

BYZANTINE LANDSCAPE PAINTING

With Special Reference to the Illustrations
of the Menologion of Basil II,
Vat. Grec. 1613

by
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Chapter I

The Menologion of Basil II

1. Date and provenance
2. Description of the manuscript
3. Is the Vatican manuscript an original work of art or a copy after an earlier model?
4. The models for the paintings: a) Bibles
 b) Lives of the saints
5. The contribution of the painters of the Vatican Menologion - the landscape and architectural settings.

The Menologion of Basil II

The Menologion of Basil II is one of the very few illustrated manuscripts of the Macedonian Renaissance about which there is no controversy as to when and where it was painted. The verse preface shows that it was written for the Emperor Basil II in the Imperial Scriptorium, and internal evidence suggests that it was executed between 979-989.¹ We even know the names of the eight artists responsible for the illustrations, as the scribe has written them in the margin alongside the paintings.














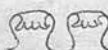


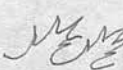

The manuscript is an illustrated synaxarium for the first half of the church year, from the beginning of September to the end of February. It is a parchment codex of 217 folios, 36.4 x 28.4 cms., containing 430 illustrations. Each festival is given one page, and the page is equally divided between text and illustration, so that the life of the saint has been compressed into 16 lines, while the illustration has been expanded to fill a frame 18 cms. long and 12 cms. high.

Although the preface claims that the manuscript was written especially for the Emperor Basil II, certain factors suggest that the text was compiled at the beginning of the tenth century, for the latest biography is that of St. Anthony Kauleas, on page 393, who died in 901. One of the main problems in studying a manuscript is therefore to decide whether it is an original work or a copy after an earlier model.

1. S. Der Nersessian "Remarks on the Date of the Menologion and Psalter written for Basil II". Byzantion XV (1940-41). She dates the manuscript between 979-989 from the identification of the unnamed stylite saint on page 238 as St. Luke Stylites, who died in 979, and the absence of any mention of the earthquake of 989.

TABLE I

Analysis of Ornament in the Menologion of Basil II

	Panta- leone	Michael ὁ Μικρός	George	Michael of Bla- chernae	Symeon	Mena	Nes- tor	Symeon of Blacher- nae
No. of Paint- ings with ornament	42	27	21	36	20	21	58	38
Square 	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
Meander 	3	1	2	-	-	2	8	2
Step 	4	-	-	2	-	-	1	1
Step-Square 	4	-	1	3	-	-	2	-
Cross 	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
T	2	5	3	2	2	7	9	6
Slanting T 	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Rhomboid 	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	1
Slanting Meander 	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-
Zigzag 	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Diamond 	-	3	-	1	1	-	2	-
Scroll 	7	-	3	-	2	1	4	4
Broken Scroll	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	1
Heart 	5	-	1	1	-	-	-	4
Amazon Shield 	2	-	2	5	-	-	3	3
Wave 	4	5	3	2	4	2	10	-
Windy Wave 	1	1	1	5	2	2	9	6
Palmette 	2	6	1	2	2	3	2	6
Windy Palmette 	4	-	3	1	-	-	1	1
Palmette Wave	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	1
Fern 	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Fern-palmette	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	-

If the text was actually written in the early tenth century one must consider the possibility that the original manuscript was also illustrated at that date, so that the Vaticanus is only a copy of an original work executed about 80 years earlier. In this case, the names of the painters in the margin beside the illustrations would be those of the painters of the original work, not the copy. This would explain the difficulty all critics have experienced in attempting to distinguish the work of each painter on stylistic grounds. It was first attempted by Venturi,¹ but the style of painting ascribed to each painter is so full of contradictions, that it is impossible to reach any conclusions as to the individuality, technique or personality of the various artists. Weitzmann suggested that it was the original model which had determined the style of the paintings.²

The painter may have had little freedom when copying illustrations, but the choice of ornament appears to have been left to his own discretion, for we find that although the painters of the Vatican manuscript show no individuality in their style of painting, they did have favourite ornamental motifs. This can be seen in Table I, which is an analysis of the ornament used throughout the manuscript. It shows clearly that Pantaleone and Nestor are the only two painters to use a fern pattern, while Symeon is the only one not to use a wave design. But the type of ornament is late tenth century, which indicates that Pantaleone and his school of manuscript illuminators were working at that date, and not at the beginning of the century.

1. Storia dell'Arte Italiana (1901) Vol. II, p. 548.

2. Illustrations in Roll and Codex (1947) p. 200 ff.

This probability is supported by Miss der Nersessian's conclusion that it was intended to include later saints, as she has identified the illustration on page 238 as St. Luke Stylites, who died in 979.

The conclusion that the Vatican manuscript is an original work of the late tenth century and not a direct copy of an earlier manuscript is again supported by the number of discrepancies between text and illustration, and the clumsy attempts made to correct some of these mistakes.¹ It would seem indeed that text and illustrations, both mainly copied from earlier sources, were brought together in the Vatican manuscript for the first time.

The illustrations must have been copied from many sources. A few, of the illustrations of later saints, such as St. Anthony Kauleas on page 393, were perhaps created for the Menologion, but most were adapted from existing illustrations. There was no problem in finding models for the great Feasts of the church celebrating events in the life of Christ and the Virgin, as the painters had only to turn to lectionaries and Gospels in the Imperial scriptorium. There was also no difficulty in finding sources for Old Testament illustrations, for Octateuchs were among the most favoured manuscripts. These Biblical illustrations will be discussed separately as they provide valuable information about late tenth century iconography, as well as showing what type of model the Menologion painters were using and how they

1. Il Menologio di Basillio II. Vol. 1. pp. x - xiv.
Codices e Vaticanis selecti VIII (1907)

were adapted to suit Menologion illustrations. (Chapter II). Nor can models have been lacking for the illustrations of the lives of the saints, though here we are hampered by lack of material.

The illustrations of the lives of saints must have begun at a very early date, for the 5th century Alexandrian World Chronicle contains a painting of the Death of Timothy, Patriarch of Alexandria and also the portrait of his successor, Theophilus.¹ But no other pre-iconoclast manuscript has survived. The Paris Gregory, however, which must have been copied from a pre-iconoclast model, contains on f332v a cycle of the life of St. Cyprian. The execution scene resembles the painting of the death of St. Cyprian on page 80 of the Vatican Menologion. As both the Paris Gregory and the Vatican Menologion were both illustrated in the Imperial scriptorium, it seems reasonable to conclude that they were copied from the same model, and this must have been a pre-iconoclast manuscript. (Plate I).

As the saints mentioned in the Menologion lived at different dates, one can assume different dates for the models of their illustrations. As Weitzmann has shown, the painters usually copied their models accurately, retaining the style of the original. Therefore, if one arranges the illustrations in chronological order, one should see a difference in style between the illustrations of the early saints and the post-iconoclast saints. This has been done in the third chapter.

1. S. Der Nersessian "Illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologion." Studies in Honor of A.M. Friend. Princeton (1955) p. 222. J. Strykowski and A. Bauer "Eine Alexandrinische Weltchronik" Denkschriften der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil. hist. Klass. LI (1905) pl VI, recto.



1. Illusionist Landscape
Vat. Reg. Grec. 1 Moses on Mt. Sinai



2.
Formalised Landscape
Vat. Grec. 1613 p.220

Though the painters of the Menologion copied a great deal from earlier sources, they also obviously contributed a great deal on their own, for we find that both the older Biblical and the newer Hagiographical illustrations have the same type of landscape setting, even though they contain different types of architecture. The buildings, which will be discussed in the third chapter, are all set in the same stereotyped landscape. This is not the impressionist landscape of the early tenth century, with blue sky and hazy mountains fading into the mist at the horizon as in Moses on Mt. Sinai ^{in the Bible of Leo the Patrician} (Fig. 1). The Menologion mountains are all tightly outlined against the gold ground (Fig. 2). There is no attempt at aerial perspective, as each painting is keyed to one sombre, but rich colour scheme, in pink, blue, yellow, purple or burnt amber. Yet there is some attempt to create the illusion of space and there is a definite feeling of recession between the foreground plants, the figures in the middle distance and the background hills. Although the perspective drawing of buildings was by no means consistent, receding planes were usually indicated by upward sloping lines. (Fig. 18).

All the narrative illustrations, the paintings of Biblical subjects and the lives of the saints, have landscape settings, which will be studied in the first five chapters. But the Menologion also contains a large number of portraits of saints and prophets represented as standing figures against a palace background. The origin and meaning of this architectural background will be discussed in the last chapter.

Chapter II

The Biblical Illustrations

1. The different cycles in the Vatican Menologion Illustrations.
2. The Octateuch illustrations were freely adapted from the same model as that of the Seraglio Octateuch and are not related to the Joshua Roll.
3. The Psalter Illustrations appear to have been copied from the same model as that found in the Paris Psalter.
4. The Prophets are illustrated by portraits, not narrative illustrations, except for Micah.
5. The Life of the Virgin, although one of the earliest surviving cycles of illustrations, must have been copied from a pre-iconoclast model.
6. The Infancy Cycle is the same as that found at D er Abu Hennis, Maximian's throne and Castelseprio and is found later at Daphni and Karieh Cami.
7. There are too few Gospel scenes to determine which model was being copied.
8. The Deaths of the Apostles were copied from the same model as f32v of the Paris Gregory.

Conclusion. Both the Infancy Cycle and the Lives of the Apostles had been copied from a model in classical style which is not found in the Menologion illustrations.

The Biblical Illustrations

Although the bulk of the 430 illustrations of the Menologion of Basil II consist of scenes from the lives of saints or their portraits, the manuscript also contains about 30 Biblical illustrations, which had been copied from various sources.

Two of them are identical with Octateuch illustrations, p. 13 Moses in the Bulrushes and p. 3 Joshua and the Angel. The Joshua illustration shows a complete break with the pre-iconoclast iconography as illustrated by the Paris Gregory, and clearly anticipates that of the Sergglio and Smyrna Octaeuchs.

But most of the other Biblical illustrations, however, go back to pre-iconoclast models. Three illustrations, p. 251 the Three children in the Furnace, p. 252 Daniel in the Lions' Den p. 59 Jonah and the Whale, were probably copied from a pre-iconoclast Psalter which may also have provided the model for f435v of the Paris Gregory and the Paris Psalter. But both the Psalter and the Octateuch illustrations have been freely adapted by the addition of extra scenes not mentioned in the Biblical text.

The Prophets have been illustrated almost entirely by portraits placed in front of palace façades; these will be studied in Chapter VI. The illustrations of the Paris Gregory show that the narrative of the Prophet books had been illustrated, but we find no trace of it in the Menologion. Micah, the only prophet to be illustrated by a narrative scene instead of a portrait, is represented by the scene of his death and funeral, which are not mentioned in the Bible.

The most interesting paintings are those of the life of the Virgin and the Infancy Cycle, illustrating the Protoevangelium of James. No known illustrated copy of this apocryphal gospel has survived, yet one must have existed as it exercised such a profound influence on New Testament Iconography. Byzantine illustrations of the Annunciation and the Nativity never follow the text of the Canonical Gospels, but always follow that of the apocrypha, and show the Virgin spinning during the Annunciation, while the Nativity takes place in a cave instead of a stable.

The Menologion illustrations contain one of the earliest surviving cycles of the life of the Virgin, illustrating the first part of the Protoevangelium. But the Infancy Cycle, illustrating the second half of the gospel, was derived from a sixth century cycle found on the ivories of Maximian's throne, the frescoes of D  r Abu Hennis and also at Castelseprio. The same cycle reappears, though simplified, in the 9th century in Constantinople in the illustrations of the Paris Gregory. With time it became more elaborate and can be seen in the 12th century mosaics of Daphni and the 14th century mosaics at Kari  h Cami.

There are too few New Testament illustrations in the Menologion to determine which cycle was being copied. The model appears to have been a lectionary as the illustration of Christ reading in the Synagogue p. 1, has been given the composition of the next lection, the Mission of the Apostles.

Except for the painting of the Stoning of Stephen, the illustrations of the deaths of the Apostles are not Biblical subjects, but follow the apocryphal text. These illustrations had been

copied from the same model used by the painter of f32v of the Paris Gregory. But whereas the 9th century illustration is completely classical in style, with an illusionist landscape setting containing classical architecture sketched in blue against a blue sky, the Menologion illustration contains contemporary buildings. This is seen most clearly on p. 131 the Death of St. James "Frater Domini". The Paris Gregory illustration has a classical tholos, which is converted into a contemporary ambone covered by a circular baldachino.

The two paintings not copied from the Paris Gregory model, the funeral of SS. Luke and Timothy on pp. 121 and 341, contain topographical drawings of the churches of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople and St. John in Edessa, showing the interest of the Menologion painters in topography.

Each of these scenes will be studied individually in the next section. No attempt has been made to cite every iconographic parallel; in the main comparisons have been limited to works which are certainly Constantinopolitan, such as the Paris Gregory.



3

Vat. Grec. 1613 p.13 Moses in the Bulrushes and the Death of Moses



4

Seraglio Octateuch f157v Moses in the Bulrushes



5

Seraglio Octateuch f417v Death of Moses

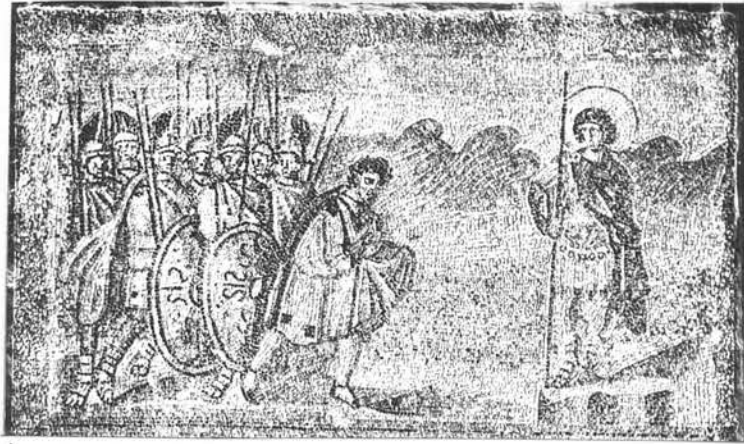
Bible Illustrations

1. Octateuch

p. 13 Moses in the Bulrushes: the Death of Moses (Pantaleone)

Fig. 3 (Exodus 2, Jude 9 and Deuteronomy 34, 5)

The Menologion illustration combines the story of Moses' childhood with that of his death. On the left hand side his mother hides him among the bulrushes while on the right his body is guarded by the archangel Michael. The left hand scene of Moses among the bulrushes is similar to the painting in the Seraglio Octateuch f157v (fig. 4) except that it is reversed. But the death scene is completely different from the Octateuch illustration (fig. 5) and appears to be an invention of the painter, Pantaleone.



