps in the atrium. The scene is depicted via two side arches, one with a hanging curtain and the other one without. Since in the text Tarsia and the overseer remain in the bedroom without changing dress, this spatial division of one scene into two depictions seems again to be the illustrator's moral statement.

The fragmentation of a scene into two depictions is similar to the duplicate changes of action space when divine intervention, as seen above, diverted Apollonius' ship from its planned destination. Emphatic fragmentation of a scene manages to distinguish between moral attributes, the wicked brothel keeper and the pious overseer, or to frame the description of moments when a protagonist becomes morally better. A protagonist is never depicted simultaneously wicked and pious and remains open to change for the better, which comes with a reward.

The insertion of similar depictions at the beginning and end of the rehearsals of the tortuous story retold by a protagonist seems to be a consciously chosen narrative technique of the original



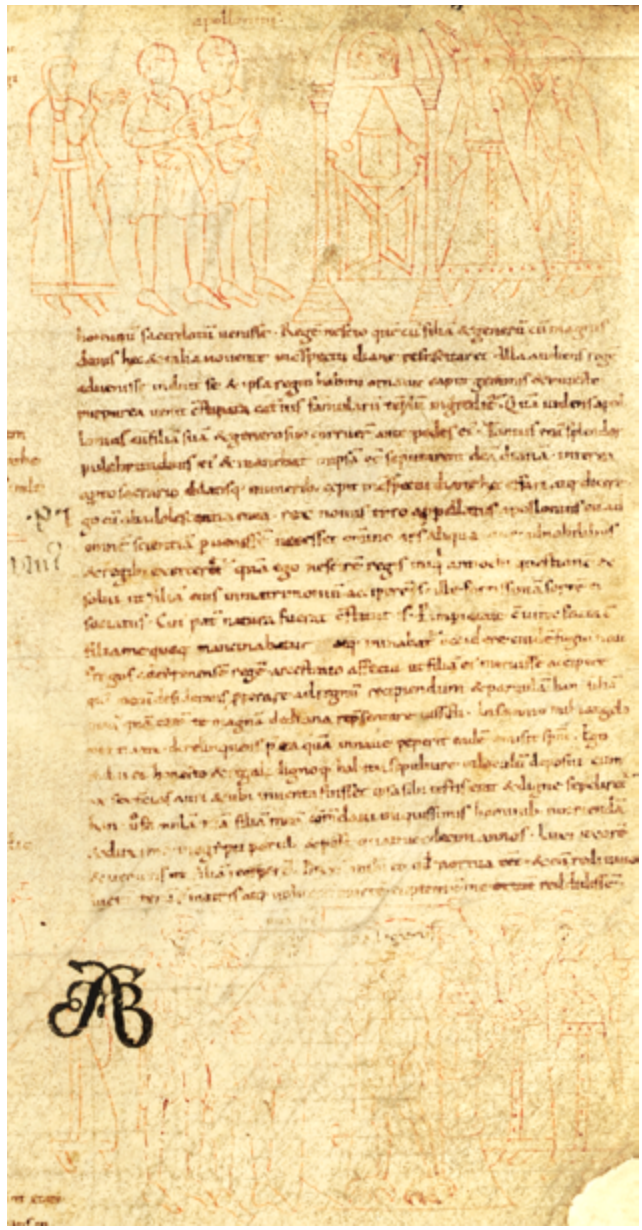
cycle. Regarding iconography, it is repetition. However its relationship to the narrative strategy can be interpreted as fragmentation. Like the identical gestures, these rehearsals of past events have a double function within the narrative. On the one hand, such retrospective summaries of past events make progress in the plot in crucial moments, emphasized by fragmenting. On the other, they assist the reader's recall of the series of preceding events without involving the external narrator, which would have disturbed the linearity of continuous actions space. These rehearsals were framed by depictions of the same dialogue scene in a close but not identical manner.

Let us revisit the repetitive depictions at the harbor of Mytilene. At a closer look, the five depictions of ships also show a framing function. Ill. 14 indicates the start of the dialogue of Tarsia's first unsuccessful attempt to cheer Apollonius. Ill. 15 (ch. 41) conflates Apollonius' handover of money to Tarsia and her successive dialogue with Athenagoras after Apollonius, according to the text, leaves the scene. In this dialogue, Athenagoras asks her to return to Apollonius to make a second attempt. Ill. 16 indicates the start of Tarsia's excessive and tiring performance of riddles (chs 42–43) which is followed by her digressive first-person narration of her sad life story that

5/ Two speeches of Athenagoras, Consecutive and parallel images, *Apollonius Pictus*, Werden, around 1000/ OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2va (ills 20–21)

6/ Scenes with Tarsia and Leno, Fragmentation (moral attributes), *Apollonius Pictus*, Werden, around 1000/ OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 1vb (ills 2, 3–4)

7/ Recognition scenes between Apollonius and Lucina, Fragmentation and framing (story), *Apollonius Pictus*, Werden, around 1000/ OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3rb (ills 30–31)



finally leads recognition, framed by two depiction of the same scene (ills 17–18 and chs 44–45). The function of ill. 17 is interesting because there is no change of scene. It only breaks the row of ten riddles that turn Apollonius violent and introduces Tarsia's first-person narration. The second depiction highlights the heyday of the plot, the recognition scene between Apollonius and Tarsia (ill. 18). Yet these two depictions (ills 17–18), which frame Tarsia's internal narration, include a slight contrast between Apollonius' violent attack on Tarsia and their joyful embrace after recognition.

In a similar manner, the description of the other recognition scene, the one between Apollonius and his wife Lucina, is also framed with a double depiction of the temple of Diana in Ephesus with the participation of the same protagonists (ch. 47: ills 30–31). Here the duplicate depiction of the same scene is refined by the emphasis of change between the outskirts and the inside of the sanctuary. Contrary to the neutral tone of the story, Diana is represented as a beast in both[41] [**Fig. 7**]. Apollonius tells his story within the sanctuary depicted with an open door.

The dialogue between Tarsia's stepparents, Strangulio and Dionysiada (ch. 32: ill. 3*–5*), must

41 On the interpretation on Diana's beast, see Boreczky, "The Illustrated Life" (n. 5).

8a/ Repetition and cross-reference, *Apollonius Pictus*, Werden, around 1000 / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 2rb (ill. 18)

8b/ Repetition and cross-reference, *Apollonius Pictus*, Werden, around 1000 / OSZK (Budapest), Cod. Lat. 4, fol. 3va (ill. 32)

have fragmented the single scene in a similar way, framing a long retrospective summary and distinguishing Strangulio's morally correct speech to the Lord. The first dialogue between Athenagoras and Tarsia (fol. 1va–b, ch. 33: ill. 11*–12*, 1) must have also been represented in three depictions. All these repetitive scenes frame a first-person internal narration by a protagonist and distinguish between conflicting moral characteristics of the identical person, highlighting development of character. This joint use of framing and repetition leads to the technique of repetitions of pictorial motifs, which establish links between distant scenes within the cycle.

Similar interactions between protagonists such as recognitions, attempt at murder or rape, or handover of money are depicted by identical gestures, which thus enrich these scenic depictions with the function of cross-reference within the pictorial cycle. For example, Theophilus' attempt at killing Tarsia (ill. 1*) and the attempt at killing Theophilus at the end (ill. 38) are depicted in the identical manner. In both cases the evil attempt turns into moral growth. Moreover, Theophilus' first virtuous act of saving Tarsia' life is rewarded by Tarsia, who finally saved Theophilus' life (the first is vaguely visible with UV lamp but the gesture is clearly identical). Thus the second scenic depiction clearly refers to the first. As another example, a pictorial emphasis of both recognition scenes highlights these two crucial moments of the plot. The mutual embrace with both hands following recognition (ill. 32) is similar to the gestures depicting the recognition of Tarsia and her father (ill. 18) [**Figs 8a, 8b**]. These patterns allow us to see how the illustrator used repetition and cross-references in the cycle.

Conclusion

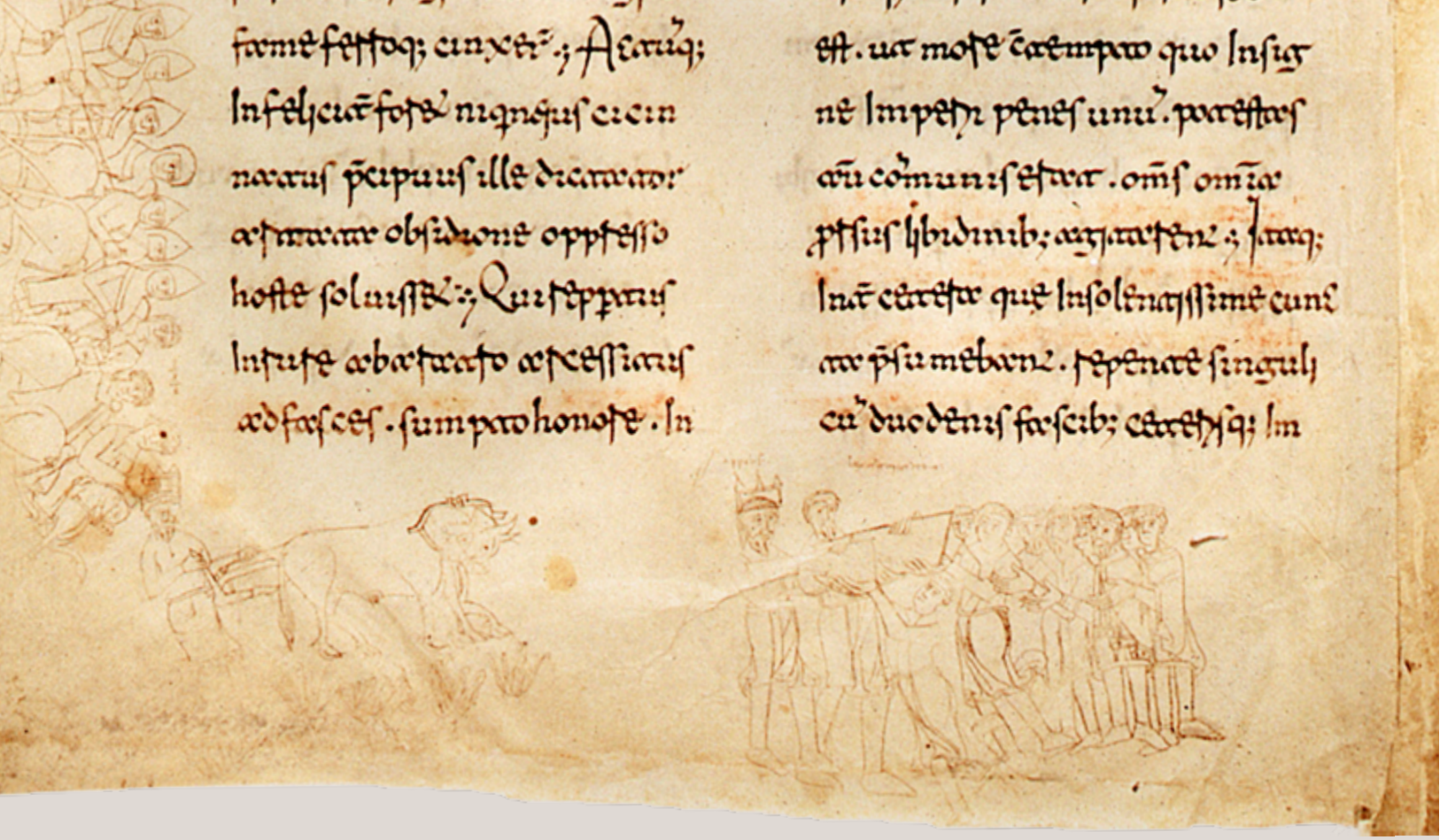
We have seen that the pictorial cycle of the *Apollonius pictus* shows such an elaborate and coherent narrative strategy that it points to a single mind devising a continuous narration through scenic depictions in close collaboration with the text. To this end, the designer of this cycle seems to have relied on narrative methods available in Late Antique manuscripts and applied the techniques of conflating, fragmenting, and repeating depictions to interpret the text. The scenic depictions of the *Historia Apollonii* demonstrate that the first illustrator was Christian, keen on emphasizing divine intervention, the change of morality for the better, reward and revenge. No doubt the actual cycle of the *Apollonius pictus* underwent changes to some extent compared to its predecessors through the addition of new elements and altering others even at the cost of departure from the text. Nevertheless, the *Apollonius pictus* preserves a somewhat distorted pictorial cycle that closely depends on a text version earlier than its own contaminated text, and concords in essence with the narrative strategy of the Vatican Terence. The agreement between these two independent features, each resistant to transformations over the steps of transmission, makes me conclude that the pictorial cycle of the *Apollonius pictus* is close to the creation of redaction RA in a Late Antique urban context.

Kontinuální narace skrze scénická zobrazení v rukopisu *Apollonius pictus*

V rukopisu *Apollonius pictus*, otonské kopii pozdně antické ilustrované romance *Historia Apollonii* (Národní Széchényiho knihovna, Budapešť, Cod. Lat. 4), se dochoval jedinečný narativní obrazový cyklus. Text tohoto zlomkovitého rukopisu prošel minimálně dvěma etapami změn, přičemž došlo k proměně ilustrací do míry, kterou je těžké určit. Autor článku však neanalyzuje jednotlivé scény, ale jejich cyklickou soudržnost, ve které pravděpodobně zůstal uchován charakter pozdně antického modelu.

Fragment cyklu zobrazuje kontinuální naraci z pohledu vypravěče, který při předávání dobrodružného příběhu krále Apollonia a jeho rodiny pečlivě zachovává linearitu času a prostoru. Základem obrazového cyklu je výjimečné ztvárnění kontinuálního prostoru, v němž se odehrává děj příběhu, a jeho propojení s vnějším a nezaujatým vypravěčem. Konceptor-tvůrce cyklu pojal romanci jako řadu po sobě jdoucích dialogů. Vkládání ilustrací do míst textového předělu a umístění jmen nad postavami protagonistů se velmi podobá starověké technice ilustrace komedií. Jejím nejznámějším příkladem je *Vatican Terence* (Vat. lat. 3868), karolínská „kopie-faksimile" pozdně antického modelu, který zobrazoval protagonisty na začátku každého dialogu.

Autor pro analýzu obrazového cyklu *Apollonia* využívá experimentální metodu – zkoumá jej z hlediska principu dělení divadelních scén. Ukazuje, že rukopis pečlivě dodržuje předěly scén v závislosti na místu děje a případných dílčích prostorových lokacích, a že dialogy zde bývají zobrazeny zvlášť. V některých případech ale iluminátor spojuje více scén, a to za účelem vyjádření jejich následnosti nebo logické souvislosti. Někdy je jedna scéna rozdělena do dvou vyobrazení, která jsou odlišena jiným ztvárněním oděvů a změnou pohybu v prostoru, přičemž zmíněné detaily často nevyplývají přímo z textu. Autor článku nahlíží na tyto invence jako na interpretace textu, jejichž pomocí iluminátor některé události zdůrazňuje a vytváří mezi nimi spojitost. Tyto obrazové interpretace zdůrazňují křesťanské chápání romance: oslavu ctnostných činů, potrestání zlých skutků, cennost a sílu cudnosti, božskou prozřetelnost a intervenci, skutky milosrdenství a morální růst.



Abstract—History on margins. The drawings of the Orosius Vat. lat 3340 between Late Antique heritage and medieval creation—The *Historiae adversus paganos* by Paulus Orosius was one of the most widely read and studied works of the Middle Ages; it was also one of the least illustrated. Vat. lat. 3340 is the earliest-known example of the *Orosius pictus*. It was copied in the Beneventan script and illustrated with 77 marginal drawings accompanied by explanatory annotations. The manuscript poses a series of as yet unanswered questions. Were the illustrations planned at the time of the codex's creation, or were they added later? When and where were they executed? Are these work copies or originals? The rather muddled *mise en page* and often weak relationship of image to text – which makes reading a challenging task –, seem to suggest a misalignment between the narrative and accompanying illustrations. If we accept that Vat. lat. 3340 was produced at Montecassino before 1075, the drawings must date (at least) to the first thirty years of the twelfth century. The drawings bear no resemblance to miniatures produced at Montecassino at the time the manuscript was produced. The only possible comparisons that can be drawn are with the carved ivory plaques produced in the same period on Campania's Tyrrhenian coast. In any event, wherever the creator of the illustrations worked, clearly he was not an amateur, as David Ross (1953) has noted. It is impossible to prove that the drawings were copied in totality from an earlier version of the *Historiae*; neither can it be shown that entire blocks of images "migrated" from other illustration traditions. There are hints, however, that suggest an adaptation of Late Antique models in Orosian drawings, particularly in the rendering of individual iconographic schemes and the narrative strategies employed.

Parole chiave—manoscritti illustrati di Orosio, miniatura dell'Italia meridionale, Vat. lat. 3340

Keywords—illustrated manuscript of Orosius, South Italian miniature painting, Vat. lat. 3340

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1a/ Dettaglio, Incendio del Campidoglio, per l´immagine intero cfr. Fig 1b

La storia nei margini

I disegni dell'Orosio Vat. lat. 3340 tra eredità tardoantica e creazione medievale

Giulia Orofino

Le *Historiae adversus paganos* che Orosio pubblicò, su richiesta di sant'Agostino, nel secondo decennio del V secolo[1], sono la base su cui il medioevo costruì la sua conoscenza del mondo antico.

In sette libri il presbitero spagnolo raccolse "da tutte le storie e gli annali di cui si può disporre, tutte le vicende funeste" (*Hist.*, *Prol.*, 10) che avevano afflitto l'umanità dalla creazione all'anno 417, quando l'accordo tra Roma e il re visigoto Vallia avrebbe segnato l'avvento della *pax christiana*. Lo scopo era dimostrare come il declino dell'Impero romano non fosse conseguenza della nascita del cristianesimo: le cose andavano già male prima dell'apostasia del pantheon pagano.

I 249 manoscritti delle *Historiae* ad oggi censiti, databili dall'età precarolingia al XV secolo[2], testimoniano la diffusione capillare e l'autorità dell'opera. Uno dei libri più letti e studiati per tutto il medioevo, fu anche uno dei meno illustrati[3]. Benchè le *Historiae* non siano un manuale scolastico, le edizioni arricchite da apparati ornamentali e iconografici sono poche.

Il più antico manoscritto sopravvissuto, esemplato a Ravenna "*in statione Viliaric antiquarii*" a metà del VI secolo[4], presenta solo lettere decorate, importantissime perché vi si sperimenta la prima compiuta elaborazione dell'iniziale zoomorfa in Occidente: sono soprattutto *A* onciali con l'occhiello a forma di pesce, a ribadire quasi ossessivamente il carattere cristiano del testo[5].

Anche nell'alto medioevo prevale l'interpretazione apologetica: sia il manoscritto bobbiese

1 Sull'opera si veda Adolf Lippold, "Introduzione", in *Orosio. Le storie contro i pagani*, a cura di Adolf Lippold, traduzione di Aldo Bartalucci, Milano 1993, vol. I, pp. IX–LII, con bibliografia precedente.

2 Lars Boje Mortensen, "The Diffusion of Roman Histories in the Middle Ages. A List of Orosius, Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus and Landolfus Sagax Manuscripts", *Filologia mediolatina*, VI–VII (2000), pp. 101–200.

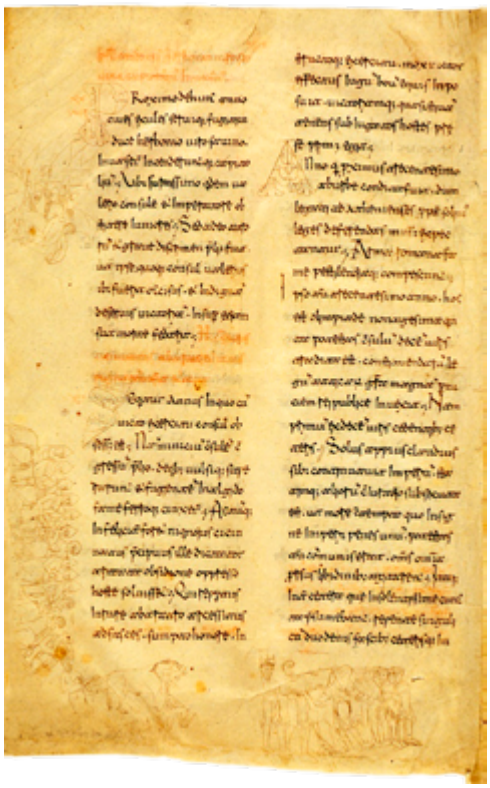
3 David J. A. Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts of Orosius", *Scriptorium*, IX (1955), pp. 35–56; Claudia Annette Meier, *Chronicon pictum. Von den Anfängen der Chronikenillustration zu den narrativen Bilderzyklen in den Weltchroniken des Hohen Mittelalters*, Magonza 2005, pp. 125–145.

4 Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 65.1: Armando Petrucci, "Un altro codice della bottega di Viliaric", in *Studi offerti a Roberto Ridolfi*, a cura di Berta Maracchi Biagiarelli, Dennis E. Rhodes, Firenze 1973, pp. 399–406.

5 Laura Kendrick, *Animating the Letter. The Figurative Embodiement of Writing from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Columbus 1999, p. 59.

1b/ Incendio del Campidoglio, I romani incoronano Cincinnato; *Historiae adversus paganos*, Italia meridionale, inizi del XII secolo / BAV (Città del Vaticano), Vat. lat. 3340, f. 2v

2/ Filippo si rivolta contro gli alleati, Filippo fa decapitare uno dei fratellastri, Filippo conquista Olinto, Filippo fa uccidere i re di Tracia; *Historiae adversus paganos*, Italia meridionale, inizi del XII secolo / BAV (Città del Vaticano), Vat. lat. 3340, f. 17v



del VII secolo alla Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano, D 23 Sup., che quello della *Bibliothèque Municipale* di Laon, MS 137, di metà VIII secolo, si aprono con immagini che simboleggiano "la concordanza della parola divina"[6].

Tracce indirette di un'illustrazione orosiana su scala monumentale restano per l'età carolingia: le pitture della *domus regia* di Ingelheim, oggi perdute ma descritte da Ermoldo Nigello nel poema in onore di Ludovico il Pio, composto tra l'826 e l'828, raffiguravano i ritratti di sei re pagani (Ciro di Persia, Nino di Assiria, Annibale di Cartagine, Alessandro di Macedonia, Romolo e Remo, Falari di Agrigento) contrapposti a quelli di sei sovrani cristiani (Costantino, Teodosio, Carlo Martello, Pipino il Breve, Carlomagno). Le terribili gesta dei primi, dipinte sulle pareti della sala, erano ispirate alle *Historiae adversus paganos*[7].

È solo alla fine dell'XI secolo, o più probabilmente agli inizi del XII secolo, che può datarsi il primo vero ciclo narrativo ad accompagnamento del testo orosiano: i 77 disegni marginali del Vat. lat. 3340, sicuramente eseguito in Italia meridionale[8]. Più sporadica è l'illustrazione di altri due manoscritti. Il codice Hist. Fol. 410 della *Württembergische Landesbibliothek* di Stuttgart (Hirsau-Zwiefalten, 1160–1170 circa) mostra in due disegni legati alle glosse che commentano il testo il re persiano Ciro con il suo cavallo annegato nel fiume Ginde (f. 27v, *Hist*. II, 6, 2–4) e un altro re, forse Serse invasore della Grecia (f. 29r, *Hist*. III, 9, 1)[9]. Nel Burney 216 della *British Library* di Londra (Inghilterra, secondo o terzo quarto del XII secolo) sono raffigurati il re Pirro a cavallo dentro l'iniziale D del *Praefatio* al IV libro a f. 32v, uno degli elefanti corazzati del suo esercito nel margine del f. 33r, dove si parla della battaglia di Eraclea (*Hist*. IV, 1, 5–10) e in *bas de page* tra le colonne di f. 36v il serpente gigante che il console Regolo fece uccidere a Cartagine durante la prima guerra punica (*Hist*. IV, 8, 10–15)[10].

Soltanto un codice molto più tardo, il MS Plut. 65.37 della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze, italiano della fine del XIV secolo[11], ha un corredo illustrativo paragonabile a quello del Vat. lat. 3340: 28 miniature marginali o infracolonnari. Di queste però solo tre si prestano a un confronto con i disegni del codice vaticano, per

coincidenza di soggetti: Costantinopoli minacciata dal terremoto e salvata dalle preghiere dei cristiani (*Hist*. III, 3, 2–3: Vat. lat. 3340, f. 10v e Laur. 65.37 f. 16v); i foraggiatori dell'esercito romano distrutti da una tempesta durante la guerra contro Pirro (*Hist*. IV, 1, 16–18: Vat. lat. 3340, f. 25v e Laur. 65.37, f. 24r); la città di Cartagine (*Hist*. IV, 6, 3–4: Vat. lat. 3340, f. 28r e Laur. 65.37, f. 25r). Le somiglianze sono generiche.

Secondo Ross non esiste per le *Historie adversus paganos* una tradizione con una sequenza consolidata e continua di immagini dal tardoantico al medioevo, né si possono stabilire stemmi e recensioni iconografiche, poiché i pochissimi testimoni sono indipendenti gli uni dagli altri[12].

Il caso orosiano è dunque esemplare per testare, nella ricostruzione dei processi di ricezione, trasmissione e trasformazione dei testi illustrati "*on the way from the Antiquity until the Romanesque Time*", metodi e validità dell'"*old philology*" e della "*new philology*": la prima retrospettivamente impegnata a restituire l'antico archetipo perduto attraverso le linee di copia medievali, più o meno fedeli; la seconda concentrata invece sul manoscritto non più o non solo come riflesso di un ipotetico modello, ma come oggetto in sé significativo e unico[13].

Il Vat. lat. 3340 è il più antico *Orosius pictus*. Le caratteristiche codicologiche (le dimensioni, mm 400 x 270, e lo specchio di scrittura, mm 305 x 200) e paleografiche (una regolare ed elegante beneventana vergata su due colonne di 28 linee, con rubricature per i titoli e i numeri dei capitoli) lo qualificano come esemplare da biblioteca e da lettura e non da scuola e da studio. Numerose iniziali decorate prevalentemente di tipologia vegetale o geometrica, delineate a penna con qualche tocco di colore rosso, evidenziano gli incipit dei prologhi, dei singoli libri e dei capitoli[14]. Il manoscritto ha subito perdite di interi fascicoli (i primi tre e il settimo) e di un foglio (il foglio 2 del fascicolo IV). Il testo, acefalo e lacunoso, è illustrato fino a f. 28v da 77 disegni tracciati a inchiostro con calamo a punta molto sottile[15], lasciati su pergamena riservata, senza sfondo né cornice[16].

Le illustrazioni occupano i margini inferiori ed esterni delle pagine. A volte un'unica composizione riempie l'intero bordo (ff. 1r, 4v), a volte solo lo spazio sotto una delle colonne di scrittura (ff. 3r, 6r, 9r, 10v, 14r, 15r, 20v). Se il *bas de page* non basta, i disegni girano intorno al margine sviluppando una singola scena (f. 2v [**Fig. 1a,b**]) o episodi diversi (ff. 3r, 10v, 16v, 17v [**Fig. 2**], 21v, 23v). L'osservatore è perciò costretto a ruotare il codice per far scorrere le immagini, assecondando il flusso dell'azione e del racconto.

6 Giuseppa Z. Zanichelli, "I modelli dello scriptorium di Bobbio: alcune considerazioni", in *De lapidibus sententiae. Scritti di storia dell'arte per Giovanni Lorenzoni*, a cura di Tiziana Franco, Giovanna Valenzano, Padova 2002, pp. 427–439, sp. pp. 432–437, p. 436.

7 Walther Lammers, "Ein karolingisches Bildprogramm in der Aula Regia von Ingelheim", in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971*, Gottinga 1972, pp. 226–289; Lawrence Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court*, Filadelfia 1991, pp. 269–276; Holger Grewe, "Die Pfalz zu Ingelheim am Rhein. Ausgewählte Baubefunde und ihre Interpretation", in *Karl der Grosse/Charlemagne. Orte der Macht. Essays*, a cura di Frank Pohle, Aquisgrana 2014, pp. 188–197, sp. p. 195.

8 Quasi tutte le illustrazioni del manoscritto (ff. 1r, 2r, 2v, 3r, 4v, 6r, 6v, 8r, 9r, 10v, 11v, 14r, 14v, 15r, 16r, 16v, 17r, 17v, 18v, 19r, 19v, 20r, 20v, 21r, 21v, 22r, 23r, 23v, 25r, 25v, 24v, 26r, 26v, 27r, 27v, 28r, 28v) sono riprodotte in bianco e nero in Meier, *Chronicon pictum* (n. 3), figg. 97–133.

9 Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts" (n. 3), pp. 53–56; Meier, *Chronicon pictum* (n. 3), pp. 139–142. Una riproduzione digitale del manoscritto è consultabile all'indirizzo [http://www.bildindex.de/dokumente/html/objoo043081#|home], u.c. 9. 1. 2016.

10 Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts" (n. 3), pp. 51–52; Meier, *Chronicon pictum* (n. 3), pp. 142–144. Riproduzioni digitali dei disegni sono consultabili all'indirizzo [http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=1577&CollID=18&NStart=216], u.c. 9. 1. 2016.

11 Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts" (n. 3), pp. 46–50. Il manoscritto è integralmente riprodotto sul sito *Teca Digitale* della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, all'indirizzo [http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaViewer/index.jsp?RisIdr=TECA0000780860], u.c. 9. 1. 2016.

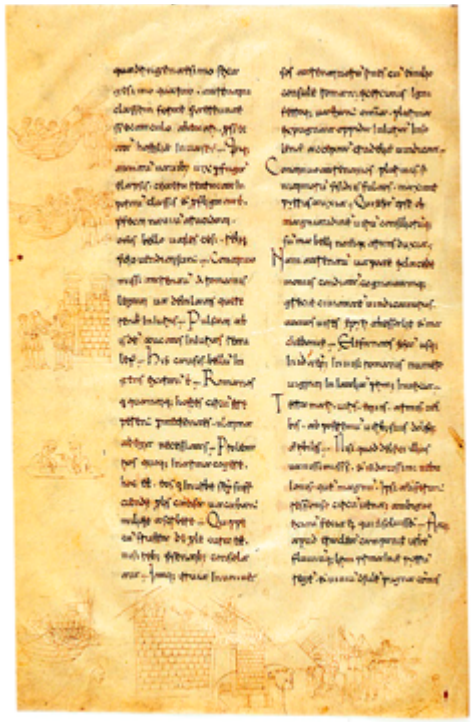
12 Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts" (n. 3), p. 35.

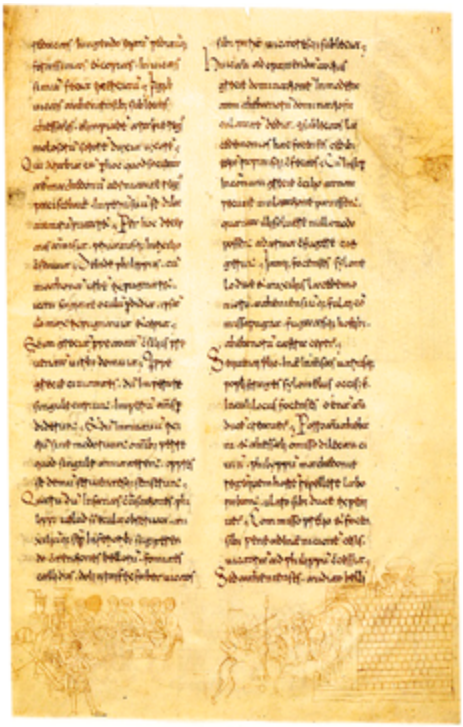
13 Spunti molto interessanti per la ricostruzione del ciclo illustrativo orosiano e in particolare per i rapporti con i modelli tardo antichi e la loro rielaborazione sono venuti dalla lettura dei saggi di accompagnamento all'edizione in facsimile dell'*Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* della *Országos Széchényi Könyvtár*, Cod. Lat. 4: *Apollonius Pictus. An Illustrated Late Antique Romance around 1000*, Anna Boreczky, András Németh eds, Budapest 2011, benchè l'*Apollonius pictus* sia più antico, prodotto in tutt'altro ambito artistico e culturale, appartenga a un altro genere letterario e soprattutto presenti un sistema illustrativo diverso rispetto al Vat. lat. 3340.

14 Sulle iniziali del manoscritto si veda Valentino Pace, "Studi sulla decorazione libraria in area grafica beneventana", in *L'età dell'Abate Desiderio. II, La decorazione libraria*. Atti della tavola rotonda, a cura di Guglielmo Cavallo, Montecassino 1989, pp. 65–93, p. 86.

15 In assenza di un'analisi scientifica degli inchiostri è impossibile, con il solo esame autoptico, stabilire se per la decorazione e l'illustrazione fu usato lo stesso inchiostro della trascrizione, come sostiene Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105*, Cambridge 1999, p. 188.

16 Secondo Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts" (n. 3), p. 65, n. 15: "*It is just possible that the* MS *may be an incomplete copy … but I feel it is not*". Sono più tardi i disegni nei margini dei ff. 39r (Annibale alla battaglia di Canne, *Hist*. IV, 16, 1–3) e 43r (Madio, *Hist*. IV, 18, 16), che Ross data rispettivamente al XIV e al XII–XIII secolo: Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts" (n. 3), pp. 45–46. Secondo Paola Piacentini sarebbe più tardo anche il disegno a f. 19r, ma esso è sicuramente eseguito dalla stessa mano principale del manoscritto: Paola Piacentini, "Orosio, Historiae adversus paganos", in *Vedere i classici. L'illustrazione libraria dei testi antichi dall'età romana al tardo medioevo*, catalogo della mostra (Salone Sistino – Musei Vaticani, 9 ottobre 1996 – 19 aprile 1997), a cura di Marco Buonocore, Roma 1996, pp. 210–214, sp. p. 211.





3/ Inizio delle guerre tarantine, Cattura degli ambasciatori romani, Coscrizione dei "proletari", I romani attaccano Taranto, I tarantini con Pirro attaccano i romani; *Historiae adversus paganos*, Italia meridionale, inizi del XII secolo / BAV (Città del Vaticano), Vat. lat. 3340, f. 24v

4/ Nozze di Filippo e Olimpiade, Filippo ferito mentre assedia Motona; *Historiae adversus paganos*, Italia meridionale, inizi del XII secolo / BAV (Città del Vaticano), Vat. lat. 3340, f. 17r

Su questo dinamico palcoscenico scorrono le catastrofi, gli orrori e i disastri della storia del passato che Orosio mette sotto gli occhi dei pagani per convincerli che il mondo non era migliore quando gli dei dell'Olimpo regnavano incontrastati[17]: più della metà dei disegni mettono in campo assedi e battaglie navali o di cavalleria, con cattura di ostaggi e prigionieri o esodi forzati di uomini e animali[18]; esecuzioni capitali, infami delitti e colpe vergognose[19]; epidemie[20]; eruzioni vulcaniche, terremoti e maremoti[21]; fulmini e grandinate devastatrici[22]; voragini che all'improvviso inghiottono città e cavalieri[23]; presagi infausti[24].

