

PRINCIPLES OF BYZANTINE BOOK ILLUMINATION

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The title of this talk might be in one respect misleading: by principles of Byzantine book illumination it is not meant to imply principles characterizing Byzantine illumination alone, such as could not be found in Latin, Syriac or Coptic illumination also. The word Byzantine is in the title, and Byzantine material has been chosen, because the principles themselves of book illumination are so much more clearly demonstrable from Byzantine than from Western art. But as you will see I shall not leave out Latin material altogether.

The original function of the adornment of a book with pictures is to produce a closer understanding of the text or its meaning, which will come, when occurrences related in it, can be visualized by the reader. Miniatures originally, therefore, are dependent on the text, to which they are attached as illustrations. Only with a text can miniatures be considered; the text is the primary and--at least originally--the more important aspect in an illuminated book. In the classical period of Greek art, when the book is most usually the roll of papyrus, it is almost always found with a text and nothing else. It is not before Hellenistic times that pictures are attached to a text, and then at first they play only a subordinate part. No example from this period has survived, but we know from Pliny and other writers, that there were already illustrated rolls in pre-Christian times. These were chiefly scientific treatises, botanical, zoological, medical, astronomical and so forth, and the pictures in them had nothing more than the value of diagrams, to explain as economically as possible items of the contents. The

illustration of rolls was without doubt decidedly a minor art in classical antiquity.

It is the second century A.D., as we suppose, that this situation changes. In this century we must place the event, which in a short time was sufficient to give the art of the book a predominant place among the arts, and this event was the invention of the codex. Its large, square leaves gave the painter of miniatures the chance, which he very soon took advantage of, to spread his pictures on a larger surface, and in addition to that, an important change had come about in the material: papyrus, which under normal conditions would not outlast two or three generations, was replaced by the very nearly imperishable vellum. Progress in art, however, is never the result of a technical innovation, and it would be truer to say that, when artistic intentions can no longer be expressed with traditional and available means, they will call out new means giving greater possibilities for a novel form of expression. It is no mere chance, that the codex was introduced and the splendid decoration of it begun at the moment that the Christian religion was starting on its diffusion. With the Christian religion came a belief in the eternal meaning of the written Word, the character itself of this Word attained an importance unknown in pagan times. The book is the bearer of this eternal and written Word and it has therefore a central position in the divine service. This original importance of the book is still to be found in our own day in the Orthodox liturgy, when at the supreme moment of it, the priest raises the resplendent lectionary and bears it through the royal doors of the iconostasis. This belief in the eternal meaning of the Word, which is especially strong in the Orthodox Church, gives the book illustrator his aim of making the picture conform as far as possible to the text and of making it of a type as far as possible fixed and permanent.

From this you will see that the relationship between picture and text provides the fundamental feature of the art of the book. By this problem the art of the book takes a central position in the study of early Medieval art, because it is in the art of illumination--as that which is more closely connected with the written Word than any other branch of art--that there originates what we call the problem of "iconography", the theory of the meaning and interpretation of the picture. Fresco-paintings, mosaic, goldsmith's work, ivory-carvings may in many cases be superior in quality--though miniature-painting also often expresses its theme in the highest artistic perfection--all these have to be derived from book illumination as the origin and service of their iconography.

It is still not long, since the predominant position of book illumination in the history of art was first recognized. The tradition of the history of art was concerned chiefly with Renaissance, and in the field of painting primarily with fresco and panel-painting whereas miniature-painting was considered a minor art, which it certainly was in the Renaissance, but not in early Christian and Medieval times. As far as the Latin world is concerned it is one of the greatest merits of Adolph Goldschmidt and his oldest pupils G. Swarzenski, Haseloff and others to have focussed medieval studies on book illumination. For the Byzantine East the foundation was laid by Kondakoff, who wrote a history of Byzantine art based upon miniature-painting, and it is from this work that any further study in this field has to begin.

It is comprehensible that in this field at the outset, scholars should have applied the particular method, that they knew from their own training--the method of stylistic criticism, that had been elaborated for the study of Renaissance art, which is an art of individuals.

Only to a limited extent can this method be applied to a medieval art of quite different characteristics; to recognize the formative elements in medieval art, other methods must be developed besides stylistic criticism. At the very heart of any study of book illumination there must be iconography in the widest sense of the word--not only in the sense of an identification of certain figures through their attributes, not only in the sense of a history of single themes and single pictures, but also, and above all as the study of a cycle of pictures, i.e. of a series of pictures as far as they are connected with the same text. This study is related to that of different texts of a work, so that its method must be similar to that of textual criticism with all the long history of that discipline, from which the criticism of pictures has so much to learn.

The aim of the present paper is to consider the relationship of picture and text as the chief principle of book illumination, and I have chosen my examples to make as clear as possible such principles and the changes they undergo, as well as to show you the different periods and centres of Byzantine art and thus to give some insight into the variety of Byzantine style. To accomplish this I am making use of a number of unpublished miniatures from Mss. found on Mount Athos. I shall present my material asking you to keep in mind three main points of view.

(1) The relationship of picture and text as to the physical structure--the problem, that is, of how the picture was situated in the column of writing on a roll, and what the effect would be on this relationship when the roll was replaced by the codex. This is a principle which comes under the heading of the history of "book-production."

(2) The relationship of the content of the picture with that of the text, this is the problem of the painter's interpretation of the text or the meaning of the text, of his accuracy or of the liberty he might allow himself. All this belongs to iconography.