6
S. Maria Maggiore, Rome. Joshua and the Angel



7
B.N. Grec 510 f226v Joshua stopping the sun and the moon.
Joshua and the angel

p. 3 Joshua and the Angel: Burial of Joshua (Pantaleone)

(Fig. 8) (Joshua 5, 13 and 24, 30)

As in the story of Moses, two unrelated scenes have been combined into one illustration with a common landscape background. On the left hand side, Joshua first speaks to the angel, holding a sword in his hand, and then casts himself down on the ground. On the right hand side we are shown the funeral of the general in a sarcophogus decorated with a figure relief.

As in the Moses illustration, the funeral scene appears to be an addition of the painter Pantaleone, as the Octateuch illustrations (Vat. Grec. 746, f468 and Vat. Grec. 747, f236v) are completely different in composition. This scene was probably invented by Pantaleone, as the distinctive sarcophogus with figure reliefs is found only in other paintings by his hand (pp. 146, 154).

The left hand scene of Joshua and the Angel was quite a common subject as we find it in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore¹ and also in the illustration of the Paris Gregory. Both these works, however, only show Joshua kneeling before the angel, not completely prostrated, as in the tenth century and later illustrations. (Figs. 6, 7) ^{standing or}

The tenth century illustrations can be divided between those that show Joshua simply speaking to the angel and those where he brandishes a sword. The Joshua Roll resembles Vat. Grec. 747 in that Joshua's hand is raised in speech, whereas

1. Carlo Cecchelli I Mosaici della Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore (1956).



8

Vat. Grec. 1613 p.3 Joshua and the Angel: Death of Joshua



9

Joshua Roll Joshua and the Angel



10

Seraglio Octateuch f480v Joshua and the Angel

in the Menologion and the Seraglio and Smyrna Octateuchs he brandishes a weapon aggressively. (Figs. 8, 9, 10). This shows that the Menologion was copied from the archetype of the Smyrna and Seraglio Octateuchs and has no direct relationship with the Joshua Roll. This is summarised in Table 2.

The two paintings in the Menologion and the Joshua Roll are painted in completely different styles. They both contain representations of walled cities, and one can see that the painters have had difficulties with the linear perspective - the city walls start at the feet of the figures. But the confusion in the drawing is not so apparent in the Joshua Roll as the background objects appear to melt into a hazy mist. Whereas the Menologion painting is painted throughout in a precise style against a gold background which makes no allowances for aerial perspective.

Both painters have chosen to add classical details to their paintings. According to Weitzmann, the personification in the Joshua Roll could not have been present in the archetype as it is not found in any other of the copies.¹ Nor is the sarcophogus in which the dead general is buried found in any paintings other than the work of Pantaleone. But whereas personifications were common features in classical landscapes, sarcophogi were not landscape motifs. It would seem that Pantaleone was not copying a classical painting, but a classical relief.

1. Weitzmann The Joshua Roll (1948) p. 51 ff.

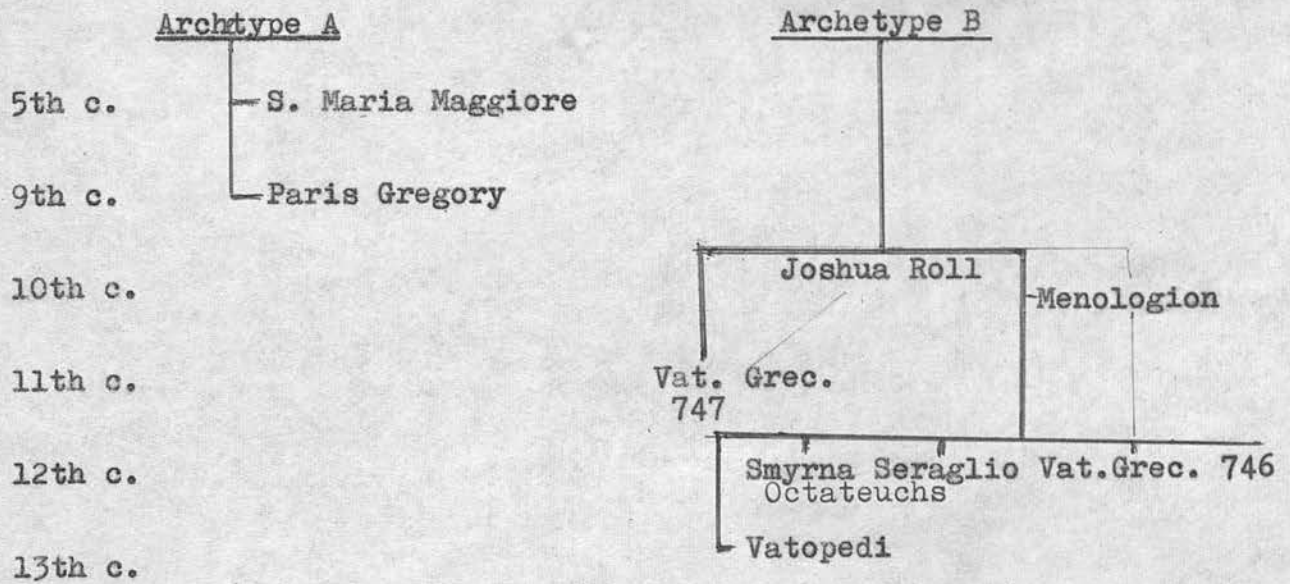


TABLE 2 Stemma of the Joshua Illustrations

(adapted from Weitzmann "Joshua Roll" p. 33)



11

B.N. Grec 510 f435v Daniel in the Lions' Den: The Three Children in the Furnace.



12

Vat. Grec. 1613 p.252 Daniel in the Lions' Den



13

Vat. Grec. 1613 p.251 The three children in the Furnace.

2. Psalter or Book of Daniel

pp. 251, 252. The Three Children in the Furnace: Daniel in Lions' Den (Michael δ Μικρός) Figs. 12, 13
(Daniel 3,21, 6.16)

The illustrations of these two consecutive pages came originally from the Book of Daniel, but they were used not only for single composition, as in the sixth century icon of the Children in the Furnace in the Sinai Monastery, but also for illustrating Psalters, even in pre-Iconoclast times. This is shown by a page of four miniatures in the Paris Gregory, f435v, illustrating four consecutive odes of the Byzantine Psalter.¹ Whereas the last miniature of Isaiah and Hezechiah is related to the cycle of the Paris Psalter, the first two miniatures of Daniel in the Lions' Den and the Three Children in the Furnace are very close to the Menologion paintings, even to details of dress. (Fig. 11)

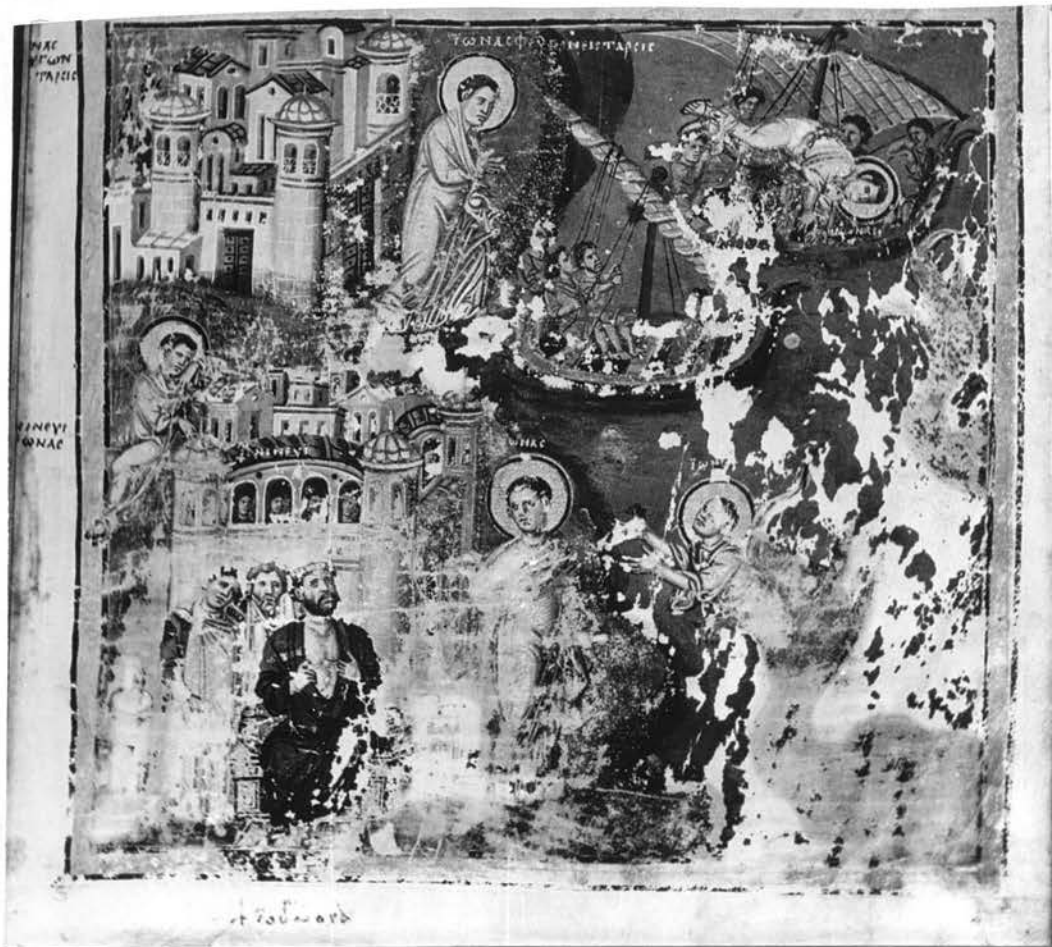
But the Menologion illustrations also contain execution scenes which are not mentioned in the Biblical text.

1. H. Buchthal The Paris Psalter. (1938) p. 68.



14

Vat. Grec. 1613 p.59 Jonah and the Whale



15

B.N. Grec 510 f3 The Story of Jonah

3. Psalter or Book of Jonah

- p. 59. Jonah and the Whale: Jonah resting beneath the Gourd.
 (Pantaleone) fig. 14 (Jonah 2, 10, and 4,4.)

As the story of Jonah and the Whale was considered to be an antetype of Christ's Resurrection the story was illustrated from the earliest times and is found in the Catacomb of Petrus and Marcellinus.¹ The earliest manuscript illustration, Rabbula Gospels f6, shows only one excerpt, Jonah resting beneath the gourd,² but the full cycle is found in the Paris Gregory, f3. A slightly different cycle is found in the Paris Psalter which contains the unusual subject of Jonah's Prayer.

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1. Wilpert Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms. (1903), Pl. 96
 2. Carlo Cecchelli, Giuseppe Futani and Mario Salvini The Rabbula Gospels (1959).



16

Vat. Grec. 1613 Portrait of the Prophet Habakuk
p.219



17

Vat. Grec. 1613 p.298 Death of Micah



18

Vat. Grec. 1613 p.229



19

Vat. Grec. 1162 f16v

4. Prophet Books

Most of the prophets are illustrated in the Menologion by standing portraits.¹ The prophet is shown standing in the centre of the painting, wearing classical costume and holding a book or scroll, against an architectural background.^(Fig. 16) The narratives of the Prophet books had been illustrated, as is shown by the illustrations of the Paris Gregory (f438v Vision of Ezechiel), but most manuscripts contain only portraits. For instance the prophets in the 7-8th century Syrian Old Testament B.N. Syr. 341, which is illustrated by standing figures in classical dress holding scrolls.² But these early portraits of prophets have no architectural setting. This setting was invented by the painters of the Menologion and will be studied in Chapter VI.

The illustration on page 298 of the Burial of the Prophet Micah (Fig. 17) is not a Biblical subject, as his death is not mentioned in the Bible. According to St. Jerome, he was pushed over a cliff and a church was later built over his tomb at Morasthim, which was visited by the lady Paula.³ This church appears to be represented in the Menologion illustration.

1.	p. 119	Hosea
	p. 124	Joel
	192	Obadiah
	216	Nahum
	219	Habakuk (Fig. 16)
	248	Haggai
	293	Malachi
	382	Zechariah

2. H. Omont Peintures de l'Ancien Testament dans un manuscrit syriaque du 7^e ou 8^e siècle (1909).

3. St. Jerome "The Pilgrimage of the Lady Paula", Trans. Aubrey Stewart and annotated by Col. Sir C.W. Wilson. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London, (1885).



20

Vat. Grec. 1613 p.22



21

Daphni



22

Vat. Grec. 1162



23

Karieh Cami
The Birth of the Virgin

Life of the Virgin

p. 29. The Immaculate Conception (Michael ὁ Μικρός) Fig. 18

In Byzantine iconography the Immaculate Conception is represented by the scene of the Meeting of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate as it was believed that the Virgin was conceived without sin in this embrace.¹ The composition is taken from a cycle of the life of the Virgin and we find exactly the same composition in the Homilies of Monk James, Vat. Grec. 1162. f15v and in the mosaics of Karieh Cami.² (Fig. 19)

The details of the life of the Virgin were taken from the apocryphal Gospel according to James (the Protoevangelium). Although no illustrated copy of this Gospel is known, the illustrations of the Menologion and the Homilies of Monk James, as well as the mosaics of Karieh Cami, show that one must have existed.

p. 22. The Birth of the Virgin (Mena) Fig. 20 (Protoevangelium V,2)

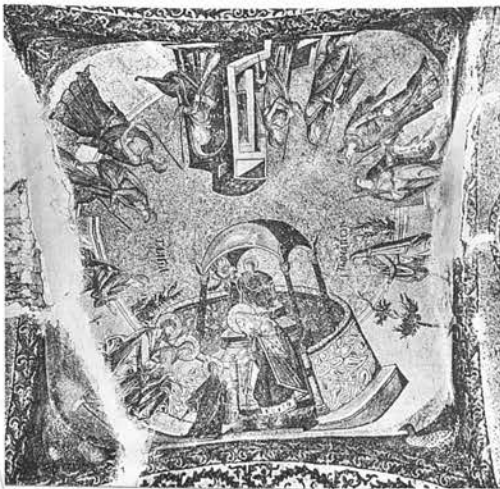
We find The Birth of the Virgin represented not only in the Homilies of Monk James, and Karieh Cami³ but also at Daphni, and in numerous wall paintings of the thirteenth and following centuries. All show St. Anne lying on her bed while the midwives give the Virgin her first bath, but the illustration in the Homilies also includes the visit of the Elders. In the Menologion St. Anne is shown lying in a courtyard flanked by two small houses, and is attended by three servants while a fourth prepares the baby's bath. There is no setting at Daphni and two maids are bathing the baby. At Karieh there are altogether 8 servants and on the left a maid is preparing the baby's cradle, instead of the bath, which is now on the right hand side. Joachim is shown looking through a door on the right hand side. As in the Menologion it is set in a courtyard flanked by two buildings (Figs. 21, 22, 23)

We therefore find a similar setting in the fourteenth century mosaics at Karieh Cami as in the tenth century Menologion illustration, although the number of figures has increased and new incidents added. The twelfth century mosaics at Daphni have no setting, but include one more figure than in the Menologion.