Brevi didascalie in beneventana di modulo molto piccolo intitolano le scene, identificano i luoghi, danno un nome ai protagonisti; solo in un caso li fanno parlare: un funzionario ordina ad uno scriba di stilare le liste di coscrizione militare per i "proletari" (*Hist.* IV, 1, 3, f. 24v [**Fig. 3**]: "*scrives romanorum militiam*"). Dialoghi e azione si esprimono attraverso la accentuata gestualità dei personaggi, in una scarnissima cornice naturale o architettonica: niente linea di terreno sotto i piedi, niente mare sotto le navi, tutto fluttua nel vuoto. La natura si manifesta solo sotto forma di nefasti eventi atmosferici e l'ambiente neutro della pergamena è punteggiato da edifici e insediamenti convenzionali: città cinte di mura, accampamenti, templi.

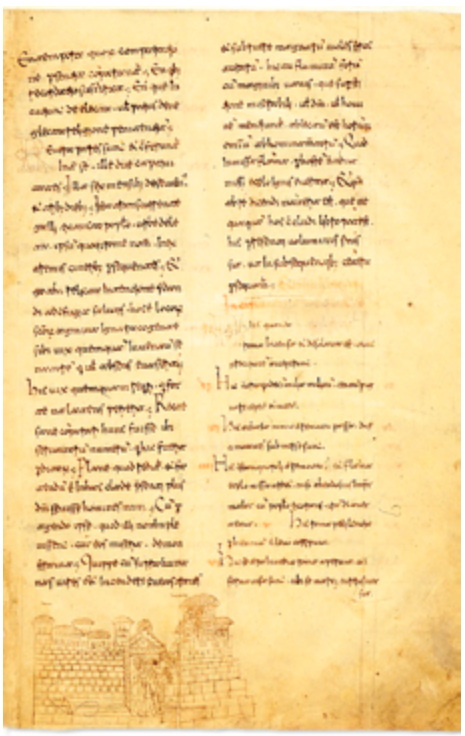
Il Vat. lat. 3340 pone una serie di problemi non ancora risolti in maniera soddisfacente e forse non definitivamente risolvibili: le illustrazioni erano previste già al momento della confezione del codice o vennero aggiunte dopo? Quando e dove furono eseguite? Si tratta di copie o di creazioni originali?

Francis Newton ritiene che i "*generous margins*" furono progettati appositamente per accogliere i disegni: questi sarebbero quindi coevi alla produzione del manoscritto avvenuta, secondo il paleografo, nello *scriptorium* di Montecassino durante l'abbaziato di Desiderio (1058–1087), *ante* 1075[25]. La maggior parte degli studiosi ha invece proposto per il corredo iconografico del Vat. lat. 3340 una data posteriore al completamento del codice, entro la fine dell'XI secolo[26] o agli inizi del XII secolo[27].

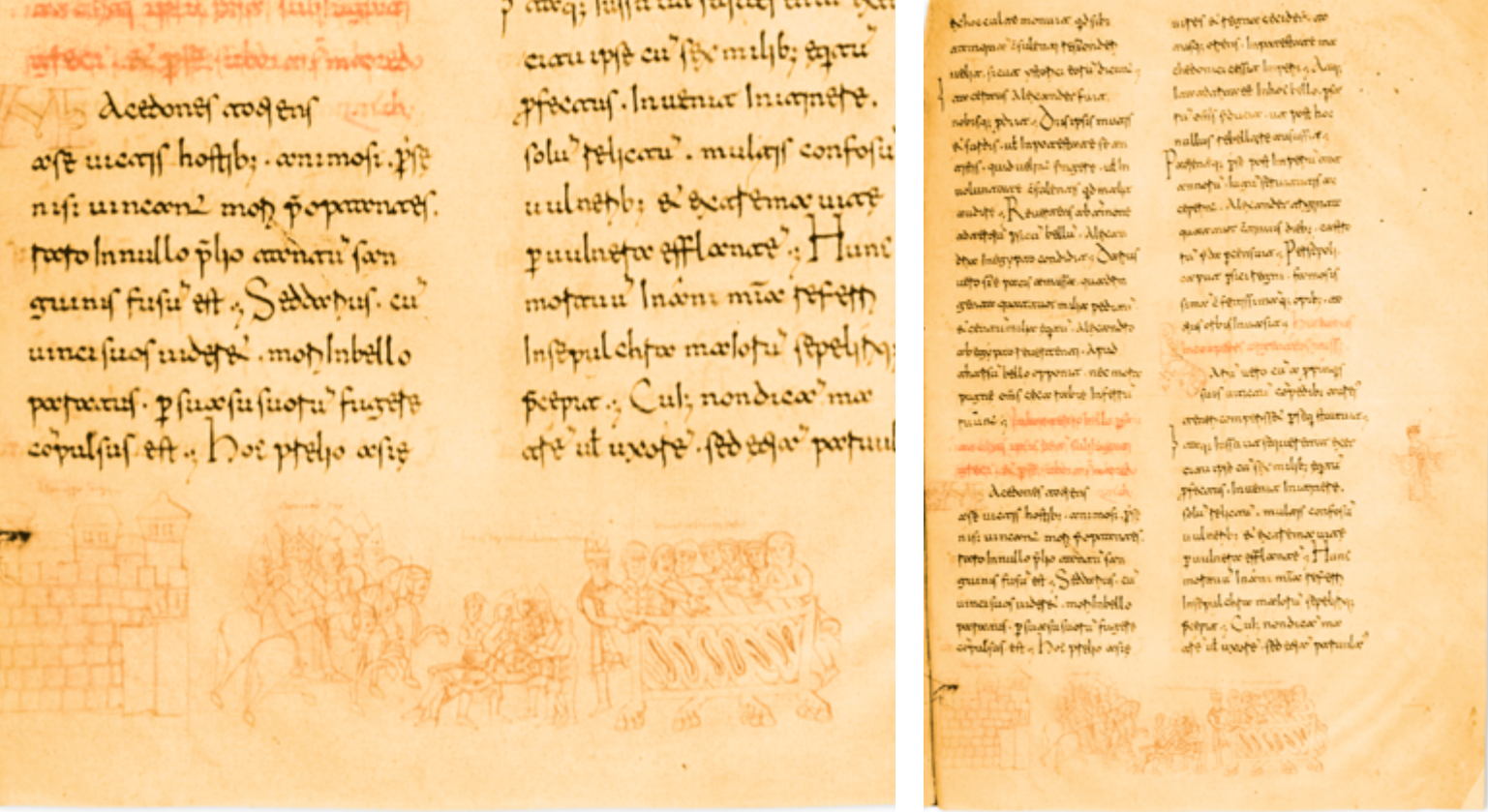
Se una sistematica illustrazione delle *Historiae* fu concepita fin dall'inizio, questa non solo restò incompleta – poiché i disegni si interrompono a f. 28v – ma certamente non fu pianificata con cura. Le immagini sono infatti distribuite in maniera irregolare, non sempre in corrispondenza del passo relativo: sotto la colonna sbagliata (a f. 17r [**Fig. 4**], l'episodio di Filippo ferito durante l'assedio di Motona nel testo – *Hist.* III, 12, 9 – si trova nella col. A, ma l'illustrazione è sotto la col. B)

o addirittura su un'altra pagina (l'assedio del Campidoglio da parte dei Galli Senoni è scritto a f. 8vb – *Hist*. II, 19, 8–9 – ma è illustrato nel bordo inferiore di f. 9r [**Figs 5a, 5b**]).

17 Una descrizione di tutti i disegni, con qualche inaccuratezza, è in Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts" (n. 3), pp. 40–45, ripreso da Meier, *Chronicon pictum* (n. 3), pp. 127–136.
18 Ai ff. 1r, 1v, 2v, 3r, 4v, 6r, 6v, 9r, 11v, 14v, 16r, 16v (due), 17r, 17v (due), 19r, 20r, 20v, 21r, 21v (due), 22r, 23r, 23v, 24v (tre), 25r, 25v (due), 26r (due), 27r.
19 Ai ff. 3r, 16r (tre), 17v (due), 19v, 21r, 23r (due), 26r, 27v, 28r, 28v.
20 Al f. 2r.
21 Ai ff. 8r, 10v.
22 Ai ff. 15r, 25v, 26v.
23 Ai ff. 10v, 14r.
24 Ai ff. 26v, 27r.
25 Newton, *The Scriptorium* (n. 15), pp. 109, n. 95, 210, 308, 326, 388–389. Lo studioso ritiene anche che i *tituli* siano stati scritti dalla stessa mano che vergò il testo.
26 Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts" (n. 3), pp. 38–39.
27 Pace, "Studi sulla decorazione libraria" (n. 14), pp. 86–87; Giulia Orofino, "Cavalleria e devozione. Libri miniati francesi a Napoli e a Bari", in *Il Gotico europeo in Italia,* a cura di Valentino Pace, Martina Bagnoli, Napoli 1994, pp. 375–389, sp. p. 384; *Eadem*, "La decorazione del libro di storia tra età normanna ed età sveva: epos, cronaca e manifesto", in *Civiltà del Mezzogiorno d'Italia. Libro, scrittura, documento in età normanno-sveva*, Atti del Convegno dell'Associazione Italiana dei Paleografi e Diplomatisti (Napoli – Badia di Cava dei Tirreni, 14–18 ottobre 1991), a cura di Filippo D'Oria, Salerno 1994, pp. 197–226, sp. pp. 201, n. 14, 202–204; Giulia Orofino, Valentino Pace, "La miniatura", in *I Normanni. Popolo d'Europa (MXXX–MCC),* catalogo della mostra (Roma, Palazzo Venezia, 28 gennaio – 30 aprile 1994), a cura di Mario D'Onofrio, Venezia 1994, pp. 262–271, sp. pp. 264–265; Giulia Orofino, "Il contributo di Federico II all'iconografia profana. Le illustrazioni del Romanzo di Alessandro", in *Federico II e le nuove culture,* Atti del XXXI Convegno storico internazionale (Todi, 9–12 ottobre 1994), Spoleto 1995, pp. 393–415, sp. p. 413; Meier, *Chronicon pictum* (n. 3), p. 127; Valentino Pace, "Storia dell'arte e della miniatura", in *La Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana luogo di ricerca al servizio degli studi*, Città del Vaticano 2010, pp. 213–272, sp. p. 226.



5a, b/ I Galli assediano il Campidoglio (dettaglio e pagina intera), *Historiae adversus paganos*, Italia meridionale, inizi del XII secolo / BAV (Città del Vaticano), Vat. lat. 3340, f. 9r

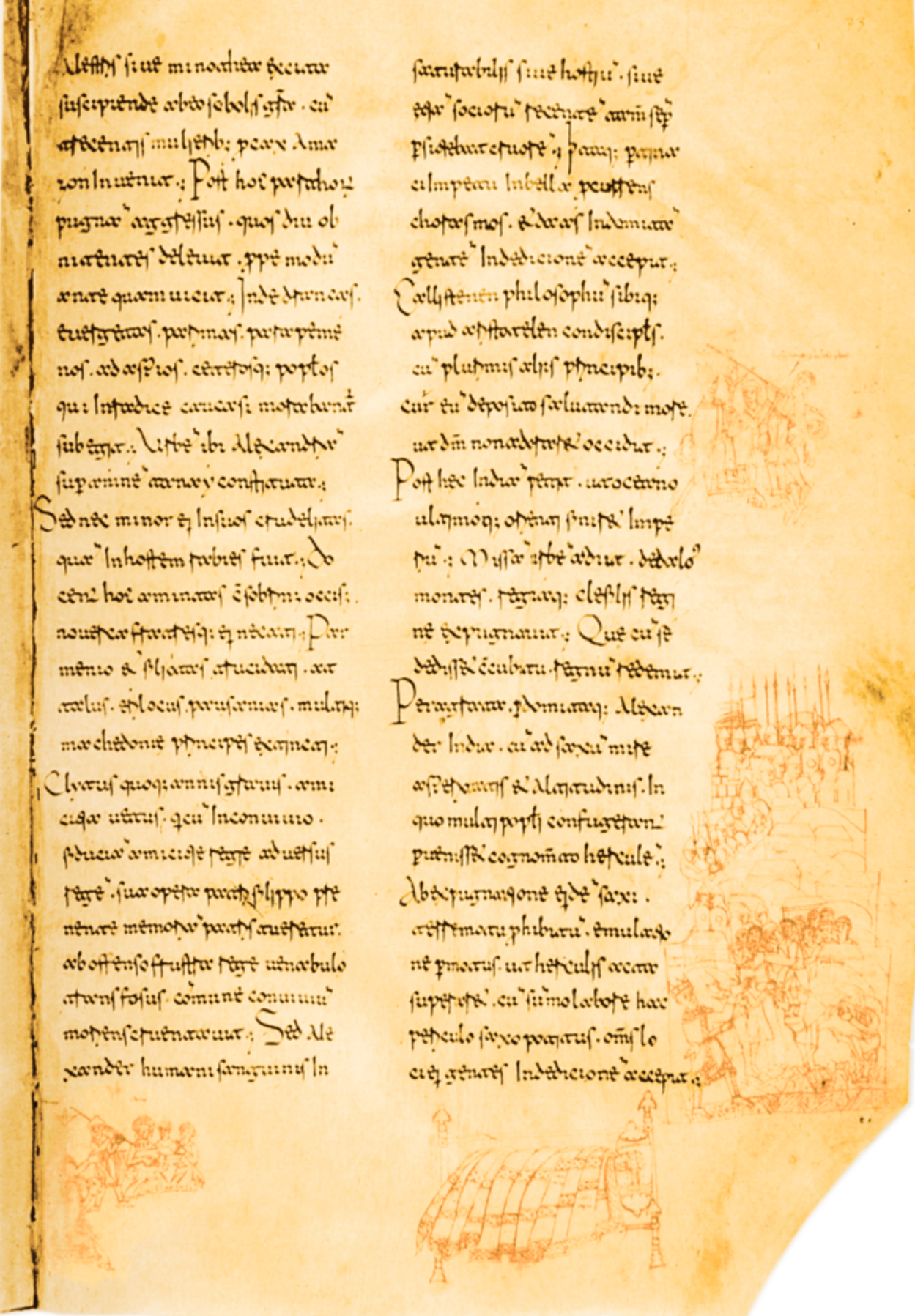


Soprattutto nelle pagine più "affollate", il rapporto testo/immagine si complica, obbligando il fruitore a districarsi in una vera e propria rete di rimandi verbali e visivi, che lo costringono a trovare, perdere, ritrovare e magari perdere di nuovo il filo del racconto. A f. 21r, dopo aver letto e visto nella col. A la decapitazione dei parenti di Alessandro (*Hist*. III, 16, 3), per la rappresentazione dell'assedio di Gordio, narrato a metà della col. B (*Hist*. III, 16, 5) bisogna scendere nel margine inferiore destro, quindi risalire e continuare a leggere fino alla frase "(Alessandro) si volle immergere sudato com'era nelle acque del fiume Cidno, ma avendogli il freddo paralizzato i nervi, rimase tutto intirizzito e corse il rischio di morire" (*Hist*. III, 16, 5)[28], che è illustrata da due scene separate nel margine laterale esterno: qui peraltro Alessandro, raffigurato prima a cavallo con i suoi armati in atto di avvicinarsi al fiume e poi a letto malato, è erroneamente identificato dai *tituli* come "*Darius rex*".

Il triste epilogo della vita di Dario è copiato a partire da metà della col. B di f. 22r (*Hist*. III, 17, 6–7 [**Figs 6a**, **6b**]): Alessandro, "venuto a sapere che Dario, incatenato con ceppi d'oro, era tenuto prigioniero dai suoi parenti" – il ritratto di Dario con le mani incastrate in due enormi "manette" è sul margine esterno – , "decise di inseguirlo. Partito di persona con una schiera di 6000 cavalieri" – il disegno è nel margine inferiore, accanto alla città di Alessandria che "sintetizza" la sua fondazione da parte del macedone di cui si dà conto nella col. A (*Hist*., 16, 14) – "dopo aver comandato all'esercito di seguirlo a poca distanza, trovò lungo la strada Dario abbandonato da tutti, mentre stava esalando l'ultimo respiro col corpo trafitto da molte ferite. Dimostrando una pietà ormai inutile" – il disegno è nel margine inferiore al centro, dove Alessandro soccorre Dario abbracciandolo – "ordinò che la salma fosse tumulata nel sepolcro degli antenati" – il disegno è nel margine inferiore a destra: Alessandro depone il cadavere di Dario in un sarcofago strigilato sorretto da zampe leonine.

Lo stesso andirivieni colonna / margine laterale / margine inferiore / margine laterale è richiesto a chi legge, sulla col. B di f. 23r [**Fig. 7**] altri tre episodi della saga di Alessandro. L'uccisione di Callistene e di molti altri nobili (*Hist*. III, 18, 11) è nel margine laterale: Alessandro Magno, seduto su un trono a faldistorio con la corona in testa e lo scettro gigliato

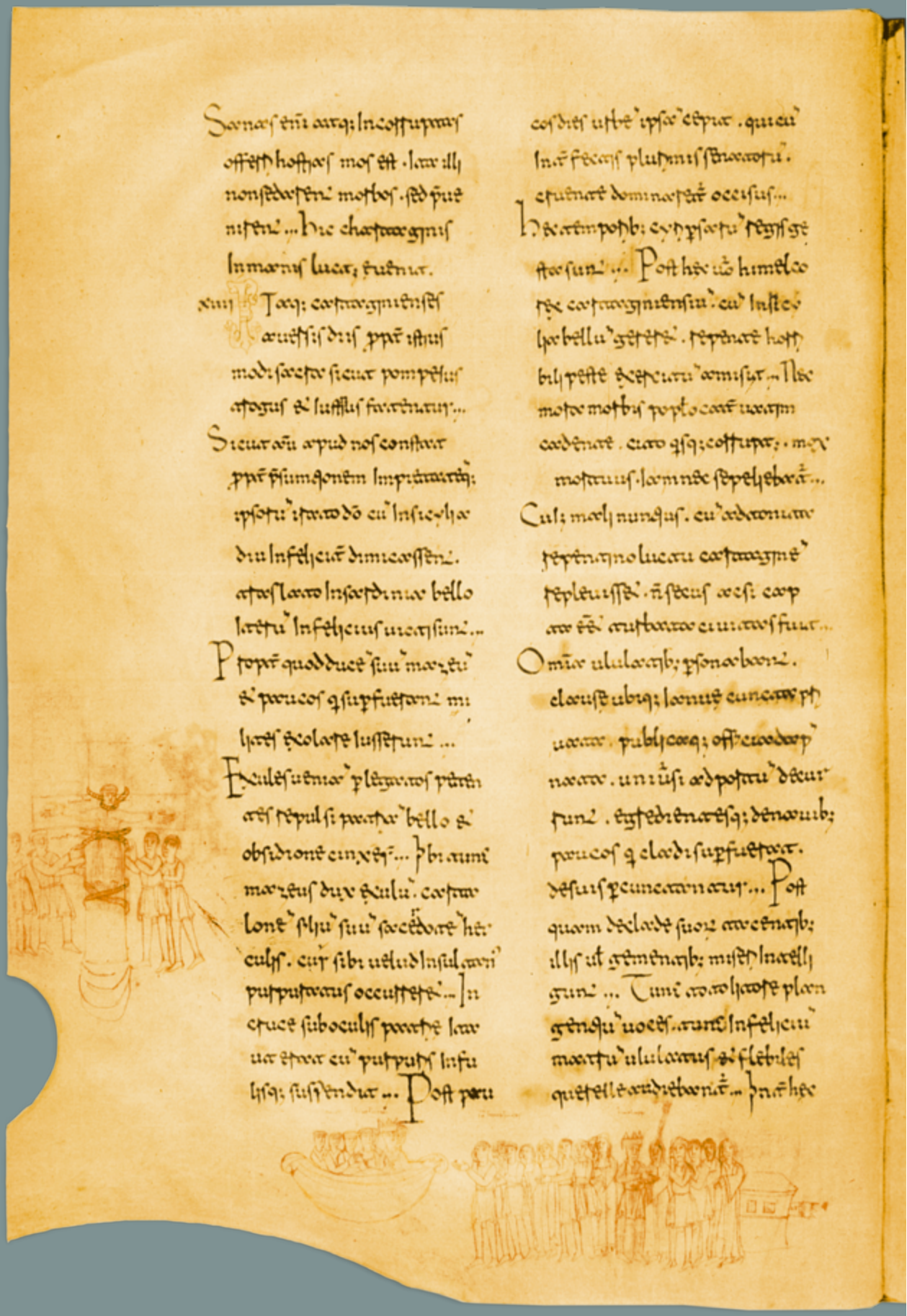
28 La traduzione italiana di questo e degli altri passi delle *Historiae adversus paganos* è quella di Aldo Bartalucci nell'edizione Lippold, *Orosio. Le storie contro i pagani* (n. 1).



6a, b/ La città di Alessandria, Alessandro insegue Dario, lo soccorre e lo seppellisce, Dario incatenato (dettaglio e pagina intera); *Historiae adversus paganos*. Italia meridionale, inizi del XII secolo / BAV (Città del Vaticano), Vat. lat. 3340, f. 22r

7/ Alessandro ordina l'uccisione di Clito, Alessandro e Cleofile, Alessandro assedia Aornos, Alessandro ordina l'uccisione di Callistene; *Historiae adversus paganos*, Italia meridionale, inizi del XII secolo / BAV (Città del Vaticano), Vat. lat. 3340, f. 23r

8/ Crocifissione di Cartalone, Imilcone torna in patria, Imilcone accolto dal suo polpolo, Morte di Imilcone; *Historiae adversus paganos*, Italia meridionale, inizi del XII secolo / BAV (Città del Vaticano), Vat. lat. 3340, f. 28v



nella mano sinistra, comanda al boia di trafiggere il filosofo, dietro al quale si intravede un altro cadavere. La resa della regina Cleofile (*Hist*. III, 19, 1), che poté riavere il regno occupato dal macedone offrendosi a lui, è tradotta nel margine inferiore, sotto la col. B, con un'immagine assai eloquente: un enorme letto ricoperto di coltri ricamate accoglie i due amanti con tanto di corona. L'assedio della fortezza pachistana di Aornos (*Hist*. III, 19, 2) è raffigurato nel margine laterale in basso: la roccaforte, annidata su una rupe alta e scoscesa, "*Saxum*", che neanche Ercole era riuscito ad espugnare, è conquistata dai soldati di Alessandro, davanti al quale si arrendono i "*populi capti*".

La presenza dei *tituli*, che in genere si attengono fedelmente al testo, con molti errori di ortografia e un deciso impoverimento del latino, ma con rarissimi fraintendimenti, diventa indispensabile alla comprensione delle scene: quando non ci sono o sono troppo generici, il riconoscimento dei soggetti resta incerto. Gli sterpi, le rovine e la città disegnati nel bordo inferiore di f. 8r, privi di legende esplicative, potrebbero riferirsi ai terremoti, alle eruzioni e ai maremoti che scossero la Sicilia e la Locride, separando Atalanta dalla terraferma e riducendola a un'isoletta spopolata, secondo il passo trascritto nella col. A (*Hist*., 18, 6–7), oppure all'assedio di Veio, di cui si dà notizia nella col. B (*Hist*., 19, 1–5). I soldati che a colpi di cerbottana abbattono mura, le cui macerie sommergono gli "*athenienses*", sono gli spartani di Evagora, ma non si capisce se stanno assediando Atene, come racconta il passo trascritto sopra il disegno, nella col. A del f. 6r (*Hist*. II, 17, 2) o se invece stanno distruggendo le mura del Pireo, come si spiega nella col. B (*Hist*. II, 17, 2): in nessuno dei due casi Orosio parla comunque di cadaveri.

La *mise en page* assai "disordinata" e il legame spesso labile tra testo e immagine, che rende acrobatica la lettura, sembrerebbero indicare uno sfalsamento tra la copia del manoscritto e la sua illustrazione. Se, accettando l'autorevole giudizio di Francis Newton, *le Historiae* furono trascritte a Montecassino ante 1075[29], i disegni dovrebbero slittare almeno ai primi trent'anni del XII secolo. Lo confermano anche le armature e le tattiche con cui si combatte nel Vat. lat. 3340, tutte aggiornate alle tecniche militari normanne (giaco di maglia con cappuccio, elmi conici con nasale, scudi a mandorla, cavalli con briglie, staffe e morso, lance in resta, strette sotto l'ascella), attestate nell'Italia meridionale conquistata dagli Altavilla soprattutto in scultura, a partire dal secondo quarto del 1100[30].

D'altra parte i disegni del Vat. lat. 3340 non trovano alcun confronto nella miniatura dell'*âge d'or* desideriana, che innesta sulla secolare tradizione indigena apporti dell'arte bizantina e ottoniana: si tratti degli splendidi disegni che illustrano gli omiliari Casin. 98 e 99, delle vignette che accompagnano il canto dell'*Exultet* nei rotoli Vat. lat. 3784, Vat. Barb. lat. 592 e Add. 30337 della *British Library* o di quelle con la vita di san Benedetto e di san Mauro del lezionario Vat. lat. 1202, o ancora delle figure allegoriche e filosofiche negli scritti di logica e dialettica del Vat. Ottob. lat. 1406[31]. Pochi appigli offre anche la miniatura postdesideriana: le imbalsamate scene di donazione nel Regesto di Sant'Angelo in Formis, Casin. Regesti 4 o le "icone" degli esibitori dei documenti raccolti nel Regesto di Pietro Diacono, Casin. Regesti 3, entrambi prodotti a Montecassino negli anni '30 del XII secolo, sono estranee alle tumultuose storie che animano i margini del Vat. lat. 3340[32], così come sono lontane le miniature delle cronache monastiche contemporanee, il *Chronicon* di Santa Sofia di Benevento Vat. lat. 4939[33] e il *Chronicon* di San Vincenzo al Volturno Vat. Barb. lat. 2724[34].

29 Un predecessore di Desiderio, l'abate Teobaldo (1022–1035) quando era ancora preposito della dipendenza cassinese di San Liberatore alla Maiella, fece trascrivere una "*istoria pauli orosii*", elencata nel suo *Commemoratorium*, redatto nel monastero abruzzese nel 1019, e quasi sicuramente identificabile con il cod. Casin. 303, il cui apparato decorativo, costituito solo da iniziali, è assai modesto: Giulia Orofino, *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. II, 2. I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma 2000, pp. 11–12, 115–116.

30 Sull'iconografia dei cavalieri normanni nella scultura dell'Italia meridionale si veda Errico Cuozzo, "*Quei maledetti Normanni*". *Cavalieri e organizzazione militare nel Mezzogiorno normanno*, Napoli 1989, pp. 23–40.

31 Sulla miniatura desideriana si veda Giulia Orofino. "La miniatura a Montecassino. 1035–1071; 1071–1087", in *Miniatura a Montecassino. L'età desideriana* (ebook interattivo), a cura di Giulia Orofino, Cassino 2013.

32 Giulia Orofino, "Teatrini della memoria. Papi, principi e abati nel Regesto di Sant'Angelo in Formis", in *Il potere dell'arte nel Medioevo. Studi in onore di Mario D'Onofrio*, a cura di Manuela Gianandrea, Francesco Gangemi, Roma 2015, pp. 813–824; *Eadem*, "Montecassino, l'immagine e la memoria", in *Il Regesto di Pietro Diacono*, a cura di Jean-Marie Martin (in corso di stampa).

33 *Eadem*, "L'apparato decorativo", in *Chronicon S. Sophiae (Cod. Vat. lat. 4939) Edizione e commento*, a cura di Jean-Marie Martin, Roma 2000, pp. 137–186.

34 *Eadem*, "Terra Sancti Vincencii e Terra Sancti Benedicti: miniature oltre i confini", in *Il Molise medievale. Archeologia e arte*, a cura di Carlo Ebanista, Alessio Monciatti, Firenze 2010, pp. 201–209.

Per trovare parenti allo stile dell'*Orosius pictus* bisogna spostarsi sul versante tirrenico dell'Italia meridionale, e cercare non nei libri, ma negli avori salernitani (o amalfitani) dell'iniziale XII secolo. Le tavolette con storie del Vecchio e del Nuovo Testamento del Museo Diocesano di Salerno[35] o i cosiddetti "Scacchi di Carlomagno"[36] presentano molti punti di contatto con i disegni: le rappresentazioni urbane, con le cupole che sporgono al di là delle mura e le porte chiuse da pesanti serramenti, le tipologie delle armature e delle vesti, specie quelle femminili con maniche larghissime, l'insistito decorativismo degli arredi, le pose e le fisionomie dei personaggi[37].

Ovunque abbia lavorato l'autore delle illustrazioni orosiane, egli non fu sicuramente un dilettante, come voleva David Ross[38]. Lo dimostra la straordinaria capacità narrativa con cui riesce a vivacizzare l'infilata di disastri messa insieme da Orosio: i lupi che trascinano le loro vittime dilaniate nel Foro (f. 26v) e i terrificanti elefanti di Pirro, più simili ad orsi ma con la torretta d'ordinanza (ff. 24v [Fig. 3], 25r, 25v, 26r); una cospirazione di matrone romane tradite da una serva e costrette a bere i veleni da loro stesse preparati (f. 16r) e una vestale impalata insieme al suo seduttore (f. 27v); Filippo di Macedonia servito a tavola con la sua sposa Olimpiade e subito dopo accecato da una freccia a Motona (f. 17r [Fig. 4]) (dopo questo incidente il re di Macedonia è sempre raffigurato con un occhio chiuso: ff. 17v [Fig. 2], 19r, 19v); Verginio che, "*in conspectu populi*", mozza la testa a sua figlia violentata dal crudele Appio Claudio (f. 3r) e il generale cartaginese Mazeo che crocifigge suo figlio Cartalone sacerdote di Ercole, perciò tonsurato (f. 28v [Fig. 8]). L'artista non rinuncia a inserire suoi personali commenti visivi, come il piccolo diavolo nero che abita il tetto del tempio tarantino dedicato a Giove (f. 25r) e quello del tempio dove gli efferati cartaginesi praticano, con gatti a nove code, le loro torture (f. 28r).

Nella maggior parte dei casi i disegni riproducono con precisione il dettato del testo, ma a volte lo interpretano e lo arricchiscono. L'incitamento che Leonida rivolge agli spartani alla vigilia della battaglia delle Termopili, "*prandete, tamquam apud inferos cenaturi*" (*Hist*. II, 11, 9), è concretamente tradotto con l'immagine del condottiero seduto davanti a una mensa imbandita insieme ai suoi prodi (f. 2r). Le tavole che Appio Claudio consegna al popolo – "*lex attica dedit*" – sono le ultime due di una legislazione che, imitando le norme soloniche, portò alla degenerazione tirannica del decemvirato: infatti il console Appio Claudio indossa la corona, contravvenendo a ogni legge e costume romani (f. 2v [Fig. 1])[39]. La fine della libertà ateniese, decretata da Filippo con la battaglia di Cheronea (*Hist*. III, 13, 11) è commentata da un monaco che gira la ruota della fortuna (f. 19r), a sottolineare la mutevolezza delle vicende umane[40]. La vergogna delle Forche Caudine, sotto le quali i sanniti fanno sfilare i prigionieri romani spogliati delle armi e persino delle vesti, coperti solo di stracci "*ob verecunda corporum tegenda*" (*Hist*. III, 15, 6), si ripete l'anno dopo per gli stessi sanniti sconfitti dal console Papirio ed è resa con due scene speculari (ff. 20r e 20v), per regola di contraccambio. I tarantini che secondo Orosio si limitarono a cacciare gli ambasciatori romani (*Hist*. IV, 1, 2), nel disegno di f. 24v [Fig. 3] li picchiano in testa con delle clave e correttamente l'esercito romano si vendica di Taranto attaccandola dal mare, particolare omesso nelle *Historiae* (IV, 1, 4).

L'artista sembra aver letto attentamente il testo, ma i suoi disegni non possono spiegarsi esclusivamente come creazioni *ad hoc*, inventate di sana pianta da un "*amateur*". Non è possibile provare che essi siano stati copiati *in toto* da una precedente versione delle *Historiae*[41], né che gruppi coerenti di immagini siano migrati da altre tradizioni illustrative: David Ross ha dimostrato che le 27 storie di Filippo e Alessandro rappresentate tra i ff. 16v e 23v non hanno alcun rapporto con le recensioni dell'*Alexander historiatus*[42], che pure circolavano nella stessa Italia meridionale[43].

Alcuni indizi lasciano però intravedere dietro i disegni del codice l'adattamento di modelli.

I *consularia* tardoantichi non hanno direttamente ispirato il sistema illustrativo dell'Orosio vaticano[44]: sia nei *Fasti Berolinenses* oggi datati tra la fine del V e i primi anni del VI secolo[45] che in quelli di Ravenna, tràditi da un manoscritto mosano di metà XI secolo (Merseburg, *Dombibliothek*, MS 202) ma risalenti a un prototipo del V–VI secolo[46], i disegni sono inseriti all'interno delle colonne di scrittura; per quanto il cattivo stato di

conservazione consente di capire, nella cosiddetta cronaca alessandrina di Mosca, del VI secolo[47], le miniature, quando non occupano l'intera pagina, sono pseudo marginali, poiché collocate anch'esse nella colonna, dove le righe del testo si accorciano per accoglierle[48]. Anche quando i soggetti sono simili – un assedio, un'esecuzione capitale o un terremoto – le immagini stereotipate e ripetitive delle cronache, funzionali a ritrovare rapidamente gli eventi elencati nel testo, non hanno niente della ricchezza narrativa di quelle orosiane, che solo in due casi presentano formule altrettanto sintetiche: gli ideogrammi delle città di Alessandria (f. 22r [Fig. 6]) e di Cartagine (f. 28r).

Cicli più ampi relativi alla storia dell'antica Roma potrebbero aver prestato, oltre ad alcuni *topoi* dell'arte militare classica, come il disboscamento aggiunto all'attacco dei tarantini aiutati da Pirro, ma non richiesto dal testo di Orosio (*Hist*. IV, 1, 6, f. 24v [Fig. 3]), particolari più specifici. Nelle *Historiae Romanorum* scritte in volgare romanesco e illustrate a Roma alla fine del XIII secolo, Amburgo, *Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek*, MS 151 in scrin., f. 42r, la resa di Roma ai Galli di Brenno è raffigurata in maniera significativamente simile a quella del Vat. lat. 3340 (*Hist*. II, 19, 8–9, f. 9r [Fig. 5]). I giovani romani sono rifugiati sul Campidoglio, che con la sua torre centrale sembra ricordare l'aspetto medievale della rocca[49]; uno di loro si sporge dalle mura per consegnare ai nemici una borsa, contenente l'oro pattuito come prezzo per la libertà. I particolari condivisi dalle due illustrazioni sono troppo dettagliati per non avere dietro una fonte comune, che nel caso del manoscritto romano Otto Pächt ha rintracciato nella tradizione miniaturistica tardoantica[50].