(3) The possible separation of a picture or a group of pictures from the text for which they were originally devised, and their appearance (migration) in altogether different versions of text. These are problems of the history of cycles of pictures, or as we might say, of the versions of pictures, which correspond to versions of text.

The first point concerning the physical structure raises among other things the problem of the origin of the art of the book and takes us to a period of almost exclusive use of the papyrus-roll. Everything that was known of the illustration of rolls depended on hypothesis until a few years ago, when there was found the first and as yet the only fragment known of an illustrated papyrus-roll.

This fragment, now in the Bibliothéque Nationale of Paris (suppl. gr. 1294) contains a part of an unidentified Greek romance and was found in Egypt. The dry soil of Egypt is the only place in the world where papyrus could outlast centuries and even millennia. Small as this fragment is, it is large enough to reveal the principles of roll-illumination. The single picture in it extends only the width of a column of writing and so the painter has to confine himself to the essential figures mentioned in the text. Furthermore, the picture is directly under the passage of the text to be illustrated and this explains the odd place of the picture in the column of writing and the lack of relationship between it and the next miniature in point of form. One more thing: in order to keep a unity of style in the column of text, there is no background to the figures in the picture, and they themselves are nothing much more than pieces of calligraphy. A frame or a background would have isolated the picture and spoiled the unity of the writing.

To draw far-reaching conclusions from a single fragment would be risky, but there are two other ways in which we can get a more complete conception of the illustration of rolls: (1) from contemporary copies of rolls existing in other media, and (2) by later codices, which preserve the principles of illustration found in rolls.

A group of reliefs of the first century A.D., the so-called Tabulae Iliacae are obvious copies of mythological texts. Two examples of these tablets will show their character: one in Paris shows three scenes from the last three books of the Iliad and several more scenes from the story of Penthesilea, and the other tablet in Naples, has scenes related to the story of Thebes. The man who copied them from the rolls, separated the pictures from the text: he put all the pictures on the front with short inscriptions and relegated the complete text to the back of the reliefs. But the scenes so plainly reflect the principles used in the illustration of rolls, that it would be easy to reinstate them in a column of writing: they are all equal in width, and roughly the width of a column of writing. There is the same restriction of the scene to the three or four principal personages, and the same renunciation of accessories, as in the roll. The two fragments in question involve three different illustrated rolls as originals serving for the copies: the Iliad, the story of Penthesilea and the story of Thebes. Other reliefs of this same group indicate that still other texts were used; the so-called Little Iliad for example, the Iliupersis of Shesichoros, the Odyssey and the story of Heracles, so that we may suppose a large class of illustrated rolls now lost, which would contain all the most popular mythological texts.

The second possibility we have of enlarging our knowledge of early

illustrated rolls, is to be found, as I said, in the examination of those later Mss., in which accurate copying has preserved the principles of roll-illustration. Out of many treatises, mostly of scientific interest, on botany, zoology, medicine, astronomy and so on, I take one example, an astronomical Ms. in Vienna (Cod. 387). It is a Carolingian Ms. written in Salzburg, and going back ultimately to a Greek archetype of the pre-Christian period, the Astrology of Aratus, which existed in the Latin translation you see here at least as early as the first century. The constellations accompanying the text (Cetus, Eridanus, Pisces, Ara and Centaurus) are placed exactly as the pictures in the fragment of the roll in Paris: their position in the column depends on the passage of the text, which each picture illustrates, since it precedes the part, to which it is related. There is no relationship between the pictures from the point of view of form, and each is confined without frame or background, to the width of the column of writing. It is obvious that the copyist has done no more than to make each page of the codex into a perfectly mechanical reproduction of two columns of writing of the roll with the pictures that go with them.

Still another group of Carolingian Mss. shows the same principles observed in the illustration of rolls: these are the comedies of Terence which Professor Morey has published in full. Our example shows two pages of the fourth act of the comedy of the Adelphae, from a ninth century Ms. in the Vatican (3868). The old country fellow named Demea has been wandering in vain all over the city, in the second scene he meets his brother Micio, a gentleman of the same age, of Athens itself; in the third scene he is upbraiding the drunken slave Syrus. The exaggerated gestures of the figures are expressive enough, placed in

silhouette as they are. Here you see again the principles that we have now come to recognize--that is, unframed pictures with but few accessories like the stage-door, in odd places in the column of writing. Once more we must assume that the pictures in the columns of writing in the original roll were taken over into the codex without change of the position, that they had occupied. These comedies of Terence are the only dramatic Mss. preserved in these late copies from older models, and that we should be justified in supposing their archetype to be at least as early as the first century A. D. can be demonstrated from frescoes at Pompeii. A frieze running over three walls of a triclinium in the Casa del Centenario shows a series of stage-scenes, one following the other, and even in the medium of wall-painting the principles used in the illustration of rolls are kept up. Each scene is about the same in width and confined to the three or four chief characters of the play, represented--an unusual thing in Roman wall-painting of the period--in silhouette on a plain ground. We cannot find out just what these scenes mean, as the text does not accompany the pictures, and only their place in the columns of writing would have revealed their significance. The masks of the actors make evident an alternation of tragic and comic scenes, that shows the painter of the fresco to have used several different illustrated rolls of tragedies and comedies. Only of one scene can we be sure: it is from the Medea of Euripides, and the certainty of at least one Greek instance in this class of rolls makes it likely that the scenes of tragedy not only, but of comedy as well have a Greek source--probably Menander. We know that Terence imitated Menander freely, and it is an attractive theory for us to suppose, that the pictures from Terence go all the way back to illustrated rolls of Menander.