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1. Réau L'Iconographie de L'Art Chrétien (1957) vol. II, 2, p.159.
 2. Schmidt Karieh Cami, (1906) Plate XXV No.73
 3. Ibid Plate XXIII, No. 74



24
Vat. Grec. 1613 p.198



25
Karieh Cami



26
Vat. Grec. 1162



27
Daphni
Presentation of the Virgin

p.198

The Presentation of the Virgin (Protoevangelium VIII,1) (Fig.24)
(Nestor)

The Presentation of the Virgin is found in the Menologion, the Homilies of Monk James, Daphni and Kariéh Cami.¹ They all (figs. 25, 26, 27) illustrate the scene by a procession of girls in classical garments holding candles headed by Joachim and Anna with the infant Virgin. Except in the Homilies of Monk James, the scene where she is welcomed by the High Priest is combined with that of her miraculous feeding by an angel in the sanctuary of the Temple. But in the Homilies of Monk James this has been painted as a separate scene, showing that there was once an extensive cycle of the life of the Virgin.

In the Menologion and at Daphni there are 7 girls in the procession, but only four in the Homilies of Monk James. The number is increased to 9 at Kariéh Cami. Except at Daphni, where there is no setting except for the altar of the Temple, all are set against a wall with a building at one end.

1. Schmidt Plate XXVI, No.78.



28

Castelseprio



30

Maximian's Throne

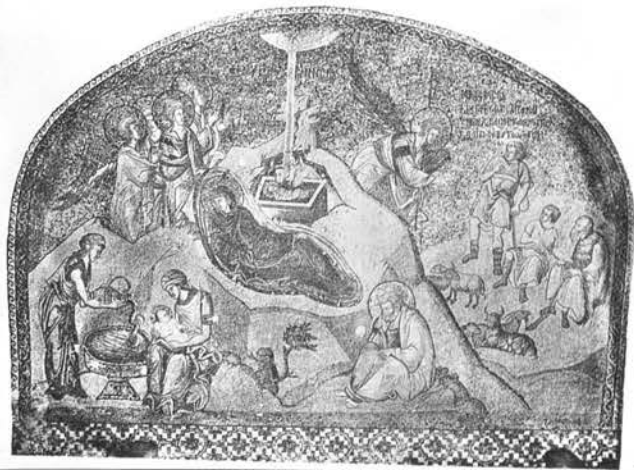


29 Vat. Grec. 1613 p.271



31

Daphni



32

Kariye Cami

Nativity

p. 271 Nativity with the Adoration of the Shepherds (Symeon of Blachernae) Fig. 29 (Protoevangelium XVIII).

As in all other Byzantine illustrations of the Nativity, the Menologion follows the apocryphal account and places the scene in a cave and not a stable. The Virgin is seated on the left hand side with Joseph behind her. In the centre a midwife washes the new born child, and on the right a shepherd with his goats looks up at the announcing angel. An angel choir stands over the cave.

This composition is found on the 6th century panel in the Lateran, and also at Castelseprio, Daphni and Karieh Cami¹ as well as in many other manuscripts and churches too numerous to cite (Figs. 28, 31, 32). But in all these examples the Virgin is reclining, not seated as in the Menologion. This is an archaic feature, which was common on sarcophagi, but we still find it in the 11th century mosaics at Hosias Lucas.

The bath of the child is represented at Castelseprio, in the Menologion and at Karieh Cami; it probably once existed at Daphni but that portion of the mosaic has been destroyed. (Fig. 31) Two maids wash the child at Castelseprio and Karieh, but only one in the Menologion. Although this scene was not common before the 10th century, it is to be found in the Utrecht Psalter and was included among the lost mosaics executed in Old St. Peter's, done under Pope John VII, and so belongs to the pre-iconoclast cycle.

The ivory in Maximian's throne at Ravenna, the frescoes of Castelseprio and the mosaics in Old St. Peter's also include the

1. Schmidt Plate XXXIII No. 90

withering of the hand of the doubting midwife (Protoevangelium XX,1) not found in the Menologion or the later mosaics. (Figs 28,30)

The annunciation is to only one shepherd in the Menologion, two at Daphni, two or possibly more at Castelseprio and three at Karieh. One of the shepherds is seated at both Karieh and Castelseprio.

The angel choir consists of two angels in the Menologion, three at Daphni and four at Karieh. There is no trace of it in Castelseprio as the fresco is damaged. There is a distant town behind the shepherds at Castelseprio.

The frescoes at Castelseprio include the greatest number of incidents, as they show not only the miracle of the Midwife, but also the distant town of Bethlehem. They include almost as many figures as the fourteenth century mosaics in Karieh.



33 Castelseprio



34 Maximian's Throne



35 B.N. Grec 510 f137



Vat. Grec. 1613 p.272
Adoration of the Kings

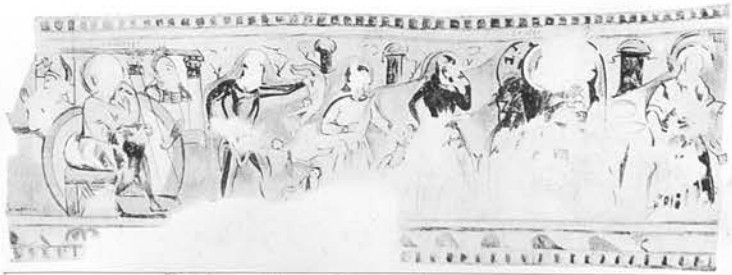


37 Daphni

p. 272 Adoration of the Kings (Symeon of Blachernae) Fig. 36

The Menologion represents the three wise men from the East as Kings, not Persian magi. The iconography is, however, sixth century, as we find the angel presenting the worshipper to the Virgin in the reliefs of Maximian's throne at Ravenna. Joseph is shown standing behind the Virgin on Maximian's throne, in the Paris Gregory (fl37) (Fig.³³⁻⁵), at Castelseprio and elsewhere. But he is not present in the Menologion or at Daphni. The scene is without setting and the Virgin is seated on a throne in ^{the} Paris Gregory and at Daphni, while she is set in a rocky landscape at Castelseprio and in the Menologion. There is a group of columns behind the Magi at Castelseprio.

The landscape setting is found only in the Menologion and Castelseprio where it is the fullest.



38

Deir Abu Hennis



39

B.N. Grec 510 f137



40

Vat. Grec. 1613 p.281



41

Vat. Grec. 1613 p.14

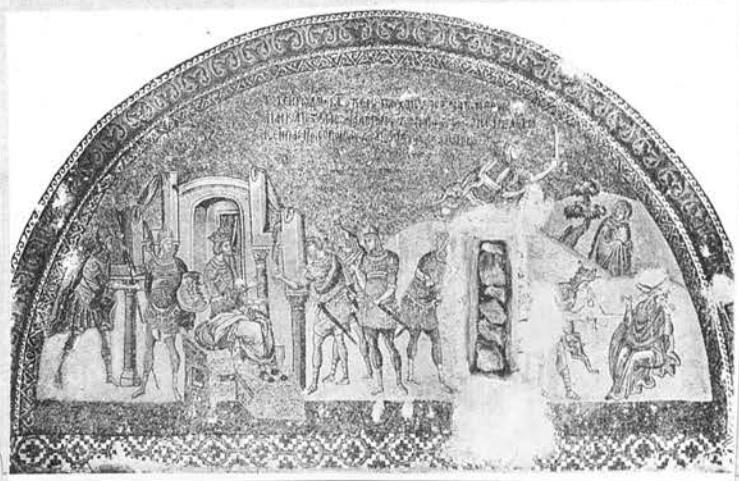
Massacre of the Innocents and Death of Zacharias

p. 281 Massacre of the Innocents (Pantaleone) Fig. 40

p. 14 Death of Zacharias (Michael of Blachernae) Fig. 41

At D  ir Abu Hennis we find the Massacre of the Innocents (Fig. 38) combined with the Escape of St. Elizabeth with the Infant Baptist together with the Death of Zacharias, the Dream of Joseph and the Flight into Egypt¹ Except for the last two subjects we find these scenes combined into one strip in the Paris Gregory (fl. 37) (Fig. 39) and they are all present in the Vatican Menologion.

In the Menologion illustration of the Massacre of the Innocents the child held by his mother on the extreme right had been speared by the pursuing soldier. But the pose is identical to that of St. Elizabeth in the Paris Gregory and D  ir Abu Hennis (Protoevangelium XXII, 3) and also at Karieh Cami (Fig. 42)



42 Karieh Cami

1. Wladimir de Gr  neisen Les Caractéristiques de l'Art Copte (1922), plate XXVIII, XXIX, XXX



Dear Abu Hennis

Death of Zacharias,
 Dream of Joseph,
 Flight into Egypt.

43



Castelseprio

Dream of Joseph

44



Vat. Grec. 1613 p.273

45



Karieh Cami
 Dream of Joseph,
 Visitation,
 Journey to Bethlehem.

6

p. 273 The Dream of Joseph (Symeon of Blachernae) Fig. 45

The same composition of an angel bending over the sleeping figure of Joseph is found in the sixth century reliefs of Maximian's throne and also in the contemporary frescoes of ~~Deir~~ Abu Hennis.¹ At Deir Abu Hennis there is a colonnade in the background and at Castelseprio an archway on the left and a fillet tied stele on the left. The scene is reduced in importance at Karieh Cami as it is combined with the Visitation.² (Figs 43, 44, 46)

It is the earliest, pre-iconoclast, versions of this subject which have the most elaborate landscapes; they were eliminated in the later versions.

1. Wladimir de Gruneisen Ibid.

2. Schmidt Plate XXXIX, No. 100

p. 274 Flight into Egypt (Pantaleone) Fig. 47

The Flight into Egypt is missing from most of the Infancy Cycles, but it is found in the sixth century frescoes of D  ir Abu Hennis, so that it must have been part of the pre-iconoclast cycle and not a later addition.¹ This is important, as this painting includes the only personification to be found in the Menologion, for the figure greeting the Holy Family is a personification of the land of Egypt. We find the same figure in the mosaics of the Palatine Chapel at Palermo.²



Fig. 47 Vat. Grec. 1613. p. 274

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1. Wladimir de Gr  neisen ibid. Plate XXX (10). Fig. 38
 2. Demus: Mosaics of Norman Sicily p. 268.

p. 287 The Circumcision (Nestor) Fig.48

Fig.48



This is one of the earliest representations of the Subject.



49.

Castelseprio



50

B.N. Grec 510 f137

Presentation in the Temple

p.365. Presentation in the Temple (Pantaleone) Fig 51

Fig. 51



The Virgin hands the Child to Symeon, who stands with veiled hands before the Altar of the Temple, but the Child recoils back into his mother's arms. The reluctance of the child is quite different from the eager forward motion he shows both in the frescoes at Castelseprio and in the Paris Gregory (Figs. 49, 50)

7. Scenes from the Lectionary or New Testament.

The Menologion contains a fairly full account of the life of St. John the Baptist, beginning with the Annunciation to Zacharias (Page 61, fig.52) and continuing with the Death of Zacharias (p. 14, fig.41) John preaching (page 300, fig.54) and the Baptism (p. 299 fig.55). But there are few other Gospel illustrations.

p. 61 Annunciation to Zacharias (George) (Luke I,13) (Fig.52)



52

This scene is included in the Infancy Cycle at Kariieh Cami (Schmidt Plate XXXI, No.87) as well as at Dier Abu Hennis (Fig.53)

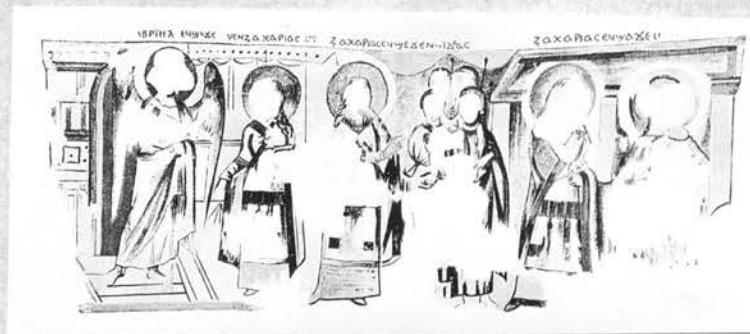
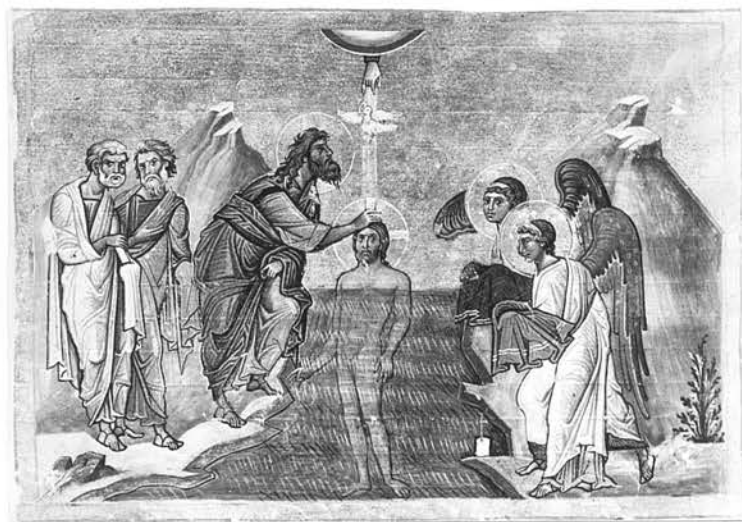


Fig.53



Vat. Grec. 1613 p.300

54



Vat. Grec. 1613 p.299

55



Baptism, Daphni

56

p. 300 John Preaching (Nestor) Fig. 44 (Matthew 3, 10) Fig. 54

The scene where John points at the axe at the root of the tree is found in the 10th century B.N. Grec 115 and also in the fully illustrated 11th century B.N. Grec 74.¹

p. 299 The Baptism (George) Fig. 55

The composition of the Baptism with two attendant angels on the right bank and two apostles on the left is found in the sixth century reliquary panel in the Lateran. We also find it in the mosaics at Daphni but with one important difference. At Daphni the Jordan is indicated by a conventional river god (Fig. 56), but in the Menologion there is a cross on a marble column. This cross had been erected on the site of the Baptism and was mentioned by several sixth century pilgrims such as Theodosius (writing in 530) and Antoninus Martyr (576).² But no crosses are found in representations of the Baptism before the tenth century, and one of the earliest is ^{on} an ivory at Leningrad (No. 74). It became quite common in the 11th century and one can be seen in the mosaics of Hosias Lucas.

The painter, George, has therefore replaced a classical motif, a river god, personifying the Jordan, by a topographical drawing.