Più ancora che nella ripresa di singole formule iconografiche, l'eredità dell'arte tardoantica si rivela nella consapevole adozione, in molti dei disegni del Vat. lat. 3340, del metodo narrativo continuo. Spesso in un'unica immagine vengono fusi momenti successivi dell'azione: a f. 16r (*Hist*. III, 9, 3) la disfatta dell'esercito romano e il conseguente attacco di Decio Mure contro i ribelli latini avvengono simultaneamente; a f. 21v (*Hist*. III, 16, 7–8) la battaglia di Isso è ancora in corso ma Dario già fugge verso destra. A f. 17v [Fig. 2], due eventi distanziati nel tempo, gli ateniesi che

35 Sugli avori salernitani, la loro datazione e localizzazione, si vedano i due volumi *L'enigma degli avori medievali da Amalfi a Salerno*, a cura di Ferdinando Bologna, Napoli 2008; *The "Amalfi"-"Salerno" Ivories and the Medieval Mediterranean. A Notebook from the workshop held in Amalfi*, a cura di Francesca Dell'Acqua *[et al.]*, Amalfi 2011.

36 Sugli "Scacchi di Carlomagno" del *Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques* della *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* si veda Lucinia Speciale, "Il gioco dei Re. Intorno agli Scacchi di Carlomagno", in *Medioevo. La Chiesa e il Palazzo*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Parma, 20–24 settembre 2005), a cura di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, Milano 2007, pp. 238–248; *Eadem*, "Guerra e pace. Ancora sugli Scacchi di Carlomagno", in *Tempi e Forme. Miscellanea di studi offerti a Pina Belli D'Elia*, a cura di Luisa Derosa, Clara Gelao, Foggia 2011, pp. 73–81; *Eadem*, "Ludus Scachorum: il gioco dei re. Forma e iconografia degli scacchi tra l'Italia meridionale e l'Europa", in *L'enigma degli avori medievali* (n. 35), pp. 203–229.

37 I rapporti tra i disegni del Vat. lat. 3340 e gli avori salernitani erano già stati notati da Carlo Bertelli, che attribuiva il manoscritto ad "area tirrena, a Napoli o a Salerno": Carlo Bertelli, "L'illustrazione dei testi classici nell'area beneventana", in *La cultura nell'Occidente latino dal VI all'XI secolo*, Spoleto 1975 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 22), pp. 899–926, sp. p. 920. Si vedano inoltre *Idem*, "Miniatura e pittura: dal monaco al professionista", in *Dall'eremo al cenobio. La civiltà monastica in Italia dalle origini all'età di Dante*, Milano 1987, pp. 579–699, sp. p. 581, dove il codice si dice prodotto "forse a Salerno, città principesca"; Antonio Braca, *Gli avori medievali del Museo Diocesano di Salerno*, Salerno 1994, pp. 154, 157.

38 Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts" (n. 3), pp. 46, 56.

39 Oliviero Diliberto, "Una miniatura medioevale in tema di decemvirato legislativo (a margine del Vat. lat. 3340)", in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae, IX*, Città del Vaticano 2002, pp. 103–114.

40 Per l'interpretazione dell'immagine come Fortuna si veda Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts" (n. 3), p. 42; di diverso parere Sibyl Kraft, *Ein Bilderbuch aus dem Königreich Sizilien: kunsthistorische Studien zum Liber ad honorem Augusti des Petrus von Eboli (Codex 120 II der Burgerbibliothek Bern)*, Weimar/Jena 2006, p. 101, n. 150, secondo la quale il disegno non avrebbe rapporto diretto con il testo. La scritta, senza senso apparente, nella cornice della "ruota", ormai quasi illeggibile, è trascritta da Ross "+ *ad mane panis et folia dicam* […] *era folia et panis, cito carebimus malis*".

41 Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts" (n. 3), p. 46; della stessa opinione Meier, *Chronicon pictum* (n. 3), p. 137.

42 Ross, "Illustrated Manuscripts" (n. 3), p. 46; *Idem*, *Alexander Historiatus. A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature*, Londra 1963, pp. 74–75. Di diversa opinione Helga Georgen, *Das "Carmen de Rebus Siculis" (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, ms. 120). Studien zu den Bildquellen und zum Erzählstil eines illustrierten Lobgedichts des Peter von Eboli*, PhD thesis (Universität Wien), Vienna 1975, pp. 71–76, 148–149, 157.

43 Orofino, "Il contributo di Federico II" (n. 27), pp. 393–415.

44 Come invece pensava Bertelli, "L'illustrazione dei testi classici" (n. 36), pp. 920–921, e chi scrive ha sostenuto in "La decorazione del libro di storia" (n. 26), pp. 201–204. L'ipotesi era stata già rifiutata da Kraft, *Ein Bilderbuch* (n. 40), p. 102.

45 Berlino, *Staatliche Museen*, Papyrus 13296: Richard W. Burgess, Jitse H. F. Dijkstra, "The Berlin 'Chronicle' (P. Berol. inv. 13296): A New Edition of the Earliest Extant Late Antique Consularia", *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, LVIII (2012) pp. 273–301.

46 Bernard Bischoff, Wilhelm Koehler, "Un'edizione illustrata degli Annali ravennati del Basso Impero", *Studi Romagnoli*, III (1952), pp. 1–17.

47 Mosca, Museo Pushkin, inv. Nr. 310/8: Reiner Sörries, *Christlich-antike Buchmalerei im Überblick*, Wiesbaden 1993, pp. 81– 86.

48 Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, Princeton 1947, p. 104.

49 Ursula Nilgen, "Roma e le antichità romane nelle raffigurazioni medievali", in *Roma antica nel Medioevo. Mito, rappresentazioni, sopravvivenze nella 'Respublica Christiana' dei secoli IX–XIII*. Atti della XIV Settimana internazionale di studio (Mendola, 24–28 agosto 1998), Milano 2001, pp. 449–466, p. 456.

50 *Historiae Romanorum, Codex 151 in scrin. der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg*, a cura di Tilo Brandis, Otto Pächt, Francoforte sul Meno 1974, pp. 193–196.

occupano le porte delle Termopili per impedire a Filippo di entrare in Grecia (*Hist*. III, 12, 15) e la decisione di Filippo di rivolgere contro gli alleati la guerra che aveva preparato contro i nemici (*Hist*. III, 12, 16) sono conflazionati, e così a f. 25v la sconfitta di Pirro ad Ascoli Satriano (*Hist*. IV, 1, 19–22) e la sua occupazione di Siracusa (*Hist*. IV, 1, 23). A f. 24v [**Fig. 3**] i tarantini si difendono dai romani (*Hist*. IV, 1, 4), e contemporaneamente, sugli spalti della stessa città, li attaccano aiutati da Pirro (*Hist*. IV, 1, 6). Se a f. 22r [**Fig. 6**] le tre fasi dell'inseguimento, del ritrovamento e del seppellimento di Dario sono accostate ma mantenute paratatticamente isolate, i tre diversi episodi della storia di Imilcone a f. 28v [**Fig. 8**] sono messi uno accanto all'altro senza soluzione di continuità, con il protagonista ripetuto tre volte: il re ritorna su una nave per annunciare ai cartaginesi la perdita della sua armata in Sicilia, parla al popolo e infine si suicida nella sua casa (*Hist*. IV, 6, 10–15).

Il gusto per l'antico non esaurisce però il linguaggio del miniatore, che è anzi assolutamente "moderno"; come fossero delle "onde mnemoniche", quelle citazioni vengono dal passato ma modellano il presente. Un presente segnato, nel contesto di produzione del Vat. lat. 3340, dall'impatto che l'arrivo dei Normanni ebbe sulla cultura dell'Italia meridionale: un profondo rinnovamento di repertori, l'apertura di prospettive inconsuete, la possibilità di mettere in scena la storia contemporanea, la scoperta dei miti romanzi e la riscoperta dei classici, finalmente liberi dagli stereotipi di copia[51].

Ciò che veramente conta non è tanto la preistoria delle immagini orosiane, quanto il loro futuro. La vigorosa volontà di attualizzazione, che dota gli eroi antichi di armature all'ultimo grido, il rilievo assunto dall'epos di Alessandro – enfatizzato persino da una grande iniziale decorata nel bel mezzo del capitolo 21 del libro III delle *Historiae* – il soverchiante interesse per le battaglie, teatro di valore ma anche di sangue, con i cadaveri che ricoprono il suolo, fanno del Vat. lat. 3340 un precursore dell'illustrazione storica e cavalleresca medievale.

51 Giulia Orofino, "L'illustrazione delle Metamorfosi di Ovidio nel ms. IV F 3 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli", *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte*, IL (1993), pp. 5–18.

Příběhy psané *in margine*.
Kresby v Orosio Vat. lat. 3340 mezi pozdně antickým dědictvím a středověkou tvorbou

Jedna z nejčtenějších a nejstudovanějších knih celého středověku, Orosiovy *Historiae adversus paganos*, byla také jednou z nejméně ilustrovaných. Podle Davida Rosse (1953) neexistuje v případě *Historiae adversus paganos* žádná tradice pevné a kontinuální sekvence ilustrací jdoucí od pozdní antiky do středověku a není ani možné určit ikonografické *stemma* či zhodnotit recepci.

Orosiovy *Historiae* jsou tedy vhodným předmětem pro ověření metod a platnosti „staré" a „nové" filologie v rekonstrukci procesů recepce, předávání a transformace ilustrovaných textů „na cestě od antiky k románskému období". Tzv. „stará" filologie, zaměřená retrospektivně, se snaží rekonstruovat antický prototyp ztracený sérií více či méně přesných přepisů, vzniklých ve středověku. „Nová" filologie se soustředí na rukopis ne již, nebo ne jen, jako na odraz hypotetického modelu, ale jako na předmět, který je sám o sobě jedinečný a významný.

Nejstarší "*Orosius pictus*" (*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vat. lat. 3340) je napsaný beneventským písmem a ilustrovaný na okrajích stránek sedmdesáti sedmi kresbami s vysvětlujícími popiskami. V některých případech jsou ilustrace rozložené tak, že čtenář musí rukopis otáčet, aby mohl sledovat běh vyprávění. Na tomto dynamickém jevišti jsou pak zobrazeny hrůzy a katastrofy minulosti, které Orosius ukazuje pohanům, aby je přesvědčil, že jejich předkřesťanský svět nebyl lepší.

Rukopis pokládá celou řadu doposud nevyřešených otázek: Byly ilustrace plánovány od momentu jeho vzniku? Kdy a kde byly provedeny? Jedná se o kopie nebo o originální tvorbu? Zdá se, že velmi neuspořádané rozložení stránky a slabá vazba mezi textem a obrazem svědčí o nesouladu mezi kopií rukopisu a jeho ilustrací. Pokud by byl manuskript vytvořen v klášteře v Montecassinu před rokem 1075, musela by být datace kreseb posunuta alespoň do prvních třiceti let 12. století, protože se tehdejším cassinským miniaturám nepodobají. Jediné možné srovnání je se slonovinou ze stejného období, pocházející z Tyrhénské Kampánie.

Abstract—**Iratusque est Cain vehementer...** ***Cain Being Wroth: a Gap in the Iconographic Transmission in the Pyrenees*** — The wealth and plurality of the scenes related to the fourth chapter of Genesis depicted at Pyrenean sites during the eleventh and twelfth centuries have not yet been assessed as a whole. Therefore, this paper deals with the iconographic transmission and its comprehension within this territory. I will briefly introduce the sites where some of the scenes concerning the history of Cain and Abel have been preserved, some of which are related to the biblical texts, for example the land rejecting the blood of Abel (Rodes and Ripoll Bibles) while others are non-biblical, such as the burial of Abel (portal of Ripoll, mural paintings of Sant Quirze de Pedret), in order to devote my attention to the analysis of a particular scene. This scene, which gives my paper its title, is the representation of Cain's wroth as grief, as a result of his unwelcome sacrifice, observed in three Romanesque mural painting sites, its models and interpretation (Sant Climent de Taüll, Sant Andreu de Baltarga, Ginestarre).

Keywords—Romanesque mural painting, iconography, Abel and Cain

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Iratusque ***est Cain*** *vehementer…*

Cain Being Wroth: a Gap in the Iconographic Transmission in the Pyrenees*

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The first fratricide has been a continuously debated issue within the lengthy and intense discussion concerning models and iconographic transmission from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Far from reviewing fairly well known issues, my aim is to raise new arguments and, in particular, new questions concerning the subject. These questions have emerged as a result of my observations concerning the abundance of Cain and Abel cycles and the evidence of their great diversity and originality within their Pyrenean context during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, both in the monumental arts and in manuscript illuminations.

I will survey several represented scenes and their iconographic features, giving particular emphasis to the sacrifice of the two brothers and Abel's death, my study of which will emphasize the role of a specific and mysterious male character which has never been properly associated with his context: a figure which I identify as Cain, who is related to the Genesis verse that entitles my paper. By analyzing his gestures in connection with the iconographic programs in which he is depicted, I will highlight a far wealthier semantic meaning of the role played by this character[1].

This paper builds on studies of this narrative subject and its iconographic peculiarities, but it focuses specifically on a hitherto enigmatic male figure, one which has never been properly understood in relationship to its context — that is, the sacrifice and death of Abel. An analysis of the gestures of this figure I have identified as Cain (specifically the Cain of verse 5 of Genesis 4), will allow for a richer semantic understanding of the iconographic program of the murals in which he appears.

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1 It is therefore a methodological approach, as we will subsequently state, based on the fundamental study of Werckmeister concerning the North portal of the cathedral of Autun: Otto Karl Werckmeister, "The Lintel Fragment Representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun", *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXV (1972), pp. 1–30.

The Pyrenean region – a crossroad territory, which serves more as a meeting place than as a border – offers a splendid opportunity to research the phenomenon of the transmission of knowledge and models – a phenomenon that, in this environment acquires a well-defined character, and includes expressive forms of diverse origin[2]. The iconographic transmission of motifs made throughout the circulation of manuscripts plays an important role in this crossroad territory, which was ruled by the episcopal sees of Girona, Vic, La Seu d'Urgell and Roda, primarily under the political control of the Catalan counties and the Kingdom of Aragon. The contents of the libraries of these centers and of their scriptoria are still only partly known; some, like the See of Roda studied by Rebecca Swanson, are currently being investigated[3]. As for the monasteries, we must rely on the relevant studies focused on Santa Maria de Ripoll, the source of two richly illustrated Bibles of the eleventh century among others (Vatican, *BAV*, Cod. Vat. lat. 5729; Paris, *BNF*, MS lat. 6). These manuscripts allow us to survey the richness and diversity of models and contacts from the last years of the tenth century, when the aforementioned Benedictine monastery was established[4]. It was during this same period that the renovated monastery devoted to Saint Michael in Cuxà was founded. The Duke of Venice Pietro Orseolo spent his last years as a monk here under the rule of Abbot Garí, together with his family and Romualdo, at that time a hermit, later the saint-founder of the Camaldulense. At around the same time the Count of Cerdanya chose to retire to the monastery of Montecassino[5]. These are all interesting facts that help us understand the wealthy relationships between the Catalan monasteries and those beyond the Pyrenees, and particularly the origins and provenance of the illuminated manuscripts, which allow us to explain the production of these scriptoria some years later, in the time of Oliba, bishop of Vic and abbot of Ripoll, who was the son of the aforementioned count Oliba Cabreta[6].

We do not know what was preserved and produced at the monastery of Sant Serni de Tavèrnoles, a key centre in the region linked to La Seu d'Urgell, which played an important role for a brief period of time in the Adoptionist theological controversy during the Carolingian age. We should take into account that Felix of Urgell had been a monk in Tavèrnoles before becoming bishop of La Seu. The fact that Tavèrnoles had an important library with ancient collection has been demonstrated by precise records regarding the loan of manuscripts to the Library of Ripoll. The preserved documentation literally states that, in the early years of the eleventh century, the monks of Tavèrnoles requested the loan of some books, which could only be found beyond Pavia[7]. We know little concerning other scriptoria, such as those of the monasteries of Girona, Sant Pere de Rodes or Alaó in Ribagorza[8].

Since we have lost most of the manuscript production for the aforementioned centers, monumental arts become an inevitable reference for the study of the transmission of iconographic models, and, in particular, for observations concerning the progressive enrichment or gained semantic variations of the figures, depending on each particular iconographic context. I will briefly introduce the sites in which some of the episodes of the history of Cain and Abel were preserved in order to devote my attention to the analysis of a particular scene, from which my paper derives its title: the representation of Cain's Wrath, corresponding to verses 5–7 of Genesis Chapter 4.

The evocation of the double sacrifice under the *Maiestas Domini* is a frequently represented subject, often depicted in the apse area. It can be seen for example in the paintings of the apse of Sant Cristòfol de Toses (Barcelona, *Museu Nacional d´Art de Catalunya*) a late Pyrenean site. In other instances, and although the scheme or model might have been the same, the figure opposed to Abel is not Cain but Melchizedek. Such is the case of Santa Maria Taüll, and of certain examples preserved in Castilian sites that derived from the Pyrenean artistic tradition, such as Maderuelo, Berlanga or Gormaz. In all these examples there can be no doubt concerning the Eucharistic meaning of both figures[9].

In addition to these examples, the intrados windows of the apse of Santa Maria de Mur features the common Romanesque iconography, that is, the double offering, the crime and curse of Cain, was chosen to decorate[10]. These same episodes

also appear frequently within narrative cycles, either painted or sculpted. We can observe this in the paintings derived from Poitevin models, such as those at San Julian and Basilissa de Bagüés[11], or in the relief from a pillar in the cloister of the Cathedral of Girona[12]. The latter case, however, introduces an interesting detail. The scenes, which can be read from left to right, depict God as an anthropomorphic figure addressing Cain, who, whilst listening to him, is stabbing a pick into his brother's head, as he lies in a distorted position [**Fig. 1**]. In my understanding, this could be a conflation of scenes, since after the double sacrifice and before his crime, Cain, angry and hurt by the rejection of his offering, is warned by God ("[Gn 4, 5] *Ad Cain vero et ad munera illius non respexit: iratusque est cain vehementer et concidit vultus eius* [6] *dixitque dominus ad eum: quare iratus es et cur concidit facies tua* [7] *nonne si bene egeris recipies sin autem male statim in foribus peccatum aderit? Sed sub te erit appetitus eius et tu dominaberis illius"*).

The difficulty of translating these verses from Genesis, which have been interpreted in various ways in the Septuagint and Vulgate versions, has been a recurring topic among scholars[13]. Perhaps this is the reason why, despite the fact that this long and important verse explains the meaning of the rejection and the immediate violent action of Cain, it has rarely been glossed or evoked in images. This is precisely the subject developed in the second part of my paper, and I will refer subsequently to further details.

As with the aforementioned example, the reliefs of the Ripoll portal, which are also dated to the second half of the twelfth century, show another

2 Milagros Guardia, Carles Mancho, Josep Palau, "Borders as a Meeting Place: The Muralist's Workshops in the Pyrenees", *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, XX/1 (2014), pp. 318–331.

3 Rebecca Swanson, "Les Biblioteques catedralícies de Tortosa i Roda d'Isàvena: els *Libri Artium* com a cas d'estudi", *Recerca*, XVI (2015); *Eadem*, "El mon literari de Roda d'Isàvena, una petita seu dels Pirineus", *Mot so Razo*, XIV (2015), pp. 25–38. Concerning the content of the illuminated manuscripts of the episcopal See of Vic, see Maria Eugenia Ibarburu, *De capitibus litterarum et aliis figuris*, Barcelona 1999.

4 Ibarburu, *De capitibus* (n. 3); Ascani M. Mundó, *Les Biblies de Ripoll, Estudi dels Mss.Vaticà, lat. 5729 i Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6*, Vatican City 2002. Concerning the cycles and illumination of the Ripoll Bibles, the works by Andreina Contessa are essential, see Andreina Contessa, *La Bibbia di Ripoll e la Bibbia di Roda. Studio comparato dello stile delle illustrazioni nei due manoscritti e dell'iconografia del libro della Genesi: dalla creazione al ciclo di Noè*, PhD Thesis, (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 2002), Jerusalem 2002; *Eadem*, "Le Bibbie dell'abate Oliba di Ripoll. Testo biblico e rinascita spirituale nella Catalogna dell'XI secolo", *Estudios Bíblicos*, LI/1 (2003), pp. 27–64; *Eadem*, "Migrazioni di motivi iconografici in epoca romanica tra Catalogna, Italia e Britannia", in *Les Fonts de la pintura romànica*, Milagros Guardia, Carles Mancho eds, Barcelona 2008, pp. 177–194. On the same volume, see also Manuel Antonio Castiñeiras, Immaculada Lorés, "Las Biblias de Rodes y Ripoll: una encrucijada del arte románico en Catalunya", pp. 219–260.

5 Concerning the history of Garí and Orseolo, and the arrival of Oliba to Montecassino, see the essential study of Ramon d'Abadal, "Com neix i com creix un gran monestir pirinenc abans de l'any mil: Eixalada-Cuixà", *Analecta Montserratensia*, VIII (1954–1955), pp. 125–133.

6 Regarding the context and work of abbot Oliba see the issue dedicated to this question of *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxà*: *Le monde d'Oliba. Arts et culture en Catalogne et en Occident (1008–1046). Millénaire de l'élection d'Oliba, comte, puis moine, abbé de Ripoll et de Cuxa en 1008, évêque de Vic, Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxà*, XL (2009).

7 Michel Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne (IX^e–XII^e siècle)*, Madrid 2003, sp. vol. I, pp. 288, 557–559.

8 References to the different scriptoria and libraries can be found in Manuel Mundó, "La cultura artística escrita", in *Catalunya Romanica*, I. *Introducció a l'estudi de l'art romànic català*, Joan-Albert Adell ed., Barcelona 1994, pp. 133–162. Related to manuscript illumination in the scriptoria of Girona, see Anna Orriols, "La ilustración de manuscritos en Cataluña en tiempos románicos", in *La miniatura medieval en la Península Ibérica*, Joaquín Yarza ed., Murcia 2007, pp. 485–549; *Eadem*, "La ilustración de manuscritos en Cataluña en el siglo XII", in *El románico y el Mediterráneo. Cataluña, Toulouse y Pisa. 1120–1180*, Manuel Castiñeiras, Jordi Camps eds, Barcelona 2008, pp. 207–213.

9 I have surveyed this subject in Milagros Guardia, *San Baudelio de Berlanga. Una encrucijada*, Barcelona 2011; *Eadem*, "Pittura romanica dai Pirenei alla Castiglia, migrazione di botteghe e loro radicamento", in *Medioevo: le officine*, Arturo Carlo Quintavalle ed., Parma 2010, pp. 43–57.

10 See Juan Antonio Olañeta, "Santa María de Mur", in *Enciclopedia del Románico. Cataluña, Aguilar de Campoo*, (forthcoming).

11 Gloria Fernández Somoza, *Pintura románica en el Poitou, Aragón y Cataluña. La itinerancia de un estilo*, Murcia 2004, pp. 102–143.

12 Immaculada Lorés, "Aportacions a la iconografia del Gènesi del claustre de la catedral de Girona: el cicle d'Adam i Eva", *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, XLVIII (1996–1997), pp. 1537–1553; *Eadem*, "El claustre", in *Catalunya Romànica* V. *El Gironès, La Selva, El Pla de l'Estany*, Barcelona 1991, pp. 119–131. Concerning the reliefs and the capitals of the cloister of Girona see also the following studies: Peter Klein, "Le cloître de la cathédrale de Gérone: fonctions et programme iconographique", in *Patrimonio artístico de Galicia y otros estudios. Homenaje al prof. Dr. Serafin Moralejo Álvarez*, 3 vols, Angela Franco Mata, Eugenio Romero-Posa, John Williams eds, Santiago de Compostela 2004, III, pp. 139–144; Peter Klein, "Topographie, fonctions et programmes iconographiques des cloîtres : la galerie attenante à l'église", in *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang. The medieval Cloister. Le cloître au Moyen Âge. Architektur, Funktion und Programm*, Peter Klein ed., Regensburg 2004, pp. 105–156; Marc Sureda, *Els precedents de la catedral de Santa Maria de Girona. De la plaça religiosa del fòrum romà al conjunt arquitectònic de la seu romànica (s. I a.C–XIV d.C)*, Girona 2008. None of the mentioned studies, however, analyzes in depth the particular relief representing Cain and Abel.

13 The Vulgata: "[5] But to Cain and his offerings he had no respect: and Cain was exceedingly angry, and his countenance fell. [6] And the Lord said to him: why art thou angry? And why is thy countenance fallen? [7] If thou do well, shalt thou not receive? But if ill, shall not sin forthwith be present at the door? But the lust thereof shall be under thee, and thou shalt have dominion over it". The Septuagint differs considerably in the sense of the last: "[5] But Cain and his sacrifices he regarded not, and Cain was exceedingly sorrowful and his countenance fell. [6] and the Lord God said to Cain, why art thou become very sorrow and why is thy countenance fallen? [7] Hast thou not sinned if thou hast brought it rightly, but not rightly divided it? Be still, to thee shall be his submission, and thou shalt rule over him". Concerning the interpretations of the two versions, and the sense or the rejection interpretation of Cain's offer, see John Byron, *Cain and Abel in Text and Tradition. Jewish and Christian Interpretation of the First Sibling Rivalry*, Leiden/Boston 2011, sp. pp. 39–92.

scene, in this case an extra-biblical one: the burial of Abel, or hiding of his body by Cain [**Fig. 2**]. This cycle appears on the intrados of the portal arches to either side of the bust of Christ, which is supported by angels. Cain seems to have hidden the body of his brother under a tombstone or rather a pile of stones, from which only a head arises. This representation has a clear precedent in the Carolingian Bamberg Bible where, exceptionally, it has been located between the labors of Adam and Eve after their expulsion from Paradise. The inscription, in this case, leaves no doubts as to its meaning[14]. In other Carolingian Bibles the frontispiece with the Creation scenes omits the story of the brothers, although it was obviously present in their model source, as we know from the Bamberg Bible itself and also from the tiny scene identified in the Moutier Grandval codex by Kessler as the act of fratricide[15]. The Atlantic Bibles, which depart from these models, usually do not include episodes concerning the two brothers, although there are exceptions, such as the Bible of St Cecilia (*BAV*, Cod. Barb. lat. 587, fol. 5r), which represents the double sacrifice.

The episode of Cain hiding the body of his brother, as is well known, is based on stories and legends of possible Jewish origin. They were disseminated during the early Middle Ages in the West mainly by way of a very common text found in libraries in its Latin version: the *Antiquities of the Jews* by Flavius Josephus. However, no illustrated text of Flavius Josephus' work containing this episode has been preserved[16]. And, in any case, the presumption of Hebrew origins is restricted, as customary, to the transmitted text, neglecting the study of the missing images that are reduced, as customary, to the textual transmission.

For one of the oldest representations of this scene we must refer to the paintings of Santa Maria Antiqua, where only a small fragment of the story of the brothers has been preserved. In this example a lifeless body can be observed, supposedly Abel following his burial or hiding by Cain. The closest parallel that might help to reconstruct the scene of the Roman wall paintings is the eleventh-century example preserved in San Vittore a Muralto (Ticino), which scholars

1/ Relief of the angular pillar depicting the Genesis scenes, cloister of the cathedral of Girona (Spain), second half of the 12th century

2/ Detail of the portal reliefs, monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll (Spain), second half of the 12th century

3/ Murder of Abel and recrimination of Cain, Ripoll Bible, Ripoll monastery (Spain), 11th century/ *BAV* (Vatican), Cod. Vat. lat. 5729, fol. 6

have linked to a supposed Late Antique model, perhaps Milanese[17]. Other depictions of the subject allow us to locate Ripoll within a broader eleventh- and twelfth-century context. Contrary to the other scenes from the Old Testament represented in the reliefs of the portal, these are not modeled on Bible illustrations produced in the same monastery in the eleventh century.

In both manuscripts, that is, the Ripoll Bible, and the Rodes Bible, the biblical verse alluding to the land rejecting Abel's blood is illustrated, as Contessa has well observed [**Fig. 3**]. The murder and God's recrimination of Cain, with God represented anthropomorphically, are added to the double sacrifice. Below, there is a mass that may allude to the earth and, inside a circle, the personification of the blood of Abel can be identified, depicted either in a foetal position or as a bust.

More explicit, undoubtedly, are the aforementioned paintings of San Vittore a Muralto where from the earth, figured as a small red hill, a bust of the same color emerges in a prayerful attitude. Abel's personified blood cries out to God and is rejected by the earth[18]. This scene is also alluded to in the folio corresponding to the Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of Caedmon (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11), although it appears together with other details. There are other examples in wall paintings and mosaics in central and southern Italy, but these do not concern us here. Following a diverse tradition already obvious in the *Sacra Parallela* (*BNF*, MS gr. 923, fol. 69r) they personify the soul of Abel as Eidolon[19].

14 Herbert L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Princeton 1977.

15 Herbert L. Kessler, "An Unnoticed Scene in the Grandval Bible", *Cahiers Archéologiques*, XVII (1967), pp. 113–120; *Idem*, "Hic Homo Formatur: The Genesis Frontispieces of the Carolingian Bibles", *The Art Bulletin*, LIII/2 (1977), pp. 143–160; *Idem*, *The Illustrated Bibles* (n. 14), pp. 23–25.

16 Ulrike Liebl, *Die illustrierten Flavius-Josephus Handschriften des Hochmittelalters*, Frankfurt *[et al.]* 1997.

17 Andreina Contessa, "Migrazioni" (n. 4); *Eadem*, "Le Bibbie catalane di Ripoll e di Roda e gli antichi cicli biblici lombardi della Genesi", *Arte Lombarda*, CXL/1 (2004), pp. 5–24.

18 Additionally to Muralto, other sites of the Alpine region with pictorial cycles devoted to the Old Testament are those of the churches of Santi Pietro e Paolo ad Agliate (Como), San Calocero a Civate, and San Tommaso di Acquanegra sul Chiese (Mantova).

19 I am referring to the paintings of San Nicola in Castro dei Volsci, the ones of San Pietro a Ferentillo, San Nicola en Galluccio, San Giovanni a Porta Latina, the chapel of Thomas Becket of Anagni, the mosaics of Monreale, or the reliefs of the portal of Sessa Aurunca. Concerning this subject see: Laurence Brugger, Yves Christe, "La voix du sang et l'ensevelissement d'Abel", *Arte Cristiana*, LXXXII (1994), pp. 75–86.

4/ Cursing of Cain, Affliction of Cain, Birth of Enoch; Smyrna, Evangelical School, 12th century / A-1, fol. 17r (destroyed in 1922)

From the same Pyrenean region another cycle of wall paintings raises questions due to its peculiarities. Among the paintings on the arch that leads to the sanctuary of the small church of Sant Quirze de Pedret we rediscover the cycle of the two brothers, partially preserved[20]. Both sacrifices are depicted on each side of the *Dextera Domini*. In the space located just below Cain, we observe the repetition of the same figure, who, dressed sumptuously in a short tunic with *clavi* and *orbiculi* and a decorated cloak, is carrying over his shoulder the murder weapon, an axe. An inscription identifies him. Other inscriptions refer to the *Dextera Domini* and to Abel. The remaining space to Cain's left is large enough to contain the representation of the buried brother or perhaps a figurative evocation of the blood's voice. In any case, the context is that of the curse of Cain.

The paintings of Pedret have been traditionally linked by their formal characteristics and/or the origin of their models with Lombardy or Southern Italy. However, in my opinion, this site shows clear resonances with Late Antique models, at least concerning the execution of the figures, some compositional motifs or models, and the details of the clothing.

The biblical text closes the drama of the brothers with the recrimination scene, followed by the episodes concerning Cain and his descendants. In medieval narrative cycles these episodes are usually omitted; instead, the cycle of Noah is introduced immediately after the Recrimination. In the Bible of Rodes, a figure in rags identified as Cain stands beside a tower – an obvious allusion to the first city he built – supporting his bent head over his open right hand in a gesture of pain or despair, a gesture that can be traced back to Antiquity. In conjunction with Cain, however, this gesture can only be found in the illustrated Octateuchs[21]. In these manuscripts the cycle of Cain and Abel occupies several folios. In the first folio, a scene of grazing and agricultural labor derived from ancient models – see in particular the example of *BAV*, Vat. gr. 747, fol. 25v – is followed by the double sacrifice and murder. In the following scenes the figure of Cain is repeated several times: I) at the moment of recrimination, facing the opposite direction but in the same dejected pose known to us from the Rodes bible; II) seated inside the marital bedroom witnessing the birth of his first son Enoch, and III) in an extra-biblical episode, namely his death at the hands of Lamech [**Fig. 4**]. The latter scene is precisely the one represented after the recrimination in the Rodes Bible. We can therefore identify a clear relationship between some models to be found in the Octateuchs and those that would have been known in the Ripoll scriptorium. We can thus conclude that, based on the examples surveyed in the Pyrenean region, the cycle of Cain and Abel is completed or enriched by either biblical or extra-biblical episodes that, despite their clear differences (which are dependent, in each case, on the painter's creativity), are fairly well represented in the art of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and can be traced back to Late Antique models. These models would have been known indirectly, that is, they were filtered through a long and rich

history of transmission, which is difficult to trace due to the lack of solid data.

Setting aside the Ripoll Bibles, the selection of the represented episodes in the case of the monumental sites was intended to suit the architectural and liturgical space. In most cases these cycles occur on the intrados arch or the windows of the apse area, and are therefore always divided into two or four scenes. This is essential to our understanding of the analyzed iconography in each case and in its own context, together with the reasons of the selection of one episode or another.

Cain's Wrath as Grief in Pyrenean Mural Paintings

From this point of view, we will consider three other Pyrenean examples that introduce a variant which has already been mentioned in relation to the relief of Girona: the depiction of the words that God addressed to Cain after the double sacrifice, before the outburst of violence against his brother (Gen 4, 5–7)[22]. Regarding Girona, I have suggested that the scene is a conflation of two episodes, since God is depicted addressing his words to Cain as he is in the midst of murdering his brother.

Following the examples discussed above, we can observe how Cain's rage is rendered with the gestural convention used to depict the feeling of grief, suggested somehow in the biblical text by the expression "*et concidit vultus eius*".

In the extensive cycles of Late Antique illuminations these verses might have been illustrated with one or more scenes[23]. In folio 6r of the Latin Pentateuch of Tours (*BNF*, MS lat. nouv. acq. 2334, sixth – seventh century), a series of friezes unfold bearing different scenes related to the fratricide drama[24]. The persistent presence of the hut or bower accommodation for Adam and/or Eve inevitably leads us to the legends known mainly from the Latin translation *Vita Adae et Evae*[25]. The seemingly intricate composition of the miniature results from the juxtaposition of scenes related to this text and others added from the Bible[26]. It seems relevant to note that the fratricide, situated in the center of the composition between the pastoral and agricultural work scenes, fits perfectly with the premonitory dream that Eve relates to Adam in the *Vita Adae*, that is, the vision of the slaying of Abel by his brother, which led to the decision to separate the brothers, giving them different jobs in an effort to avoid the tragedy[27].