To resume this point about the illustrations of rolls: despite a great variety of theme, the general principle of the distribution of pictures in the text is very simple--the picture is to be found in the column of writing just where the text requires it. In codices that preserve the principles of the roll, we have usually noticed that two columns of writing go to make up one square leaf of a codex, though at times three--and even four in the famous Codex Sinait in London--are to be found.

Once miniatures are included in the codex, they show many forms of development: the figures in them are placed in a landscape, and backgrounds and frames are added. And yet for a long time the limitations arising from the column of writing are discernible: I give you as an example a picture of one of the most magnificent Mss. from Mount Athos (Codex 14 from Esphigmeu). It dates from the 11th century and contains a menologion and a homily by John of Damascus on the birth of Christ. This picture represents the annunciation to the shepherds. The painter, in his effort to make the composition more splendid, has extended the scene vertically, to such an extent, that he drives the writing completely out of the second column of text, and yet he still keeps within the horizontal limits of the column. This self-limitation is undoubtedly the reason for having filled an unusual space, most artistically, with agitated downward slopes that emphasize the vertical tendency. The shape of this picture is, however, somewhat archaic. Centuries before the date of this Ms. artists of books knew how to expand their compositions in another way by fusing the two columns of writing into one, so that they could use the whole width of the leaf for their picture.

We can see the result in the pictures of the Vienna Genesis, a richly illustrated fragment of the 5th century, probably from Antioch. The whole Ms. shows a new system of arrangement, in which the upper half of the leaf is reserved for the text, and the lower for different scenes combined to make one large picture. The system marks an advance in so far as the painter disposes of a larger space, within which he can organize the composition at will, but it is also a disadvantage, in that the single scene loses immediate connection with the corresponding passage in the text, and this was the cause of numerous errors in iconography at a later time. The picture here represents three scenes from the 22nd chapter of the Genesis: the angel speaking to Abraham, Abraham returning to his servants, and below, a servant announcing to Abraham the birth of the children of his brother, Nahor. The remarkable thing in the picture is that the painter has not made use of the new freedom of the larger space. All three scenes are equal in height and width, and each one stretches exactly half the width of the leaf. The fourth section of the lower half is filled with rocks, out of connection with any of the scenes. This evidence allows us to reconstruct the original: a codex, still with two columns, containing the three pictures in the middle of the writing--that is, a codex that preserved the principles of the roll-tradition. The principles are as much evident in other respects, in the restriction of the scene to the main figures, and in the absence of a background or a frame, so that they appear like silhouettes.

As time went on, the separate scenes of a large picture became more closely related, and the full artistic possibilities, the very culmination of the art of the book in Byzantium, are displayed in a

lectionary from the Athos monastery, Dionysia. In quality it is one of the best Byzantine Mss., and yet, it has not been known until now, as it was hidden and not recorded in the catalogue of the library. Within a resplendent frame, you see the picture, stretching over two columns of writing, preceding the lesson of Good Friday, and in three scenes representing Christ in Gethsemane: Christ converses with God, bows down to the ground, and comes back to find the disciples asleep. It is quite different from the preceding picture of the Vienna Genesis, since there is no longer any remnant of the tradition of separated scenes in single columns. The painter has related the three scenes to each other by a connecting hill. The figure of Christ stands on a plain gold ground, as he prays with his hands held high, on the place where the hill begins to rise; this is in dramatic contrast to the second figure of Christ, when he is represented in proskynesis, just where the hill begins to slope down. In final contrast with these silhouettes we have the third scene, in which Christ is speaking to the disciples asleep in the shelter of the hill. This scene expands over the full width of the hill, so that the artist can show the disciples in the greatest variety of posture and position, and characterize the different stage of sleep, in which each one is: either deep sleep, doze or the fatigue of anguish is very significantly expressed in the faces of each of them.

Once a picture had become as elaborate as this, it is not long before miniatures drive text entirely out of the page and use the whole leaf for one composition. As an example of this final solution of the problem, in which the full-size picture becomes predominant in the illumination of the book, we may look at what is again a recently discovered

Ms. from Athos, preserved in the hardly accessible treasury of the Lawra-monastery. It is of the beginning of the 11th century, and represents the anastasis so-called, i.e. Christ at the gateway of Hell dragging out Adam in the same manner as Heracles gets Cerberus from Hades, and indeed it seems that the painter had used this classical composition to make his theme more dramatic. The text begins on the opposite page under a richly decorated and framed frontispiece. A picture such as this anastasis has all the monumental character and quality of an icon, and from lectionary pictures like this, which mark the principal feasts of the calendar, icon-painting undoubtedly was derived.

The idea I have tried to give you of the way that the separate pictures in the column of writing of a roll were taken over into the codex, and of the process by which several were joined to make a larger miniature--as in the Vienna Genesis--until the various elements were fused in a uniform picture like an icon is an idea opposed to the generally accepted theory of the transition from roll to codex. When Wickhoff first published the Vienna Genesis he thought that in antiquity rolls were usually illustrated with a continuous frieze, one scene following the other horizontally without interruption, with the chief figure repeated each time. A roll of this sort, Wickhoff thought, was the model for the Genesis, so that the copyist would have cut it into sections of three or four scenes at a time. But in our opinion the sections on each leaf of the Genesis are the result of adding separate scenes, formerly belonging in the middle of the columns of writing. Why did Wickhoff and all the other scholars after him assume picture-rolls with an uninterrupted frieze in antiquity? His theory rested on the only surviving picture-roll, the famous Vatican Joshua-roll, which is about 30 feet in length and contains illustrations of the first ten