-
1. H. Omont Evangelis avec peintures Byzantines du 11^e Siècle (1908)
 2. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. 1887, pp. 10, 38-39.

p. 1 Christ reading in the Synagogue (Pantaleone) Fig.57



Fig.57

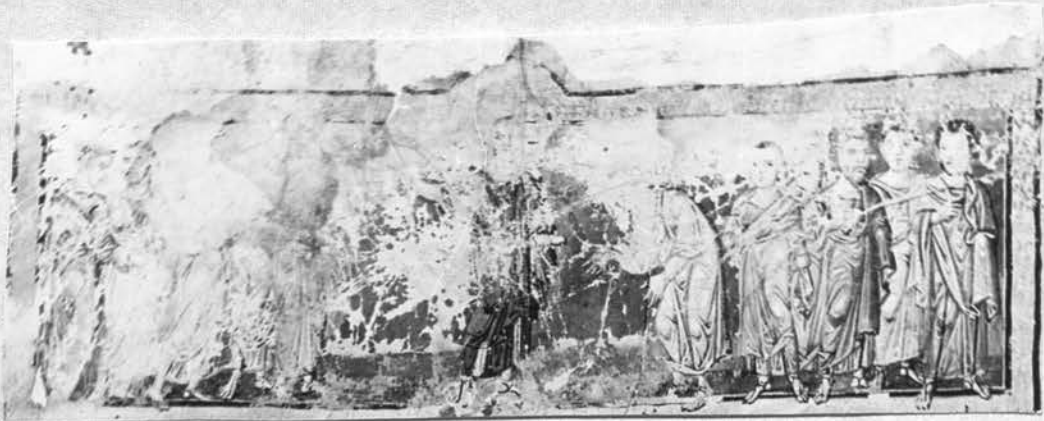


Fig.
58

B.N. Gref 510 f426v Mission of the Apostles.

Christ reading in the Synagogue was not a common subject in Biblical illustration and is found only in the Leningrad Lectionary¹ and in the 11th century fully illustrated gospels such as Paris B.N. 74. All these illustrations have asymmetrical compositions with Christ seated at a lectern and facing his audience. As this is the first illustration of the Vatican Menologion, a more formal composition was required, and Pantaleone, with his characteristic intelligence, has adapted that of the next lection - the Mission of the Apostles.² (Fig. 58)

1. Morey "Notes on East Christian Miniatures" Art Bulletin XI (1929)

2. Weitzmann Roll and Codex p. 180.

Biblical Illustration 8 Actsp. 275 Stoning of Stephen (Panteleone) Fig. 59

Fig. 59 Vat. Grec. 1613 p. 275.

Although no illustrated copy of Acts has survived from before the 13th century¹ isolated illustrations of the life of SS. Paul and Stephen have survived in the Paris Gregory, Sacra Parallela etc. There may have even been two cycles in existence as the Vatican illustration of the Death of Stephen does not resemble in any way the illustration of the same subject in the Vatican Cosmas Indicopleustes. It is, however, very similar to a fresco in the chapel of St. Etienne, in Saint Germain, Auxerre, painted in 859, which suggests that they were both derived from early Christian models.²

The Deaths of the Apostles

Although the book of Acts gives little information about the deaths of most of the Apostles, it is convenient to study

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1. H.R. Willoughby "Codex 2400 and its miniatures" Art Bulletin XV (1933).
 2. A. Grabar Early Mediaeval Painting (1957) p.72

together this group of six illustrations as they have all been copied from the same source, which was also used by the painter of f32v of the Paris Gregory, who has grouped 12 small paintings of the Deaths of the Apostles onto one page.

p. 68 St. John the Evangelist speaking in his grave to his companions on the eve of his death. (Acts of John III). (Michael Fig. 60 & Mikpós)



Fig. 60 Vat. Grec. 1613 p. 68.



Fig. 61 B.N. Grec. 510 f32v.

These two illustrations show that the Menologion paintings were not copied directly from the Paris Gregory as they illustrate consecutive scenes: John speaking to his companions, standing in his grave (Acts of John III) and his Ascension. They prove that a full cycle of illustrations of the lives of the Evangelists and apostles must have once existed.

p. 93 Martyrdom of St. Thomas the Apostle in India (Nestor)



Fig. 62 Vat. Grec. 1613 p. 93



Fig. 63 B.N. 510, f32v

The two illustrations resemble each other closely, even as far as the background architecture, both having a column on a

p. 131. Death of James "Frater Domini" in the Temple at Jerusalem (Plate 2) (George)

As in the painting of St. Thomas, we find the same figure composition in the two manuscripts and also the same elements in the background architecture. But the tholos which fills the background of the 9th century painting has been converted into a representation of a contemporary ambone covered by a baldachino. This is another example of a classical motif being converted into a topographical drawing, as in the Baptism.

p. 182. Martyrdom of St. Philip at the Porta S. Paolo, Rome.
(Nestor)

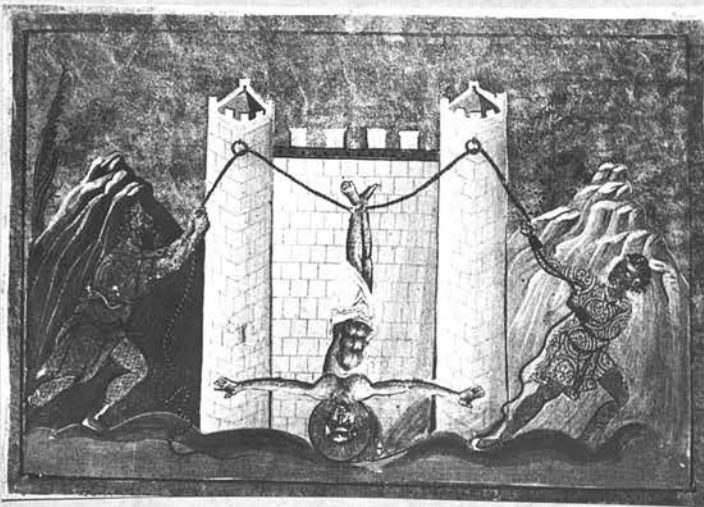


Fig. 64 Vat. Grec. 1613 p.182.



Fig. 65 B.N. Grec. 510 f32v.

The Menologion illustration shows St. Philip suspended by ropes from the Porta S. Paolo. Both the text and the illustration have confused him with the next saint in the Acts, St. Bartholomew. St. Philip was actually nailed to a tree ⁱⁿ Hierapolis in Phrygia and the Paris Gregory illustration accurately follows the text.

p. 185 Martyrdom of St. James the Great (Nestor).

Both illustrations show the Apostle on the point of having his throat cut. But the Paris manuscript also includes the figure of Herod Agrippa, while the Menologion places in the background a remarkable drawing of a statue of a lion.



Fig. 66 Vat. Grec. 1613 p. 185



Fig. 67 B.N. 510, f32v.

p. 186 Funeral of St. Matthew (Symeon)



Fig. 68 Vat. Grec. 1613 p. 186



Fig. 69 B.N. Grec. 510, f32v.

Both manuscripts show the Evangelist placed in his coffin.

Two illustrations of funerals of Apostles or Evangelists are represented in the Menologion and not in the Paris Gregory. These are p. 121 St. Luke the Evangelist (Michael ὁ Μικρός) and Timothy p. 341 (Michael of Blachernae). Both have topographical drawings of the churches where their relics were enshrined, St. Luke in the Holy Apostles,¹ and Timothy in St. John at Edessa. Both drawings appear to be accurate representations of the churches.² (Plate 3).



Vat. Grec. 1613 p.121 Discovery of the Relics of St. Luke the Evangelist in the Church of the Holy Apostles.

-
1. "The Emperor Constantine ... gave no intimation whatever that the bodies of the Apostles were there ... But when the Emperor Justinian was rebuilding this shrine, the workmen ... saw three wooden coffins lying there neglected, which revealed by their inscriptions on them that they contained the bodies of the Apostles Andrew, Luke and Timothy. And the Emperor himself and all the Christians saw them with the greatest joy and having arranged a procession in their honour and a festival, and having performed the customary rites over them and having put the coffins in order, they laid them once more in the ground". Procopius Buildings I, iv, 19-20, p. 53.
 2. "Il Menologio ..." p. 33.

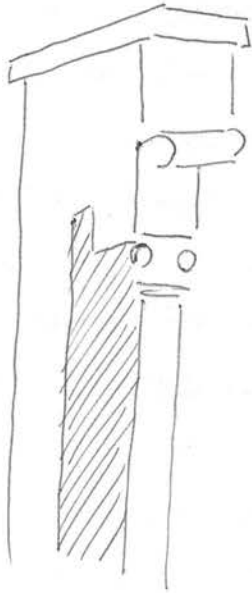
Conclusion

The Biblical illustrations within the Vatican Menologion were mostly copied from earlier models available in the Imperial Library at Constantinople, for we frequently find that the same model had been used by the painters of the Paris Gregory in the previous century. Only the Joshua illustration shows a breakaway from the pre-iconoclast iconography of this manuscript and anticipates that of the Smyrna and Seraglio Octateuchs.

The painters, however, allowed themselves some freedom in copying their models. This is most apparent in the Old Testament illustrations where scenes have been added to the original model which do not agree with the Biblical text.

On the other hand, the illustrations of the life of the Virgin and the Infancy cycle closely follow earlier models and do not deviate from the text of the Protoevangelium. This model certainly existed in the 6th century as we find it copied in the ivories of Maximian's throne and the frescoes of D  r Abu Hennis. But it is given its fullest expression at Castelseprio where the paintings contain the most figures and are given the most varied setting.

We have seen how the Nativity at Castelseprio contains the most incidents; it also has the fullest landscape setting as it is the only version to represent Bethlehem in the background. This is true of all subjects and we find landscape details in the Castelseprio paintings which are to be seen nowhere else, such as the stelai in the Dream of Joseph. There are hints, however, of this setting in the frescoes of Deir Abu Hennis, which



70

Column and Pier from the mosaic floor of the Great Palace of the Emperors.



71

Annunciation, Castelseprio



72

Annunciation and Visitation B.N. Grec 510 f3

The maid behind the Virgin in the Castelseprio
Annunciation now stands behind St. Elizabeth
in the Visitation

prove that it was not the invention of the Castelseprio artist.

The Castelseprio frescoes show that there was a pre-iconoclast Infancy cycle painted in a completely illusionist style containing many classical motifs.¹ Yet this cycle appears to have been drastically abbreviated in the 9th and 10th century as the illustrations of f3 of the Paris Gregory are concise to a fault - the number of figures has been reduced to a minimum and the setting almost completely eliminated. The tenth century Menologion illustrations are slightly more elaborate, but the setting is much simpler and less spacious than ^{at} Castelseprio. Although there are usually more figures in the equivalent scenes at Daphni than in the Menologion illustrations, there is scarcely any setting. But at Karieh Cami the number of figures is even greater and the setting is fully restored.

The history of this cycle is seen most clearly in the different versions of the Annunciation which, unfortunately, is not included among the Menologion illustrations. At Castelseprio, this scene takes place before an archway supported by a column and pier.⁽⁷⁾ We find exactly this motif in the sixth century mosaic

1. The discoverers of the frescoes at Castelseprio (Gian Piero Bognetti, di Capitani D'Arzago and Chierici S. Maria di Castelseprio Milan 1948) ascribe them to the late seventh or early eighth century on account of the resemblance to the mosaics of the time of John VII in Old St. Peter's in Rome.

On the other hand Weitzmann (Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio, Princeton 1951) has pointed out the resemblance to the Joshua Roll and the fact that such a complete unity between the classical style and motif is not found before the tenth century in Christian art.

If, however, a tenth century date were accepted it would be difficult to explain the use of an infancy cycle to decorate the apse of a church at a time when the rules for church decoration had just been formulated.

floor of the Great Palace of the Emperors at Constantinople¹ which contains many landscape motifs.⁽⁷⁰⁾ There is therefore no need to date the prototype of this painting earlier than the sixth century, as we know that illusionist landscapes were still painted at that date. Although the figures in the Paris Gregory are standing, not seated, as at Castelseprio, there is still a gateway in the background, but it has been reduced to a simple rectangular block. There is no setting whatsoever at Daphni, but at Karieh the gateway has been elaborated into a complex three story building. (Figs. 72, 73, 74)

Although much of the architectural setting at Karieh Cami is pseudo-classical in style, it must nevertheless have been inspired by a pre-iconoclast model similar to the paintings of Castelseprio. But during the 9th century this was simplified and revised and most of the setting eliminated.

The Protoevangelium illustrations show that on the whole the Menologion painters preferred to avoid the illusionist style and classical details. This is also seen in the few Gospel illustrations, such as the Baptism on p. 299, which has the same iconography as the mosaic at Daphni yet the Jordan is indicated by a cross instead of a river god.

We find the same tendency in the illustrations of the deaths of the Apostles, copied from a model which we know to have been in a classical style with illusionist setting. Yet we find a

1. The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors 1st Report (1947) Plate 29.

classical tholos converted into a contemporary ambone on p. 131. The Menologion painters preferred topographical details to classical motifs.

Yet not all classical details were suppressed and some were even added. Thus the servants assisting St. Anne in the Birth of the Virgin wear classical clothes and stand in a courtyard with Corinthian columns. The illustration on page 1, Christ teaching in the Synagogue, contains a tholos, and Joshua, on page 3, is shown buried in a sarcophagus decorated with a relief of naked figures. Yet both these illustrations were specially created for this manuscript, and not copied from an earlier model.

Chapter III

The Illustrations of the Lives of the Saints and Their
Landscape Backgrounds.

1. The three different types of illustrations:-
 - a) Martyrs - execution scene in a landscape.
 - b) Founders of monasteries and churches in prayer before their foundations.
 - c) Other saints illustrated by standing portraits against a palace background (see the last chapter).
2. Although the landscapes were added by the painter, the buildings were copied from a model.
3. Two types of building:-
 - a) Foreground - topographical
 - b) Background - classical
4. The classical motifs are found only in paintings of early saints.
5. The topographical drawings are found in illustrations of both pre and post-iconoclast saints.
6. Only churches are represented accurately, the secular buildings are indicated by conventional formulae current in the sixth century.

Conclusion. The narrative paintings were copied from two very different types of model. The paintings of pre-iconoclast saints were taken from a model with blue skies and illusionist landscape with classical motifs similar to the painting of St. Cyprian in the Paris Gregory, but the illustrations of post-iconoclast saints had little landscape setting although they do include topographical drawings.