I precisely focus on the figures or scenes that follow the biblical text, which can be read from right to left in the upper frieze of the Pentateuch folio [**Fig. 5**]. The first is Abel's sacrifice

20 Milagros Guardia, Begoña Cayuela, "La Iglesia de San Quirze de Pedret", in *Enciclopedia del Románico. Barcelona*, Aguilar de Campoo 2014, pp. 617–633.

21 Kurt Weitzmann, Massimo Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs. The Illustration in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, Princeton 1999, plates 103–110.

22 See above, n. 13.

23 We must underline that they do not appear in the *Octateucs* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

24 See the recent studies of Bezalel Narkiss, *The Ashburnham Pentateuch*, Madrid 2007; and Dorothy Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch*, Cambridge, MA 2011.

25 Narkiss, *The Ashburnam Pentateuch* (n. 24) also analyses other possible textual Hebraic or Syrian sources (*Book of the Cave of Treasures*) in his survey on the images that are not inspired by the Bible.

26 Concerning the organization and composition of the episodes in the different illuminated folios, see Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible* (n. 24).

27 *Vita Adae et Evae*, in *The Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, R. H. Charles ed., Oxford 1913, II, pp. 123–154.

5/ Cain and Abel, Ashburnham Pentateuch, 6th–7th century / *BNF* (Paris), MS lat. nouv. acq. 2334, fol. 6

accepted by God, once again with the depiction of the *Dextera* emerging from the clouds. Cain is represented just behind his brother, as we can observe in the paintings of Via Latina[28]. Following this depiction, in accordance with the biblical text (*"iratus est Cain vehementer"*), we observe the representation of the wrath of Cain who cannot understand or accept the reasons for the rejection of his offering, and the words that God addresses to him, once again represented by the *Dextera Domini* pointing towards him[29]. Cain's gesture, with his arms held alongside his body, bent and with his face downcast ("his countenance fell"), follows literally the biblical text, yet his gesture does not seem to conform to the meaning of the scene. Cain seems more humiliated than angry, downcast "under" the words that God is saying to him (*"Hic Cain ubi reprobatur a Domino et concidit vultus eius"*)[30]. The Pentateuch of Tours is rich in gestures, but there is no other case where this particular gesture can be seen. It is, however, close to the one observed in the figures of Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise in the Genesis of Vienna (Vienna, *ÖNB*, Cod. Theol. gr. 31, fols 1r–1v)[31]. The figure that completes the cycle of the Pentateuch of Tours is that of Cain at the time of the Recrimination, with his arms raised, gazing at God.

Recent studies of the Genesis mosaics of the San Marco basilica confirm that the episodes that follow the double offering do not rely on the Greek Cotton Genesis manuscript[32]. No other manuscript from what the so-called Cotton family preserves this iconography, and no corresponding miniature from the *Histoire Universelle* can be confirmed. In the Venice mosaics the biblical narrative of Genesis 4, 5–7, is located in the large lunettes under the dome. More specifically, the episode that interests us is represented in the lunette located over the Porta da Mar. The seated figure of Cain wearing sumptuous robes corresponds to verse 5, and Cain listening to the words of God to verses 6 and 7, paraphrased interrogatively within the accompanying inscription: *Iratus est Cain vehementer; dixitque dominus quare iratus es? Et cur concidet facies tua?* [**Figs 6a**, **6b**]. As Kessler recently observed, this is a rather unusual representation, and its only parallels are to be found in Catalan mural paintings[33].

The composition of the seated figure of Cain, with his arm leaning on his opposite knee and his downcast face supported by his open hand, or sometimes under his chin, is a well-known figure within the studies concerning gestures; an attitude common since Antiquity. This convention, which has remained constant until today, is what allows us to understand the scene. Consequently, it is important to scrutinize the details or nuances in order to correctly discern its meaning. This image-polysemy has been underlined by all the studies dealing with gestures and non-verbal expression. Reflection, pain, sorrow, and melancholy are some of the feelings suggested by this posture. The abundance of its use excuses us to perform a detailed exemplification, nevertheless, we will survey several examples[34].

28 We will not discuss the topic on the Eucharistic interpretation of this image associated to their offerings, which has been lately well dealt. See Narkiss, *The Ashburnham Pentateuch* (n. 24), pp. 172–174 and Verkerk, *Early Medieval Bible* (n. 24), pp. 108–117.

29 The figure of Abel and his gestures can be explained due to other legends: it is an extra-biblical scene which alludes at the presence and the sardonic attitude of the family of Cain at the time of the rejection of his sacrifice and, thus, to Cain's embarrassment and humiliation.

30 As Vasiliki V. Mavroska correctly remarks, appreciating the body-gesture language, related to the scenes of the First Fathers' Sin it is the gesture of the guilt acceptance, paraphrasing the words of St Gregory of Nyssa in *De Hominis Opificio* VIII, PG 44, 144BC: "The hands are the tools of speech and they act as co-operators of the oral communication. The hands help the words to be better understood. Thus they operate according to the logical nature and the intelligence of man". Vasiliki V. Mavroska, *Adam and Eve in the Western and Byzantine Art of the Middle Ages*, Frankfurt 2009, pp. 246–249.

31 Barbara Zimmermann, *Die Wiener Genesis im Rahmen der antiken Buchmalerei. Ikonographie, Darstellung, Illustrationsverfahren und Aussageintention*, Wiesbaden 2003, pp. 68–81.

32 Contrary to what Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert Kessler asserted: Kurt Weitzmann, Herbert L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*, Princeton 1986. On this subject, see Herbert L. Kessler, "Thirteenth-Century Venetian Revisions of the Cotton Genesis Cycle", in *The Atrium of San Marco in Venice. The Genesis and Medieval Reality of the Genesis Mosaics*, Martin Büchsel, Herbert L. Kessler, Rebecca Müller eds, Berlin 2014, pp. 75–94, where previous considerations on the subject are gathered.

33 Kessler, "Thirteenth-Century Venetian Revisions" (n. 32), n. 46, p. 93. However, in San Marco mosaics this particular attitude can also be observed in the figure of Moses, yet without the depiction of the throne.

34 Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris 1990. I will not refer here to the several contributions made by anthropologists and psychologists on the study of the gestures and the non-verbal communication, collected partly by the lengthy bibliography provided by Schmitt. The study of gestural language used in theatre, oratory and in the imperial rites in connection with ancient art is well known, and has had, and still has, a resembling development concerning the understanding of specific gestures represented in medieval art, and of course, also in liturgy. In this sense, I particularly underline the studies performed by Henry Maguire, Ernst Gombrich, Jean-Claude Schmitt and Charles Bonne, as well as those specifically quoted in the footnotes of this paper.

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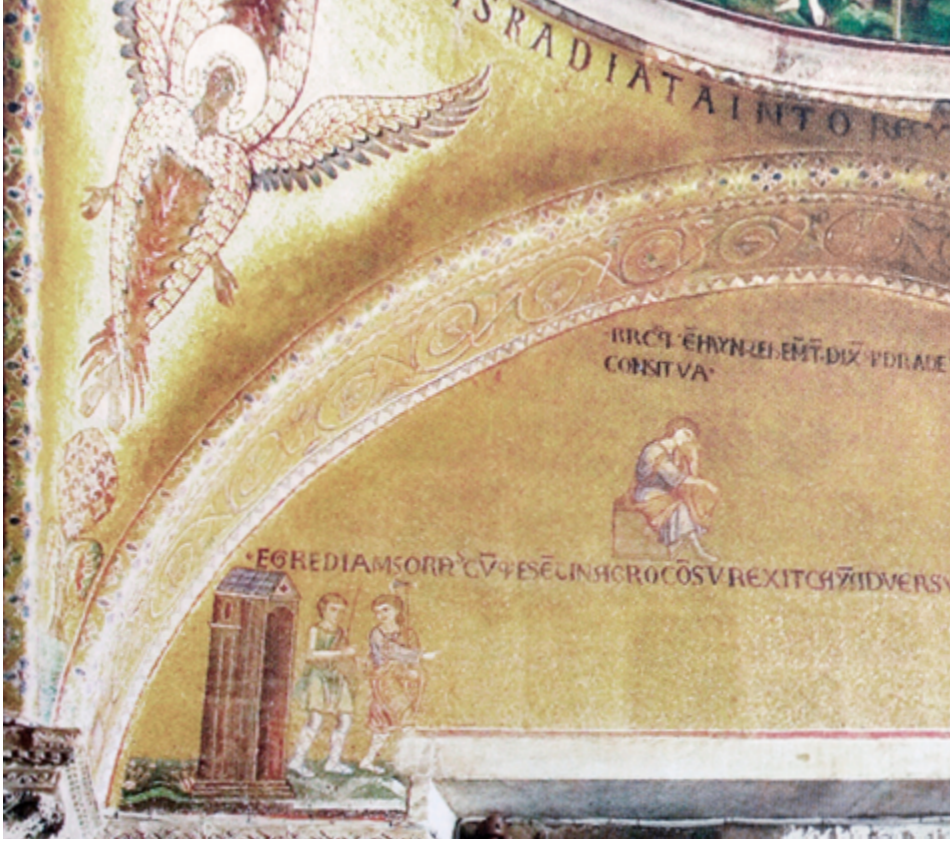
sua



6a, b/ Seated figure of Cain, mosaic in the lunette on the Porta da Mar, San Marco in Venice, 12th–13th century

In some contexts it may represent inner pain, the torture of remorse or awareness of what has happened and what is expected to happen. As Maguire suggests, this is Peter's gesture when the resurrected Christ appears to him on the Tiberiades Lake to remind him of the triple denial should be interpreted[35]. Yet this posture has also been used since Late Antiquity in depictions of Joseph at Jesus's Nativity, which perhaps served as the model for the figure of Cain included in the scene of the birth of Enoch in the Octateuchs recension. In these portrayals the improper funerary character has been emphasized, although some scholars suggest a connection to lost Syrian legends[36]. Additionally we can compare the gesture to that of Jonah at the gates of Nineveh (Jon 4) from the depiction of the Rodes Bible (*BNF*, MS lat. 6, III, fol. 83) where the rage becomes sadness, and to its monumental counterpart on the Ripoll portal [**Fig. 7**][37]. Moreover, we can observe other scenes or characters that have been portrayed in this attitude in order to connote pain or grief, for example Adam and Eve at the moment of the expulsion from Paradise, or the lamentation of Jeremiah in the prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem on fol. 258v of the *Sacra Parallela* (*BNF*, MS gr. 923)[38].

There are three figures with this gesture preserved in the Pyrenean pictorial cycles that have never been analyzed in relation to the episodes in which they are inserted — that is, the story of Cain and Abel. I refer to the mural paintings of Sant Climent de Taüll [**Fig. 8**], Sant Andreu de Baltarga [**Fig. 9**] and Santa Maria de Ginestarre [**Fig. 10**][39]. As in some of the cases discussed above, these painted cycles unfold within the architectural framework of the intrados of the arch that leads to the quarter-vaulted apse. In all three examples the *Dextera Domini* accepts Abel's sacrifice, and on the opposite side, he rejects that of Cain. On the areas immediately below both sacrifices we can see the murder scene and the figure of Cain.

The complete cycle of four episodes has only been preserved in the case of Sant Climent, although at present they are not to be found in their original location, having been removed from the original building in 1920 and transferred to the museum in Barcelona, whilst the rest have been restored in recent decades and are preserved in situ[40]. As in San Marco in Venice, the depiction of

35 Henri Maguire, "The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXXI (1977), pp. 123–174. It is the same interpretation suggested by Manuel Sotomayor in the analysis of Peter's gesture on the Denial scene represented on the Christian sarcophagus of roman manufacture: Manuel Sotomayor, *San Pedro en la iconografía paleocristiana: testimonios de la tradición cristiana sobre San Pedro en los monumentos iconográficos anteriores al siglo VI*, Granada 1962. See also Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art*, New York 1976.

36 Weitzmann/Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs* (n. 21), p. 45.

37 "…*et afflictus est Jonas afflictione magna, et iratus est*". Concerning precisely the depictions in the current third volume of the Ripoll codex we have verified its impact or the acknowledgement of common models within other mural pictorial sites of the Boí Valley (Sant Joan de Boí). See Milagros Guardia, "Enluminure et peinture murale du nord au sud des Pyrénées: la syntaxe ornementale et ses thèmes", *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, XXXVII (2006), pp. 175–196; *Eadem*, "Ioculatores et saltator. Las pinturas con escenas de juglaría de Sant Joan de Boí", *Locus Amoenus*, V (2001), pp. 11–32; and, in particular, Milagros Guardia, Carles Mancho, "Pedret, Boí, o l'origen de la pintura mural catalana", in *Les fonts de la pintura romànica* (n. 4), pp. 117–160.

38 Kurt Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela, Parisinus graecus 923*, Princeton 1979, pp. 151–152, pl. LXXXI.

39 Paintings also removed and currently exhibited in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.

40 The fragment containing the figure of Cain is not exhibited with the rest of the paintings preserved from Sant Climent in Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya. See Milagros Guardia, Jordi Camps, Immaculada Lorés, *El descubrimiento de la pintura mural románica*, Barcelona 1993; Milagros Guardia, Immaculada Lorés, *El Pirineu romànic vist per Josep Gudiol i Emili Gandia*, Tremp 2013; Milagros Guardia, Immaculada Lorés, *Sant Climent de Taüll, la pedra humanitzada per la llum*, (forthcoming). Other significant fragments of this same site were discovered further in time and remained in situ (in 1959–1960 and 1999–2000). We have suggested a topographic reconstruction of the whole pictorial site at: [http://www.arspicta.net], last accessed 20. 1. 2016.

7/ Prophet Jonas, Rodes Bible, Ripoll monastery, 11th century / *BNF* (Paris), MS lat. 6, III, fol. 83

8/ Cain, mural painting transferred from the presbytery arches, Sant Climent de Taüll (Spain), ca 1123 / *MNAC* (Barcelona)

9/ Cain, mural painting transferred from the intrados of the apse entrance arch of Sant Andreu de Baltarga (Spain), 12th century / *Museu diocesà d'Urgell*

the human figure in pain represents Cain's wroth as grief. In Ginestarre and Baltarga the figure is also identified as Cain by the accompanying inscriptions[41].

In Sant Climent the conventional gesture is even more explicit than in the other cases in terms of the feeling or condition that it was intended to evoke. The eyebrows' inclination, the closed eyes and the fingers that cover part of the face suggest that Cain is crying, making it impossible to identify him as angry or wrathful, or even as meditative. Today, as in the Middle Ages, this image clearly expresses pain, sadness and deep regret, and the fact that it is placed on the right side under Abel and to the right of the Vision of God is not a coincidence.

In relation to the biblical verses, the main exegetical tradition aimed to explain the reasons of the rejection of Cain's sacrifice. "How did Cain know that his sacrifice was not pleasing? Perhaps his difficulty was resolved through the cause mentioned in the addition, for he was grieved and his countenance fell. He therefore took his grief as a sign of having sacrificed something not pleasing. For joy and gladness ought to come to him who sacrifices something purely and blamelessly" (Philo, *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesim*, I, 63)[42]. Saint Ambrose voiced the same theory, expounding on the importance of the appropriated sacrifice and the correct disposition of the giver (*De Cain et Abel*, I, 40–47).

41 Despite the particular spelling and the mistakes, the name Cain can be reconstructed and read. I would like to thank Vincent Debiais for the verification and observations on my interpretation on the subject. Concerning the paintings of Sant Climent and, by extension, to the ones of other sites, we do not share the identification of the character with Ephraim, suggested by Montserrat Pagès, "L'identificació d'una figura aïllada de l'absis de Sant Climent de Taüll", *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*, IV (2000), pp. 159–173. Until today the figure was commonly interpreted as Job. This interpretation is accepted by Anke Wunderwald, *Die katalanische Wandmalerei in der Diözese Urgell. 11.–12. Jahrhundert*, Korb 2010, pp. 161–203, sp. pp. 179–182, considering as a parallel the depiction of Job represented in the Rodes Bible (*BNF*, MS lat. 6, fol. 63r).

42 Translation in Byron, *Cain and Abel* (n. 13), pp. 52–53.

The words that God addressed to Cain, the intricate verse 7 which is embodied in the sad, seated figure from the Venice mosaics, prompted the interpretation that God gave Cain a choice between good and evil, allowing him to exercise his conscience or free will, and exhorting him to remain calm, or, to quote the Septuagint: "to be still, quiet"[43]. Ambrose seems to emphasize the positive aspects of Cain's character, noting the shame he experienced upon committing his sin, however he warns that "impiety is the mother of error and a person who has once sinned grievously is likely to fall easily into other sins. How is it possible for man to exercise control over human things when he has done violence to what is divine? (…) It follows, then, that other vices are found in the wake of serious implications of immorality, since derelictions, once entered upon, lead to others. You have dominion, therefore, over your own acts; you are master of your own transgressions" (Ambrose, *De Cain et Abel*, II, 25). But "present evils cause sadness; future evils, dread" (Ambrose, *De Cain et Abel*, II, 32)[44].

Does the attitude of Cain in our paintings suggest a premonition of what was to come, his unbridled anger and his divine punishment? We should note that neither Philo nor Ambrose, the only Father of the Western Church who devotes an entire treatise to this subject, were widely cited in early medieval Christian exegesis in the West[45]. The most frequently cited sources were the *Hebraicae quaestiones in Genesim* of St Jerome and the *De Civitate Dei* and *Contra Faustum* from St Augustine.

These exegeses stress, naturally, that Cain was chiefly a figure of evil, deprived of the vision of God, who was condemned to live in darkness, out of God's light; the first killer who introduced into the world all the other capital vices including greed, envy, and anger or rage. Interest in his complex personality and his emotional life only arose in the twelfth century, in glosses of the biblical episode and in discourses on Vice and Virtue. The Vices, as is well known, were soon "classified" by authors such as Evagrius and St Gregory the Great, among others. The Vices, in dialogue with or facing the corresponding Virtues, appeared in widespread works throughout the Middle Ages, including the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, the treatises of Autpert Ambrose, and a chapter of the *Penitential* written by Halitgarius, among many others. None of the personifications of vices or virtues that appear in illuminated manuscripts of this type are depicted with Cain's gesture[46]. However, according to the text of the Sermon on the Mount, God blessed those repentant that weep. And, as we know from the treatises on Vices and Virtues, and particularly from the work of Gregory the Great, two types of sadness exist: "*unum salutiferum, aliud vero pestiferum*". "Sadness becomes savior when the spirit is forecast by the remembrance of his crimes, which he will search to confess to pursue penance, it becomes salvation when the spirit desires sincerely to turn to God" (Halitgarius, *De vittis et virtutibus*, I, 10)[47].

Setting aside the question of models and connections, in the context of Sant Climent this character suggests the idea of repentance, the need of the inside pain which dominates, as opposed to the uncontrolled anger, the pure action, therefore the vice evoked in the murder scene. Assuming its position is not arbitrary, its representation on the intrados, under the exemplary sacrifice of his brother Abel and on God's right side, suggests a positive reading. On the opposite side, Cain's sacrifice and Abel's violent slaying are to be seen [**Fig. 11**].

On the adjacent intrados the banquet of the rich, an image of opulence, pride and even gluttony and lust – as depicted in the *Psychomachia* manuscripts and other texts referred above – is paired with an image of the poor Lazarus, the repentant sinner

10/ Cain, mural painting transferred from the intrados of the apse entrance arch of Santa Maria de Ginestarre (Spain), 12th century / *MNAC* (Barcelona)

43 Concerning the difficulty on the interpretation of this paragraph see the observations in Byron, *Cain and Abel* (n. 13), pp. 53–61.

44 Translation by John Savage, *Saint Ambrose. Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel. The Fathers of the Church. A New translation*, XLII, New York 1961, p. 426.

45 Concerning this issue see Gilbert Dahan, "L'exégèse de l'histoire de Caïn et Abel du XII^e au XIV^e siècle en Occident", *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et Médiévale*, XLIX (1982), pp. 21–89 and L (1983), pp. 5–68. The quotes on Gregory the Great by the medieval theologists are those included in the *Moralia in Iob* (XXXI, 23–24).

46 It interests us specially due to the well-established connections with the Pyrenean region, the treatise of Vices and Virtues illustrated in the Moissac monastery during the first half of the eleventh century (Chantal Fraisse, "Un traité des vertus et des vices illustré à Moissac dans la première moitié du XIe siècle", *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, CXCVII (1999), pp. 221–242. See also Joanne S. Norman, *Metamorphoses of an Allegory: The Iconography of the Psychomachia in Medieval Art*, New York/Bern/Frankfurt 1988.

47 Translation from the French version by Chantal Fraise, from the manuscript *Des Vertus et des Vices* (*BNF*, MS lat. 2077): [http://romanes.blogspot.com.es/2010/05/moissac-traite-des-vices-et-vertus-en.html], last accessed 20. 1. 2016.

whose wounds are the externalization of the sins he committed. The gesture, the composition, and the positions of Cain and Lazarus connect these characters in the paintings of Sant Climent. This complex and previously unexplored pictorial program can thus be seen to express specific ideas on such crucial concepts as the virtues and vices and sin and penance, the primary representative of which is the figure of Cain.

The study of gestures and their meaning in medieval culture therefore allows us to identify the representation of Cain as it occurs in the Pyrenean paintings as a translation in images of an intricate Genesis verse. In the case of Sant Climent de Taüll, the study performed becomes particularly important, because it displays, in my opinion, a complex ecclesiological program reinforced by references to moral values, which are expressed in the attitude of Cain and the scene of the death of Abel, yet also by the images referring to the Rich and Poor Lazarus[48].

The paintings of the main apse of Sant Climent de Taüll can be dated to the reign of bishop Ramon of Roda, a vigorous and devoted reformer who developed a vast parochial administration within his diocese in the Vall de Boí (Ribagorza). The richness and diversity of the iconographic models assembled and in use during this period in the Pyrenean region and, in particular, in the aforementioned pictorial cycles, is the subject of a current ongoing research project, which will soon provide further answers[49].

48 Currently the iconographic researches concerning Sant Climent de Taüll are developed by Milagros Guardia and Imma Lorés in Milagros Guardia, Immaculada Lorés, *Sant Climent de Taüll, una biografia*, (forthcoming).

49 On the figure of Ramon of Roda see the recent paper by Immaculada Lorés, "La réforme grégorienne et les églises du diocèse de Roda dans la Ribagorce", *Art et réforme grégorienne en France et dans la Péninsule Ibériqu*e, Barbara Franzé ed., Paris 2015, pp. 91–107.

11 / Photographic reconstruction of the fragments *in situ*, Sant Climent de Taüll (Spain), ca 1123 / MNAC (Barcelona)

Iratusque est Cain vehementer...

Rozlícený Kain: trhlina v procesu ikonografického přenosu v pyrenejské oblasti

První bratrovražda je nepřetržitě diskutovaným námětem v rámci letité intenzivní debaty o přenosu ikonografických motivů z pozdně antického období do středověku. Autorka článku neusiluje o přezkoumání dostatečně známých skutečností, ale o představení nových argumentů, a především nových otázek k danému tématu. Dříve nereflektované otázky vytanuly v souvislosti se zjištěním četnosti cyklů s příběhem Kaina a Ábela, a doložením jejich značné různorodosti a originality v okruhu pyrenejských památek pocházejících z 11. a 12. století, a to jak v monumentální tvorbě, tak také v iluminaci rukopisů.

Autorka zkoumá několik vyobrazených scén a jejich ikonografické rysy. Vyzdvihuje především prvek oběti dvou bratrů a Ábelovu smrt, přičemž důraz klade na příznačnou a tajuplnou mužskou postavu, která nikdy nebyla náležitě propojena s kontextem celé scény. Sedící postava, kterou ztotožňuje s Kainem, je oblečená do přepychových šatů; jednu ruku má položenou na koleni a obličej obrácený k zemi si podpírá otevřenou dlaní. Takto je figura zobrazena na nástěnných malbách v katalánských kostelích Sant Climent de Taüll, Sant Andreu de Baltarga a Santa María de Ginestarre, a stejně jako v případě obdobného vyobrazení v chrámu Sv. Marka v Benátkách odpovídá biblickému textu (Genesis 4, 5–7).

V těchto verších, zřídka znázorněných v cyklech s Kainem a Ábelem, se Bůh obrací ke Kainovi poté, co byla vykonána dvojí oběť, ale ještě předtím, než se Kain dopustí násilí na svém bratrovi. Na zkoumaných příkladech vyobrazení této scény můžeme sledovat, jak je Kainův hněv ztvárněn pomocí konvenčního gesta užívaného pro vyjádření zármutku, který je do jisté míry navozován biblickým výrazem „*et concidit vultus eius*“ („a zesinal v tváři“). Prostřednictvím analýzy Kainových gest v souvislosti s ikonografickými programy, v jejichž rámci je zobrazen, autorka poukazuje na bohatý sémantický význam této tajemné postavy.

Abstract—Archaism, Imitation, Provincialism? Notes on the Murals of Kosztolány / Kostoľany pod Tribečom — The murals of the village church in Kosztolány (Kostoľany pod Tribečom, Slovakia) are among the earliest preserved fresco cycles of medieval Hungary. Because of its state of preservation and rudimentary character, the cycle cannot be dated on the basis of stylistic analysis. The church itself is dated between the ninth and the eleventh century. The analyzed murals belong to the first layer. The iconography of the Infancy cycle is surprisingly archaic, including Early Christian elements. This has been explained as intentional archaism following the same trend in Venice in the early thirteenth century or as an imitation of important local prototypes – miniatures, perhaps, or the decoration of the monastery of Zobor and the cathedral of Nyitra (Nitra), both in Slovakia and both now lost. This type of Infancy cycle was popular in the region of Rome from the late eleventh century to the thirteenth century in the context of the ecclesiastical reform movement, which was also influential in Hungary during the rule of King Coloman the Learned (1095–1116).

Keywords — Early Christian iconography, Romanesque mural painting, archaism, imitation, provincialism, ecclesiastical reform

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Archaism, Imitation, Provincialism?

Notes on the Murals of Kosztolány / Kostoľany pod Tribečom

Béla Zsolt Szakács

A few years ago, in 2010, an international research project was launched under the title *Cradles of European Culture*[1]. It focuses on the period between 843 and 1033 when the territory of *Francia Media* existed (at least partially) as a political entity. Ten European sites have been selected to create a heritage route; six of them fall within the territory of *Francia Media*, while four others are situated to its east. The easternmost site, the only one located in the Carpathian Basin, is the small village church of Kostoľany/Kosztolány [**Fig. 1**]. This village is situated in what is now the western part of Slovakia, officially called Kostoľany pod Tribečom after the neighboring hill. In the Middle Ages it was part of the Hungarian Kingdom; the Hungarian name is the variant of the Slavic name, which refers to the church (*kostol*) and its people[2]. The early modern Hungarian name (Ghymeskosztolány, which was modernized as Gímeskosztolány) refers to the castle to which it once belonged[3].

The murals of the church in Kosztolány constitute one of the earliest preserved fresco cycles of medieval Hungary [**Fig. 2**]. Because of their state of preservation and rudimentary character, it is difficult to date them on the basis of stylistic analysis. The iconography of the Infancy cycle is surprisingly archaic, including Early Christian elements. This paper discusses possible interpretations of this phenomenon, whether it is the result of a kind of timeless provincialism, imitation of early prototypes, or the result of intentional archaism related to some sort of reform movement.

1 *Cradles of European Culture* project, 2010–2015, see [http://www.cradlesec.eu/cec_4/default.aspx], last accessed 10. 11. 2015.

2 Lajos Kiss, *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára*, Budapest 1988, vol. I, p. 515, vol. II, p. 195.

3 Miroslav Plaček, Martin Bóna, *Encyklopédia slovenských hradov*, Bratislava 2007, pp. 121–125.

1 / The church of St George, Kosztolány / Kostoľany pod Tribečom (Slovakia), a view from the south east, 9th–11th century and later

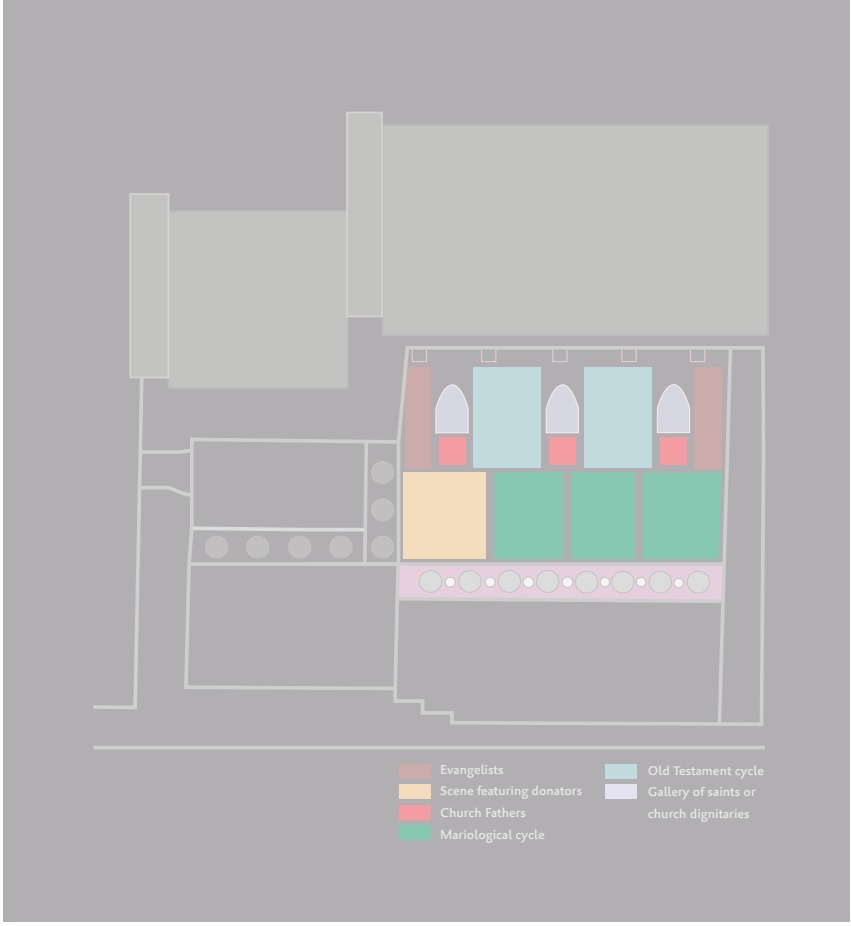
2 / Interior of the presbytery, church of St George, Kostoľany pod Tribečom (Slovakia), 11th–12th century

3 / Interior of the presbytery, church of St George, Kostoľany pod Tribečom (Slovakia), 11th–12th century; original scheme by T. Berger and J. Mařík ová-Kubíková

Regarding its architecture, the church is a composite structure and the result of three building periods. The earliest is the eastern part with its small rectangular sanctuary and nave. The church was then enlarged in the thirteenth century with a wide nave and western tribune. The last addition dates from the 1960s when the church was intensively restored. At the same time archaeological investigations were begun to determine the date of the first building phase. Alojz Habovštiak excavated seventy-four tombs belonging to the cemetery of the church[4]. He found coins, the earliest of which were from the second half of the eleventh century, and other objects dated to the late tenth and eleventh century. None of these burial sites were destroyed by the foundations of the church which means that the cemetery and the building are contemporaneous. Therefore he dated the first phase of the church initially to the eleventh and eventually to the late tenth century. He also pointed out that the building type follows prototypes known from the time of the Moravian Principality of the ninth century.

More recently, in 2006–2007, Peter Baxa carried out another excavation on the northern side of the church[5]. During this campaign, further tombs were discovered with coins dated to the time of King Stephen I of Hungary (issued between 1025–1038) and Duke Oldřich I of Bohemia (1012–1033)[6]. Therefore the date of foundation was fixed to the beginning of the eleventh century.

In the meantime, a very similar church has been investigated by archaeologists at Kopcsány/ Kopčany on the western border of Slovakia. In the 1990s researchers fixed its dating to the tenth or early eleventh century, partially based on a tomb inside of the church[7]. Beside the church Peter Baxa, in 2004, found three tombs from the time of the Moravian Principality. These graves were filled with mortar from the building period of the church and are thus regarded as contemporaneous. Therefore the dating of the church of Kopcsány has been moved to the ninth or early tenth century and explained by the vicinity of Mikulčice, an important Moravian site on the other side of river Morava[8].



This raised the question whether the church of Kosztolány can be dated similarly. A beam taken from the masonry of the south wall was examined using dendrochronological and C14 methods in 2010. While the dendrochronological investigations did not produce usable results, on the basis of the c14 method a dating has been proposed between 703 and 915. That means that the building seems to be datable to the Moravian period, too[9]. However, we should take into consideration that this contradicts to the archaeological finds (no Moravian grave has been identified yet). Moreover, the recent dendrochronological analysis of a wooden beam from the church of Kopcsány pointed to a date of 951 – the year in which the tree was cut down. Radiocarbon dating is in conformity with this, which would move the dating of the church of Kopcsány back to the second half of the tenth century[10]. All in all, it seems that an absolute dating of these churches is still impossible, but they appear to have been built between the ninth and the mid-eleventh centuries.

During the restoration in 1960, medieval frescos were found in the earliest part of the church at Kosztolány. They have been restored and documented by a team from Bratislava[11]. The frescos

4 Alojz Habovštiak, *Kirche mit Fresken in Kostoľany pod Tribečom*, Nitra 1966; *Idem*, "Archeologický výskum v Kostoľanoch pod Tribečom", *Monumentorum tutela*, II (1967), pp. 43–77.

5 Peter Baxa, Peter Bisták, "Prvé výsledky revízneho výskumu cintorína pri Kostole sv. Juraja v Kostoľanoch pod Tribečom", *Monumentorum tutela*, XXI (2009), pp. 53–64.

6 Ján Hunka, "Numizmatický a historický význam mincí objavených pri výskume Kostola sv. Juraja", *Monumentorum tutela*, XXI (2009), pp. 65–71.

7 Viera Drahošová, "Pokračovanie výskumu kaplnky Svätej Margity v Kopčanoch", in *Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku v roku 1995*, Ondrej Oždáni ed., Nitra 1997, p. 38.

8 Peter Baxa *[et al.]*, "Great Moravian graves at Church of St. Margaret of Antioch in Kopčany", *Pamiatky a Múzeá*, LIII (2006), special issue in English, pp. 66–68.

9 Peter Barta, Martin Bóna, "Chronometrické datovanie muriva Kostola sv. Juraja v Kostoľanoch pod Tribečom: prvé výsledky", *Monumentorum tutela*, XXII (2010), pp. 54–59; Peter Barta, Martin Bóna, Marián Keleši, "Chronometrický výskum murív Kostola sv. Juraja v Kostoľanoch pod Tribečom", *Archaeologia historica*, XL (2015), pp. 691–709.

10 Vladimír Bahýl *[et al.]*, "Je kostolík v Kopčanoch skutočne z obdobia Veľkej Moravy a organ v Štítniku zo štrnásteho storočia? Čo o tom hovorí dendrochronológia", in *Zborník príspevkov. Konferencie CSTI 2013 Conservation Science, Technology and Industry* (Bratislava 20.–22. február 2013), Bratislava 2013, pp. 151–162.