chapters of the book of Joshua. Although it is already a medieval product with a date discussed between the 7th and the 10th centuries, the Joshua-roll was considered to be a straggling example of similar rolls with friezes of pictures in antiquity. The main problem is this: does the Joshua-roll really represent the classical type of roll? In our opinion there are several reasons against it. The classical example of a really continuous frieze are the spiral reliefs of a Roman triumphal column. As you see here with the column of Trajan the scenes are so interwoven one with the other that it would be nearly impossible to cut straight enough between separate scenes to divide them, and one scene passes over into the next. On the other hand the Joshua-roll--exactly like the Vienna-Genesis--divides each scene from the next so clearly that you would have no difficulty in drawing a vertical line between them, and furthermore you would find that each scene is of about equal width. The picture here represents three scenes: Joshua on the march, Joshua erecting an altar on the banks of the river Jordan, and Joshua circumcising the Israelites. From formal analysis, then, we must assume that the prototype was a codex, amid whose text these scenes appeared separately. The cuts between the pictures correspond, as you see, with the space between the columns of writing.

The second reason for assuming a codex behind the Joshua-roll is furnished by the parallels we note between it and the Octateuchs (Mss. which contain the first eight books of the Old Testament and among them the book of Joshua). These octateuchs show not larger sections of a continuous frieze, but the single pictures that we assume for the tradition of the codex. As an example we may take a picture from the best copy of

the octateuchs, of the 11th century from the Watopadi-monastery on Mt. Athos. It repeats the middle scene of the Joshua-roll as an independent framed picture, and indeed the other two scenes from the roll as well are given similarly isolated in the Watopadi-codex. It would have been easy for the painter of the Watopadi-Ms. to convey at least in the large shape possible in the codex a combination of the three scenes.

But these considerations from the point of view of form are not enough to establish a plausibility that the separate pictures of the octateuch at Watopadi represent an older type of illustration, closer therefore to the archetype than the Vatican Joshua-roll, since the latter really is somewhat earlier and looks more classical in style. Our attempt in spite of this to prove that the Watopadi-Octateuch represents, so to speak, the better version, takes us to the second group of problems I want this evening to discuss, namely the relationship of content in picture and text.

Any experience with illumination will show that the earliest miniatures are those that correspond most closely to the text. Those who devise a cycle of pictures attempt to interpret the text as accurately as possible. When the book is copied again and again, errors appear in the iconography, since the copyists do not always verify each time the relationship between picture and text. On the other hand, in the course of time copyists also make conscious additions and changes.

How accurate a Greek miniaturist's interpretation of his text really is may be shown with two examples both taken from the same Dionysius-lectionary on Athos, from which I have already shown the Christ of Gethsemane. The first represents the sending out of the Apostles in an exact interpretation of Matthew, chapter 28, verse 16: Christ is standing on a hill, just as the text has it, and is giving them their instructions. The

disciples are divided into two groups: one leaning forward () the other standing to one side in doubt, illustrating the word () (they were doubtful). Each word is accurately rendered with a full consciousness of its meaning. How obvious the doubt is in the apostle in the middle, when he turns back and the gesture he makes when he speaks shows the artist's ability even for psychological interpretation. It is characteristic of Byzantine painting at this time that the emotion in this apostle does not come into conflict with the classical contraposto. The other picture is an illustration of Matthew, chapter 18, verse 10, where Christ says of the children: "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." The painter interprets the text by making Christ lay his hand on the head of a child and by painting an angel at his side. The first example shows a historical event, but this one renders the content of a discourse of Christ in pictorial form. They are two different modes of pictorial interpretation of a text, but in both there is extreme accuracy, with every detail of the figures and their movement readily to be accounted for.

Having explained the painter's principle of an accurate interpretation of the text I must come back to our problem of the Joshua-roll and the octateuch. Which of them is the more ingenious in its accurate correspondence with the text, for this would be the one closer to the archetype? I take as an example a scene from the 9th chapter of the book of Joshua: it represents the appearance of the ambassadors of the Gibeonites before Joshua. First I show one of the octateuchs of the 11th or 12th century, (Vat. gr. 746). The text says that the ambassadors showed Joshua dry

and mouldy bread, old wine-skins and old garments, and shoes torn and patched by reason of the very long journey they were supposed to have made. Corresponding with this passage in the text, we have four ambassadors represented with all the attributes listed in it. Let us compare the same scene in the Joshua-roll. Here you see only two ambassadors with their arms covered, stretching them out to Joshua, but with none of the things in their hands that are recorded in the text. This single example, which could be repeated with other scenes, is probably enough to show that the Joshua-roll, in spite of its more sumptuous appearance, is nevertheless further from the archetype than the artistically less important octateuch, just because the text is less accurately interpreted in it. If this conclusion is correct it must be applicable not only to the contents but to the form as well, and this would confirm our suggestion that the archetype was a codex with single pictures like the octateuch and not a picture-roll like the Vatican one. But we should not confine ourselves to the statement that the artist of the Joshua-roll obscured the meaning of the scene by dropping the attributes with which the ambassadors were accompanied. Let us try and guess the reason for their change of type. The next scene again represents ambassadors of the Gibeonites and corresponds to the following chapter of the book of Joshua, in which nothing is said about their attributes, and so it really tallies with the text. Obviously the painter must have considered this second group of ambassadors especially representative and repeated it, therefore, for the first scene, in which the ambassadors should have had attributes. Since the approach with hands hidden under the mantle is a feature of Byzantine court etiquette, we may suppose that the painter of the roll was working for the order of the court, and wanted to make his work as representative as possible, and in this case the duplication of the scene of the reception at court would be a conscious change.