Illustration of the Lives of the Saints and their
Landscape Setting

So far, only the Biblical illustrations have been studied, but the greater number of illustrations in the Menologion of Basil II are of the lives, deaths or portraits of saints. The painters in Pantaleone's studio were not very inventive, and the illustrations of each of these three groups follow the same pattern. As the majority of the saints in the tenth century Constantinople Calendar were early Christian martyrs,¹ the greater number of the

1. The largest number of saints come from Constantinople (38) and Asia Minor (95). Only four of the Constantinople saints were martyrs, but this is an exceptionally small proportion and 71 of the 95 saints from Asia Minor died during the persecution of the early Christians. The following table briefly summarises the make up of the Calendar:-

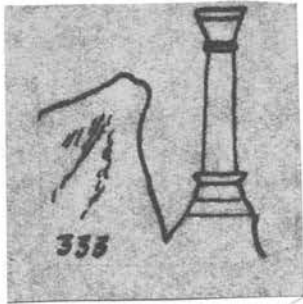
Constantinople (38)	4 martyrs, 4 4th c. saints, 5 5th c., 4 6th c., 5 8th c., 3 9th c., 1 10th c., 6 Patriarchs, 4 natural calamities.
Asia Minor (95)	71 martyrs, 2 2nd c., 6 4th., 4 5th c., 4 8th c., 2 9th c.,
Rome (24)	17 martyrs, 1 1st c., 1 5th c., 5 Popes.
Italy (Mostly Sicily) (12)	6 martyrs, 1 4th c., 2 6th c., 1 7th c., 1 8th c.,
Alexandria (21)	17 martyrs, 1 4th c., 2 5th c., 1 7th c.,
Egypt and N. Africa (16)	10 martyrs, 5 4th c., 1 5th c.,
Antioch (15)	12 martyrs, 3 4th c.,
Syria and Palastine (44)	23 martyrs, 6 4th c., 8 5th c., 4 6th c., 1 7th c., 1 8th c., 1 9th c.,
Greece (including Cyprus and Crete) (24)	18 martyrs, 1 4th c., 1 8th c., 3 9th c.,
Armenia (10)	All martyrs
Persia (19)	18 martyrs, 1 4th c.,
Spain (3)	All martyrs
Gaul (1)	1 4th c.,
Arabia (1)	1 martyr

illustrations are death scenes. Saints who were not martyrs, but founded churches or monasteries are shown in prayer before their foundations, but most non-martyr saints are illustrated by standing portraits against an architectural background, which will be studied in the last chapter.

Almost all the martyrdom scenes, whether they took place in the amphitheatre or in prison,¹ are shown as if in a rocky landscape identical in character to that of the Biblical scenes. These landscapes were therefore not copied from the model, but added by the painter. But several of these death scenes contain buildings which can be identified as the martyrrium built on the site of the saint's death. As these churches are in remote sites in Asia Minor, for instance the Martyrium of SS. Probus, Andronicus and Tarachus in Anazarbus (p. 109), it is unlikely that the painter, Pantaleone, could have seen them, yet in this case it seems to be an accurate drawing of the shrine. It shows that although the landscape may have been added by the painter, the architecture was copied from a model.

We find that there are two types of building in the Menologion illustrations. Those standing in the foreground, which can be identified, and those in the background which are simply part of the landscape. The background architecture is in a quite different style from the buildings in the foreground as much of it is frankly classical. We hope to show in this section that these landscape motives are found only in the

1. Prisons: pp. 44, 373, 52, 111, 215, 190.
Amphitheatres: 190, 376, 258.



Stelai

p.333

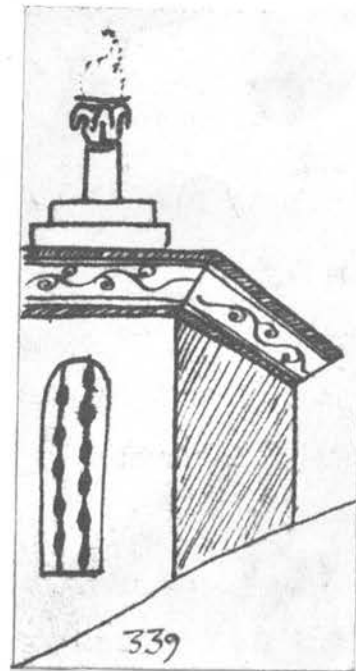
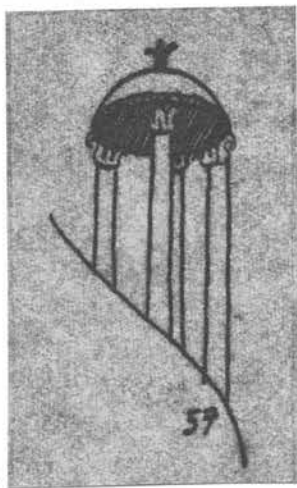
St. Euphrasia
(Michael & Mikrós)

p.191

St. Azas
(Nestor)

p.247

St. Marinus
(Symeon of Blachernae)



Tholoi

p.57

St. Priscus
(Symeon)

p.148

St. Epimachus
(George)

p.339

St. Neophyte
(Symeon)

paintings of pre-iconoclast saints, whereas the illustrations of later saints have a quite different style of setting.

Classical Motifs: Buildings not explained by the Text.

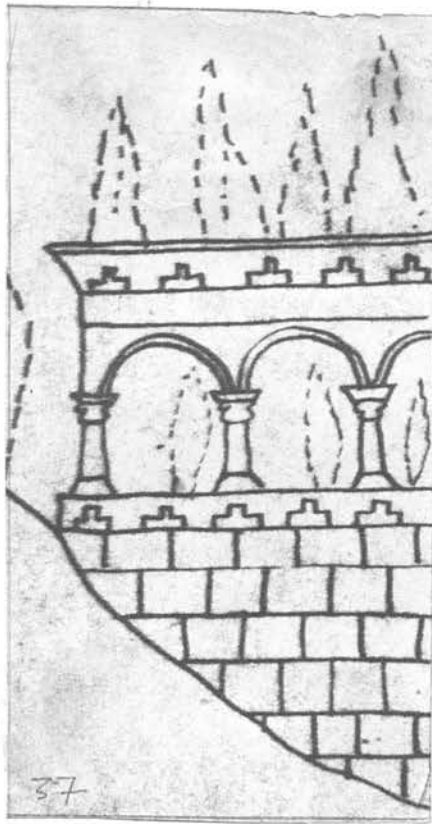
The most obviously classical motifs are the stelai perched on the mountain peaks of page 33, (St. Euphrasia, a fourth century martyr from Nicomedia,) P. 247 (St. Marinus, martyred in Rome in 287) and p. 191 (St. Azas, martyred in Smyrna under Diocletian). The single upright column is one of the earliest landscape motifs as it was a classical grave monument and as such appears on painted lekythoi.¹ (Fig. 75)

The tholoi on page 57, (St. Episcus, an early oriental martyr) and page 148 (St. Epimachus, a third century Alexandrian martyr) also present a classical appearance and the one on page 148 is identical to the buildings in the Flight of Icharus, a Pompeian painting.² (Fig. 75)

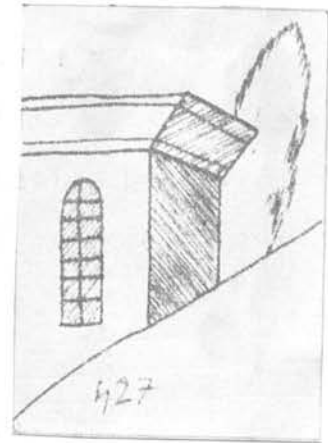
Stelai and tholoi were both funeral monuments and much of the background architecture in the Menologion appears to have this aspect. For instance the flat roofed building with a column on its roof, on p. 339 (St. Neophyte, martyred under Diocletian at Nicea) resembles the tomb of Rachel in the Vienna Genesis (f13v). (Fig. 75)

Apses, although not found in classical landscapes, were ancient funeral monuments, for instance the one on the Via dei

-
1. For instance a lekythos in the British Museum showing mourners bringing offerings to a tomb (73.8-20.303 (D.73) R.M. Cook Greek Painted Pottery (1960) Pl. 49B
 2. Dawson Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting (1944) No. 55, Plate XXI.



p.37



p. 427



p.247



p.58

76. The Square House

p.427 St. Nestor (George) Bishop of Pergae in Pamphilia,
martyred in 250

p.37 St. Nicetas (Michael of Blachernae) Martyred in 378
in Moldari in Bessarabia

p.58 St. Phocas (Pantaleone) Martyred in 117

p.247 St. Marinus (Symeon of Blachernae) Martyred in Rome in 283

Sepolchri in Pompeii. Grabar believes that some of the early martyria had this form and describes a shrine at Salona consisting of a ciborium within an apse over the saint's tomb.¹ Wayside shrines, not connected with tombs or martyria, could also take the form of a free standing apse. Such a shrine can be seen at Alahan Monastiri near Mut in Isauria where it forms part of the precincts of a monastery. It is probably fifth century in date.

(Plate 4, Fig. 77)

The other two main additions to the Menologion landscapes were also derived from the Pompeian landscape tradition - the square house and the house with a gabled roof. The square house is found in Pompeian paintings, such as Pan and the Nymphs and (Plate 5) we find many variations of it in the Menologion. It can be a simple cubic structure shown with one wall receding as on page 427, or it can become an elaborately arcaded wall as on page 37, seen frontally without side wall. It may be a simple arcade as on page 58 or even a collonade as on page 247.

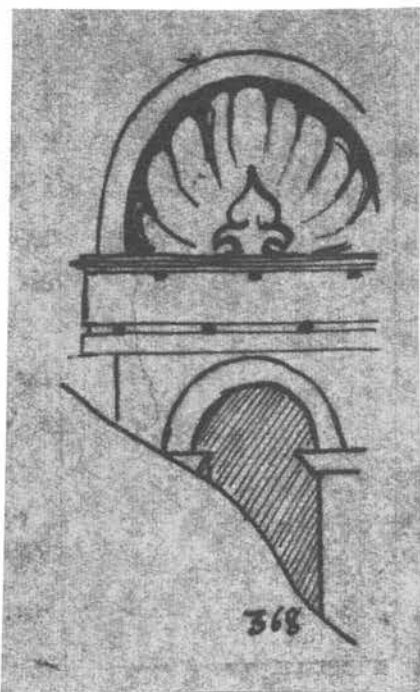
(Fig. 76)

Although not as common as the square house, the house with a gabled roof is found in classical painting, such as in the Yellow Frieze from the Casa di Livia. It became ubiquitous in the 5-6th century, the symbol for any type of building; in the Berlin textile it indicates a church, but in the mosaic of the Hospitality of Abraham in S. Maria Maggiore, a house or tent.

(Plate 6).

The only type of building not explained by the text and not taken from the ancient landscape tradition is the one with a

1. Grabar Martyrium vol. i, p. 98, Plate XIV, 3.



77. Apses

p.368 SS. Adrian and Eubolos
(Nestor)

They were beheaded in the
amphitheatre at Caesarea
under Diocletian



p.366 SS. Perpetua, Felicity,
Revocatus, Saturninus
Secundulus and Satorus
(Symeon of Blachernae)

They were martyred in the
amphitheatre at Carthage and buried
buried in the Basilica
Majorum.

barrel vaulted roof. (Fig. 78)

The classical details in the Menologion illustrations include statues as well as buildings. The symbol for a temple (to be studied later) is a naked statue framed or supported by an arch. There are also three free standing statues in the landscapes, the lion on page 185, the sheep on page 127 and the naked man on a Corinthian capital on page 371. Several buildings are also decorated with statues, for instance the golden figures flanking St. Symeon, second bishop of Jerusalem on page 46, or the curious figure of a naked running boy on page 100. (Fig. 78)

Unlike the buildings, it is difficult to find parallels to these statues in classical painting. They seem to show an archaeological interest in classical antiquities, and are not mechanical copies of landscape motifs.

Nevertheless, we find all the motifs mentioned in this chapter in the illustrations of the Paris Gregory, in f332v the Life of St. Cyprian. The illustration has (Plate 1) been divided in half, the upper part representing the activities of Cyprian the Magician of Antioch, while the lower part shows the conversion and death of the Carthage bishop (St. Gregory had actually confused the two St. Cyprians). One can assume that this painting is a fairly faithful copy of the sort of model the Menologion painters had to use, for they were both painted within a hundred years of each other in the same scriptorium.



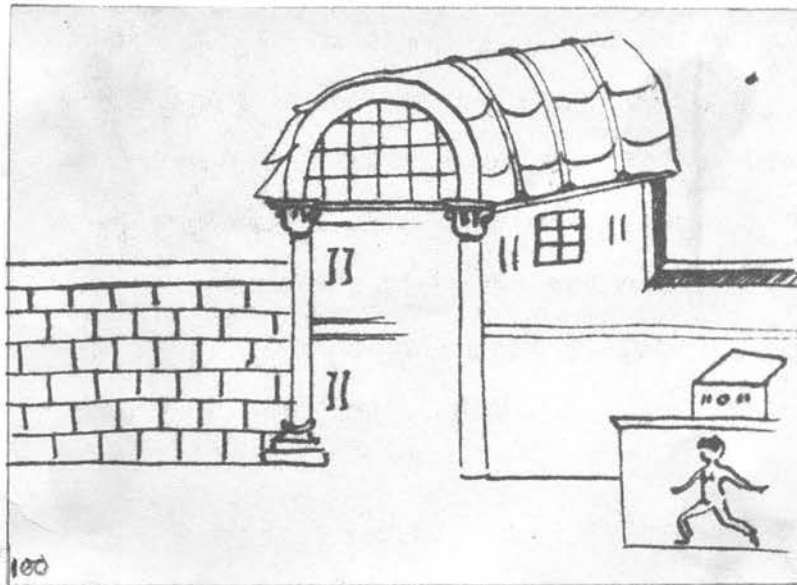
p.127 — SS. Dasius, Caius and Zoticus (Μιχαηλὸς Μικρόβος)

They were soldiers martyred at Nicomdia under Diocletian



p.371 St. Isidore of Pelusium (Pantaleone)

The saint founded a monastery at Pelusium in the 5th century (p.65) This statue probably symbolises the city.



p.100

St. Publia insulted by Julian the Apostate before her house in Antioch (George)

We find exactly the same landscape motifs in both paintings: the pagan temple indicated by a statue and arch in the upper part, and below, an illusionist landscape with square building decorated with statues, a two towered building and a basilica. The Menologion painters were probably following the same model, as the execution of St. Cyprian, on page 80, is exactly the same as in the Paris Gregory. This model was almost certainly pre-iconoclast, as the Paris Gregory was illustrated very soon after the end of Iconoclasm.

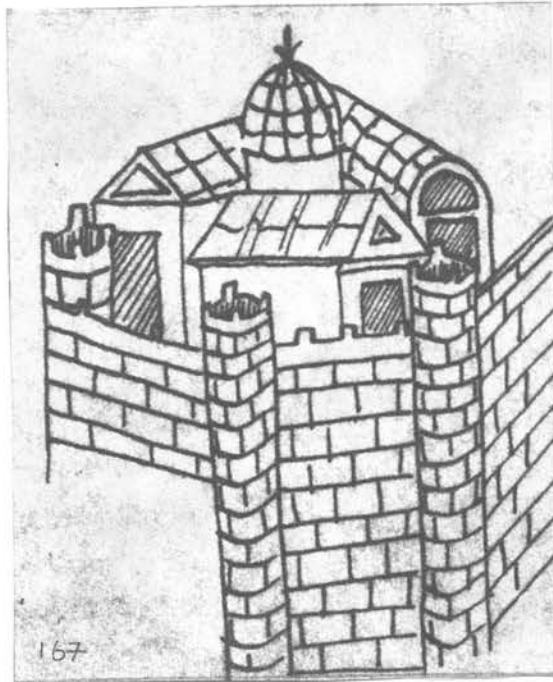
The classical motifs in the Menologion illustrations were therefore copied from an early Christian model and they were not added by the tenth century painters of the manuscript. This is shown by the fact that these classical motifs are found only in paintings of pre-iconoclast saints (see table III) and there is no trace of them in the illustrations of the later saints.