11 The slides from this period are available at the homepage of *The Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic*: [http://pamiatky.custodea.com/home/-/browse/diapositives/407/-/13103], last accessed on 10. 11. 2015.

4/ Scene with donators (on the left); Infancy cycle (three succeeding scenes), frescos of the southern wall, church of St George, Kostoľany pod Tribečom (Slovakia), 11th–12th century

were first published by Vlasta Dvořaková in 1961, who dated them to the early thirteenth century[12]. After archaeological research was carried out, however, an earlier date was proposed by the majority of Slovak scholars. The archaeologist Alojz Habovštiak pointed out that the frescos are on the first layer of plaster and connected them to the first floor level, thus proposing that they are contemporaneous with the building itself[13]. Ján Bakoš used South German and Bohemian comparisons in order to fix the date of the frescos of Kosztolány to around 1100[14]. The most detailed studies were published in 1968 in the second volume of *Monumentorum tutela*, where an art-historical analysis was formulated by Josef Krása[15]. He emphasized the isolated character of the paintings, which are connected iconographically to Byzantium, but not stylistically. He suspected that these pre-Romanesque iconographic traditions were transmitted by the Benedictine Abbey of Zobor and, taking the archaeological results into consideration, dated them to the second half of the eleventh century. Krása reiterated this opinion in the study of the corpus of medieval murals in Slovakia published in 1978[16]. A fundamental iconographical study of the paintings was carried out by Melinda Tóth in 1974[17]. She argued that the cycle's Byzantinism, especially visible in the Nativity scene, cannot be dated earlier than the late twelfth century, although it may belong to the archaism of the thirteenth century. Twenty years later she modified her position, aligning it more closely with the Slovak views[18]. During the last decade, the frescos have been subjected to further investigation and restoration a process which is still ongoing. It has been discovered that the frescos cover an earlier walled-in window, thus they follow a rebuilding period and cannot be contemporaneous with the first phase of the church. The results of the project's first years were published by the archaeologist Jana Maříková-Kubková and the restorer Tomáš Berger in 2009[19] [**Fig. 3**]. According to their thorough analysis, the paintings date from the first half of the eleventh century. One of the major problems is that the frescos cannot be dated with any certainty on the basis of their style: they are

5/ On the next double-page (left): Annuntiation, detail of the Infancy cycle of the southern wall, church of St George, Kostoľany pod Tribečom (Slovakia), 11th–12th century

6/ On the next double-page (right): Visitation, detail of the Infancy cycle of the southern wall, church of St George, Kostoľany pod Tribečom (Slovakia), 11th–12th century

very fragmented and the under-drawing – their best-preserved element – was strengthened by the restorers immensely. Therefore the most solid basis for an art historical interpretation is an iconographical analysis.

The frescos of the sanctuary are only partially preserved. Under a later layer there is a fragment of two angels lifting a *mandorla* that is usually interpreted as a *Maiestas Domini*[20]. The paintings of the nave are better known. They are organized in three registers. The upper row consists of larger and smaller square sections. The larger ones seem to belong to a Genesis cycle. There once were ornamental details on the triumphal arch, which Melinda Tóth connected to this cycle; however, they seem to belong to a later period. This is likely why they were removed at some point after the 1960s. On the south side only legs are visible which may have belonged to scenes such as the Fall and Expulsion from Paradise. On the northern side this register is practically lost. On the two windowed sides, the remains of standing figures are visible, which were recently identified as the four evangelists. The small fields below the windows have been interpreted as representations of the church fathers. The lowermost register consists of medallions of unidentified saints.

The most visible part of the program is the second row which is dedicated to a cycle of Jesus' childhood [**Figs 4–7**]. The first scene represents the Annunciation [**Fig. 5**]. The Virgin,

12 Vlasta Dvořáková, Josef Krása, "Zpráva o průzkumu slovenských nástěnných maleb konaném v září 1960", *Umění*, IX (1961), pp. 197–206.
13 Habovštiak, *Kirche* (n. 4), pp. 6–8, 16.
14 Ján Bakoš, "Genéza nástenných malieb v Kostoľanoch pod Tribečom", *Vlastivedný časopis*, XVII (1968), pp. 178–181. See also *Idem*, "Poznámky o románskej nástennej maľbe na Slovensku. Remarques sur la peinture murale romane en Slovaquie", *Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University*, XVII (1968), pp. 13–20.
15 Josef Krása, "Nástěnné malby v kostele sv. Jiří v Kostoľanoch pod Tribečom", *Monumentorum tutela*, II (1967), pp. 115–127.
16 Vlasta Dvořáková, Josef Krása, Karel Stejskal, *Středověká nástěnná malba na Slovensku*, Prague/Bratislava 1978, pp. 102–105.
17 Melinda Tóth, "A kosztolányi templom falképei", *Ars Hungarica*, II (1974), pp. 59–76. See also *Eadem*, *Árpád-kori falfestészet*, Budapest 1974, pp. 53–56.
18 *Eadem*, "Falfestészet az Árpád-korban. Kutatási helyzetkép", *Ars Hungarica*, XXIII (1995), pp. 137–153.
19 Jana Maříková-Kubková, Tomáš Berger, "První stavební fáze kostela sv. Juraja v Kostoľanech pod Tribečom", *Monumentorum tutela*, XXI (2009), pp. 97–152.
20 Tóth, *Árpád-kori* (n. 17), p. 53, n. 346 identifies it as a bust of Christ.

7/ Nativity, detail of the Infancy cycle of the southern wall, church of St George, Kostoľany pod Tribečom (Slovakia), 11th–12th century

standing on the left, is greeted by the angel who is only partially preserved. Behind the Virgin there is a servant on the left who opens a curtain. The presence of the servant is familiar from Byzantine representations, but these are generally of later date[21]. This motif became widespread in the West in more or less the same period: i.e. in the late twelfth and thirteenth century[22]. The textual background is probably the apocryphal Pseudo-Matthew. However, in the West this tradition goes back to the Carolingian ivories[23].

The second scene in Kosztolány is the Visitation [**Fig. 6**]. Peculiar to this representation are the two additional figures standing on both sides. The left one, which is better preserved, repeats the servant of the Annunciation with the curtain. This figure behind the curtain can also be found in Visitation scenes from Early Christian and Byzantine sources (e.g. the mosaics of the sixth-century basilica of Poreč/Parenzo) as well as from later cycles (e.g. the Salerno ivory carvings, eleventh century, *Museo del Duomo*). The motif of two servants appears in the ivory diptych of Genoels-Elderen in the eighth century (Bruxelles, *Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire*); here the servant is also present in the Annunciation.

The cycle of Kosztolány continues with the Nativity [**Fig. 7**]. This is a scene with a lot of figures. The Virgin is lying in the bed in the middle of the scene, while her Son is in the cradle behind her. In the foreground, the Bathing of Jesus is represented, with two servants and Joseph seated on the right. This rich composition is typical of Byzantine art, where the Nativity is often completed by the Bathing, figures of angels, shepherds and the Magi[24]. In the West this type of Nativity appears in contexts of Byzantine influence and usually not earlier than the twelfth century. The Salzburg Pericopes[25] is a rare early example from ca 1020, which is followed in 1160 by the Antiphonary of St Peter, a product of the same production center[26]. In mosaics and frescos this type of Nativity does not usually occur

8/ Frescos of the northern wall, church of St George, Kostoľany pod Tribečom (Slovakia), 11th–12th century

earlier than the mid-twelfth century. Another noteworthy aspect of the Kosztolány version is the position of the Virgin. She is turning to her left and pointing with her left hand to the bathing scene. This motif appears in Western painting only under strong Byzantine influence, as the panels of Guido da Siena from Badia Ardenga (Louvre) and the altarpiece of St Peter (Siena, *Pinacoteca Nazionale*) from ca 1280 show. The later version is closer to our type since Joseph is sitting on the left. This type is also Byzantine, known to us from twelfth-century miniatures[27]. However, the composition of Kosztolány is more closely related to an earlier example which can be found on the underside of the Fieschi Morgan Staurotheke from around 800 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art). They are similar in the portrait-format of the composition and many further figures also relate them. However, the cave is missing from this early Byzantine staurotheke while the strange amorphous frame of the representation at Kosztolány might signify the grotto.

The cycle is continued on the northern wall [**Fig. 8**]. The first scene represents the wandering three Magi who are looking at and pointing to the star [**Fig. 9**]. This is a typical Early Christian iconography, attested by an ivory book cover from the fifth century in the Cathedral Treasury of Milan. Even the vestments of the Magi follow this early example, with the stocking, the mantle and the triangle of the tunic between the legs. This scene is very rare in Western wall paintings. A famous example is known from Austria: in the western part of the Benedictine Abbey of Lambach, consecrated in 1090, the central dome was decorated

21 E.g. Evangeliary, middle of the thirteenth century, Paris, *BNF*, MS gr. 54, fol. 176.
22 E.g. Zillis, wooden ceiling, twelth century.
23 See an ivory book cover, Metz, middle of the ninth century, Paris, *BNF*, MS lat. 9393.
24 E.g. Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Constantinople, first half of the twelth century, Paris, *BNF*, MS gr. 550.
25 Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 15713, fol. 4v.
26 Vienna, *ÖNB*, Ser. n. 2700, p. 182.
27 Evangeliary, Byzantium, first quarter of the twelth century, Paris, *BNF*, MS gr. 75, fol. 1.

9/ Wandering of the Magi, fresco of the northern wall, church of St George, Kostoľany pod Tribečom (Slovakia), 11th–12th century

10/ Adoration of the Magi, fresco of the northern wall, church of St George, Kostoľany pod Tribečom (Slovakia), 11th–12th century

11/ Flight into Egypt, fresco of the northern wall, church of St George, Kostoľany pod Tribečom (Slovakia), 11th–12th century

with the Adoration of the Magi, preceded by the Wandering. Their movement, pointing to the star, is comparable to the one at Kosztolány. Even the headgear, which originates in the Early Christian Phrygian cap, modified into a hat with pointed top, is similar.

The Magi, dressed in the same archaic way, are approaching the Madonna who is seated on a throne in the next image [**Fig. 10**]. Their three figures, standing close together, also appear in miniature painting. A good example is a manuscript painted at Prüm in Western Germany around 1000[28]. It seems that this composition was still followed there in an Evangeliary in the twelfth century[29]. The standing figures of the Magi also appear in a Sacramentary from Liège, dated to ca 1075; in this image, however, they wear crowns which is the usual Western representation[30]. The representation of the Magi as kings became widespread in Western art during the reign of Otto I and Otto II in the late tenth century[31]; nevertheless, later examples with the Phrygian cap are also known[32].

The last scene of this cycle represents the Flight into Egypt [**Fig. 11**]. Joseph is leading the donkey on which Mary is sitting and an angel is accompanying them. This composition does not seem to have any unusual iconographic features.

The fourth episode on the northern wall, continuing the Flight, is heavily damaged; its identification is therefore quite problematic. Krása regarded it as the Massacre of the Innocents. However, because of the serene postures of the three figures[33], Melinda Tóth has suggested the Presentation in the Temple as a subject[34]. Neither of these identifications seems to correspond with the surviving fragments. What is visible is a seated figure on the right (possibly on a throne), and two standing figures on the left. The central figure, standing in front of the throne, is dressed in a long vestment with parallel, straight folds. It appears to be a woman's dress. Opposite this composition on the southern wall, another comparable scene is visible. Here again, a seated figure is receiving persons coming from the right: a man, who is probably holding a model of the church and two smaller figures, maybe his children. A further

28 *Troparium-prosarium-graduale*, Prüm, 986–1001, Paris, BNF, MS lat. 9448, fol. 23v.

29 Evangeliary, Prüm, first third of the twelth century, Paris, BNF, MS lat. 17325 fol. 20.

30 Sacramentarium, Liège, ca 1075, Paris, BNF, MS lat. 819 fol. 21v.

31 Manuela Beer, Moritz Woelk, "Die Heiligen drei Könige. Mythos, Kunst und Kultur", in *Die Heiligen drei Könige*, exhibition catalogue (Köln, Museum Schnütgen 2014–2015), Manuela Beer *[et al.]* eds, Munich 2014, p. 15.

32 E.g. a (book?) box from Frankish territory, ca 1100, see *Die Heiligen drei Könige* (n. 31), n. 29, pp. 84–85 (Regino Marth).

33 Krása, "Nástěnné malby" (n. 15), p. 120.

34 Tóth, "A kosztolányi" (n. 17), p. 63, n. 23.

12/ Nativity, fresco in the church of *Saint-Pierre-les-Églises*, Chauvigny (France), 10th century

13/ Nativity, fresco in the church of *San Giovanni a Porta Latina*, Rome (Italy), 2nd half of the 12th century

figure with a halo (maybe an angel) seems to present them to the figure on the throne. This composition has been identified by Krása and Bakoš as a donation scene, an identification criticized but later accepted by Melinda Tóth[35]. Recently, the image's similarity to its northern pair has been recognized and both of have been labeled as representations of the donors[36].

If this identification is correct, the commissioners were lay owners of the property. The first historical record of the village dates from 1113 when the western side of the village was enumerated among the properties of the Benedictine Abbey of Zobor[37]. The eastern side, where the church stands, seems to be lay property[38]. In 1253 when the castle of Gímes was donated to Master Andrew, member of the Hontpázmány kindred, the village was already his property[39]. He was most likely the commissioner of the enlargement of the church in the thirteenth century which is the *terminus ante quem* of our frescos. The lay donors represented on the walls may have belonged to an earlier generation. Of course, the identification of the patrons depends very much on the dating of the frescos, which, as we have seen, is the most debated problem in the literature.

The usual starting point for the dating attempts is the iconographic program of the cycle. The cycle contains a number of scenes which feature uncommon elements: the presence of the servants in the Annunciation and the Visitation, the Bathing of Jesus and, of course, the Wandering Magi. These elements occur very rarely in medieval art. The early thirteenth-century bronze gate of the cathedral of Benevento begins with the story of the Childhood. In the first scene, representing the Annunciation, the servant is present, similarly to the second, which depicts the Visitation. The Nativity is accompanied by the Bathing. However, the limited similarities end at this point: the Magi are represented in the usual Western way[40].

More significant similarities were recognized by Melinda Tóth with the Venetian art of the early thirteenth century[41]. In the reliefs of the baptismal font in the church of *San Giovanni in Fonte* in Verona not only the servant of the Annunciation but also the dress of the Wandering Magi and the Bathing scene are comparable to those in Kosztolány. In the early thirteenth century, Venetian art deliberately privileged Late Antique and Early Christian prototypes. Tóth therefore regarded the similarities in

composition, colors and iconographic details like the servant between the Visitation of Kosztolány and that of the northern transept of *San Marco* in Venice as significant[42]. In this case we might understand the Hungarian frescos as an instance of intentional archaism; however, this would require an extremely late dating which seems to be unacceptable now.

We might ask why the frescoes have been regarded as archaic as opposed to actually early in date. Melinda Tóth based her argument on the late appearance of the Byzantine Bathing scene in Western art. However, she also cited the cycle at *Saint-Pierre-les-Églises*, part of modern Chauvigny, east of Poitiers. These frescos, only partially preserved, can be found in the apse and on the triumphal arch. One of the scenes is identified as the Visitation in the presence of further figures, maybe servants and/or the husbands. The Nativity is a large composition which also includes the Bathing [Fig. 12]. Finally, the Magi are represented with Phrygian caps, although they travel by horse, which is more typical of Western art. The paintings have traditionally been dated to the twelfth century. However, they are on the walls of a Carolingian church and since 1950 epigraphers have argued that its inscriptions cannot be later than the tenth century. Otto Demus defended the traditional dating in 1970, together with the majority of art historians (André Grabar, Jean Hubert)[43]. More recently, however, small organic elements were detected in the murals which were analyzed with radiocarbon method. This resulted in a dating between 782 and 984 (based on two samples of three)[44]. Although the time limits given by this method are necessarily not precise, it seems clear that the frescos cannot be Romanesque. Considering the historical facts, it seems that the church must have been decorated before 975 when the site was abandoned. Thus, it

35 Dvořáková/Krása/Stejskal, *Středověká* (n. 16), p. 104; Bakoš, "Genéza" (n. 14), p. 180; Tóth, "Falfestészet" (n. 18), p. 141.
36 Maříková-Kubková/Berger, "První stavební fáze" (n. 19), p. 123.
37 *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima I. Ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1131*, György Györffy ed., Budapest 1992, p. 395.
38 György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza I*, Budapest 1962, p. 453.
39 *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticum ac civilis*, vol. IV, part 2, György Fejér ed., Buda 1829, pp. 206–209.
40 Ursula Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters 800–1200*, Munich 1994, p. 179.
41 Tóth, "A kosztolányi" (n. 17), pp. 67–68.
42 *Ibidem*, p. 68, cf. *I mosaici di San Marco*, Bruno Bertoli ed., Milan 1986, pp. 165–166.
43 Otto Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, Munich 1992, p. 144 with preceding literature.
44 Bénédicte Palazzo-Bertholon, "Les peintures de Saint-Pierre-les-Églises sont-elles carolingiennes ? Le nouvel éclairage des datations au radiocarbone", *Revue historique du Centre-Ouest*, IV (2005), p. 53–67.

is possible that *Saint-Pierre-les-Églises* preserves one of the earliest fresco cycles of the Western world. On the other hand, those who refute this early dating usually cite the provincial character of the cycle to support their arguments. Thus Otto Demus considered the dating of *Saint-Pierre-les-Églises* by Deschamps and Thibout "a mistake which is explicable and indeed excusable in view of the primitive, folk character of the work… As with all folk art, the exact date is relatively unimportant, what is noteworthy is the persistence of traits long out of fashion in the major centers"[45]. Melinda Tóth raised the same idea in 1974 for Kosztolány, reasoning that the rigidity of the figures is not a result of the rudimentary character of early art but a principle of late Romanesque provincialism[46].

More distant comparisons have already been cited from the region of Rome. A closer analogy is the fresco cycle of the church of *San Giovanni a Porta Latina* in Rome [**Fig. 13**]. This cycle, dated to the second half of the twelfth century, includes the Annunciation and the Visitation, in both cases with servants present. The Bathing has already been discussed. The Magi wear the Phrygian cap, although they are kneeling and not standing. The Wandering scene is missing. However, this subject is present in another church in Rome, *Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella*. This highly interesting cycle is situated in an Antique temple transformed into a Christian church. The paintings, quite damaged and heavily repainted, are dated on the basis of a dubious inscription which reads 1011, but on the basis of iconographical and historical factors, Paul Williamson modified it to 1090[47]. Kirstin Noreen has argued that these late eleventh-century wall paintings were created in the ecclesiastical environment of the Gregorian reform[48].

The servant is standing in the background of the Annunciation, opening a curtain. Below this scene, the Nativity is represented together with the Bathing. Continuing the story, the Wandering Magi are depicted, pointing to the star. They are dressed according to the Early Christian tradition.

Thus it seems that a certain group of Roman churches bear as much of a resemblance to the cycle at Kosztolány as the works of Venetian archaism cited by Tóth; this comparison leads, however, in a different direction. These Roman churches have been analyzed by Herbert L. Kessler in recent decades[49]. He recognized that their program follows the old compositions of the nave decoration of Old Saint Peter's. Although these murals were probably not as early as the building itself, and thus cannot be Early Christian paintings, they were renewed several times in the ninth century and later. It is also significant that the Bathing was depicted at the end of the northern aisle in the Oratory of Pope John VII (705–707)[50].

The emphasis on archaic, Early Christian iconography, which is a key characteristic of the compositions of Kosztolány, is also a feature of the Roman tradition between the late eleventh and the thirteenth century and is related to the papal reform movement. The Hungarian frescos should be interpreted within this context[51]. The given period, the rule of King Coloman the Learned (1095–1116) can be characterized by a special Hungarian-papal alliance. Coloman, who was a consecrated bishop before his coronation, married the daughter of Roger, the Sicilian Norman ally of the Pope. Coloman's major rival, his brother Álmos, was supported by Emperor Henry IV. Coloman introduced several reforms in the Hungarian church, including celibacy. He also reorganized the Hungarian church system's establishment of a new bishopric at Nyitra (today Nitra), which in fact is very close to the village of Kosztolány[52].

At this point we might refer to another possible explanation, that is the imitation of some kind of prototype. This idea has been raised by Josef Krása, pointing to the ancient Benedictine Abbey of Zobor[53]. This monastery, dedicated to Saint Hippolytus, was founded by King Stephen I in the early eleventh century[54]. Krása suggested that this monastery, only twenty kilometers from Kosztolány and owner of the half of the village, might have been influential in the artistic decoration of the church. Melinda Tóth also accepted that the prototype was probably an interesting, early work of art of local significance. Besides the monastery of Zobor, the bishopric seat of Nyitra has also been mentioned as a possible source[55].

Of course, it is always risky to speculate as to the existence of a lost work which would explain all difficulties. We know little to nothing about the

murals of Nyitra and Zobor, and even less about their other works of art. However, the balanced rhythm of the cycle of Kosztolány and the almost identical measurements of its scenes recalls miniature painting. Book illumination is a genre which due to its mobility can bridge large geographical and chronological distances. The linear character of the frescos also resembles manuscript decorations. One such manuscript, an eleventh-century *Laterculus Bedanus* codex is especially eye-catching with the vivid movements of the Magi[56]. One of them is pointing to the star, another to the child Jesus while the third one already adores Him. The dramatic sequence of this miniature, as well as the movement of the Magi at Kosztolány might be connected to contemporaneous liturgical dramas. A similar idea has been raised by Karl M. Swoboda in his 1927 analysis of the frescos of Lambach[57].

In the case of Kosztolány we can use as a comparison an eleventh-century codex from the Kingdom of Hungary. This is an episcopal liturgical book (*Agenda pontificalis*), which among other texts contains the so-called *Tractus stellae*, a liturgical drama performed at the end of the matins of Epiphany, before the *Te Deum*[58]. This version is related to the processions, i.e., it consists of stations and processes. First, the Magi enter and take the presents from the Virgin altar. Then they travel to Jerusalem and meet with Herod. Finally, they move to Bethlehem and, adoring the Savior, they depart the scene. From our point of view, the third episode is the most interesting: at that point, leaving Herod, the Magi say one by one: "*Ecce stella*"–"Here is the star", and together: "Seen in the East, the light goes before us once again"[59]. The dramatic motion of the Magi corresponds to the performance of the text. What is missing from the Kosztolány cycle are the previous acts; but we should not forget that the entire western wall of the original church was destroyed during the thirteenth-century enlargement. Therefore at least two scenes should be reconstructed between the Nativity and the Wandering of the Magi.

The manuscript presented is one of those liturgical codices which were offered to the newly founded bishopric of Zagreb at the end of the eleventh century. At a certain point in the *Exultet* the name of Bishop *Chartvirgus* is mentioned. A similar name, written as *Cartvicus*, is known as the author of the third legend of Saint Stephen of Hungary, commissioned by King Coloman the Learned in the early eleventh century. He is usually identified with a certain *Arduinus*, who is mentioned as bishop of the Hungarian Győr diocese around 1097 and 1103. The three persons with similar names are usually regarded as one and the same in Hungarian scholarship, therefore the *Agenda pontificalis* is held to be a liturgical manuscript originally used in Győr cathedral in the late eleventh century. However, most recently Miklós Földváry has argued that the present manuscript is probably a copy of an earlier one which was in use in the archdiocese of Esztergom, which itself

45 Demus, *Romanische* (n. 43), p. 144. English translation: Otto Demus, *Romanesque mural painting*, New York 1970, p. 424.

46 Tóth, "A kosztolányi" (n. 17), p. 62.

47 Paul Williamson, "Notes on the Wall-Paintings in Sant'Urbano Alla Caffarella, Rome", *Papers of the British School at Rome*, LV (1987), pp. 224–228.

48 Kirstin Noreen, "Lay Patronage and the Creation of Papal Sanctity during the Gregorian Reform: The Case of Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella, Rome", *Gesta*, XL (2001), pp. 39–59. Cf. more recently: Serena Romano, "Gli affreschi di S. Urbano alla Caffarella: qualche elemento di discussione", *Arte medievale*, II/4 (2012), pp. 77–94.

49 Herbert L. Kessler, *Old St. Peter's and church decoration in medieval Italy*, Spoleto 2002.

50 Antonella Ballardini, "Un oratorio per la Theotokos: Giovanni VII (705–707) committente a San Pietro", in *Medioevo: i committenti*, Arturo C. Quintavalle ed., Milan 2011, pp. 94–116.

51 A dating of the frescos to around 1100 is also suggested by Melinda Tóth in 1995 (see n. 18) and Krisztina Ilkó, "The artistic connections of the Romanesque wall paintings in Kostolany pod Tribecom (Slovakia)", lecture at the 22nd International IRCLAMA Colloquium, Poreč, 23 May 2015.

52 Márta Font, *Coloman the Learned, King of Hungary*, Szeged 2001, pp. 68–72.

53 Krása, "Nástěnné malby" (n. 15), p. 123.

54 Hervay F. Levente, "A bencések és apátságaik története a középkori Magyarországon", in *Paradisum plantavit*, Imre Takács ed., Pannonhalma 2001, pp. 461–547, 526; Marián Samuel, "Najnovšie výsledky archeologických výskumov Zoborského kláštora v Nitre", *Monumentorum tutela*, XXII (2010), pp. 276–287; *Otevři zahradu rajskou. Benediktini v srdci Evropy 800–1300. Open the Gates of Paradise. The Benedictines in the Heart of Europe 800–1300*, exhibition catalogue (Praha, Národní Galerie 2014–2015), Dušan Foltýn *[et al.]* ed., Prague 2014, no. III/21, p. 59.

55 Tóth, "Falfestészet" (n. 18), p. 141. On the new archaeological findings of the cathedral see: *The Cradle of Christianity of Slovakia. Nitra Castle and the Cathedral of St. Emmeram*, Viliam Judák, Peter Bednár, Kozef Medvecký eds, Nitra 2011; Viliam Judák *[et al.]*, *The Nitra Castle and Cathedral Church - Basilica of St. Emmeram*, Nitra 2011.

56 *Laterculus Bedanus generationum regnorumque*, Paris, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, middle of the eleventh century, Paris, BNF, MS lat. 12117 fol. 108.

57 Karl M. Swoboda, "Der romanische Epiphaniezyklus in Lambach und das lateinische Magierspiel", in *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser zum 60. Geburtstage*, Arpad Weixlgärtner ed., Zürich 1927, pp. 82–87; Demus, *Romanische* (n. 43), pp. 202–205.

58 *Hartvik Agenda pontificalis* (*Pontificale Chartvirgi*), eleventh century, Zagreb, *Metropolitanska Knjižnica*/Bibl. Univ. MR 165, 28v–30r.

59 See recent online edition: *Pontificale Chartvirgi*, Miklós Földváry ed., Budapest 2013: [http://vallastudomany.elte.hu/sites/default/files/PONTIFICALE_CHARTVIRGI.pdf], last accessed 10. 11. 2015.

might have copied specific items from German prototypes. Thus, the *Chartvirgus* in question may be identified with Archbishop Hartwig of Magdeburg or other German bishops[60]. In any case, the *Agenda pontificalis* and its Esztergom prototype seem to be the result of an eleventh-century Hungarian liturgical reform.

All in all, it is clear that the murals of Kosztolány represent an excellent example of the survival of Antique and Early Christian models which is probably the result of intentional archaism. The provincial character of the frescos suggests that they imitate the compositions of a good quality prototype, either a manuscript or a cycle of murals from an important site like the newly founded cathedral of Nyitra. This kind of archaism was appropriate at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and fits well with the environment of ecclesiastical reform carried out in Hungary in the time of King Coloman the Learned.

60 See English introduction for the above mentioned edition by Miklós Földváry, with preceding literature: [http://vallastudomany.elte.hu/sites/default/files/PONTIFICALE_CHARTVIRGI_INTRODUCTION_ENGLISH.pdf], last accessed 10. 11. 2015.

Archaismus, imitace nebo provincialismus?
Poznámky k nástěnným malbám v Kostoľanech pod Tribečom

Nástěnné malby v kostele sv. Jiří v Kostoľanech pod Tribečom na jihozápadním Slovensku představují jeden z nejranějších dochovaných středověkých freskových cyklů na území středověkých Uher. Kvůli svému špatnému stavu a zlomkovitému charakteru nemohou být ale datovány na základě stylové analýzy. Datace samotného kostela se pohybuje v období mezi 9. a 11. stoletím.

Zkoumané nástěnné malby byly vytvořeny v prvních fázích stavby, nicméně již po určitých architektonických modifikacích (např. po zazdění původního okna). Z nástěnných maleb ve svatyni se dochovaly jen zlomky, lépe zachovaná část se nachází v hlavní lodi. Na její jižní stěně nalezneme výjevy Zvěstování, Navštívení a Narození, zatímco na stěně severní je znázorněno Putování a Klanění mudrců a Útěk do Egypta. Ikonografie těchto scén je překvapivě archaická, zahrnuje dokonce ještě pozdně antické a raně křesťanské elementy (ty nalezneme zejména ve scénách Zvěstování, Navštívení a Putování). Archaický charakter výmalby byl Melindou Tóth vysvětlen jakožto provincialismus, což vedlo k pozdní dataci maleb. Tóth je nejprve v roce 1974 datovala do pozdního 12. nebo raného 13. století, a následně roku 1995 dataci změnila na rané 12. století. Stejná autorka tuto podobu maleb dávala do souvislosti také se záměrným archaismem, inspirovaným obdobným trendem v Benátkách raného 13. století. Josef Krása ji zase vysvětloval jakožto imitaci významných lokálních prototypů, jako byly miniatury nebo do dnešní doby nedochované výmalby kláštera v Zoboru a katedrály v Nitře.

Autor článku spojuje nástěnné malby v Kostoľanech s podobnými cykly Narození, které byly v oblibě v Římě od pozdního 11. do 13. století (např. v *Sant'Urbano alla Caffarella* nebo *San Giovanni a Porta Latina*). Přiklání se k hypotéze záměrného archaismu a zastává názor, že provinční charakter nástěnných maleb v Kostoľanech svědčí o imitaci kvalitnější předlohy. Autor však dochází k závěru, že tato podoba archaismu by odpovídala spíše prostředí církevních reforem, které byly provedeny v Uhrách na přelomu 11. a 12. století za vlády krále Kolomana Uherského.

Abstract—A Syriac Four Gospel Book in Diyarbakır
The present study deals with codicological, textual and art historical features of the Gospel Book (*Tetraevangelium*) from the Syrian Orthodox Church Meryem Ana, Diyarbakır (Turkey) that has not been sufficiently known either to scholars of Syriac Christianity or art historians. Due to the lack of the colophon we are bereft of any positive information concerning its provenance and therefore only through comparative study one can contextualize the evidence that it provides. Our preliminary study demonstrates that palaeographical and codicological features of the manuscript allow to ascribe it to the early Syriac manuscript production. Its text represents the standard Syriac Gospel text of the Peshitta version. The text is accompanied by a primitive lectionary system that covers only the principal liturgical commemorations; that was however enriched at a later stage when the manuscript was used in the Syriac Orthodox milieu. The manuscript contains a miniature of Christ as well as decorated Canon tables that are similar in style to those in Syriac Gospels from the sixth century and, in particular, with those of the Rabbula Gospels in Florence. Albeit most of the early Syriac Gospel books are not dated a recent new investigation of Rabbula codex cogently argued that its miniatures go back to 525–550 CE. Both authors agree that it is likely that the manuscript from the Church of Meryem Ana can be assigned to the same date of mid-sixth century.

Keywords—Syriac manuscripts, Late Antique illuminated manuscripts, Early Christian Syria, Four Gospels, lectionaries, Canon tables, iconography of Christ

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A Syriac Four Gospel Book in Diyarbakır[1]

Massimo Bernabò & Grigory Kessel

The role scholars assigned to the area of present-day Syria in the formation of Late Antique art was once distorted by long-lasting, misleading prejudices and ideologies. At the turn of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, the Galician art historian Josef Strzygowski believed that the most decisive changes in the art of Eastern and Western Mediterranean countries could be traced to ancient Syria. Such an Oriental theory of the origin of medieval art was a reaction to the dominant view that Rome was the leading artistic centre in early Christendom. In the same years (1901–1902), the Russian scholar Dimitri V. Ajnalov, a pupil of pioneering Byzantine scholar Nikodim P. Kondakov, proposed a more balanced panorama of the main artistic centres that later gave rise to Byzantine art: Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch. A reassessment of Strzygowski's pan-Syriacism was offered by the Princeton school of art historians (*in primis* Charles R. Morey), but the final blow to Strzygowski's view was delivered in the 1930s, when Princeton University and *Musée du Louvre* in Paris carried out excavations in Antioch (1932–1939). Researchers unearthed dozens of pavement mosaics in the houses, villas and *martyria* of Antioch and its vicinity that proved that the Syrian metropolis was free of Oriental influence during Late Antiquity; on the contrary, the city appeared to have been a faithful representative of the Hellenistic tradition.

1 Part I by Grigory Kessel, part II by Massimo Bernabò. Throughout the article the following abbreviations are used: **D** – Diyarbakır, Syrian Orthodox Church Meryem Ana 1/2 (HMML number, DIYR 339); **M** – Manchester, John Rylands Library, syr. 1 (sixth century); **P** – Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, syr. 33 (sixth century); **PH** – Berlin, *Staatsbibliothek*, Codex Phillipps 1388 (fifth/sixth century); **R** – Florence, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Cod. plut. I. 56 (Rabbula Gospels, 586 AD); **S** – Deyr al-Surian, MS 10 (510 AD, Edessa); **V12** – *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, sir. 12 (548 AD, Edessa); **V13** – *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, sir. 13 (756 AD, Urem Castra on Euphrates); **W** – Wolfenbüttel, *Herzog August Bibliothek*, Guelf 3.1.300 Aug. fol. (633 AD). Besides **D**, only manuscripts **P**, **PH**, **R**, **V12** and **V13** were available for examination (in digital format). Information about **M** and **W** was taken from the available publications: James F. Coakley, "A Catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts in the John Rylands Library", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, XV (1993), pp. 105–207, sp. pp. 117–118; Sebastian P. Brock, Lucas van Rompay, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir al-Surian, Wadi al-Natrun (Egypt)*, Leuven 2004, pp. 49–53. Regrettably, the digitization of **D** was not done accurately and the foliation introduced during the imaging process does not correspond to the actual order of the folios. For that reason we decided to refrain from referring to particular folios. Furthermore, since not every page of the manuscript was photographed, it was not possible to ascertain exactly what parts were lost. It goes without saying that a digital copy has its drawbacks that are especially noticeable in codicological examination. A direct study of the manuscript may help to verify and correct the results achieved here.