In course of time miniature painters did not merely restrict themselves to changing single figures; they also began to enlarge the scenes and add to them motifs not required by the text, but embellishing the picture from a decorative point of view. Two pictures of the Vienna-Genesis may illustrate this point. The first has three scenes from the 32nd chapter of Genesis: (1) Jacob asking the angel his name, (2) the angel blessing Jacob, and (3) Jacob watching the sunrise. Nearly half the whole space of the picture is taken up by a rocky landscape and a bridge, for which the text gives no hint at all. If the painter had from the beginning conceived figures and landscape together, he would probably have placed the landscape behind the figures and not put it adjoining them. But as it is the figures and the landscape stand side by side, two separate elements without any connection. We may conclude from this, that the landscape is a later addition, a supposition, that is implied by the history of the Vienna Genesis, as I have already explained it. The three separate scenes are taken from an original, in which they appeared in small columns of writing, and were combined by the copyist of the Vienna-Ms. within a space decided on beforehand, which he was nevertheless unable to fill unless he put in the landscape. This example will give you an idea of the way in which the two series of problems, that of the interpretation of pictures and that of the distribution of pictures from the formal point of view, are connected. I think that each series leads us to make the same conclusion about the origin of the Genesis-cycle.

The other example is an illustration for the 39th chapter, and deals with the story of Joseph. Potiphar's wife is attempting to hold Joseph by the edge of his garment and in a second scene Joseph is fleeing out of the palace door. So far the figures have their basis in the text. In this case

the painter had from his model only two scenes, to fill the fixed space for the picture, and both together hardly fill one of the two friezes, and so in order to take up the rest of the space he makes up genre-scenes of daily life, which have nothing to do with the story of Joseph and Potiphar: nurses with children, and women engaged in spinning, and, at the end of the lower frieze, some trees. Such genre-scenes would be thought of as interiors, and the trees are therefore contradictory enough. These themes are all additions unexplained by anything in the text. In both these instances the additions have decorative value only, and the essence of the biblical episodes remain untouched. This procedure of the addition of certain elements is characteristic of the Genesis, and for the whole early Byzantine period.

In the 10th century, the epoch of the Macedonian renaissance, the miniature painters go a step further, and put new figures into the middle of a scene from the Bible, figures not to be explained from the text, and yet connected, in both form and content, with the scene in question. The best example of this further stage is a Psalter in Paris (gr. 139). The first picture represents David playing his harp and surrounded by his flock. The text of Kings, Chapter 1, verse 16, says only that David was a shepherd and knew how to play the harp. The frontispieces of earlier psalters indeed, show nothing but David, with his flock, playing the harp. But around this traditional theme the renaissance painter groups new elements: a mountain god whose name in the picture is written as "Oros Bethlehem", a girl peeping out from behind the column and obviously to be interpreted as an allegorical representation of "Echo", and, furthermore, a figure whose name is "Melodia". She is laying her left arm on David's shoulder, but he does not seem to be paying any attention to her presence. She has no attributes, by

which antiquity is used to characterize its allegories. In antiquity there was no allegory of "Melodia" at all. But it is obvious, that the type of this female figure is a classical one, and in this case we can find the actual model that the painter copied: it is an Io from a picture, in which Io is represented being watched by Argus, and it is extant in no less than seven copies in the frescoes of Pompeii. The posture, the limbs and the head and the details of drapery are so closely copied that a connection between the two figures can hardly be denied. Only the position of the left arm is changed, to suit the figure for its new function. For the girl behind the column, too, a fresco from Pompeii could be adduced as parallel. Nearly every picture of this psalter shows additions of classical figures, to which the renaissance painter gives a new meaning. In this way there came into being large pictorial representations that were certainly created for the art-loving imperial court, for people who knew how to interpret such classical allegories. In compositions of such splendor the basis of an accurate interpretation of the text is abandoned to a large degree by the renaissance painter.

The Paris psalter is not the only Ms. of this sort: there is almost no Ms. of the 10th century which would not show to a greater or less extent in its addition of classical elements the movement of renaissance. I want to give one other example of the sort, interesting from several points of view, because it is again taken from the Joshua-roll, and involves problems that we have dealt with before. On the picture you have already seen, between the scene with the ambassadors of the Gibeonites and the following one of the battle against the Gibeonites, of which you have only a part, there is a female figure with sceptre and mural crown to indicate that a city is personified. The Tyche, the personification of the city, is very

common in late classical art, but among the types we know from antiquity there is not one that corresponds with this city Gabaon as the figure is named in the inscription. This could be accidental, since not every type may have survived, but a minute analysis of this figure reveals that the original was actually not the personification of a city, but once more the Io of the picture of Io and Argus, the same figure, that the painter of the psalter used for his "Melodia". It is a fact, that the painter of the Joshua-roll copies his classical model even more carefully than the painter of the psalter, and we can check every change he has made. The head, turned in the same direction showing the same neck-curls, is furnished with a mural crown, but under the crown the little ox-horn of Io is recognizable. Her breast is covered with the ^xtriangular exomis held in place by a clasp, to which the copyist adds another garment with a second clasp that does not fit the exomis. The only real change is, as in the case of the "Melodia", in the position of the left arm, which in the fresco is leaning on the rock, whereas in the roll it is holding the new attribute, a sceptre. We can even discern that the copyist originally had the idea of keeping the same position for the arm and then drawing the sceptre in the other direction, because the erasure of a sceptre, that would have corresponded to his first idea, is evident. While he was working on it, he changed his mind, and bent the arm, and drew the sceptre as it appears now. From this analysis it clearly appears, that this personification of a city is a renaissance insertion, not taken over from an earlier Joshua-cycle, but specially thought up for the actual roll in the Vatican. The roll was therefore, like the Paris-psalter compiled from heterogeneous elements in the 10th century, which is the date we assume for the Vatican roll. Again we may ask the reason for insertions like this and other personifications on the part of the painter of the roll. They are easily to be explained by the process

of transforming a cycle of separate pictures of a codex into a picture-roll; they are inserted as connecting links to make one scene join up with the next.