The topographical landscapes

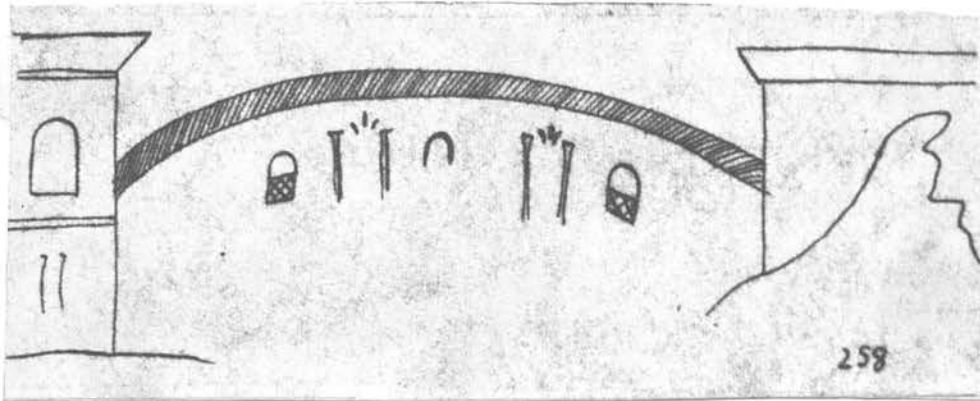
a) Symbols.

Unlike the classical motifs in the background of the Menologion paintings, the buildings in the foreground were intended to represent specific places. But it is not always easy to identify them as some of the buildings have been indicated symbolically while others are serious attempts to represent the appearance of the building. Most of the secular buildings, the walled cities, prisons, amphitheatres and temples, are indicated by conventional formulae.

The walled city is found only in paintings of pre-iconoclast saints (pp. 5, 204, 355, 154, 167, 97, 40). It con-



79. The Walled City
p.167 Death of SS. Auctus, Taurus and
Thessalonika at Amphipolis



80. Amphitheatre
p.258 Death of St. Ignatius of Antioch
in the Roman Colosseum,

sists of a ring of walls around two or three conventional buildings (Fig. 79), a formula common in works of the 5th and 6th centuries, such as the mosaics of the cities of Alexandria and Memphis at Jerash, or the city of Nahor in the Vienna Genesis. This type of conventionalised depiction is found at Pompeii, in the Flight of Icharus (Plate 7) but there the buildings are columned and more numerous. The 2nd century reliefs on Trajan's column reduce this depiction into a symbol by eliminating all unnecessary detail.

Although many saints died or were tortured in prison, only six buildings can be recognised as prisons in this manuscript (Plate 8) (pp. 44, 373, 52, 111, 215, 190). Like the walled city, a convention was used and the interior indicated by a ring of walls. This convention is also found in sixth century painting, such as the prison scene in the Sinope Fragment (f10v Death of St. John the Baptist) or in the Vienna Genesis (fxvii Joseph interpreting the dreams of the Baker and the Butler). There was no need for a prison symbol in Roman painting, as the prison interior was treated like the interior of any other room, which presented no problem to the Roman painter. Perona visiting her father in Prison was a popular subject at Pompeii.¹

Ampitheatres were treated in a similar way to prisons. (Fig. 80) Although many saints died in the arena, only three ampitheatres have been represented in the whole manuscript. (pp. 258, 190, 376). A sixth century convention was used to symbolise the ampitheatre

1. Rizzo "La Pittura Ellenistico-Romano" (1929) pl. LIII.



81. Temples

p.187 the Temple at Antioch

St. Barlaam was martyred in the fourth century for refusing to sacrifice in the temple at Antioch. This temple is indicated in the illustration by a golden statue covered by an arch. The design of the statue is Hellenistic, as the same pose is found on several Hellenistic coins. 1 But it was still used for a 6th century relief of Anchises on a silver dish from Kopsiki, now in Leningrad. 2

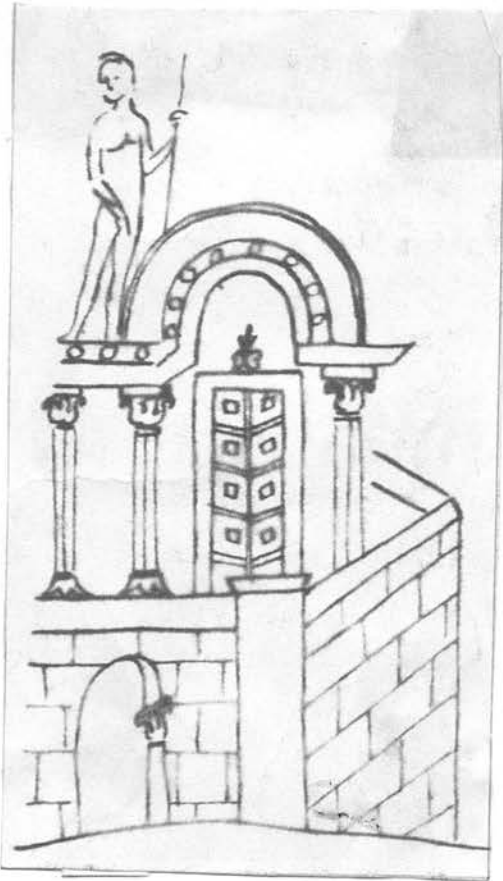
1. I. Seltman Greek Coins (1933) p.211, Plate XIX, 1
2. Bianchi Bandinelli Hellenistic Byzantine Miniatures of the Illiad (1955) fig.250

p.202 the Temple at Cyzicus

St. Sysinnius was a fourth century bishop of Cyzicus and founder of a monastery there. Although the temple was destroyed in 1063, we know that it was a pseudo-dipteral structure with space at the ends for a third row of columns. 3 But in the Menologion this temple has been indicated by a colossal statue standing over an arched doorway. This statue may have been inspired by coins of the city which represented the founder, Cyzicus, as a naked warrior holding a lance 4

3. D.S. Robertson Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture p.220 and 393

4. Il Menologio vol.I, p.55n.6



consisting of a curved wall between two towers. It is found at the foot of the Diptych of Areobindus as a setting to the circus games.¹ It is also found in the 8th century mosaics in the Great Mosque at Damascus. (Plate 9).

Temples are indicated throughout the Menologion by an arch either supporting or covering the statue, (pp. 42, 187, 284) (Fig. 81) Although the statues within these shrines have a classical appearance, not once do we find the rectangular colonnaded building of classical painting. Arches and tholoi were used in the ^{Pompeian} architectural decorations (see chapter VI) to indicate sacred places, but it was not until the coins of the 2nd - 3rd centuries that it became common to indicate a temple by an arch. We find such a shrine on a coin from Byblos issued under the Egabalus (218-222) which shows Astarte beneath a simple arch.² There was no need, however, for the painters to go back to ancient coins, as we find this convention for a temple already in the manuscript tradition in the Paris Gregory illustrations, f452 the Magician Cyprian conjuring demons. (Plate 1).

It would then seem that there was no attempt to depict these secular buildings in the Menologion naturalistically; on the contrary, they were all indicated by symbols which were first evolved around the 2nd c., A.D. and had become widespread in the sixth century.

1. Pierce and Tyler vol. II, Plate 6a

2. S.W. Groce Catalogue of the McLean Collection of Greek Coins (1929) Vol. III, plate 350, 13.

Topographical Drawingsb) Representations ^{of} Churches and Monasteries.

Although none of the drawings of secular buildings in the Menologion are more than conventional symbols, some of the paintings of churches and monasteries appear to represent serious attempts to reproduce the actual appearance of the buildings. Each of these paintings will be examined individually in order to assess its accuracy:-

Martyria

p. 206 Martyrdom of St. Mercurius at Caesarea in Cappadocia
(Nestor)



St. Mercurius was a Roman soldier exiled by the Emperor Decius to Caesarea where he was martyred. Although his life is mostly fictitious, there is no doubt that a martyrion was built in his honour as it is mentioned by the pilgrim Theodosius I. The building on the left hand side of the

Menologion can be recognized as the saint's martyrrium and it closely resembles a heroon at Elaëusa Sebaste (Ayas, Vilayet of Içel). They both stand on a podium of large stone blocks, have inaccessible doorways flanked by pilasters and their roofs are barrel vaulted. Another tomb in this area has a cross over the doorway, showing it to be a Christian tomb. None of these tombs have fountains in the foundations as in the Menologion, but fountains were often connected with churches.

p. 30 Martyrdom of St. Autonomus at his church at Sorcus near Nicomedia in 313 (Michael ὁ Μικρός)

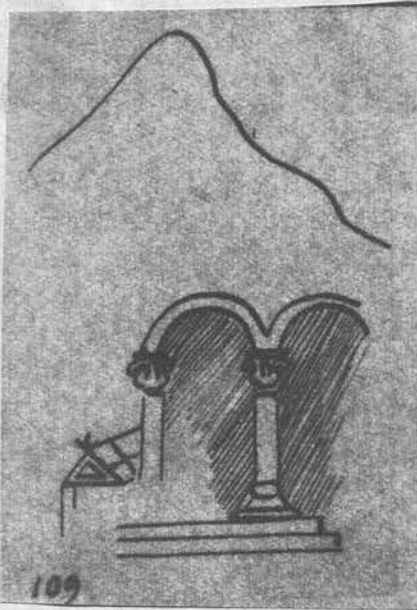


It was in this church that the Emperor Maurice unsuccessfully sought refuge with his wife and children from the usurper Phocas on November 22, 602.¹ No exact parallel can be found among surviving buildings, but this type of church with rounded apse and dome is well known.

1. Cambridge Mediaeval History, vol II, 1913, p. 282.

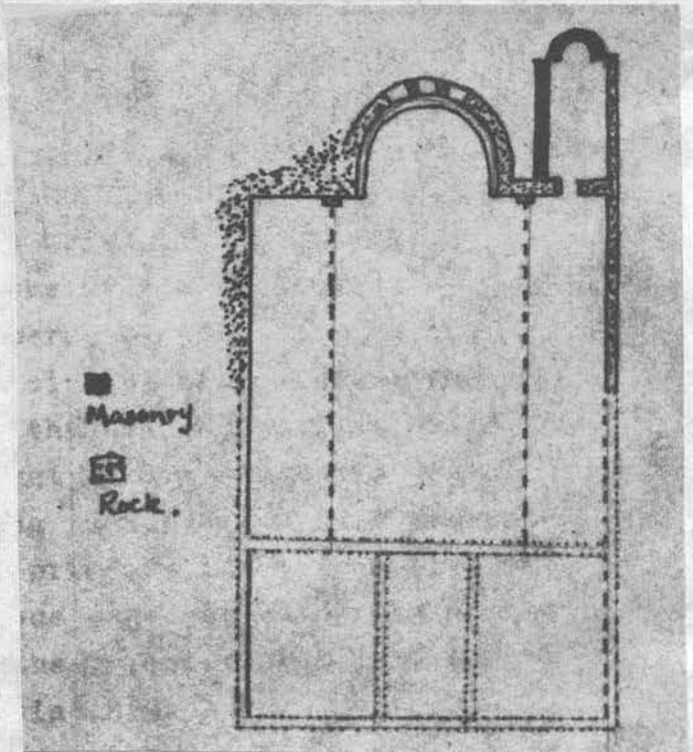


p. 109 Martyrdom of SS Probus, Tarachus and Andronicus under Diocletian at Anazarbus (Pantaleone).



The saints are shown beheaded in a landscape with their martyrdom on the right hand side. Although they were condemned to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Anazarbus, the animals refused to touch them, so they had to be beheaded. The other Christians rescued their bodies and hid them in a cave, which was later converted into their martyrrium.

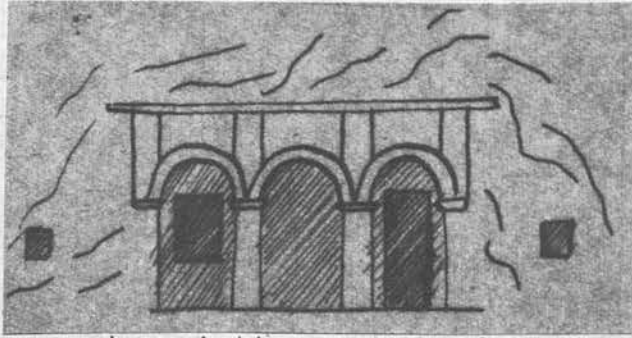
Ground Plan of the rock cut chapel at Anazarbus (after M.R.E. Gough)



The old city of Anazarbus was situated on a limestone outcrop, rising more than 200 metres above the surrounding countryside, and on the east side of this cliff the remains of a rock-cut church have been discovered by M.R.E. Gough.¹ He dates this building to

1. "Anazarbus" Anatolian Studies II, p. 115.

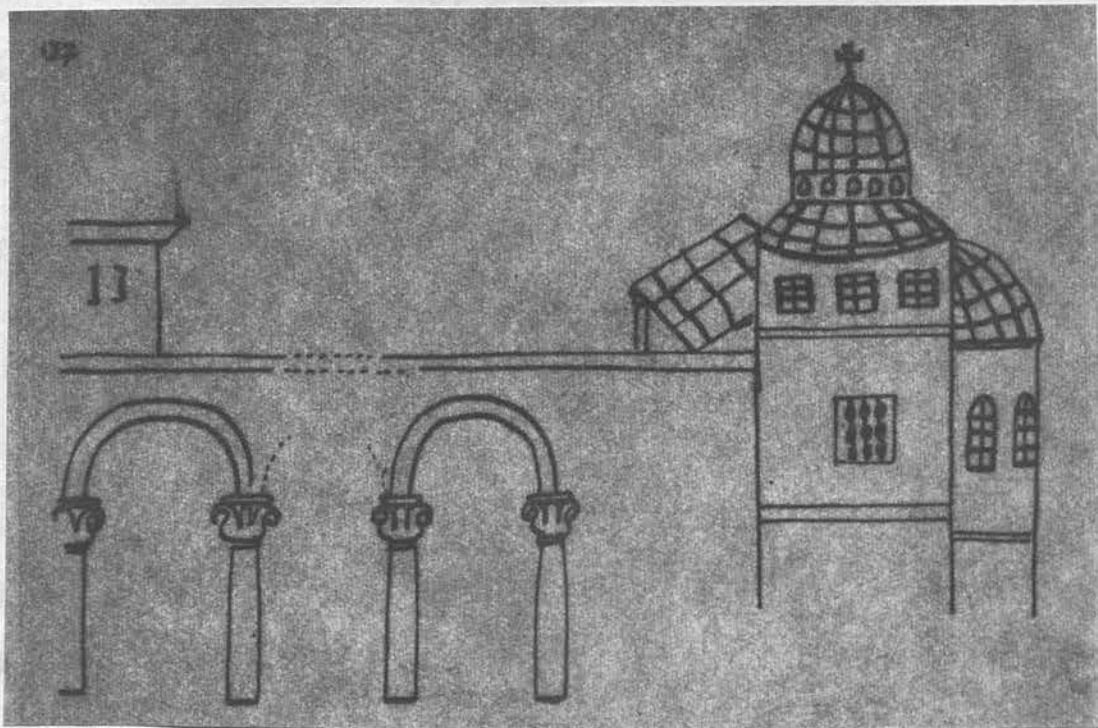
Rock cut chapel
at Surp Garabad
(after Texier and
Pullan p39)¹



516 A.D., from an inscription on one of the window blocks.

Unfortunately, nothing remains of the façade of this church, but the drawing resembles a rock-cut chapel at Surp Garabad, published by Texier and Pullan. This drawing, therefore, is valuable evidence for identifying the rock-cut church at Anazarbus as the saints' martyrion.

p. 137 Martyrdom of SS Marcian and Martyrius, the Notaries, by the Arians in Constantinople in 343. (Pantaleone)



The two secretaries of Patriarch Paul, victims of the Arian bishop Macedonius, were buried where they had been executed and John Chrysostomus began building a church over their grave which was completed by Sisinnius (426 - 7). Nothing is known of this

1. Byzantine Architecture (1864)

church except that it stood between the Constantinian and the Theodosian walls.¹

- p. 143 Martyrdom of SS Capitolina and Erotheides in Cappadocia under Diocletian (Symeon of Blachernae).