1a/ Prefatory miniature: a frontal depiction of blessing Christ with a large, golden halo, standing between two cypresses. He wears sandals, a white long tunic with golden clavi and a purple mantle. Christ is portrayed as an ascetic figure, with curly dark hair; he holds an open codex, which shows the beginning of the Gospel of John (*ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος*). The figure is enclosed in a round medallion with a geometric pattern. HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 1a, ca 550

The issue of the artistic role of Syria was further complicated by the publication of the Kaper Koraon treasure and other silversmith works excavated in Syria. Scholars noted an expressionistic emphasis in the style of Syrian silver objects, in particular the Stuma and Riha patens that probably date between 574 and 577 AD (now in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul and the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington). They concluded that a prevalent "Syrian expressionism" existed in the region and postulated that some of the most famous illuminated manuscripts from the Eastern Mediterranean, namely the purple manuscripts of the Vienna Genesis (Vienna, *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, Cod. theol. gr. 31), the Rossano Gospels (Rossano, Calabria, Diocesan Museum) and the Sinope Gospels (Paris, *BNF*, MS Suppl. gr. 1291) were connected to Antioch and Syria. The Stuma and Riha patens, however, have stamps bearing the imprint of Constantinople. As a result, some scholars have argued that they were made by a workshop in the capital of the Byzantine Empire.

Finally, according to the unsatisfactory studies in the facsimile edition of the Syriac Rabbula Gospels in Florence (Laurentian Library, Cod. Plut. I. 56), (whose miniatures provide the only solid basis for evaluating the sixth-century art of Syria), the miniatures in the codex demonstrate an expressionistic style and date from 586 AD, the year the text was written according to the colophon. However, these conclusions about style and the date have both turned out to be erroneous and misleading.

In conclusion, the assumption that in Early Christian Syria an expressionistic style dominated and the area was the place of origin of the three purple manuscripts mentioned above must be considered questionable. A recent study of the Rabbula Gospels has found that the illuminations in the manuscript do not belong to the original manuscript written by the monk Rabbula in 586: most of the Rabbula miniatures probably date to before the mid-sixth century. Unfortunately, the erroneous date of 586 has served as a point of reference for a number of undated Syriac manuscripts of the period, including the Diyarbakır Gospels.

The present study deals with codicological, textual and art historical features of the Gospel Book (*Tetraevangelium*) from the Syrian Orthodox Church Meryem Ana, Diyarbakır[2] (hereafter **D**), a manuscript that was once described as "*Meisterstück der syrischen Klöster und ihrer Schreibstuben*[3]". In the past, the manuscript was inaccessible to scholars, but recently a digitalized copy of the entire manuscript collection of the Meryem Ana Church has been created. The present study is based on the digital copy made available to us through the generosity of the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (Collegeville, MN).

PART I: THE CODEX

Physical condition

At present, **D** is in an unsatisfactory state of preservation and requires urgent restoration. The codex has suffered from various factors and shows multiple types of damage. Almost every page contains wax and water stains as well as cracks (fixed with an adhesive tape in recent times) and holes, and the text itself is faded and in some places only barely visible. Furthermore, the first two quires of the Gospel text were trimmed to such a degree that today the text of the outer columns is cut off. The codex appears to have been regularly repaired: traces of repairs can be seen in paper strips that were used to reinforce the pages, and some portions of faded text have been overwritten. The writing on the strips suggests they originated from a Syrian Orthodox manuscript dating to no later than the thirteenth century. The binding has become very weak and one of the boards is missing.

Nowadays, the manuscript consists of twenty-three quires (or, to be more precise, twenty-two numbered quires plus an extra quire with the Canon Tables), which, except for the last one, are nearly complete with just a couple folios missing (including the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew). Quire XXII is the most damaged with

2 On this collection of Syriac and Christian Arabic manuscripts see Grigory Kessel, "Manuscript collection of the Syrian Orthodox Church Meryemana in Diyarbakir: A Preliminary Survey", in *Manuscripta syriaca. Des sources de première main*, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet ed., (Cahiers d'études syriaques 4), Paris 2015, pp. 79–123.

3 Arthur Vööbus, "Neuentdeckung sehr alter syrischer Evangelienhandschriften", *Oriens Christianus*, LVII (1973), pp. 57–62, sp. p. 58.

some of its pages in fragments. The length of the missing text suggests that just a few folios were lost from the final quire of the manuscript[4].

It is likely that the codex lost some of its folios only in modern times. The lost folios in other early copies of the Four Gospels as a rule were substituted during the Middle Ages (as, e.g., in **M**, **P**, **PH**, **V12**, **W**), and, since **D** clearly bears the traces of later medieval usage, the manuscript may have been intact at that time.

Text

The text of the Four Gospels is not preserved in its entirety in **D**. The extra quire with the Canon Tables also contains Eusebius' *Letter to Carpianus on the Gospel Canons*, which is so heavily damaged that some parts are no longer legible. The Four Gospels begin with Mt 1, 12 (quire I) and run through Jn 14, 27 (quire XX) in more or less complete form. The penultimate quire XXI (Jn 14, 27 – 19, 12) is defective and seems to lack some of its folios. What remains from the final quire XXII are fragments that continue as far as Jn 20, 17.

Making of the codex

D contains no page or folio numbers, but only special numbers at the beginning of a new quire: letters from the Syriac alphabet can be found in the inner part of the lower margin of every first page of a quire with an intersected line above. The only exception is found in quire I, which bears a signature on its last page[5]. The *ductus* of the Syriac letters used for quire signatures shows that they are contemporary with the main text and were executed by the scribe of the manuscript.

The quires are made of five bifolia (*quinions*) that do not follow Gregory's rule. Instead, they were arranged so that before the bifolia were folded, the hair side always faced upwards and the flesh side downwards. Consequently, the two facing pages of an opening show different parchment surfaces (with the exception of the first and last pages of two adjacent quires and the inner side of the central bifolium).

Although the first folio of quire I is missing (contained Mt 1, 1–12), we can safely assert that the numbering of the quires in **D** started only with the Gospel text, thus the preceding quire with Canon Tables was unnumbered. This feature must be the result of the division of labour during the production of the book: a scribe produced a copy of the Gospel text, following all the required formalities (thus including a signature for the first quire), while an artist was responsible for the Tables. Once both jobs were completed, the two parts were bound together. Quires with Canon Tables were easily lost because of historical events and the general vulnerability of the outer parts of a codex, but since proper usage of a Gospel book requires a set of Canon Tables on hand, they could have been substituted from different manuscripts. Thus, without special analysis, we cannot assume the Canon Tables of **D** were originally made for this Gospel text. For example, in **D** the handwriting of Eusebius' Letter to Carpianus on the Gospel Canons, which appears in the quire with the Tables, is distinctly different from that of the Gospel text. It would be too hasty, however, to conclude that this manuscript is not in its authentic form. After all, as mentioned above, the quire with the Canon Tables must have been produced separately from the main body of the manuscript and thus it is natural to find it written in a different hand.

Some characteristics of **D** are generally pertinent to all ancient Syriac manuscripts (like the absence of foliation and the special type of quire organization), whereas others are not (the use of quire numbers, which cannot be found in **P**, **PH**, **S** and **V12**). These unusual features can assist us in placing the manuscript in its appropriate context[6]. The lack of quire numbers in **D**'s Canon Tables is a feature of other Syriac Gospels with Tables (for example, **R**)[7] and deserves further research. Furthermore, that Eusebius's letter in the Canon Tables was written in a different hand than the rest of the manuscript (the Gospel text) is a phenomenon that can also be observed in **P** and **R**. Moreover **D** has one more codicological trait in common with **R**, namely the presence of a quire number only on the first page of a quire.

Vocalization and diacritics

Similar to most early Syriac manuscripts, vocalisation in **D** is absent and the diacritical marks are limited to just the most significant ones, such as *syāmē*: dots for marking perfect and participle

forms and distinguishing between homographs. Likewise, the punctuation is represented by only a few types of dots. Both the diacritical and punctuation marks are highly likely to be contemporary with the codex.

Script

The text of **D** is executed in a very regular and early form of Estrangela. Among the notable features of its well-articulated ductus are as follows: *semkat* is not connected to the left; *dalath* and *resh* have non-rounded, angular forms; both *waw* and *mem* are open at the bottom; the eye of the *taw* varies from small or even fully closed to prominent.The script is large with two or three words on a line.

The script in **D** shows a close similarity to the palaeographical features of the following sixth-century manuscripts: **S** (510, Edessa), British Library Add. 14445 (copied in 532)[8], and **V12** (548, Edessa)[9]. Given the general profile of the script in **D** as well as its relationship to the two manuscripts from the second quarter of the sixth century, it seems safe to date the manuscript to the middle of the sixth century. Because the kindred manuscripts (**S** and **V12**) are also texts of the Four Gospels and come from Edessa, it seems reasonable to consider that **D** originated from the same location[10]. However, since that form of Estrangela was a standard one, this proposed place of origin is pure conjecture until actual historical evidence concerning its production comes to light (for example, the final section of the manuscript with a colophon).

Layout

D measures 33 x 25 cm. The text is arranged in two columns of 23–24 lines that frequently cross into the margins delineated with a dry point (the lines are not ruled). The visible pricking holes at the top and bottom of each column were used to mark the frames for the columns. The text is divided into paragraphs corresponding to the Ammonian sections, each beginning with its number in the Gospels and the Eusebian canon number[11]. References to the analogous places in other Gospels appear below the columns. The running titles in red indicating the actual Gospel text are present in the upper margin of every fifth and tenth page of a quire.

This type of layout is typical of early Syriac manuscripts[12]: similar format, an arrangement of two columns (only in **S** is the text arranged in one column), ruling restricted to the columns and a running title on every fifth and tenth page of a quire, all of which can be observed in **P**, **PH**, **R** and **V12**. What distinguishes the ancient Syriac Four Gospels manuscripts is the presence of the Eusebian canon numbers, both within the text and as a reference system. The absence of the Eusebian canon numbers in **P**[13] and **S** may point to a date before they gained widespread currency.

4 I believe that Jules Leroy is not accurate when he speaks about the last quires that have been lost (Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient*, Paris 1964, p. 207).

5 Because the beginning of the quire 1 is missing, we cannot verify if the quire signature was also present on the first page.

6 For a general survey of the codicology of Syriac manuscripts see Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, "Cahiers et signatures dans les manuscrits syriaques. Remarques sur les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale de France", in *Recherches de codicologie comparée. La composition du codex au Moyen-Âge, en Orient et en Occident*, Philippe Hoffmann ed., Paris 1998, pp. 153–169; *Eadem*, "Les manuscrits syriaques", in *Nos sources. Art et littérature syriaques*, Maroun Atallah ed., Antélias 2005, pp. 43–73; Pier Giorgio Borbone, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, Ewa Balicka-Witakowska, "Syriac codicology", in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. An Introduction*, Alessandro Bausi *[et al.]* eds, Hamburg 2015, pp. 252–266. Notwithstanding the dominance of the presented system of quire organisation, one can distinguish a certain regional and temporal variation that I plan to pursue in a separate study.

7 See the observations on this made by Pier Giorgio Borbone ("Codicologia, paleografia, aspetti storici", in *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56. L'illustrazione del Nuovo Testamento nella Siria del VI secolo*, Massimo Bernabò ed., Rome 2008, pp. 23–58, sp. p. 50), who argues that the first quire containing the Eusebian Canon Tables may have been numbered as the first in some manuscripts of the Four Gospels (However, in the manuscript **M**, which Borbone used as proof, the quire numbers may have been added later). I should also add that in all the manuscripts examined by the present author, the text of the Gospels begins with a quire numbered as the first.

8 William W. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts*, Boston 1946, Plate XIV.

9 *Ibidem*, Plate XX.

10 For other Syriac manuscripts from Edessa see Sebastian P. Brock, "Manuscripts Copied in Edessa", in *Orientalia Christiana. Festschrift für Hubert Kaufhold zum 70. Geburtstag*, Peter Bruns, Heinz Luthe Otto eds, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 109–128. It should be noted that none of the extant Syriac Four Gospels with Eusebian canon tables is directly connected with Edessa.

11 On how the system worked and its difference from the Greek one, see Sebastian P. Brock, *Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, Piscataway, NJ 2006, pp. 118–122; *Idem*, "Manuscrits liturgiques en syriaque", in *Les liturgies syriaques*, François Cassingena-Trévedy, Izabela Jurasz eds, Paris 2006, pp. 267–283, sp. p. 270.

12 On a general pattern of the layout of the early Syriac manuscripts see Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, "La mise en page dans les manuscrits syriaques d'après les anciens manuscrits", *Manuscripta Orientalia: International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research* IX (2003), pp. 3–13; as well as *Eadem*, "Les manuscrits syriaques" (n. 6); and Borbone/Briquel-Chatonnet/Balicka-Witakowska, "Syriac codicology" (n. 6), pp. 252–266.

13 Whereas the Canon Tables accompany the manuscript!

Lection system

The manuscript provides indications for the reading of certain passages for particular liturgical feasts and commemorations by means of the lectionary rubrics inserted into the body of the biblical text[14]. Such lection headings belong to the original manuscript and are as follows (in order of their appearance in the manuscript [Tab. 1])[15].

In its original form the manuscript certainly contained some lection headings also after Jn 25, 12; however, given the damaged state of the codex they cannot be retrieved[16].

The set of readings as found in **D** present a rather limited system that also covers commemorations of the apostles, saints, martyrs, priests, bishops, and the deceased, in addition to the feasts of the liturgical year, such as the Nativity, Epiphany, the first week of Lent, Holy Week, Paschal Week, Ascension and Pentecost. With its forty-two odd rubrics, a restricted range of the lectionary system is akin to another, early sixth-century Gospel manuscript, namely **S**, which provides a total of thirty-one lections of the same scope.

Compared to those two manuscripts, the lectionary system of **R** is slightly more extensive[17]. It provides fifty-one lectionary readings that cover a larger period of Lent (both Sundays and weekdays). Of the other Four Gospels, the most restricted set of lections is demonstrated by **PH**, which features only fourteen lections with no readings devoted to Lent except for those for Palm Sunday and the Holy Week[18]. The seventh-century manuscript **W**, on the other hand, contains a remarkably elaborate system of 115 lections[19].

In addition to the lection headings by one of **D**'s scribes, a significantly later Serto hand added new rubrics vertically in the intercolumnar areas or in the margins. The rubrics reflect a different cycle of liturgical reading of the Gospels that is subsequent to the one found in the main text of **D**. Similar rubrics added in a later period can regularly be found in other early Gospels (e.g. **PH**, **P**, **R**, **S**, **V12**, **V13**)[20].

The profile of the Gospel text

The Gospel text preserved in **D** corresponds *grosso modo* to the critical edition of the Peshitta version of the Gospel text, but shows some significant variants. To make a provisional evaluation of the evidence provided by **D**, I collated Mk 1–5, while taking into account the individual collations of **PH**[21], **W**[22], and variants documented in the apparatus of Pusey-Gwilliam's critical edition of the Peshitta Gospels (**P^{GW}**)[23], as well as my own examination of **R** [Tab. 2][24].

In general, the text of **D** is stable and shows a significantly low number of variants. For example, with its 26 variants **D** differs from the other two manuscripts for which we have individual collation: for the same portion of text, **W** contains 36 variants and **PH** 37 variants. On the other hand, despite the low number of variants, the manuscript offers quite a large proportion of readings (seven) that are not supported by any other witness. The remaining variants are well documented by the fifth/sixth-century witnesses: in particular **P**, **PH** and **R** offer the most noticeable agreement.

14 On this, apparently oldest confirmed type of lectionary, as well as later developments see Sebastian P. Brock, "The Use of the Syriac Versions in the Liturgy", in *The Peshitta: Its Use in Literature and Liturgy. Papers Read at the Third Peshitta Symposium*, Bas ter Haar Romeny ed., Leiden 2006, pp. 3–25, sp. pp. 6–10; and Brock, "Manuscrits liturgiques" (n. 11), pp. 270–272. For detailed analysis of a rare early list of lections preserved in a fifth/sixth-century manuscript in the British Library (including comparison with other old Syriac manuscripts) see Francis C. Burkitt, "The Early Syriac Lectionary System", in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XI (1923), pp. 301–339. It should be stressed that a study of the historical development of the Syriac lectionary remains a desideratum.

15 The rubrics are reproduced diplomatically retaining (when present) the abbreviated forms. Whereas each rubric starts with standard formula "reading for/during …" our translation provides only the proper subject of the commemoration.

16 The beginning of a rubric is recognizable on two fragments.

17 August Merk, "Die älteste Perikopensystem des Rabbulakodex", *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, XXXVII (1913), pp. 202–214.

18 Arthur Allgeier, "Cod. syr. Phillipps 1388 und seine ältesten Perikopenvermerke", *Oriens Christianus*, II/6 (1916), pp. 147–152, sp. p. 149.

19 Werner Strothmann, *Das Wolfenbütteler Tetraevangelium Syriacum. Lesarten und Lesungen*, Wiesbaden 1971, pp. 54–81.

20 On this feature of the ancient Four Gospels see Brock, *Bible* (n. 11), p. 136. Another example of that kind has been presented recently in Alain Desreumaux, "Les rubriques des lectures liturgiques dans l'évangéliaire manuscript de Paris, BnF, Sy. 296", *Parole de l'Orient*, XLI (2015), pp. 149–167 (the author does not suggest when the new set of rubrics was added).

21 Andreas K. Juckel, "A Re-examination of Codex Phillipps 1388", *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, VI/1 (2003), pp. 3–36.

22 Strothmann, *Das Wolfenbütteler Tetraevangelium*, (n. 19), pp. 16–44.

23 *Tetraeuangelium sanctum: juxta simplicem Syrorum versionem ad fidem codicum Massorae, editionum denuo recogitum*, Philip E. Pusey, George H. Gwilliam eds, Oxford 1901.

24 A complete reproduction of the manuscript is available online on the website of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana [http://teca.bmlonline.it], last accessed 25. 01. 2016.

Mt 1,18	Nativity	ܡܢܐ ܕܝܠܕ ܡܢܐ
Mt 3,1	Epiphany	ܡܢܐ ܕܝܠܕ ܡܢܐ
Mt 4,1	Sunday before Lent	ܡܢܐ ܕܚܕ ܒܫܒܐ ܕܩܕܡ ܨܘܡܐ
Mt 5,1	Monday of the first week of Lent	ܡܢܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܨܘܡܐ
Mt 5,21	Tuesday of the first week of Lent	ܡܢܐ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܫܒܥ ܨܘܡܐ
Mt 7,1	Wednesday of the first week of Lent (Ash Wednesday)	ܡܢܐ ܕܬܠܬ ܫܒܥ ܨܘܡܐ
Mt 9,36	Martyrs	ܡܢܐ ܕܣܗܕܐ
Mt 10,16	Priests	ܡܢܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ
Mt 11,1	Apostles	ܡܢܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ
Mt 25,31	Martyrs	ܡܢܐ ܕܣܗܕܐ
Mt 26,31	Night office of the Friday of Holy Week (Good Friday)	ܠܠܝܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܫܒܥܝܢ
Mt 27,57	Ninth hour of the Friday of Crucifixion (Good Friday)	ܡܢܐ ܕܫܥܬܐ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ
Mt 27,62	Saturday of Holy Week (Holy Saturday)	ܡܢܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܫܒܥܝܢ
Mk 3,13	Apostles	ܡܢܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ
Mk 4,1	Martyrs	ܡܢܐ ܕܣܗܕܐ
Mk 5,21	Commemoration of Martyrs	ܕܟܪܢܐ ܕܣܗܕܐ
Mk 6,7	Apostles	ܡܢܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ
Mk 6,14	John the Baptist	ܡܢܐ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ
Mk 11,1	Palm Sunday	ܡܢܐ ܕܥܐܝܐ
Mk 12,1	Monday of Holy Week (Holy Monday)	ܡܢܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܩܕܡ ܨܘܡܐ
Mk 14,12	Thursday of the Week of Mysteries	ܡܢܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܪܙܐ
Lk 2,1	Nativity	ܡܢܐ ܕܝܠܕ ܡܢܐ
Lk 3,1	Epiphany	ܡܢܐ ܕܝܠܕ ܡܢܐ
Lk 4,1	Sunday before Lent	ܡܢܐ ܕܚܕ ܒܫܒܐ ܕܩܕܡ ܨܘܡܐ
Lk 7,1	Bishops	ܡܢܐ ܕܩܫܝܫܐ
Lk 8,40	Thursday of the Week of Rest	ܡܢܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܫܒܥ
Lk 18,35	Friday of the Week of Rest	ܡܢܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܫܒܥܝܢ
Lk 19,28	Sunday before Holy Week (Palm Sunday)	ܠܠܝܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܒܫܒܐ ܕܩܕܡ
Lk 22,1	Thursday of the Week of Mystery	ܡܢܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܪܙܐ
Lk 23,2	Friday of Holy Week (Good Friday)	ܡܢܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܫܒܥܝܢ
Lk 24,36	Ascension	ܡܢܐ ܕܣܠܩܐ
Jn 1,1	Sunday before Holy Week (Palm Sunday)	ܠܠܝܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܒܫܒܐ ܕܩܕܡ
Jn 2,23	Baptism	ܡܢܐ ܕܡܥܡܕܢܐ
Jn 4,31	Commemoration of the Priests	ܕܟܪܢܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ
Jn 4,54	Baptism	ܡܢܐ ܕܡܥܡܕܢܐ
Jn 5,19	Commemoration of the Deceased	ܡܢܐ ܕܒܬܪ ܕܟܪܢܐ
Jn 8,28	Wednesday of Holy Week (Holy Wednesday)	ܠܠܝܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܬܠܬ
Jn 10,22	Renovation of the Church	ܡܢܐ ܕܚܕܬܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ
Jn 11,1	Commemoration of Priests	ܡܢܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ ܕܟܪܢܐ
Jn 13,1	Thursday of Holy Week (Maundry Thursday)	ܠܠܝܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܪܙܐ
Jn 14,15	Sunday of the End of Pentecost	ܡܢܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܕܣܠܩ ܦܠܚܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
Jn 15,12	Commemoration of Martyrs	ܕܟܪܢܐ ܕܣܗܕܐ

tab. 2

Mk 1,6	P^{GW}	ܡܫܠܚܢܐ	ܡܫܠܚܐ	**D**
Mk 1,7	P^{GW}	ܠܡܫܚܐ	ܠܡܫܚܢܐ	**D, P, PH, R, W**
Mk 1,10	P^{GW}	ܚܙܐ	*no sey*	**D, P, PH, R**
Mk 1,11	P^{GW}	ܚܙܐ	*no sey*	**D, P, PH, R**
Mk 1,15	P^{GW}	ܒܛܝܐ	ܒܛܝܐ	**D, P, PH, R**
Mk 1,15	P^{GW}	ܡܫܚܠܐ	ܡܫܚܠܐ	**D**
Mk 1,24	P^{GW}	ܠܝ ܡܢ ܢܨ	ܠܝ ܢܨ	**D**
Mk 1,26	P^{GW}	ܡܠܐ	ܡܠ	**D, PH, W**
Mk 1,27	P^{GW}	ܚܕܬ	ܚܕܬ	post corr **D**
Mk 1,29	P^{GW}	ܐܒܗܬ	ܡܒܗܬ	post corr **D**, BL Add. 17117 (ca 500 AD)
Mk 1,39	P^{GW}	ܡܟܠܐ ܫܕܐ	ܡܟܠ ܫܕܐ	**D, R**
Mk 1,40	P^{GW}	ܒܛܝܐ	ܒܛܝܐ	**D, P, PH, R**
Mk 1,40	P^{GW}	ܠܟ	ܠܟܝ	**D, P, PH**
Mk 1,43	P^{GW}	ܡܦܩܬ	ܡܦܩܐ	**D, P, PH**, BL Add. 17113 (6th/7th CE)
Mk 2,17	P^{GW}	ܠܐ ܐܬܝ	ܠܐ ܐܬܝ	post corr **D**
Mk 2,17	P^{GW}	ܡܝܕܝ	ܡܝܕܟ	**D**, BL Add. 12137 (6th/7th CE)
Mk 2,21	P^{GW}	ܡܫܚܦܝܟ	ܡܫܚܦܝ	**D**, BL Add. 17117 (ca 500 AD)
Mk 4,34	P^{GW}	,ܡܘܬܠܠܗ	,ܡܘܬܠܗ	**D**
Mk 5,7	P^{GW}	ܠ	ܠ	post corr **D, V**
Mk 5,9	P^{GW}	ܒܛܟ	ܒܛܟ	**D, R**
Mk 5,13	P^{GW}	ܗܠܐ	ܗܠܐ	**D**
Mk 5,17	P^{GW}	ܠܡܬܚܫܗ	ܠܡܬܚܫܗ	**D, M**, Bodleian Library Dawkins 3 (6th CE)
Mk 5,19	P^{GW}	ܗܠ	ܗܠܐ	**D**
Mk 5,35	P^{GW}	ܡܕ	ܡܕ	**D, V,** BL Add. 17117 (ca 500 AD)
Mk 5,36	P^{GW}	ܡܫܠܚ	ܡܫܠܚ	**D, PH**, BL Add. 14453 (5th/6th CE), BL Add. 14459 (5th CE), BL Add. 17117 (ca 500 AD), Bodleian Library Dawkins 3 (6th CE)
Mk 5,42	P^{GW}	ܒܬ	ܒܬ	**D**

It is worth noting, that the Gospel text of **D** was first examined by Arthur Vööbus, who aimed to demonstrate its value in the study of the perennial presence of the Old Syriac Gospels in the Syriac tradition[25]. While introducing the manuscript, Vööbus offers a sample collation of Mk 1, 24 – 2, 21 that, if accepted as accurate, indeed demonstrates a connection to the Old Syriac version. Nevertheless, my re-collation shows the results given by Vööbus are problematic. In Mk 1, 24 the reading ܡܢ ܢܨ cannot be found in **D** at all; variant ܡܒܗܬ in Mk 1, 29 is most likely a later correction of the original reading ܐܒܗܬ; the reading in verse Mk 2, 6 ܒܠܒܗܘ ܡܟ can indeed be found in inverted form in the manuscript, but a closer look reveals special critical signs above each of the two words that were usually used by the scribes to correct the wrong sequence of the words. Hence, out of six variants mentioned by Vööbus only three are certain (Mk 1, 26; 1, 43 and 2, 21), and none is supported by the evidence of the Old Syriac version. It is thus nearly impossible to discern in this sample collation an actual connection to the Old Syriac tradition. Nevertheless, the textual profile of **D** does possess a particular character and it will be the task of Biblical scholars to evaluate the evidence it provides properly and to identify its position among other early manuscript witnesses of the Peshitta[26].

Conclusions

Concluding this preliminary survey of various aspects of **D**, we can safely maintain that the manuscript belongs to the standard Syriac manuscript tradition of the Gospels of the sixth century. Some particular traits of **D** (such as script, set of lections), if taken as indeed indicative of a particular period, may allow us to date it to the middle of the sixth century[27].

As far as the provenance of **D** is concerned, Edessa is a possible option, but it certainly requires further verification and proof. However, we can be certain that its later circulation, like that of other ancient manuscripts of the Four Gospels, was within the Syrian Orthodox milieu.

25 Arthur Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*, vol. 2, (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium: Subsidia 496), Leuven 1987, pp. 35–38.

26 This task is all the more important in the context of an ongoing preparation of the new critical edition of the Peshitta New Testament by A. K. Juckel and G. Kiraz (see more on that in Andreas K. Juckel, "Research on the Old Syriac Heritage of the Peshitta Gospels", *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies*, XII/1 [2009], pp. 47–48). For the rationale of the new critical edition, see Andreas K. Juckel, "The Peshitta Version of the New Testament: Towards a Critical Edition of St. Paul's Letters", *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* LVI/1–4 (2004), pp. 95–103; and *Idem*, "A Guide to Manuscripts of the Peshitta New Testament", *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* XV/1 (2012), pp. 79–163.

27 The dates proposed so far vary between the fifth/sixth centuries (Ewa Balicka-Witakowski, "The Arts: Architecture, Wall Painting and Manuscript Illumination", in *The Hidden Pearl. The Syriac Orthodox Church and its ancient Aramaic heritage. Vol. II. The Heirs of the Ancient Aramaic Heritage*, Rome 2001, pp. 209–241, sp. p. 240), sixth century (Vööbus, *Studies* [n. 25], p. 36), and sixth/seventh centuries (Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques* [n. 4], p. 207). Regrettably enough, the manuscript contains no scribal or reader's notes whatsoever that could provide some evidence on the history of the manuscripts.

2/ Canon I, 1 Mt, Mk, Lk, Jn: five colored, slender columns enclose four vertical lists of passages and support four horseshoe arches; no vignettes in the margins. HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 2b, ca 550

3/ Canon I, 2 Mt, Mk, Lk, Jn: five colored, slender columns enclose four vertical lists of passages and support four horseshoe arches; a small bird at the top of the inner margin. HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 3a, ca 550; fol. 3b: Canon I, 3 Mt, Mk, Lk, Jn. Unfortunately, no photo of the page is available.

We cannot determine beyond a doubt whether the first quire with the Canon Tables originally belonged to the manuscript. Because it lacks a quire number and Eusebius' letter is in a different hand (similarly to as in **R**) such an assumption requires caution, although it is not altogether unlikely.

Several elements distinguish **D** from some ancient manuscripts of the Four Gospels that seem to be representative of an older period (e.g., in **P** and **S** an absence of quire numbers and Eusebian numbers and a restricted set of lections). On the other hand, general conformity with such manuscripts as **R** allows us to consider **D** as belonging to the standard Four Gospels manuscript production of the mid-sixth century.

Given a striking similarity in codicological and paleographical aspects, Jules Leroy once proposed that all the ancient Syriac Four Gospels are closely related and some of them come from the same scriptorium[28]. Leroy was even ready to assign all of them to the scriptorium in Edessa, if not for the conflicting information about local production. The same scholar also posited that extant Syriac Four Gospels derive ultimately from the original version written by the bishop Rabbula of Edessa, famous for his introduction of Peshitta. Leroy also assumed that the Canon Tables were an indispensable part of the Four Gospels[29].

The easy availability of **D** (at least in a digital form) felicitously coincides with a steady revival of interest in ancient Syriac Gospels and provides ample opportunity to verify Leroy's hypothesis. Perhaps the appropriate moment has arrived to embark on a comprehensive study of the ancient Syriac Four Gospels[30], taking into special account all possible aspects of physical, codicological, paleographical and textual nature in order to understand the production of the central book of any ecclesiastical community. We need to understand not only the origins and derivation of the Syriac Four Gospels and their actual relationship to the Greek Four Gospels[31], but also, and maybe even more important, the aspects of manuscript production of this type of book, its historical development and the problem of standardization and variation.

PART II: THE ILLUMINATIONS

In 1957 *l'Abbé* Jules Leroy described the illuminations in the Gospel Book housed in the collection of the Syriac Orthodox Church of Mar Jacob of Serug (or Meryem Ana) in Diyarbakır[32]. In an abridged form, the description reappeared in Leroy's catalogue of *Les manuscrits syriaque à peintures* published in 1964[33]. The set of illuminations is placed at the beginning of the codex before the Gospel text; it consists of a standing image of Christ (fol. 1a) and nineteen Canon Tables (fols 2b–11b). In between, we find two pages (fols 1b and 2a) that contain the Letter of Eusebius of Caesarea to Carpianus, written in two columns. As for the date, Leroy observed that "*tout indique le VI^e–VII^e siècle*", based on the resemblance of the Diyarbakır manuscript to two major illuminated Syriac Gospel Books from the period, i.e. the Rabbula Gospels (*Codex Rabulensis*) (**R**), and the Gospels in Paris, BNF, MS Syr. 33 (**P**)[34]. Leroy gathered the three manuscripts in the group he called "*à décor animé*". Leroy published only a selection of black and white photos of the Diyarbakır miniatures, namely the standing Christ at fol. 1a and the Canon Tables at fols 7b–8a, 8b–9a, 9b–10a.

Art historians paid little attention to the Diyarbakır manuscript after Leroy. Only John Lowden

28 Jules Leroy, "Notes sur trois manuscrits syriaques de la John Rylands Library", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* XLVII/1 (1964), pp. 151–164, sp. p. 154. The concept of "scriptorium" used by Leroy is evidently an extrapolation from the European book culture and seems to be rather problematic in the context of the Syriac Christian milieu.

29 Leroy, "Notes" (n. 28), p. 156.

30 It is generally accepted that there are around sixty extant sixth-century Syriac New Testament manuscripts. Cf. Bruce Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament*, Oxford 1977, p. 51.

31 Marlia Mundell Mango, "The Rabbula Gospels and Other Manuscripts Produced in the Late Antique Levant", in *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula* (n. 7), pp. 113–126. A close relationship between Greek and Syriac manuscript cultures is discussed in *Eadem*, "The Production of Syriac manuscripts, 400–700 AD", in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio,* Atti del seminario di Erice (Erice, 18–25 settembre 1988), Guglielmo Cavallo, Giuseppe De Gregorio, Marilena Maniaci eds, Spoleto 1991, pp. 161–179.

32 Jules Leroy, "Nouveaux témoins des canons d'Eusèbe illustrés selon la tradition syriaque", *Cahiers archéologiques*, IX (1957), pp. 117–40, sp. pp. 119–124. I wish to thank Marilyn Heldman for her valuable suggestions.

33 Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient. Contribution à l'étude de l'iconographie des églises de langue syriaque*, Paris 1964, pp. 207–208.

34 Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques* (n. 4), chap. II: "Les manuscrits syriaques à décor animé", pp. 139–206.

dedicated a brief discussion to the Gospels[35], but scholars produced no new material on the manuscript. The lack of a complete, high quality set of photos was presumably the main reason for the absence of the manuscript in the art historical literature on Early Christian Syria. In **P** no colophon has survived which would provide us with a safe date for the manuscript. The codex is acephalous and mutilated; no prefatory or dedicatory image currently exists (if it ever existed) but there are a number of marginal vignettes beside the columns enclosing the Eusebian Tables[36].

R has nineteen Canon Tables with marginal animals and plants similar to **D** and **P**. In addition, **R** and **P** have marginal Gospels scenes and **R** has also figures of prophets and six full-page miniatures: two dedicatory images (fol. 14a, Christ and monks offering books; fol. 1b, Virgin and Child); two scenes from Acts (fol. 1a, Election of Matthias; fol. 14b, Pentecost); two other full-page miniatures (fol. 13a, Passion scenes: Crucifixion, Resurrection, Marys at the tomb; fol. 13b, Ascension)[37]. Lastly, the standing portraits of Ammonius of Alexandria (who first provided a system of parallel passages in the Gospels) and Eusebius (fol. 2a) preface the Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus (fols 2b–3a). Of the three manuscripts *"à décor animé"*, **R** was the one scholars were able to date (586 AD), and this became a point of reference for undated illuminated manuscripts[38]. But recently, doubt has arisen about whether the date 586 can be applied to **R**'s illuminations; the colophon, which records the date 586, refers only to the completion of the Gospel text copied by the monk Rabbula in the monastery of Beth Zagba near Apamea. In fact, the illuminated pages at the beginning of the codex were not originally bound with the manuscript of 586: they were inserted in **R** at a much later date. The pages were probably taken from a two-volume New Testament, the first volume of which contained the Gospels and the second volume the Acts[39]. This means we can assign only an approximate date for the execution of the **R** miniatures: the second quarter of the sixth century (Canon Tables, dedicatory, Acts, Ammonius and Eusebius miniatures at fols 1–12 and 14) or the first quarter of the sixth century (Passion scenes, Ascension, at fol 13). Consequently, the date of **P** and **D** must be reconsidered, as well as the date of other works and illuminated manuscripts previously thought to be from Early Christian Syria.