If it is true that the transformation of an octateuch-codex into the Joshua-roll did not happen before the 10th century, then Wickhoff's theory that the prototype of the Vienna Genesis was a late classical roll, like the Joshua-roll, is seen to be baseless, since the Joshua-roll itself is not a copy of a late classical roll of pictures. What, nevertheless, might have been the reason in the 10th century for the invention of a sumptuous roll of pictures, with a continuous frieze and the minimum of text? We can be quite certain that the Vatican roll in its original form never did contain the whole book of Joshua, but only the first ten chapters. The limitation was deliberate, and expressed the idea of a triumph--victorious battles culminating in the final conquest of the Holy Land. Such an idea might have been inspired by classical triumphal columns. At the time the roll was made two columns were still standing in Constantinople, those of Theodosius and Arcadius. The connection between those columns and the Joshua-roll is not a formalistic but an ideal one: both glorify a triumphal victory. An idea like this, retrospective in the 10th century, could only arise in the ranks of the imperial court. It may not be mere chance that the Joshua-roll was executed about the time of the emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, of whom we know that he had exceptionally enterprising scriptoria and that he was one of the furtherers of the renaissance movement.

But however far the painters of the Vienna-Genesis, the Paris psalter and the Joshua-roll may have gone in introducing in their pictures new elements of accessories, figures or whole groups of figures, these new

elements are no more than additions to a scene, which itself is rooted in the text. A new problem arises, which will lead us to the third heading of our considerations: let us suppose we find in a Ms. a miniature to which the text alludes more or less, but which the text does not describe so as to explain it in all its details. The point may be made clear by a few examples. In a 9th century psalter in the Pantokrator monastery on Athos the arrest of Christ is represented as an illustration of Psalm 38, verse 10: "I was dumb, I opened not my mouth". This scene is accompanied by the Prophet Isaiah, who is alluding to Christ in the 53rd chapter of his book, in which he says: "He was oppressed and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth." The painter saw in these passages of the text an allusion to that scene in the New Testament, which is so strikingly expressive. The painter likes to exaggerate gestures and gives character to the heads in so vivid a way that they occasionally become caricatures. For instance, he distinguishes in this way the people, who are taking hold of Christ, either giving them tangled hair or bald heads or heads deeply set between the shoulders with not much neck, so as to give them a brutish appearance. Since the psalter-text does not directly explain the scene, we must ask whether on the one hand the painter may have invented it, or on the other copied it from another Ms. Since it is very common in illustrated Gospels we can assume that he took it over from a Gospel, for which it was originally devised. Here we are face to face with one of the chief problems of miniatures, namely, the migration of pictures through various versions. The arrest of Christ is not the only New Testament scene in the psalter: on the same page you see Peter's denial, which has been related to verse 13 of the same psalm: "Hear my prayer, O Lord, and give ear unto my cry; hold not thy peace at my tears." Peter in despair is covering his forehead with his right hand and turning

away from the cock, whose shrill crowing he seems unable to bear. The cock itself is nearly the same size as Peter, and is ruffling up its feathers as it crows. The crowing is made more effective by an increase of distance between Peter and the cock. There is a challenging and expressive quality in such a representation that is again obviously taken over from an illustrated New Testament. To understand the scheme of the pictures, that decorate such a complex Ms. as the psalter from the Pantokrator, we must analyse them by determining which scenes arise out of the text in the psalter and which are copied from other Mss. The number of New Testament scenes is considerable, and if we put them all together we get a cycle not as complete certainly as the actual New Testament Ms. which the copyist used, since he did not copy each scene in it, but we do get a limited cycle which is important for the history of the illustration of Gospels, quite apart from the study of psalters.

A closer analysis of the psalter from the Pantokrator reveals that the painter used still other models. As an illustration for Psalm 96, verse 11, "Light is sown for the righteous" a scene is represented that comes from the life of Saint Eustathios, to whom Christ appeared in a vision in the antlers of a stag he was hunting. He falls down on his knees in front of the stag as it dashes off, and his horse rears up on its hind legs. The passage of the text "Light is sown" is the catchword, so to speak, for this illustration, but does not explain it. We can be sure, that the picture has been taken over from a menologion, a book of the lives of Saints--and a menologion of the sort has come down to us, codex 14 of the Esphigmenu-monastery on Athos, the Ms. that contains John of Damascus's homily on the birth of Christ, from which I have already shown the annunciation to the shepherds. Preceding the text, which relates the life and martyrdom of Saint Eustathios, are two full-size pictures, of which I show the first, containing the same scene of the vision. You will see the stag dashing off, with the medallion of Christ in its

antlers, and nearby Eustathios the persecutor still on horseback, that is the moment before the scene in the psalter, in which he has got down from his horse. From a cycle of pictures such as this menologion from Esphigmeu contains, the picture in the psalter was taken.