A martyrdom was built in their honour in Constantinople at Ortaköy near the church of St. Phocas.²

- p. 202 Martyrdom of St. Sisinnius, Bishop of Cyzicus, under Diocletian (Michael of Blachernae)



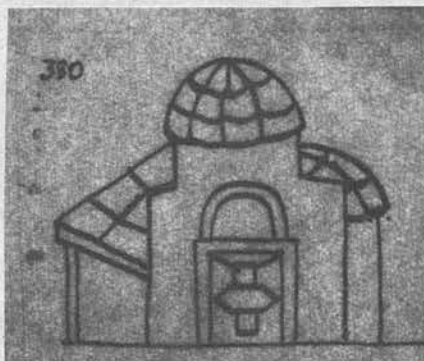
On the left of the martyrdom scene is the temple of Cyzicus (p. 49)

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1. Janin Les Eglises et les Monastères de Constantinople (1953)
 2. Il Menologio, Vol. I, p. 38, n. 5. Grabar Martyrium, vol. I, p. 91. Janin p. 287.

and on the right a small church with square ground plan and crowned with a cupola, identified by Grabar as the saint's martyrrium.¹

The tall roof of the cupola suggests an Armenian building; such roofs were perhaps used in Anatolia.

p. 380 Prayer of St. Parthenius, Bishop of Lampsaccus
(Pantaleone).



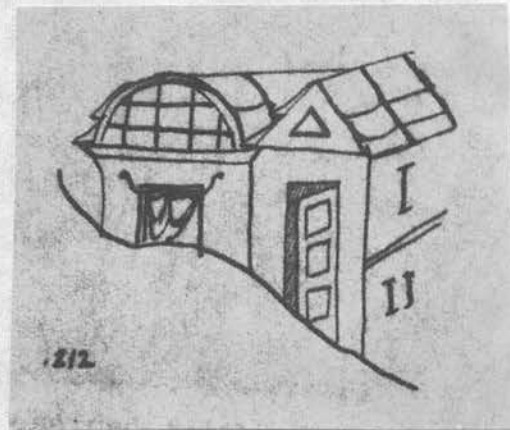
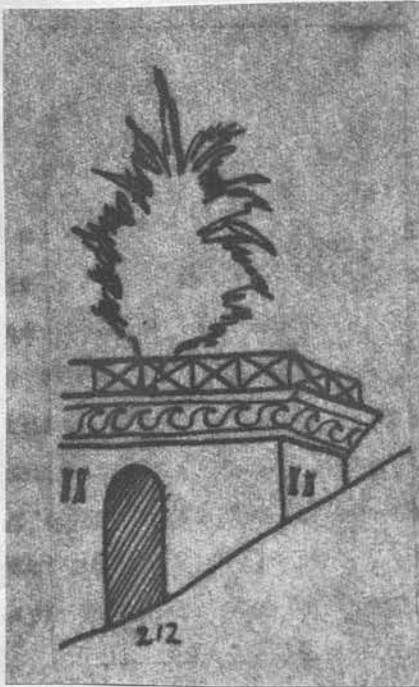
This church is not mentioned in the text but two churches were connected with the saint - an oratory dedicated to him in the quarter of Oxeobaphion in Constantinople and the church the saint built in place of the temple he had destroyed.²

The architecture is similar to the building on p. 202 as both have square ground plans covered with a dome. This appears to have been a common form of shrine as that of Canopus is so represented in the 6th c. mosaic floor in the church of St. John the Baptist at Jerash. The Holy Sepulchre is also given this form in two ivories. (Plates 10, 11).

1. Grabar: "Martyrium" Vol. I p. 81.

2. "Il Menologio" Vol. 1, p. 103 n.2.

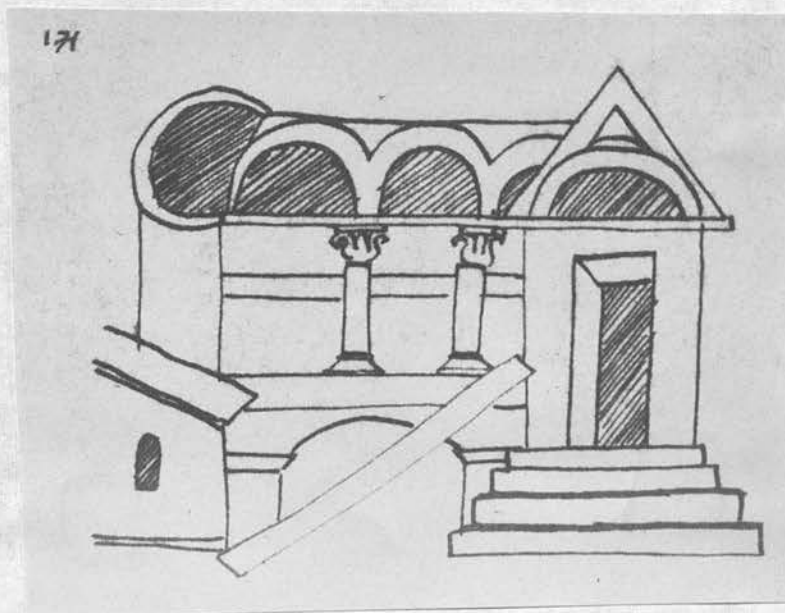
p. 212 Martyrdom of St. Irenarchus near Sebaste (George)



The saint was beheaded on the banks of Lake Sebaste at the time of Maximilian, near a pagan tomb. This is repeatedly mentioned in the saint's Vita, but not in the Menologion text. This suggests that the tomb was converted into the saint's martyrion and this theory is supported by the Menologion illustration, for on the left hand side there is a sacred enclosure of Pagan character, a tree surrounded by a wall, and on the right hand side there is a small double naved church.

1. M. Garitte Analecta Bollandiana (1955) p. 18.

p. 171. The martyrdom of St. Anthoninus while building his Church at Apamea (Pantaleone).



St. Anthoninus was a fourth century stonemason who had been hired by the bishop of Apamea to build a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity. But he was killed in a riot between Christians and pagans before the church could be completed, so that the church in the painting is shown without roof to either the apse or the nave. The architecture is typically Syrian - the semi-circular lunette over the doorway is found at Quala'at Seman and the triple arcade along the nave wall is similar to that at Qualb Lozé.¹

1. Millet in Michel L'Histoire de l'art (1905). Vol I, pp 237-39.

p. 283 Martyrdom of St. Anysia in Thessaloniki (Michael ὁ Μικρός)

She was martyred at the Gate of Cassandra because she had refused to enter a pagan temple (shown on the left hand side of the painting). An oratory was built on the site of her death after the Peace of the Church.¹

The stepped base to the church is an unusual feature, but it is found in other representations of churches, for instance the martyrdom of St. Anastasius (p. 344), and also the little churches dedicated to SS. Stephen and Michael on the border of a lost textile formerly in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin.² (Plate 6).

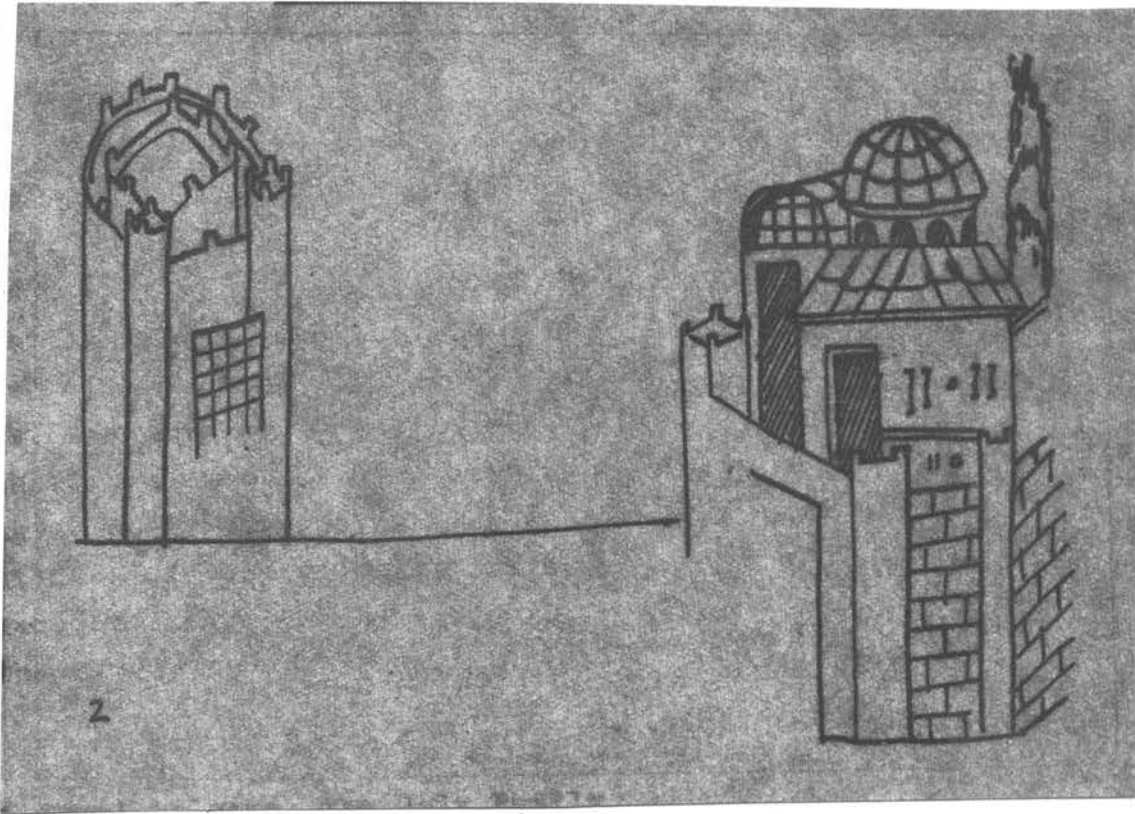
p. 296 Martyrdom of St. Zosimus in an amphitheatre in Cilicia (George)

Although the saint died in the amphitheatre, this has not been indicated. Instead he is shown, apparently unsupported, hung upside down over a bowl of boiling lead. The only setting is a landscape with a church on the right hand side.

Unfortunately, none of the accounts of his life say where he was martyred, so the church cannot be identified.

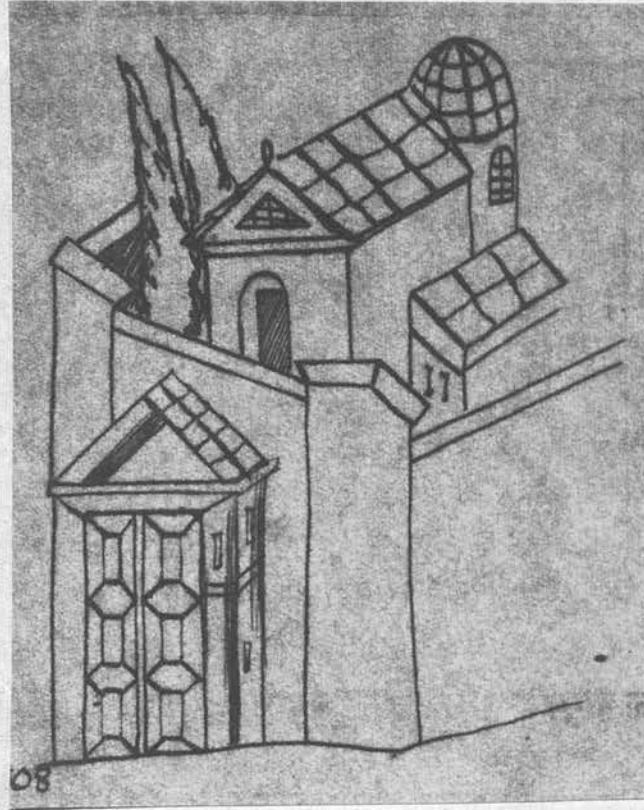
1. Butler IV, p. 642.

2. Grabar Martyrium Plate XIX, 2.

Monasteries and Churchesp. 2 St. Symeon Stylites

The saint is shown on his column between a walled city (Antioch?) and the monastery of Qalala'at Seman, built by the Emperors Leo and Zeno in 476 to enshrine the saint's column. In the illustration the church is shown as a domed rotunda surrounded by strong defensive walls. In fact it had a cruciform ground plan (Plate 12), so that the resemblance to reality is not very close.

p. 308 Prayer of St. Domnica, founder of the Convent and Oratory of the Prophet Zechariah (Michael ὁ Μικρός)

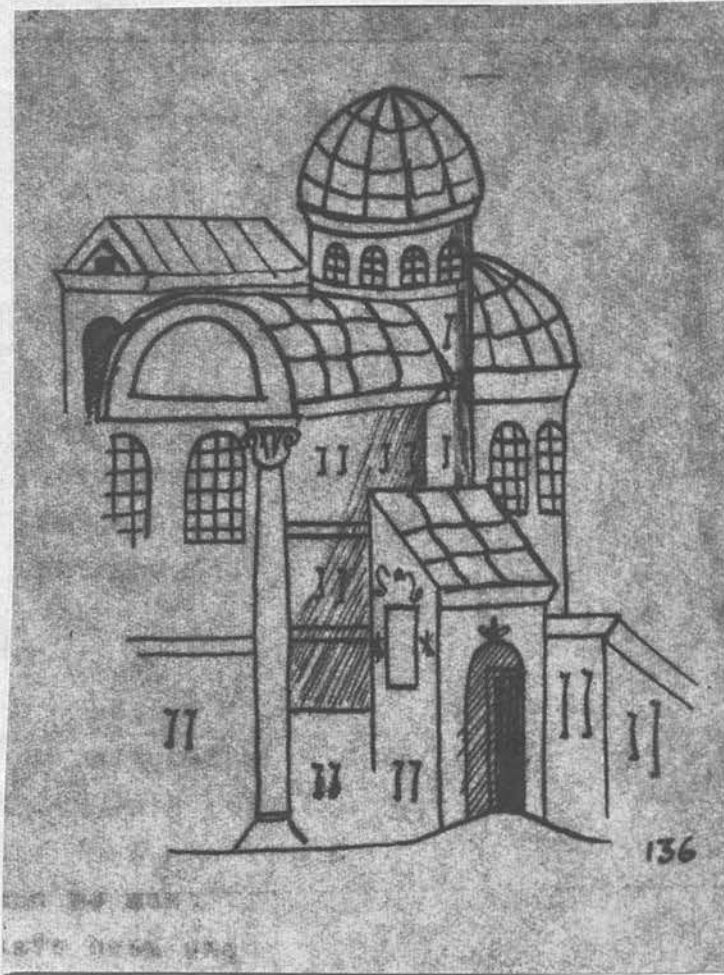


According to legend, the Emperor Theodosius gave her the land on which to build a convent and oratory which were dedicated on January 24th, 398. Although it is very unlikely that a convent existed at such an early date in Constantinople, it is mentioned in the Constantinople Synaxary. The position is no longer known, but it probably stood in the valley of the Lycus.¹

The drawing is corrupted - each of the parts of the basilica with side aisles and apse have been converted into separate buildings.