A slight inconsistency can be found in Leroy's description of the initial pages of **D**: first, he writes that fols. 1b–2a contain the Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus (written in two columns), but a few lines below, he asserts that 1b–2a contain Canon I. Leroy's second statement is mistaken. A few errors were also made in the description of the vignettes painted in the margins of the pages. Amended description of the Canon pages and their vignettes is insered directly to the relevant captions [**Figs 1–12**].

In the group of the manuscripts "*à décor animé*", Leroy put a fourth Syriac Gospel Book, namely **W**[41]. It does not have Canon Tables, but only a large full-page cross at fol. 284b; two stars stand over the horizontal arms and an A and an Ω hang from ribbons. In the centre, a medallion contains a bust of a blessing Christ. A long inscription runs over all four arms of the cross; the text records that the writing of the Gospels was completed on December 24th of the year 945, that is 633 CE, at the monastery of Beth Ḥala[42]; it was the work of the priest Mar Sargis. The illuminator portrayed a frontal Christ, holding a book, with curly hair and a cruciform nimbus. Christ is puppet-like, rigid and flat; geometrical shapes emphasize his immobile appearance: his figure is composed of an oval (the bust) and a triangle (the head) with inner regular lines. His face bears an iconographical resemblance to the standing Christ in **D** [**Figs 1a–1b**], but his style is more abstract. The Diyarbakır image is an ascetic portrait, but, in contrast, more naturalistic; it is painted in softer tones rooted in the Hellenistic tradition. There is no doubt that **D** must date from a considerably earlier period.

The style of the Diyarbakır Christ [**Figs 1a–1b**] shows the most convincing similarities to a number of miniatures of **R.** We must remember, however, that the great majority of the latter were heavily overpainted: for example, Christ ordering Peter to fetch a coin from the mouth of the fish in order to pay the tribute (fol. 9a; Mt 17, 27)[43], or Christ healing the demon-possessed Gadarenes (fol. 8b; Mt 8, 28–32; Mk 5, 2–12; Lk 8, 27–32)[44]. The two miracle vignettes are probably the work of the same illuminator of the team that was responsible for the

execution of the miniatures in **R**. Interestingly, the representation of animals and architectural decoration is similar in the two codices. For example, compare the fine peacocks and arches at top of fol. 8b in **R** with the peacocks at top of fol. 9a in **D**. We can infer that the illuminations in **D** were executed at approximately the same time as the **R** miniatures: in the second quarter or the middle of the sixth century. Furthermore, the Diyarbakır Christ appears to be an ascetic, Syriac version of the Christ figure in the mosaic of the Transfiguration in the church of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai. This observation supports the proposed date of ca 550, since the mosaic dates back to the era of Justinian, more precisely the period between the death of Theodora (548) and the death of Justinian (565)[45].

The Diyarbakır and Sinai images show an immobile and abstract Christ; they do not communicate any human emotion. However, the images belong to different traditions of rendering the divinity of Christ. The traits of the Diyarbakır portrait – triangular face; short, curly hair and beard – do not correspond to those of Christ in the Transfiguration mosaic. The latter is the type which became normative in Eastern and Western medieval art. The iconography of the Diyarbakır Christ could be seen in the narrative vignettes in the margins of **R**, as well as in the dedicatory full-page miniature with the enthroned Christ surrounded by four monks, before they were overpainted heavily, transforming Christ into the long, black haired type seen in the Transfiguration mosaic (fols 4b–9a, 10b–12b). As noted above, the same type is found in the later **W**, and seems to have been the most popular image of Christ in sixth and seventh century Syria[46].

1b/ Prefatory miniature with the depiction of Christ, detail, HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 1a, ca 550

35 John Lowden, "The Beginnings of Biblical Illustration," in *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, John Williams ed., University Park, PA 1999, pp. 31–32; Rainer Sörries, *Christlich-antike Buchmalerei im Überblick*, Wiesbaden 1993, pp. 105–106. Mango, "The Production of Syriac manuscripts" (n. 30), p. 175, n. 79, pl. 18/1, takes into account the ruling pattern of **D** and reproduces two Canon Tables from Leroy, without comments.

36 Fol. 2b, a basket (Canon I, 1 Mt-Mk-Lk-Jn); fol. 3a, a basket and stork (Canon II, 1 Mt-Mk-Lk); fols 3b and 4a, the Virgin and the angel of the Annunciation, in opposite margins (Canon II, 2 Mt-Mk-Lk; Canon II, 3 Mt-Mk-Lk, respectively); fols 4b and 5a, Christ and the bent woman, on opposite margins (Canon II, 4 Mt-Mk-Lk; and Canon III, Mt-Lk-Jn, respectively); fol. 5b, Christ and the woman with the issue of blood (Canon IV, Mt-Mk-Jn); fol. 6a, a sheep (Canon V, 1 Mt-Lk Mt-Lk); fol. 6b, Christ from the wedding at Cana (Canon V, 2 Mt-Lk); fol. 7a, a cock (Canon VI, Mt-Mk, Mt-Mk); fol. 7b, a heron and a bush (Canon VII, Mt-Jn); fol. 8a, a similar heron (Canon VIII, Mk-Lk); fol. 8b, a monumental fountain with a shell-shaped basin (Canon IX, Lk-Jn); fol. 9a, a heron pecking a snake (Canon X, Lk); fol. 9b, two Marys and the angel sitting in front of the tomb, in opposite margins (Canon X, Jn). Canons I, 2 and I, 3; Canon X, Mt; Canon X, Mk and the first page of the Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus are missing in **P**.

37 The folio with the Passion scenes and Ascension (fol. 13a and 13b respectively) does not belong to the same set of illuminations as the Canon Tables; see Massimo Bernabò, "Fantasie novecentesche, ridipinture, fattura del codice", in *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula* (n. 7), pp. 1–21, sp. pp. 16–21.

38 *The Rabbula Gospels. Facsimile Edition of the Miniatures of the Syriac Manuscript Plut. I.56 in the Medicean-Laurentian Library*, Carlo Cecchelli, Giuseppe Furlani, Mario Salmi eds, Olten 1959; many of the points of the book have now been challenged by the contributions in *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula* (n. 7); Pier Giorgio Borbone has published two more articles on the *Codex Rabulensis*: Pier Giorgio Borbone, "Il codice di Rabbula e i suoi compagni: su alcuni manoscritti siriaci della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (mss. Pluteo 1.12; Pluteo 1.40; Pluteo 1.56; Pluteo 1.58)", *Evo* XXXII (2009), pp. 245–253; *Idem*, "L'itinéraire du « Codex de Rabbula » selon ses notes marginales", in *Sur le pas des Araméens chrétiens. Mélanges offerts à Alain Desreumaux*, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, Muriel Debié eds, Paris 2010, pp. 169–180.

39 Massimo Bernabò, "The Miniatures in the Rabbula Gospels. Postscripta to a Recent Book", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, LXVII (2014), pp. 343–358.

40 Unfortunately, no photo of the page is available.

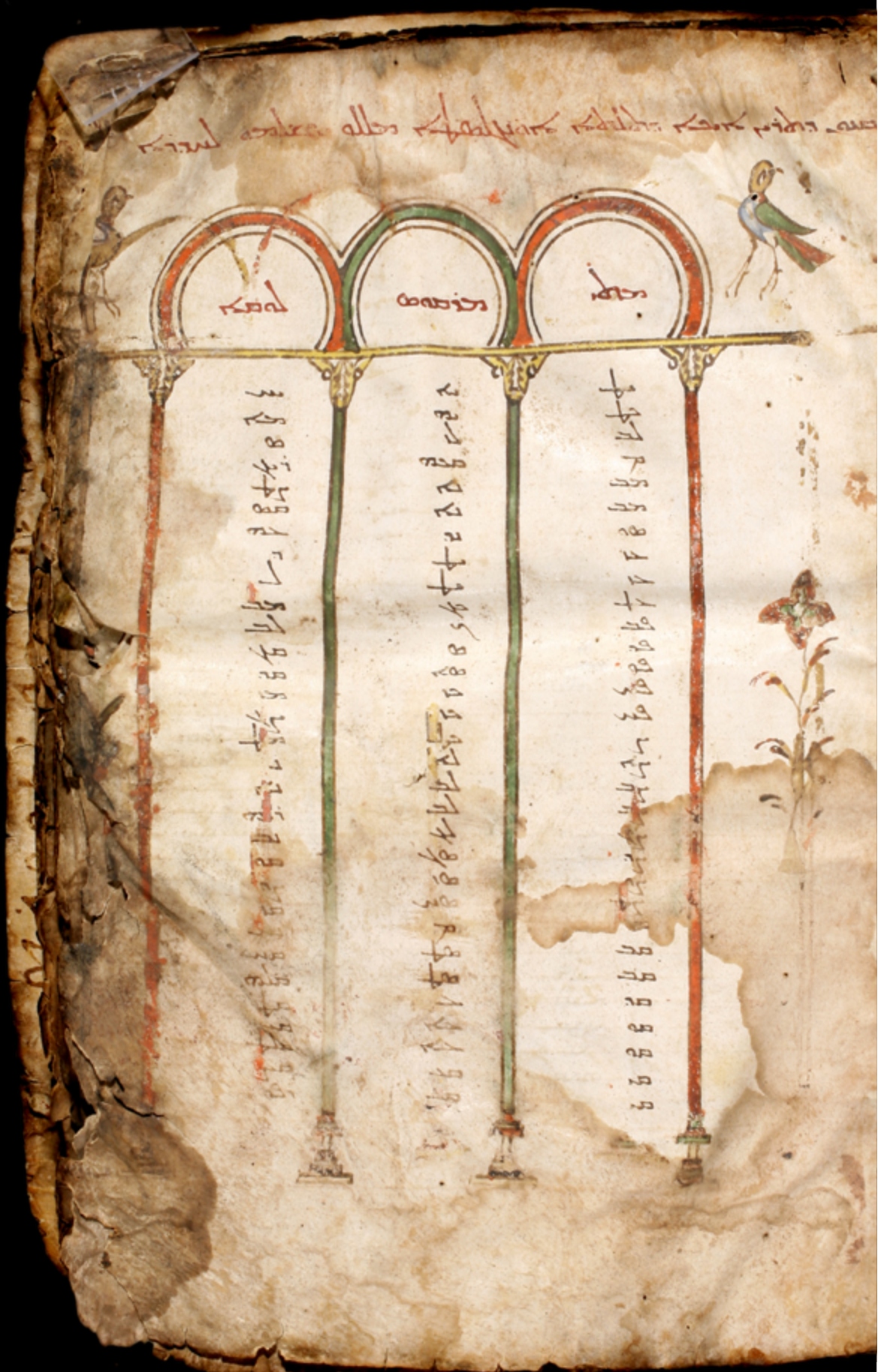
41 Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques* (n. 4), pp. 117–119; Lowden, "The Beginnings" (n. 35), pp. 32–34; Sörries, *Christlich-antike Buchmalerei* (n. 35), pp. 106–107 and pl. 61; Emanuela Braida, "Codex Guelph. 3. 1. 300: the Note of a Restorer", *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies*, XIII (2013), pp. 57–64.

42 Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques* (n. 4), p. 118.

43 *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula* (n. 7), pl. XVII and fig. 46.

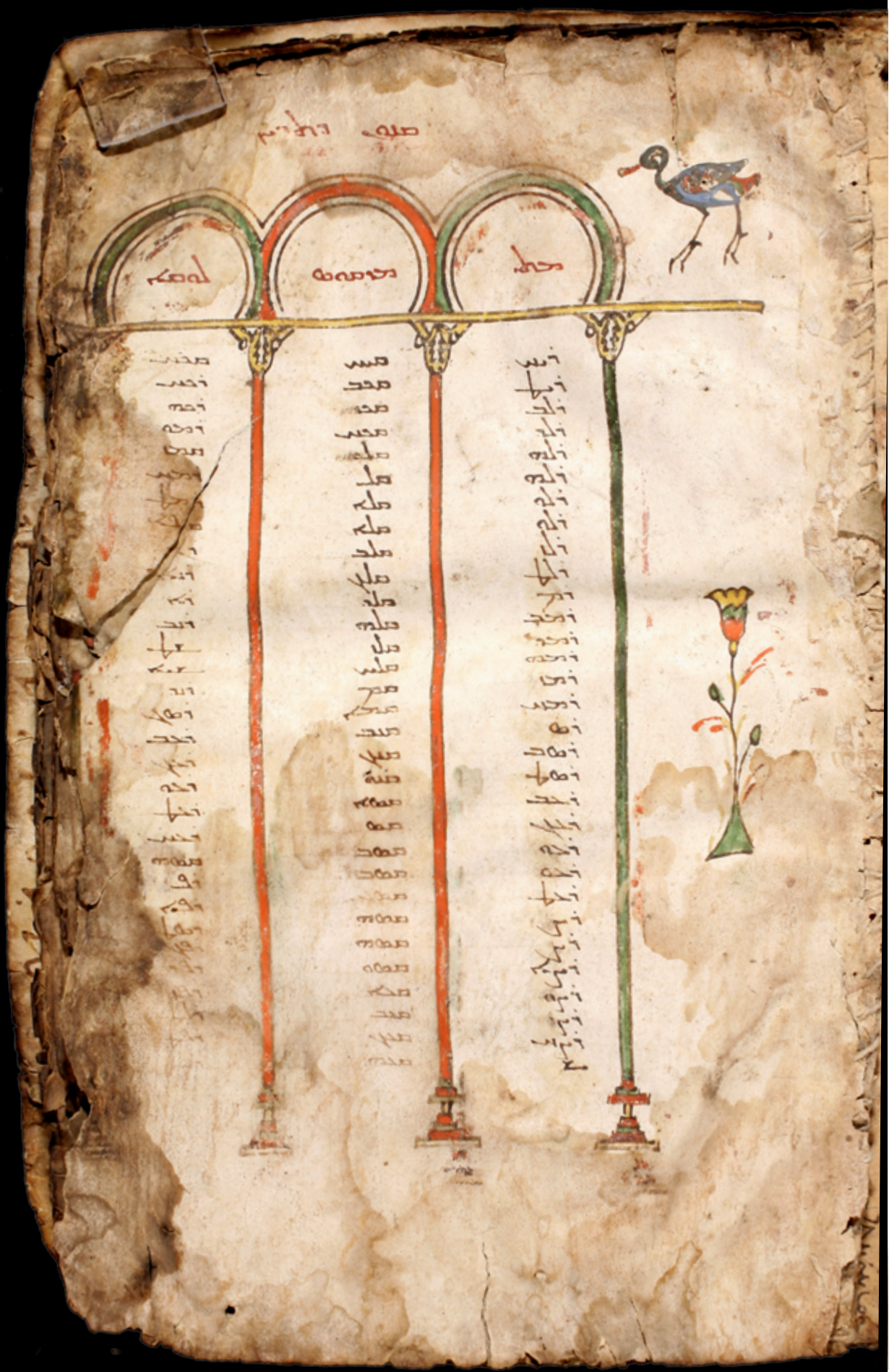
44 *Ibidem*, pl. XVI and fig. 42.

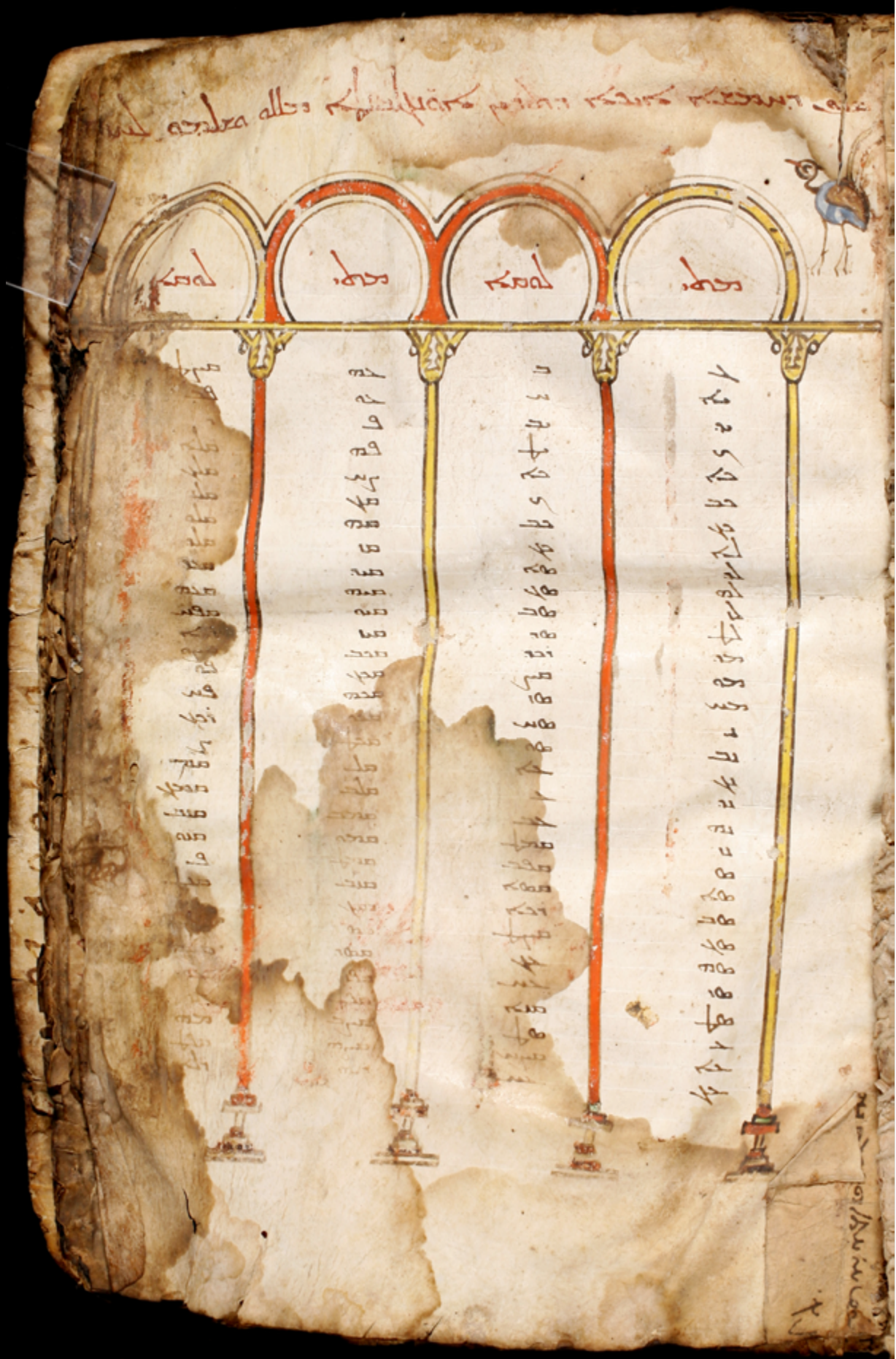
45 Georg H. Forsyth, Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Church and the Fortress of Justinian*, Ann Arbor MI 1973, pp. 11–13, pls. CIII–CV, CXXXVI–CXLI.

46 Bernabò, "Fantasie novecentesche" (n. 37), pp. 13–14. Michele Bacci, "L'invenzione della memoria del volto di Cristo. Osservazioni sulle interazioni fra iconografia e letteratura prosopografica prima e dopo l'iconografia", in *Medioevo: immagine e memoria*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di Studi (Parma, 23–28 settembre 2008), Milano 2009, pp. 9–24; *Idem, The Many Faces of Christ. Portraying the Holy in the East and West, 300 to 1300*, London 2014, pp. 116–139.

4a/ Canon II, 1 Mt, Mk, Lk: four colored, slender columns enclose three vertical lists of passages and support three horseshoe arches; two long-stemmed flowers in the margins and a small bird, resembling the one in fol. 3a, at the top of either side. HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 4a, ca 550

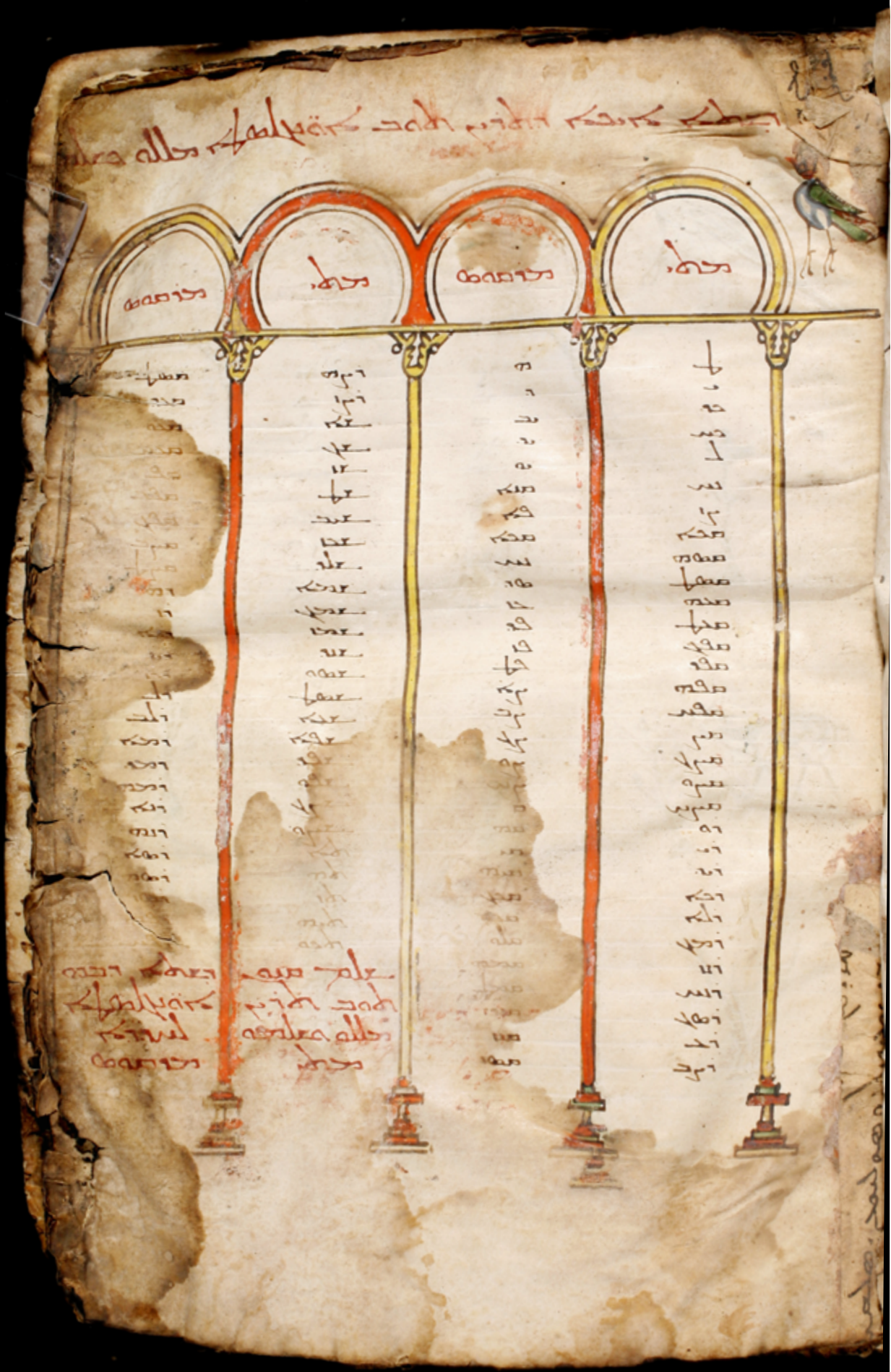
4b/ Canon II, 2 Mt, Mk, Lk: four colored, slender columns that enclose three vertical lists of passages and support three horseshoe arches; two long-stemmed flowers in the margins and a cock at the top of either side. HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 4b, ca 550

5a/ Canon II, 3 Mt, Mk, Lk: four colored, slender columns enclose three vertical lists of passages and support three horseshoe arches; a duck and a long-stemmed flower (a lotus?) in the inner margin; the duck and flower were probably duplicated in the outer margin, now almost completely lost. HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 5a, ca 550

5b/ Canon II, 4 Mt, Mk, Lk: four colored, slender columns enclose three vertical lists of passages and support three horseshoe arches; a heron or wader and long-stemmed flower (a lotus?) in the inner margin; the bird and flower were probably duplicated in the outer margin, now lost. HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 5b, ca 550

6a/ Canon III Mt, Lk, Jn: four colored, slender columns enclose three vertical lists of passages and support three horseshoe arches; as in fol. 5b, a heron or wader and long-stemmed flower (a lotus?) on the inner margin; the bird and flower were probably duplicated on the outer margin, now lost. HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 6a, ca 550

6b/ Canon IV Mt, Mk, Jn: four colored, slender columns enclose three vertical lists of passages and support three horseshoe arches; a duck and long-stemmed flower (a lotus?) in the inner margin; the bird and flower were probably duplicated in the outer margin, now lost. HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 6b, ca 550

7a/ Canon V, 1 Mt, Lk, Mt, Lk: five colored, slender columns enclose three vertical lists of passages and support four horseshoe arches; a small bird at the top of the inner margin; the outer edge is almost lost. HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 7a, ca 550

7b/ Canon V, 2 Mt, Lk: three colored, slender columns enclose two vertical lists of passages and support two horseshoe arches; two birds at the top and a long-stemmed flower (a lotus?) with a duck perched on the calyx in either margin. HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 7b, ca 550



8a/ Canon VI Mt, Mk: five colored, slender columns enclose four vertical lists of passages and support four horseshoe arches; a small bird at the top of the inner margin. HMML; DIYR 339; fol. 8a; ca 550

8b/ Canon VII Mt, Jn: three colored, slender columns enclose two vertical lists of passages and support two horseshoe arches; top to bottom, a bird, a long-stemmed flower, a deer and a flower, and acanthus branches in either margin. HMML; DIYR 339, fol. 8b, ca 550

9a/ Canon VIII, Mk, Lk: three colored, slender columns enclose two vertical lists of passages and support two horseshoe arches; top to bottom, a peacock, a long-stemmed flower, a deer, and acanthus branches on either margin. HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 9a, ca 550

9b/ Canon IX, Lk, Jn: three colored, slender columns enclose two vertical lists of passages and support two horseshoe arches; a bird and a long-stemmed flower (a lotus?) with a duck perched on the calyx in either margin. HMML, DIYR 339, fol. 9b, ca 550

10a/ Canon X, 1 Mt: four colored, slender columns enclose three vertical lists of passages and support three horseshoe arches; a cock and a long-stemmed flower in the inner margin; only the head of a cock and a part of a flower can be seen in the almost lost outer margin. HMML; DIYR 339, fol. 10a, ca 550

10b/ Canon X, 2 Mk: two colored, slender columns enclose a vertical list of passages and support a double horseshoe arch; an amphora is suspended from the centre of the arch; in the inner margin, top to bottom, a sea-monster, a basket of fruit with a flower and acanthus leaves; in the outer margin, we can still see the same faded vignettes. HMML; DIYR 339, fol. 10b, ca 550

11a/ Canon X, 3 Lk: four colored, slender columns enclose three vertical lists of passages and support three horseshoe arches; a cock and a long-stemmed flower in either margin. HMML; DIYR 339, fol. 11a, ca 550

11b/ Canon X, 4 Jn: four colored, slender columns enclose three vertical lists of passages and support three horseshoe arches; a duck and a long-stemmed flower in either margin. HMML; DIYR 339, fol. 11b, ca 550

Syrská Kniha čtyř evangelií z Diyarbakır

Předkládaný článek pojednává o kodikologických, textových a umělecko-historických aspektech evangeliáře *Tetraevangelium* ze syrského pravoslavného chrámu Meryem Ana v tureckém městě Diyarbakır. Doposud nebyl tento evangeliář znám ani vědcům zabývajícím se syrským křesťanstvím ani historikům umění. Nyní je naštěstí dostupný díky úspěšnému digitalizačnímu projektu Hillova Muzea v Minnesotě a jeho knihovně manuskriptů. Podobně jako mnoho jiných starých rukopisů je Evangeliář z Diyarbakır poškozený a kolofon, který obsahoval informace o jeho výrobě, je ztracený. V současné době kodex zahrnuje většinu čtyř evangelií s výjimkou začátku Matoušova a konce Janova. I přes ztrátu kolofonu může však studium rukopisu čerpat ze srovnání s ranými syrskými evangeliáři. Aby tedy autoři článku mohli evangeliář z Diyarbakır zasadit do širšího kontextu, použili osm evangeliářů: *John Rylands Library*, Manchester, syr. 1 (6. století); *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, Paříž, syr. 33 (6. století); *Staatsbibliothek*, Berlín, Codex Phillipps 1388 (5.–6. století.); *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Florencie, plut. I. 56 (také Rabbúlův evangeliář, 586); *Deyr al-Surian*, Egypt, MS 10 (510, Edessa); *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vatikán, sir. 12 (548, Edessa); *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vatikán, sir. 13 (756, Urem Castra na Eufratu); *Herzog August Bibliothek*, Wolfenbüttel, Guelf 3. 1. 300 Aug. fol. (633).

Předběžná studie ukazuje, že paleografické (text je napsán v rané verzi Estrangely) a kodikologické aspekty umožňují zařadit rukopis do rané syrské produkce. Text představuje standardní syrské evangelium peshittské verze a je doprovázen jednoduchým lekcionářem, který obsahuje pouze hlavní liturgické svátky. V pozdější době, kdy byl rukopis používán v syrském pravoslavném prostředí, byl však lekcionář rozšířen. Rukopis obsahuje zdobené konkordance kánonů, podobající se stylově syrským evangeliím z 5.–7. století, která studoval Jules Leroy. Miniatury tabulek v Rabbúlově evangeliáři jsou okázalejší verzí týchž konkordancí ve studovaném rukopisu, zdobených narativními scénami a kresbami proroků podél oblouků a sloupců. I když většina syrských evangeliářů není datována, nejnovější výzkumy Rabbúlova kodexu přesvědčivě dokládají, že miniatury na jeho tabulkách kánonu pocházejí z let 525–550.

Evangelia z Diyarbakır také obsahují celostránkovou miniaturu v úvodu, na níž se nachází stojící žehnající Kristus v mandorle. Kristus je zobrazen podle tradiční syrské ikonografie (má obličej ve tvaru trojúhelníku, krátké vlasy a vousy a asketické vzezření), která se liší od častějšího semitského typu Spasitele (dlouhý černý plnovous a dlouhé vlasy). Fotografie s velkým rozlišením, která je nyní k dispozici, umožňuje ocenit styl tohoto ikonického zobrazení, které má své kořeny v helénistické tradici. S jistotou může být postaven vedle dedikační celostránkové miniatury trůnícího Krista obklopeného čtyřmi mnichy v Rabbúlově evangeliáři a dalších děl východního Středomoří 6. století.

Celkově se oba autoři shodují v tom, že rukopis z kostela Meryem Ana může být s velkou pravděpodobností datován do poloviny 6. století.

Leafing through *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 1.

Studies on Byzantine Illumination

Francesco Lovino

Abstract—According to the Russian art historian Nikodim Kondakov, Byzantine illumination was less affected by religious and political interferences than monumental art, and should therefore be considered as the most authentic expression of Byzantine art and the most useful field in enabling scholars to understand the development of Byzantine art through the centuries. Even following this statement, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* – founded in honor of Kondakov, and printed in Prague between 1927 and 1938 (plus a 1940 issue realized in Belgrade) – published during the 1920s and the 1930s just five articles concerning Byzantine illumination, a scarce number considering the importance Kondakov gave to their study. This paper focuses on them, examining both the different methodological approaches and the interesting choices of the manuscripts presented. Malickij, Kosteckaja and Grabar followed strictly the "iconographic methodology" recommended by Kondakov, and the first two even wrote about a subject already studied by Kondakov in the late nineteenth century, the Moscovite Chludov Psalter. This methodological hegemony was partially interrupted by Kurt Weitzmann, who, in a 1937 article, focused more on the formal aspects than on the iconography of the miniatures depicted in the *Tetraevangelion* of Skevophylakion.

Keywords—Byzantine illumination, Seminarium Kondakovianum, André Grabar, Kurt Weitzmann, Chludov Psalter, Byzantine historiography

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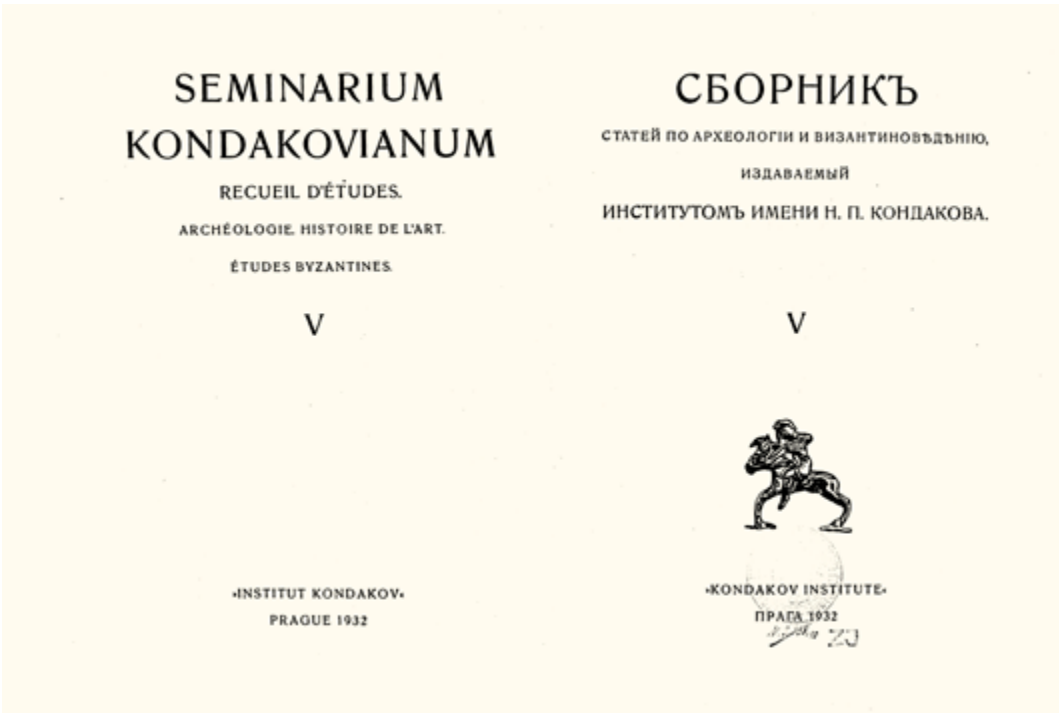
The heritage of Nikodim Kondakov in the study of Byzantine illumination

Between 1927 and 1940, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* published eleven issues [Fig. 1], underwent two changes of name[1], and bade farewell to the many members of the group who left Prague for other countries during the 1930s. By browsing through issues, it is interesting to note the scarcity of contributions dedicated to Byzantine illumination, especially in view of the importance Nikodim Kondakov gave to their study[2]. Anton Heinrich Springer pinpointed Kondakov's value in this field of art history when introducing the French translation of the *Istoria vizantijskago iskusstva i ikonografii po miniaturax grečeskix rukopisej*:

> *"Cet ouvrage traite, il est vrai, d'une seule branche de l'art byzantin, les miniatures[3]; mais c'est une de celles sur lesquelles on avait jusqu'à présent les idées les plus confuses et les plus superficielles. L'auteur nous apprend à envisager ces miniatures comme un produit de la civilisation byzantine; il nous montre leurs rapports avec l'état intellectuel du peuple et des classes dirigeantes; il fait passer sous nos yeux, non seulement les formes préférées de cet art, mais encore toutes les modifications qu'il a éprouvées dans le cours des siècles"*[4].