To this analysis of the different cycles in a complex Ms. there must be added a corresponding synthetic treatment. I refer back to the last example, after a partial cycle of a menologion has been removed from a psalter, its place in the history of the illustration of menologia must be found. Such a history, therefore, cannot be written on the basis of extant menologia alone, but must take account of the whole of Byzantine miniature-painting since, as we shall see, more or less complete cycles of menologia migrated not only into psalters but into many other different versions. As an example of this I should like to show a menologion picture which, as we might say, has entered a lectionary. The lectionary of the Dioysiuⁿ monastery on Athos, from which I have already shown several of the pictures, gives a representation of the archangels as a title picture to the passage of the 15th chapter of Luke, that relates the parables of the lost sheep and the lost piece of silver. It is a small miniature in a dignified and monumental style, which can be enlarged to the size of a mosaic without losing any of its artistic effectiveness. Now the passage in Luke does not hint at the archangels, and the relationship between picture and text is just this, that the passage is to be read on the 8th of November, which is the Feast of the Archangels. Again the painter has copied the picture from a menologion, where not only lives of saints, but the feasts of the calendar as well are commemorated and described.

In all the cases I have explained so far, it was possible to check the migration from one version to another, for there are enough illustrated

gospels and menologia to show the source of pictures appearing in psalters and lectionaries. But it is both more difficult and more interesting when in complex Mss. we stumble on abbreviated cycles, of which not one full original redaction has been preserved, from which the pictures were taken over. For instance, in a Ms. of the homilies of St. Gregory Nazianzenus in Paris (gr.510) which was written in the 9th century in Constantinople, the speech in defense of the flight into the Pontus is preceded by a miniature which represents various scenes from the life of Jonah. The scenes begin in the upper left hand corner with Jonah leaving for Tarsus; then there comes a storm, Jonah is thrown into the sea, the whale swallows him up, and after three days vomits him out again, when at last he goes to Nineveh, and preaches till the king of the place covers himself with sackcloth: last of all we see Jonah asleep under the gourd. The paragraph in the text of the homily, that refers to the story of Jonah had mentioned his flight to Tarsus as a parallel to Gregory's own flight into the Pontus, and had also brought in the three days passed in the belly of the whale, but without relating the story in any detail or even alluding to the events that follow in the prophet's career, in Nineveh and under the gourd. Again we are compelled to assume that the painter has copied the cycle of pictures of the Jonah-story from a model which must have been an illustrated prophet book. Among extant Greek Prophet-books the only one known to us are those in which each prophet stands in the front of the book, of which he was the author. With the help of the Gregory-Ms. from Paris we may conclude that there were also Prophet-books which are now all lost which were illustrated with scenes of the life of the prophets. If therefore we want to write a history of the illustrations to the Bible, a task that has been begun at Princeton University and for the Prophet-book will be carried through by Professor Friend, we cannot well confine ourselves to the portraits of

prophets as authors, but must also collect all the scenes depicting them which are scattered in other Mss.

Though not possessing any illustrated book of Jonah, we can nevertheless roughly follow the history of such a book in various Greek Mss. A few decades after the Gregory Ms. the story of Jonah appears in the Paris psalter, from which I have taken the picture of David and Melodia that I showed you, and again it is Jonah thrown into the sea, vomited out by the whale and preaching before the people of Nineveh. This picture precedes the Ode of Jonah, and belongs to the series of 14 odes which normally follow the text of the psalter. Only Jonah in prayer can be connected with the text of the ode and his figure in this picture is isolated from the other scenes by a piece of rock under his feet, treated in a special way not at all like the rest of the landscape. It is obvious, that around Jonah in prayer, which is the figure of the author of the ode, the painter has grouped a series of scenes from his life, which are not mentioned in the text of the Ode, taking them from the same prophet-book that was used by the artist of the Gregory Ms.

It is not always so easy to determine the text with which a miniature was originally connected before it migrated into other versions, as it is in the case of the Prophet-book. A Ms. of the homilies of St. Gregory Nazianzenus in the Panteleimon-monastery on Athos (cod. 6) for example, contains a scene with two figures who are called Chronos and Rhea. The text related to the scene says: "It was undignified to lament for a child, which was to be swallowed". Such a sentence was certainly not sufficient basis for this picture. We can only assume that some classical text describes the story of Chronos and Rhea in more detail, and that it originally contained the picture, and that the artist of the Gregory Ms.

took it over from a model such as this must have been. But what was the text? In my opinion the most probable one was a compendium of mythology going under the name of Apollodorus of Athens, but the attribution to Apollodorus, who lived in the 1st century is later, and the treatise seems not to have been written before the time of Hadrian, in the 2nd century A.D. In this compendium, which related all the well-known myths in a popular style, this is what is said about Chronos: "He used to swallow his offspring at birth. Enraged at this, Rhea repaired to Crete when she was big with Zeus, and brought him forth in a cave of Dicte (in order that the child might not be swallowed by Chronos). But Rhea wrapped a stone in swaddling clothes and gave it to Chronos to swallow, as if it were the new-born child." If my identification of the text is correct, then we must conclude that there were illustrated compendia of mythology in the 2nd century A.D., of which none have survived. But you will recall the small reliefs, so-called "tabulae iliacaе", on which representations of different myths like the Iliad, the Odyssey, and the stories of Theseus and Hercules were to be found. With the help of these reliefs of the 1st century we can prove that at that time illustrated books of mythology really did exist, and so there is no difficulty in assuming a second century model for the picture of Chronos and Rhea, which in the 11th century would have been used by the painter of the Gregory Ms. in the Panteleimon-monastery.

Still another group of illustrated Mss. can be reconstructed by these means of the partition of cycles, and these are the illustrated chronicles. The earliest Byzantine chronicle preserved is of the 14th century, but that there were such illustrated chronicles much earlier can be shown from the Gregory Ms. in Paris of the 9th century, from which I have already shown the picture of Jonah. The picture from it, that I am now giving, precedes the homily "Contra Arianos", which discusses the heresies of the Arians,

though without mentioning such historical events as those, to which this picture could be related. Looking through all the chronicles that deal with the time of Constantius I and Julian the Apostate, in which the persecution of the Orthodox took place, the best text, which explains every detail not only of this picture but also of other historical scenes in the Gregory Ms., the best text is in my opinion the "Historia ecclesiastica" of Theodoret, a historian who lived in the 5th century and wrote a Byzantine history of the years 324 to 429. This chronicle tells the story of the third flight of Athanasius in the year 356, and how the emperor Constantius sent out an officer called Sebastianos in the night with soldiers to surround the altar, as the chronicle says, in order to capture Athanasius. This is the scene represented in the middle frieze: a group of people with axes and torches, for the scene laid at night, with their leader, the officer Sebastianos in the middle, are approaching the church. The altar, where they expect to find Athanasius is placed outside the church to emphasize the place where all this occurred. Then the text says that some clergymen and monks helped Athanasius to escape on the boat, and in the upper frieze indeed, you see a boat with a bishop, who is Athanasius and some clergymen and monks. Finally the story goes on to say that Sebastianos gave orders to take off and strip and martyr some women. This scene is represented in the lower frieze, and is changed only in so far as the painter has made it men who were stripped--he probably made a mistake, and thought it was monks. From the fairly accurate interpretation in this picture we may conclude that there was an illustrated chronicle of Theodoret and that from it the artist of the Gregory Ms. copied this and several other pictures. In the case of this Paris Gregory illustrated with extreme splendor we are able to reconstruct no less than eight different cycles, only one of which was specially made up for the Gregory text, while the other seven are copied from seven different books. This may give you an idea of the way things were done in a medieval scriptorium, and of the possible variety of illuminated

Mss. that to-day are all lost. To give examples of each of the eight cycles would be to tire you out, and I will just show you one slide more from another Ms., the Dionysiu-lectionary, that by this time you are familiar with--and rightly so, for it is one of the most perfect creations of Byzantine art. The first miniature of this Ms. is a full-size one, representing St. John the Evangelist by divine inspiration dictating the Gospels on the island of Patmos to his scribe Prochoros. Now in the 1st chapter of St. John's Gospel which it precedes, which is read on Easter Sunday, there is no indication of any episode in which the dictation of the Gospel would be involved. Professor Friend has shown that on the contrary the picture is an illustration of a tale taken from the apocryphal acts of John, relating how John retired with his secretary Prochoros to the island of Patmos in order to write down the Gospel. In all probability it is to the apocryphal Acts that this picture originally belonged, only afterwards being taken over for the lectionary. But once it had been put there, it settled as a permanent ingredient of lectionary illustration.

At the same time this picture of St. John shows the culmination of Byzantine book-illumination. On the one hand classical contraposte and a rich variety of attitudes, the heritage of antiquity plainly visible in the Saint's body and on the other, an inclination to relieve the weight of the body by its slender proportions, by the effortless tiptoeing of the feet, by the emphasis on the highly spiritualized head. This figure of St. John is a complete synthesis in a unified and perfectly mature style, of a newly introduced classical movement and of the strong ecclesiastical Byzantine tradition. Every element of this composition bears witness to the unity of style. The highlights that mark the structure of the rocks repeat the rhythm of the drapery: they show a multiplying of straight lines, which are concentrated on the summits of the hills in the same manner as a glance at the folds of the garment will move along them until it reaches the head, where a final sum of spiritual energy is collected.

This evening I have not had the chance to say much about the style of the miniatures. My preoccupation has been to emphasize the specific methods and principles which are characteristic of book-illumination and you will recall that it was done from three main point of views, of:

- (1) the relationship of picture and text in point of form, which involved the problem of the roll and of the codex,
- (2) the iconographic problem, which dealt with the painter's interpretation of his texts and the insertion of classical elements during the Byzantine renaissance, and,
- (3) the history of the migration of cycles of pictures.

But even with a framework of questions of principle, it has been my intention to treat them in examples of as many different styles as possible of an area of culture, that stretches in time over more than a millenium.

Beginning with examples of the late classical style our way has taken us through the early Byzantine period with the supple silhouetted figures of the Vienna Genesis of the 5th century, to the first decades after the iconoclasm of the 9th century, whose style was represented on the one hand by the Pantokrator Psalter with its expressive "Peter's Denial", a product, eccentric and yet realistic at the same time, of the Syriac-Greek East,--and on the other hand by the Paris-Gregory Ms., in which a classical coolness and severity reflect the atmosphere of the imperial court of Constantinople. This last Ms. already announces the movement, which in the 10th century leads to the Macedonian renaissance the style of which, with Byzantine tradition intermingling with newly introduced classical themes, is most perfectly represented in the Joshua-roll and the psalter in Paris. At the beginning of the new millenium originate works of full maturity like the menologion of Esphigmeu and above all the Dionysiu-lectionary, in which all the different elements, the strong ecclesiastical tradition of Constantinople, the expressive style of Syrian Greece and the newly arisen return to antiquity, form a homogeneous style, that exhibits

Byzantium as the most perfect synthesis of Hellenism and Christianity.

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