According to Kondakov, illumination was both inspired by and an inspiration for monumental art, a mutual relationship that has been useful in enabling scholars to understand the development of Byzantine art through the centuries[5]. Moreover,


SEMINARIUM
KONDAKOVIANUM
RECUEIL D'ÉTUDES
ARCHÉOLOGIE. HISTOIRE DE L'ART.
ÉTUDES BYZANTINES.
V
«INSTITUT KONDAKOV»
PRAGUE 1932

СБОРНИКЪ
СТАТЕЙ ПО АРХЕОЛОГІИ И ВИЗАНТИНОВѢДѢНІЮ,
ИЗДАВАЕМЫЙ
ИНСТИТУТОМЪ ИМЕНИ Н. П. КОНДАКОВА.
V
«KONDAKOV INSTITUTE»
ПРАГА 1932

1/ Front page of *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, V (1932)

illumination was less affected by political and religious interference than was monumental art, maintaining a popular and industrial nature and thus amounting to an authentic expression of the Byzantine culture[6].

The heritage of Kondakov – both in the approach and the theme – is strongly evident in the first two articles on illumination published in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, both dedicated to the well-known Chludov Psalter (Moscow, State Historical Museum, MS D 129)[7]. The subject is strictly connected to the history of art in Russia: so called marginal psalters as the Chludov were fundamental for the further development of Russian art, as models for later codices, namely the Kiev Psalter (1397), the Uglič Psalter (1485) and also for the late-sixteenth-century Godunov

* Cyrillic alphabet in this article was transliterated according to ISO-9 1995. In case of quotations, the original transliteration was observed.

1 The journal was named simply *Seminarium Kondakovianum* until 1936, then for the last three issues it became *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*. On the Kondakov Institute, see Věra Hrochová, "Les études byzantines en Tchécoslovaquie", *Balkan Studies*, XIII (1972), pp. 301–311, sp. pp. 303–306; Zuzana Skálová, "Das Prager Seminarium Kondakovianum, später das Archäologische Kondakov-Institut und sein Archiv (1925–1952), *Slavica Gandensia*, XVIII (1991), (= *A Thousand-Year Heritage of Christian Art in Russia*, Proceedings of the Symposium, Hernen, September 1988), pp. 21–43; Jana H. Hlaváčková, "Josef Myslivec and His Catalogue of Icons from the Collection of the Former N. P. Kondakov Institute in Prague", in Josef Myslivec, *Catalogue of Icons*, Prague 1998, pp. 7–11.

2 Under the influence of Fëdor Buslajev, the famous philologist who became in the last stages of his career particularly interested in Russian medieval illumination, Kondakov published in 1876 his second doctoral dissertation, dedicated to Byzantine illumination: Nikodim P. Kondakov, *Istoria vizantijskago iskusstva i ikonografii po miniaturax grečeskix rukopisej*, [History of Byzantine art and iconography in the miniatures of Greek manuscripts], Odessa 1876.

3 Here seems evident a sort of regret for the lack of a more comprehensive discourse about Byzantine art, a regret caused by the need of completeness and thoroughness. See Lionello Venturi, *Storia della critica d'arte*, Florence 1948, p. 334; Ivan Foletti, *Da Bisanzio alla Santa Russia. Nikodim Kondakov (1844–1925) e la nascita della storia dell'arte in Russia*, Rome 2011, p. 183.

4 Anton Heinrich Springer, "Introduction", in Nikodim P. Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures. Tome premier*, Paris 1886, p. 7.

5 "*Cette forme de l'art, en apparence si abstraite et si spéciale, est en contact perpétuel avec les autres manifestations du beau* (…). *En classant les miniatures par époques, nous retrouverons en même temps les types primitifs et leurs rapports avec l'art monumental; nous verrons si les formes et les sujets des miniatures sont empruntés aux monuments, ou si, au contraire, ces derniers n'ont fait que développer les modèles trouvés dans les miniatures*", *Ibidem*, p. 32. For further information, see Foletti, *Da Bisanzio* (n. 3), pp. 180–182.

6 Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art* (n. 4), pp. 58–59. Kondakov probably adopted this idea from the work of the French scholar Jules Labarte (1797–1880), in particular his *Histoire des arts industriels au Moyen-Âge et à l'époque de la Renaissance*; Foletti, *Da Bisanzio* (n. 3), pp. 198–199.

7 Nicolas V. Malickij, "Čerty palestinskoj i vostočnoj ikonografii v'' vizantijskoj psaltiri s'' illjustracijami na poljax'' tipa Xludovskoj" [*Traits d'iconographie palestinienne dans le psautier byzantin à l'illustration marginale du type Chloudoff*], *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, I (1927), pp. 49–64; E. O. Kosteckaja, "K ikonografii Voskresenija Christova, 'Η 'Ανάστασις po miniatjuram Chludovskoj psaltiri" [*L'iconographie de la Résurrection d'après les miniatures du psautier Chloudov*], *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, II (1928), pp. 60–70. For a recent account on the Chludov Psalter, see Georgi R. Parpulov, *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters ca. 850–1350 AD*, Plovdiv 2014, sp. pp. 86–93; Boris L. Fonkič, "Chludovskaja Psaltir': kodikologija i paleografija, istorija rukopisi" [Chludov Psalter: codicology and paleography, history of the manuscript], in *Obraz Vizantii. Sbornik statey v chest O. S. Popovoy* [Image of Byzantine Empire: A collection of articles celebrating O. S. Popova], Anna Zakharova *[et al.]* eds, Moscow 2008, pp. 577–586, sp. pp. 579–581.

Psalter, establishing the good fortune of this "prototype"[8] in Russia during the centuries. Kondakov had already dedicated an article to the Chludov Psalter in 1878, as well as a shorter account in his *Histoire de l'art byzantin*[9]: Malickij and Kosteckaja approached the same manuscript following strictly the "iconographical method" recommended by Kondakov and examining in-depth different iconographical aspects of the marginal scenes, in order to rebuild the relation prototype/type mentioned above. The article of Malickij is fully integrated in the critical debate of those years concerning the Orient as presumed origin of the Byzantine art[10], by tracing back to Palestine the origin of the scenes displayed on the Muscovite Psalter, an idea fully shared by Kurt Weitzmann when in 1935 he declared that the Chludov Psalter "*vertritt also gleichfalls den stärker im Syrischen verwurzelten Randpsaltertypus*"[11]. Later, Malickij returned to the same subject, publishing a paper in 1932[12], in which he rejected the hypothesis expressed by Kondakov in 1878 about the monastic origins of the manuscript[13], asserting a relationship between the arrangement of psalms in the Chludov Psalter and the chanted liturgy in Hagia Sophia. He therefore proposed that the illuminated marginal psalter was firstly conceived in the context of the *Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία* of Constantinople.

Opposite to the diachronic approach of Malickij, Kosteckaja preferred to investigate the representations of the Resurrection appearing on the folios: the Holy Women at the Sepulcher, Christ's Descent into Limbo (the proper *Ἀνάστασις*) and the Resurrection of Christ from the sarcophagus. All these iconographic types go back to the origins of Christian art, and they are all displayed in the Chludov Psalter. But Kosteckaja described the Muscovite manuscript not as an end but as a starting point: here for the first time the scenes of the Descent to the Limbo and the Resurrection of Christ from the sarcophagus were merged together at fol. 82v [**Fig. 2**], introducing the representation of Christ pulling Adam and Eve out of their graves that will be largely popular in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As already mentioned, these articles are not just about art history: discussing a subject such as the Chludov Psalter also meant writing about the lost homeland. The fading of the Russian empire, and the new condition of emigrants were certainly a shock for the community of scholars surrouonding Kondakov, and the impact of such events was evident in their production: Kondakov himself, as well as such other eminent members of the group as Aleksandr Kalitinskij and Georgij Vernadskij, tried to compensate for the loss of their national identity by creating a new identity without borders, under the notion of Eurasianism[14]. The two articles on the Chludov Psalter moved in exactly the same direction, even if they concerned a typical Russian argument. Moving from the canonic iconographic method taught by Kondakov, the authors inserted the Psalter in a broader context, putting it in dialogue with other manuscripts from the Middle East (Malickij) or considering it as an iconographic prototype for certain scenes (Kosteckaja). Thus, Byzantium became a mirror of Eurasia: not a monolithic identity but a multifaceted world, resulting from different ethnicities and cultures living together.

André Grabar and the miniatures *gréco-orientales*

In the fourth issue (1931), the journal published André Grabar's *Miniatures gréco-orientales*, I, a year later followed by *Miniatures gréco-orientales*, II[15]. Born in the former Russian Empire, Grabar first studied with Kondakov, Dmitrij Ajnalov and Jakov Smirnov, then, after the Bolshevik Revolution, he moved to Sofia and then to Strasbourg in 1922, where he earned his *Doctorat ès lettres* under the supervision of Gabriel Millet. This twofold education influenced his career throughout the twentieth century, and it is interesting to retrace the dawn of his original method of research to these articles. It developed in a fertile period when new perspectives and methodologies in the field of art history were introduced, combining the influences coming from his Eastern and Western mentors. His researches merged Kondakov's iconographical method with political and economic evaluations, as suggested by Ajnalov; on the other side, he followed the teaching of Émile Frédéric Paul Perdrizet in recognizing the importance of theological and liturgical meanings in the analysis of the art works.

8 The use of the term "prototype" deals with the Kondakov's methodology, based on the relation between prototype and type. Irina Kyzlasova, *Istorija izučenija vizantijskogo i drevnerusskogo iskusstva v Rossii. F. I. Buslajev, N. P. Kondakov: metody, idei, teorii* [The history of studies of Byzantine and ancient Russian art in Russia. F. I. Buslajev, N. P. Kondakov: methods, ideas, theories], Moscow 1985, pp. 140–147; Foletti, *Da Bisanzio* (n. 3), pp. 184–187.

9 Nikodim P. Kondakov, "O miniaturach grečeskoj Psaltyri IX veka iz sobranija A.I. Chludova" [On the miniatures of a ninth-century psalter of the A.I. Chludov collection], *Trudy Moskovskogo Archeologičeskogo obščestva*, VIII (1878), pp. 162–183; Kondakov, *Histoire* (n. 4), pp. 169–171.

10 Hellenistic art as primarily derived from Orient – an ideal region between the Aegean Sea and the Euphrates – was a topic diffusely discussed at the beginning of the 20th century, starting from the pioneering studies of Dmitrij Ajnalov and Josef Strzygowski: Dmitrij V. Ainalov, *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art*, New Brunswick, NJ 1961 (translation in English from the original Russian PhD dissertation of Ajnalov, first published in 1900); Josef Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom. Beitrag zur Geschichte der spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst*, Leipzig 1901.

11 Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1935, p. 55.

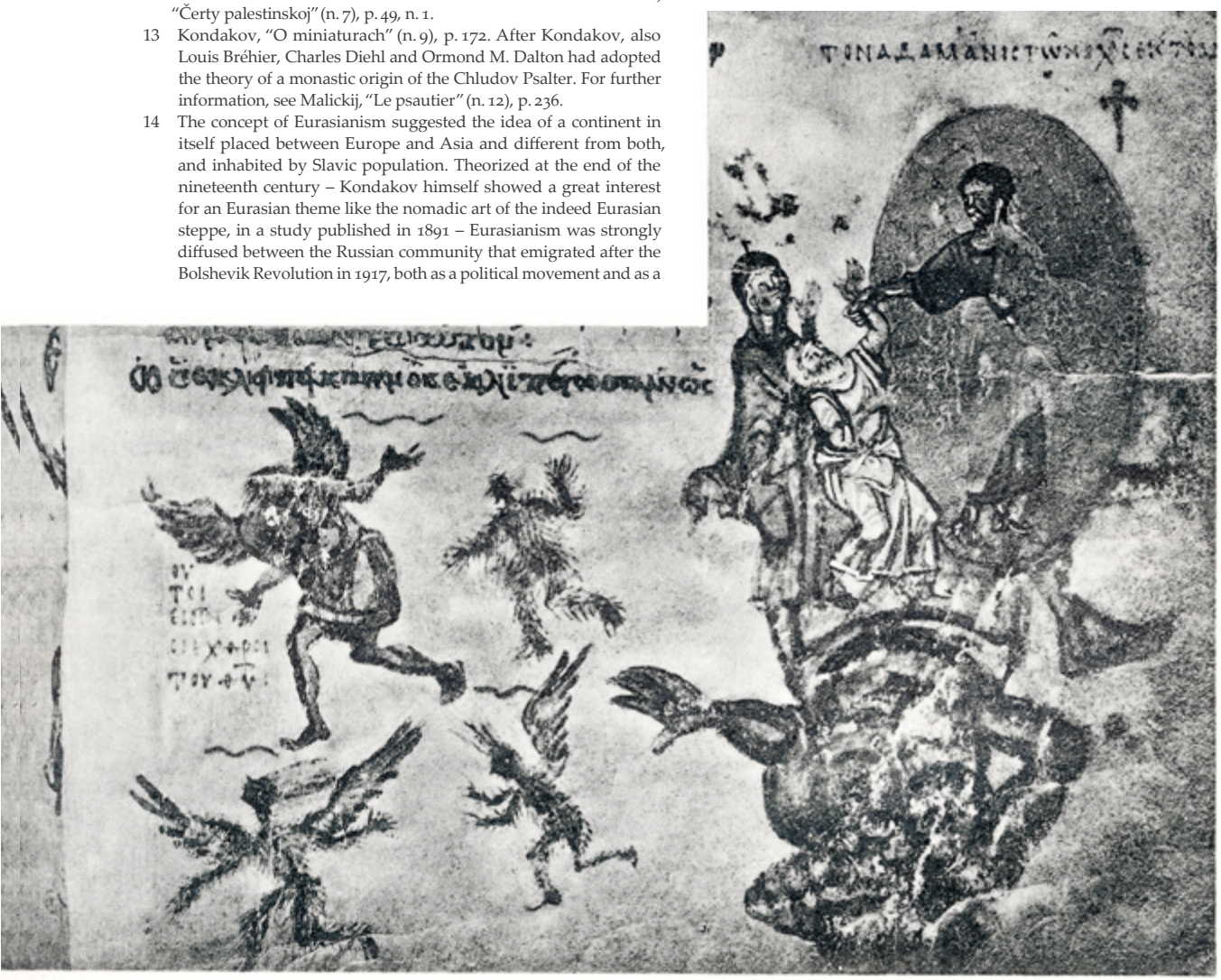
12 Nicolas V. Malickij, "Le psautier byzantin à illustrations marginales du type Chludov est-il de provenance monastique?", in *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves: l'ancienne Russie, les Slaves catholiques. Deuxième recueil dédié à la mémoire de Theodore Uspenskij*, Paris 1932, II, pp. 235–243. The article was already finished in 1927, as confirmed by the mention of it in the footnotes of the *Seminarium Kondakovianum*'s article: Malickij, "Čerty palestinskoj" (n. 7), p. 49, n. 1.

13 Kondakov, "O miniaturach" (n. 9), p. 172. After Kondakov, also Louis Bréhier, Charles Diehl and Ormond M. Dalton had adopted the theory of a monastic origin of the Chludov Psalter. For further information, see Malickij, "Le psautier" (n. 12), p. 236.

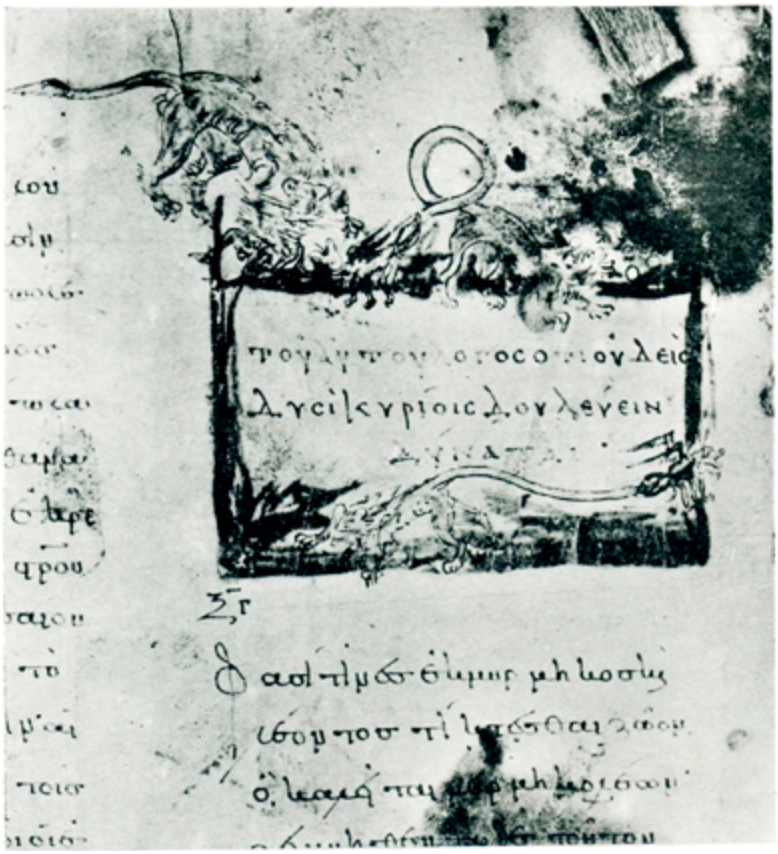
14 The concept of Eurasianism suggested the idea of a continent in itself placed between Europe and Asia and different from both, and inhabited by Slavic population. Theorized at the end of the nineteenth century – Kondakov himself showed a great interest for an Eurasian theme like the nomadic art of the indeed Eurasian steppe, in a study published in 1891 – Eurasianism was strongly diffused between the Russian community that emigrated after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, both as a political movement and as a cultural theory: Georgii Vernadskij, then director of the *Seminarium Kondakovianum* and the first *post mortem* biographer of Kondakov, elaborated his Eurasian view in 1913, while considering the role of the Mongols in Russian history; Petr Savitskij, who also collaborated with the journal, in 1916 proposed pro-Eurasian arguments while writing an essay about the future of Russian industries, and during his stay in Prague Kondakov worked on a major volume dedicated to the Slavonic nomadic populations, of which the article "Les costumes orientaux à la cour byzantine" published posthumously in 1924 in *Byzantion* was just a chapter. The argument is of great interest, and I will dedicate an article to it hereafter. On the development of Eurasianism among the Russian intellectuals who have emigrated in Prague, see Elena Chinyaeva, *Russians outside Russia. The Émigré Community in Czechoslovakia 1918–1938*, Munich 2001, pp. 185–212. More specifically on the relation of Kondakov with Eurasianism, see Ivan Foletti, "Nikodim Pavlovitch Kondakov et Prague. Comment l'émigration change l'histoire (de l'art)", *Opuscula Historiae Artium*, LXIII (2014), pp. 2–11, sp. p. 8.

15 André Grabar, "Pamjatiki greko-vostočnoj miniatjury" [*Miniatures gréco-orientales*, I], *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, IV (1931), pp. 215–225; *Idem*, "Miniatures gréco-orientales, II", *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, V (1932), pp. 258–297. On André Grabar, see Maria Giovanna Muzj, *Visione e presenza. Iconografia e teofania nel pensiero di André Grabar*, Milan 1995; Marta Serrano Coll, "André Grabar (1896–1990). The Novel Conception of Iconography", in *Rewriting the Middle Ages in the Twentieth Century*, III. *Political Theory and Practice*, Julia Pavón Benito ed., Turnhout 2015, pp. 197–221.

16 Grabar, "Pamjatiki" (n. 15), p. 217, n. 1.



2/Ressurection, 11th century / State historical museum (Moscow), MS D 129, fol. 31v (from *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, II [1928], pl. IX, fig. 2)



However, the nature of the contributions included in *Seminarium Kondakovianum* is *sui generis* for a journal, because they look more like catalogue records than articles. Their aim is explicitly declared by Grabar himself in a footnote:

> *Nous nous proposons de publier, sur les pages des Recueils du « Seminarium Kondakovianum », plusieurs séries de miniatures et d'enluminures, tirées des manuscrits grecs d'origine orientale peu connus. Notre travail aura un caractère descriptif, et pourra servir, nous l'espérons, comme collection de documents relatifs à l'art gréco-oriental, en attendant une étude d'analyse que nous comptons consacrer, dans l'avenir, à l'ensemble des œuvres de cet art*[16].

The research moves from the studies Grabar had previously conducted on the art of the Balkans, particularly the volume *Recherches sur l'influence orientale dans l'art balkanique*, published in 1928, where for the first time the scholar is faced with manuscripts and miniatures. His interest seems to be strongly determined by his interactions with Gabriel Millet, and several years later, in the obituary of the French scholar[17], Grabar would remember the influence of Millet in the choice of this subject.

The manuscripts Grabar chose for this appointment are, in 1931, the *Tetraevangelion* (BAV, Cod. Vat. gr. 354) and, in 1932, the Homilies of St John Chrysostom (Athens, MS gr. 211), a short selection that nonetheless will affect the development of Grabar's career until the 1970s. In fact, talking about the Vat. gr. 354, Grabar anticipated what he later wrote in his 1972 *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IXe–XIe siècles)*[18], attributing the manuscript to Greek craftsmen working in Southern Italy, on the basis of stylistic inference: Southern Italy and Sicily are "*les seuls, en pays grecs, qui retiennent quelques leçons de l'art gréco-oriental auquel nous devons les images décoratives*"[19]. The MS gr. 211 was also considered an Italo-Greek manuscript in 1972[20], but back in the 1930s the scholar avoided any attribution[21].

Even with these explicit descriptive purposes, these articles could reveal the methodological approach of Grabar, strictly derived from Kondakov's one: the younger scholar tried to reconstruct the genesis of an image, distinguish the prototype and then trace the iconographical history[22]; in doing so, Grabar also inserted references from biblical and patristic literature, trying not to omit any kind of useful material. A good example is provided by the miniature of the *Myrmecoleon*[23] (fol. 31v [**Fig. 3**]), the result of the mating of a lion with an ant. Grabar introduced the explanation of the image by discussing the paternity of the homily concerning the impossibility of serving two patrons, a homily that in the Middle Ages was believed to be an original by John Chrysostom. Then, after underlining the exact conformity of the story of the *myrmecoleon*, he moved to the image and began his investigation on the iconography of the miniature. "*La miniature de l'Athen. 211 (…) présente des qualités d'imagination et de forme qui supposent un prototype ancien et d'une certaine tenue artistique*"[24], and so Grabar looked for this ancient prototype through intermediate steps: at first the pavement mosaic of Kabr-Hiram near Tyre, "*du VIe siècle, mais d'un art tout antique*"[25], where a similar foreshortening lion is represented, and then – considering other details, such as the turf – to sixth-century illumination, especially in the miniatures displayed in the margin of the folios (the Rabbula Gospels, the *Tetraevangelion* from Paris, BNF, syr. 33, up to the last few examples

still seen in the above mentioned Chludov Psalter). Henceforth, Grabar assumed the existence of an ancient prototype of the *myrmecoleon*, that the illustrator of the MS gr. 211 could have copied from a then-forgotten tradition of the Book of Job or of the *Physiologus*, or even from an ancient treatise of natural history: what really mattered is the Hellenistic origins of all these books.

A new approach: Kurt Weitzmann and the matte of style

The hegemony of Kondakov's methodology was partially interrupted by Kurt Weitzmann[26], who in 1936 published in *Seminarium Kondakovianum* an article on the *Tetraevangelion* of Skevophylakion in the Monastery of Great Lavra, on Mount Athos[27]. Weitzmann introduced his work by celebrating Kondakov, "*der Altmeister der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*"[28], and his volume on Mount Athos[29]. The angle from which Weitzmann approached the manuscript is the opposite of what we have already seen: he first analyzed the style of the illuminations, comparing it with contemporary examples and trying to identify their provenience. For the first time on the pages of *Seminarium Kondakovianum* expressions like "*die Brillanz der emailhaften Farbgebung*", "*die minutiöse Technik der reichen farblichen Nuancen*" and "*subtile plastische Modellierung*" appeared, while Weitzmann described the three full-page miniatures of the Skevophylakion manuscript: the *Anastasis* (fol. 1v [Fig. 4]), the Nativity (fol. 114v) and the *Koimesis* (fol. 134v)[30]. Weitzmann argued that the codex was produced in a Constantinopolitan scriptorium strictly connected to the imperial court, and analyzed the images in comparison with those of the two manuscripts realized for the emperor Basil II Bulgaroktonus (958–1025), the Menologium (*BAV*, Cod. Vat. gr. 1613) and the Psalter (*Biblioteca Marciana*, Cod. gr. Z. 17, coll. 421). For the German scholar, these two manuscripts were separated by

3/ *Myrmecoleon*, 9th/10th century / National Library of Greece (Athens), MS gr. 211, fol. 31v (from *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, V [1932], pl. XXIII, fig. 3)

4/ Anastasis, Skevophylakion Gospel, Monastery of Great Lavra (Mount Athos), 10th century, fol. 1v (from *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VIII [1936], pl. II, fig. 1)

17 André Grabar, "Gabriel Millet", *Byzantion*, XXII (1952), pp. 519–525.
18 *Idem*, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IXe–XIe siècles)*, Paris 1972, pp. 48–49.
19 *Idem*, "Pamjatiki" (n. 15), p. 225.
20 *Idem*, *Les manuscrits* (n. 18), pp. 25–27
21 Grabar wrote explicitly that his sole aim was to "*combler une lacune et ajouter au répertoire connu des miniaturistes grecs un nouveau cycle d'images qui ne manque pas d'intérêt*". *Idem*, "Miniatures" (n. 15), p. 260.
22 The term "iconography" is used here meaning both iconography and iconology. As pointed out by Panofsky, French scholarship uses the sole term iconography while English prefers to trace a distinction between the two. Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts. Papers In and On Art History*, Garden City NNY 1955, p. 24. See also Muzj, *Visione e presenza* (n. 15), p. 32. The will of giving the readers the most objective description is also a lesson taken from Kondakov; see Foletti, *Da Bisanzio* (n. 3), pp. 182–183.
23 For a recent study on this miniature, see Giovanni Gasbarri, "Cristo al tempio, Lazzaro, il formicaleone. Osservazioni iconografiche su alcune miniature dell'Athen. Gr. 211", *Rivista di storia della miniatura*, XIV (2010), pp. 17–31, sp. pp. 19–22, with previous bibliography.
24 Grabar, "Miniatures" (n. 15), p. 271.
25 *Ibidem*.
26 On Kurt Weitzmann, see firstly his autobiography: Kurt Weitzmann, *Sailing with Byzantium from Europe to America. The Memoirs of an Art Historian*, Munich 1984. On his studies, see also William C. Loerke, "Kurt Weitzmann: Reflections on His Student Years", *Byzantinische Forschungen*, XXVII (2002), (=*Pioneers of Byzantine Studies in America*, John W. Barker ed.), pp. 277–283; Herbert L. Kessler, "Kurt Weitzmann, 1904–1993", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XLVII (1993), pp. XVIII–XXIII.
27 Kurt Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra", *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VIII (1936), pp. 83–98.
28 *Ibidem*, p. 84.
29 Nikodim P. Kondakov, *Pamjatniki Khristianskogo Iskusstva na Afone* [The monuments of Christian art on Mount Athos], Saint Petersburg 1902.
30 *Ibidem*, p. 84.
31 He considered the Vat. gr. 1613 as a 980s manuscript, while recent research considers the Menologium as an earlier codex, closer to the Psalter Marc. gr. Z. 17 (coll. 421). See *El menologio de Basilio 2: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Gr. 1613: libro de estudios con ocasión de la edición facsímil*, Francesco D'Aiuto ed., Vatican City 2008, with previous bibliography.

almost three decades[31], and the *Tetraevangelion* of the Athos was realized in between. Once determined where and when the manuscript was realized, Weitzmann moved on other considerations concerning ornamentation (the *Blütenblatt-Ornamentik* of the headpieces) and iconology, for example comparing the Anastasis scene where Christ takes Adam away from the Limbo with the one engraved on a sarcophagus of the British Museum where Heracles captures and brings back Cerberus. According to Weitzmann, the Skevophylakion *Tetraevangelion* is connected to the so-called "*mittelbyzantinische Renaissance*", a concept firstly presented by the German scholar in 1929 in an article dedicated to the Paris Psalter[32].

The methodological difference was too accentuated to be concealed, and was remarked one year later by André Grabar, who in the seventh issue of the journal – just renamed *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov* – reviewed Weitzmann's *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*, published in 1935. The criticism is generally positive, with Grabar praising for the great number of manuscripts evaluated in the volume and the relationship established between Byzantine and Western medieval art – "[Weitzmann] *a mis entre les mains des spécialistes une sorte de guide à travers la miniature byzantine du temps de sa floraison, et il en a fait apparaître toute la richesse*"[33]. Nevertheless, Grabar did not spare some gibes against Weitzmann's method.

The difference is clear, counterposing the "global view"[34] – both stylistic and iconographic – of Weitzmann against the traditional iconographical analysis proposed by Kondakov and "*appliqué depuis, avec succès, par tous les spécialistes*", that is "*groupement des manuscrits illustrés d'après leur sujet (illustrations de la Bible, du Psautier, etc.), puis d'après les 'familles' relevant du même 'ancêtre' ou prototype*"[35]. Grabar admitted his belonging to this faction, considering it more appropriate for better studying manuscripts. Moreover, the French scholar criticized the importance given to the ornamental repertory in the Weitzmann's volume: "*je me demande* (…) *s'il est permis d'affirmer que les ornementations, dans les manuscrits, offrent plus de garantie de fidélité aux traditions locales que les miniatures?*"[36]. At a certain point it seems that the competition leaves the methodological level to gain a personal one: Grabar found the claim of recognizing local schools on that basis too ambitious, even more considering the strong centralization of the Byzantine Empire between the ninth and the tenth centuries and the lack of gathering information in most of the Greek colophons. A presumption – according to Grabar – derived from the academic "origin" of Weitzmann, "*formé à une excellente école d'historiens de l'art du moyen-âge occidental*"[37], far away from his education under the "*Altmeister der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*", Nikodim Kondakov.

In his aversion to formalism, Grabar revealed one more time the debt to his Russian master, and also something deeper about the journal: *Seminarium Kondakovianum* had to be a fortress where Kondakov's lessons would always be protected from Western interferences. Under the strain of political, social and cultural factors, in the 1930s the Russian community in Czechoslovakia became more and more isolated[38], and the journal unfortunately suffered the same symptoms: strongly related to their eradication, this closure was a lumbering presence through the pages of *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, a radical position that at the end regrettably weakened the prestige of the journal.

32 Kurt Weitzmann, "Der Pariser Psalter Ms. gr. 139 und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance", *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, VI (1929), pp. 178–194. The same expression was used before in Adolf Bauer, Josef Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik: Text und Miniaturen eines griechischen Papyrus der Sammlung W. Goleniščev*, Vienna 1905, p. 184. For a summary on this theme, see Valentina Cantone, "Echoes of Antiquity in Middle Byzantine Miniatures", in *The Antique Memory and the Middle Ages*, Ivan Foletti, Zuzana Frantová eds, Rome 2015, pp. 51–85, sp. pp. 59–61.

33 André Grabar, "Review of: Kurt Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1935", *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, IX (1937), p. 89.

34 The definition was used several times by Kurt Weitzmann himself while describing his early efforts "to gain a global view of art on my own and in front of originals" or else "to obtain something like a global view", Weitzmann, *Sailing with Byzantium* (n. 26), pp. 35, 37.

35 Grabar, "Review of: Weitzmann" (n. 33), p. 88.

36 *Ibidem*, p. 89.

37 *Ibidem*, p. 88.

38 On this topic, see Chinyaeva, *Russians* (n. 14), pp. 181–184.

Listování *Seminariem Kondakovianem*, I. Studie o byzantských iluminacích

V roce 1876 vydal Nikodim Kondakov svou druhou disertaci s názvem "Dějiny byzantského umění a ikonografie v miniaturách řeckých rukopisů" (*Istoria vizantijskago iskusstva i ikonografii po miniaturax grečeskix rukopisej)*, která byla o deset let později přeložena do francouzštiny. Kondakov v tomto klíčovém díle použil, podobně jako ve svých ostatních pracích, propracovanou ikonografickou metodu, zdůraznil velký význam byzantských iluminací a poukázal na jejich roli v procesu utváření monumentálního umění.

Po bolševické revoluci v roce 1917 Kondakovovi žáci, kteří následovali svého učitele do exilu, založili v Praze periodikum nazvané na Kondakovovu počest *Seminarium Kondakovianum*. *Seminarium* vycházelo v letech 1927–1938 (jedno mimořádné číslo vyšlo navíc v roce 1940 v Bělehradě) a bylo jedním z nejdůležitějších akademických periodik věnujících se byzantské kultuře.

Článek se zaměřuje na příspěvky publikované v *Seminariu*, které se věnovaly výhradně byzantským iluminacím, a zkoumá různé přístupy k této problematice. Autoři prvních textů, Nikolaj Malickij a E. Kosteckaja, následovali Kondakovovu ikonografickou metodu. Oba pojednávali o slavném Chludovském žaltáři nacházejícím se v Moskvě, který Kondakov studoval již v 70. letech 19. století. Taktéž André Grabar, který se po bolševické revoluci přemístil do Francie, použil ve svých studiích "*Miniatures gréco-orientales*, I" (1931) a "*Miniatures gréco-orientales*, II" (1932) věnovaných *Tetraevangelionu* (BAV, Vat. gr. 354) a Homiliím Jana Zlatoústého (Athény, MS gr. 211) stejnou metodu jako Kondakov. Hegemonie Kondakovovy metodologie byla částečně narušena až Kurtem Weitzmannem, a to v jeho článku z roku 1936 o *Tetraevangelionu* z pokladu kláštera Velké Lavry na hoře Athos. Německý badatel nekladl takový důraz na ikonografii a zavedl do studia byzantských miniatur přístup více zakotvený ve formálně stylové analýze.

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