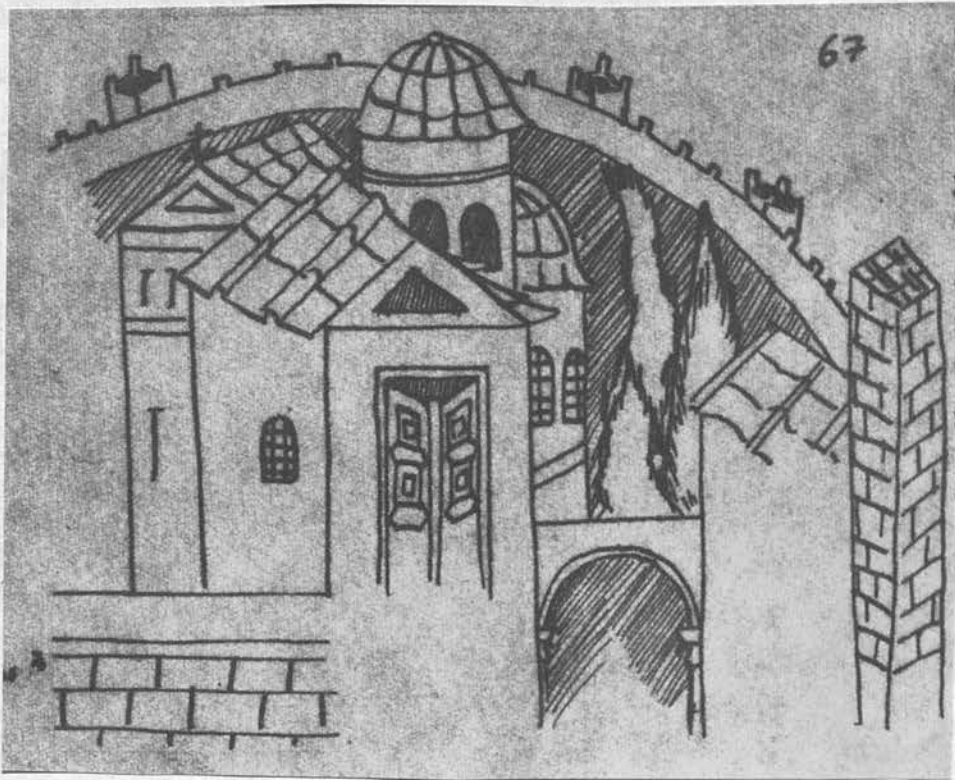
1. Janin. p. 105.

p. 136 Funeral of St. Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople
(434 - 45) (George)



It is not recorded where the Patriarch was buried and the church cannot be identified from the drawing.

p. 67 St. Euphrosyne revealing her identity to her father on her death bed (Michael of Blachernae)



St. Euphrosyne was a fifth century Alexandrian saint who preferred to live disguised as a monk in the monastery of Theodosius, rather than marry as her father wished. Nothing is known of this monastery and it is not mentioned by Abu Salih Al-Armani, the twelfth century writer on Egyptian monasteries and churches.¹ The view of the monastery enclosure, with church and other buildings surrounded by a high wall, would, none the less, seem to be a realistic rather than an idealised view.

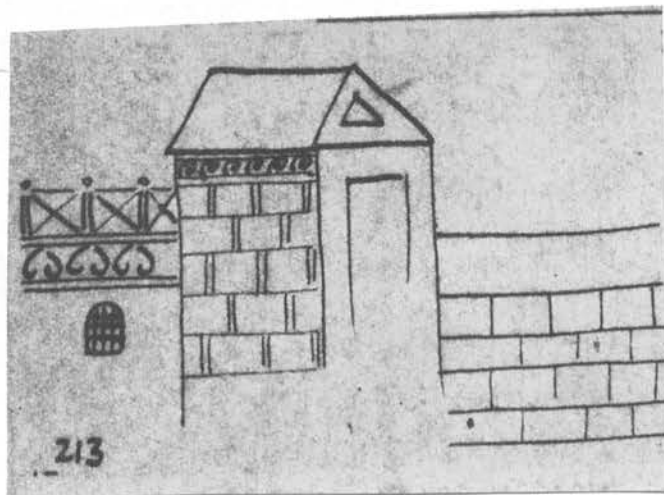
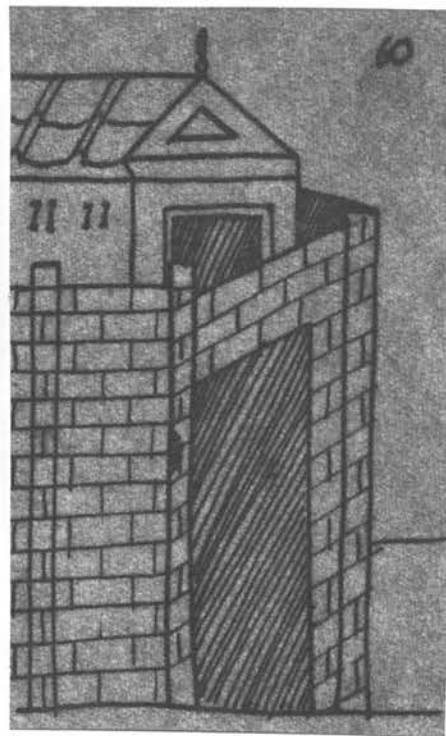
1. Abu Salih Al-Armani "The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt."
 Edited and translated Evetts and Butler. Oxford 1895.

The Monastery of St. Sabbas. Jerusalem.

The Menologion contains four paintings of the famous monastery founded by St. Sabbas when he was appointed Director General of Cenobitic Monks in 493. The two paintings on pages 225 and 230, although by different hands, resemble each other closely and represent a domed circular building standing with three other buildings within the walls of the monastery. The two other drawings on page 60 and 213 are much more conventional; the setting on page 213 of St. John of Damascus, the eighth century theologian, is typical of any author portrait, for instance St. Gregory in the Paris Gregory f224v.

The monastery survived the Arab invasion of Palestine and only fell into decline after the time of the crusades; it is still occupied. But the drawings show little resemblance to a modern photograph. (Plate 13) We are fortunate, however, in possessing a twelfth century description of the monastery written by the Russian Abbot Daniel who stayed there for sixteen months while visiting the Holy Places in Palestine.¹ He was impressed by its dramatic situation in the "Valley of Josaphar, or Valley of Tears (about 15 kilometres from Jerusalem) ... a dry torrent bed, terrible to behold, and very deep, is shut in by high walls of rock to which the cells are fixed and kept in place by the hand of God in a surprising and fearful manner. These cells, fastened to the precipices flanking this frightful torrent are attached to the rock like stars to the firmament". There is no indication of this setting in the Menologion paintings.

1. "Pilgrimage of the Holy Russian Abbot Daniel". Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. (1888) pp.3 - 39.



The Monastery of St. Sabbas

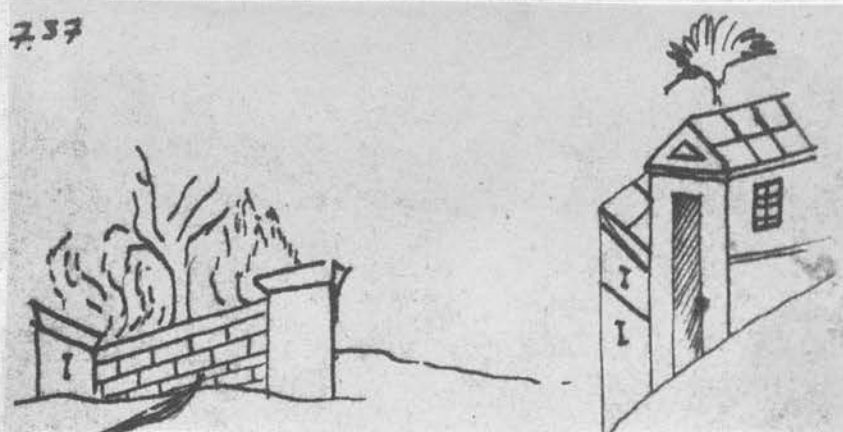
- p.225 The Prayer of St. Sabbas (Pantaleone)
 He founded the monastery in 493
- p.230 The Prayer of St. John the Monk (George)
 He was an Armenian bishop who chose to work with St. Sabbas as a labourer.
- p.60 The Prayer of St. Jonas the Confessor (George)
 A ninth century monk
- p.213 Author Portrait of St. John of Damascus (George)
 He was a hymn writer and oponent of Iconoclasm

But Abbot Daniel goes on to describe the most important part of the monastery "There are three churches in the midst of the cells ... The tomb of St. Sabbas is between the three churches, four sagènes from the principle one and is now covered by a well constructed chapel".

The tomb is still standing today and is a domed octagon in the first courtyard. We can also identify the domed rotunda in the paintings on pp. 225 and 230 as the saint's tomb and the three other buildings as the churches mentioned by Abbot Daniel. These two paintings have therefore had all the irrelevant details eliminated, such as the situation in the rocky gorge and the numerous monks' cells, and only the principle monastery buildings have been shown.

p. 237 St. Daniel Stylites (Symeon)

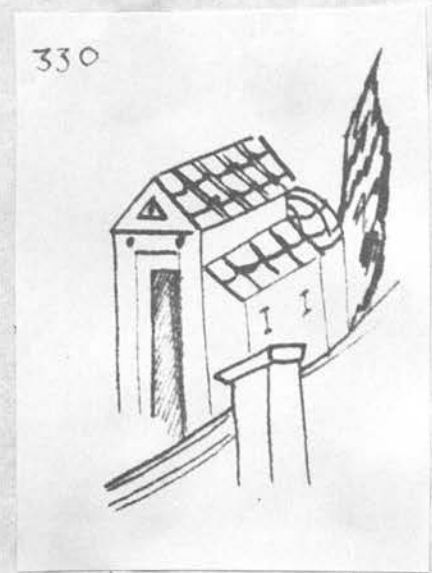
He was a stylite saint who died on his column at Sosthenion, outside Constantinople in 493.¹ The Emperor Leo I (457 - 71) built a monastery behind the column². Although the column is known to have been double shafted,³ it is shown as a single column.



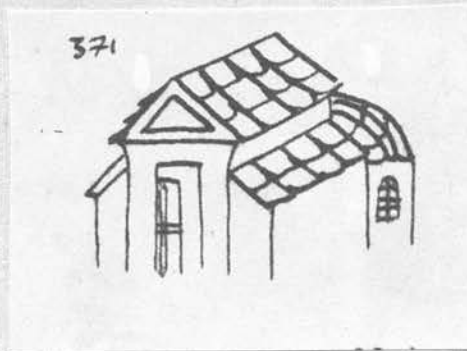
1. Delahaye "Les Saints Stylites" p. 56.
2. Janin, p. 90.
3. Dawes and Baynes "Three Byzantine Saints" p. 28.

p. 330 The Funeral of St. Eusebia (Nestor)

She built the church of St. Stephen at Mylasa



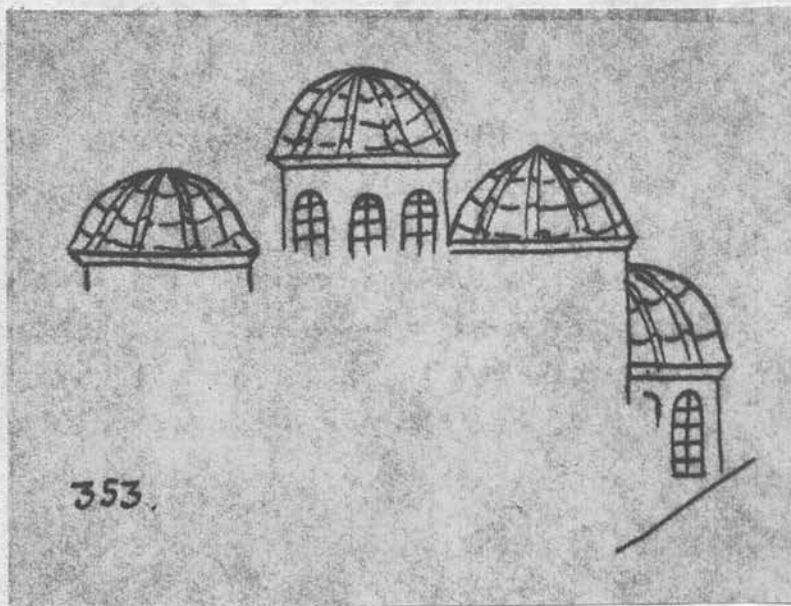
p. 371 The Prayer of St. Isidore. (Pantaleone)



On the left is a statue on an elaborate base, perhaps symbolising the city of Pelusium. ^(p46) The church in the background perhaps represents the saint's monastery, mentioned in St. Jerome's Pilgrimage of the Lady Paula.¹

1. P.P.T.S, 1885.

p. 353 The Arrival of the relics of St. John Chrysostom at the Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantinople (Michael ὁ Μικρός)



St. Proclus arranged for the relics of his old master to be brought back from Cappadocia, where St. John had died in exile, so that they could be buried in the Holy Apostles in 438.

According to Eusebius, the church which Constantine began building in 366 was a basilica.¹ But two centuries later this building was in such a state of disrepair that Justinian had the whole structure pulled down and rebuilt with a cruciform ground plan, roofed with five domes. "The portion of the roof which is above the sanctuary ... is built, in the centre, at least, in a plan resembling that of the Church of St. Sophia, except that it is inferior in size. ... The circular drum is pierced by windows, and the dome which arches above this seems to float in the air and not to rest upon solid masonry ... The four arms of the build-

1. Eusebius "Life of Constantine" Book IV, 58 - 9. Trans John H. Bernard P.P.T.S. (1891), pp. 16-17.

ing were roofed on the same plan as the central portion, but this one feature is lacking: underneath the domes the masonry is not pierced by windows".¹

In both paintings of the Holy Apostles in the Menologion, the painters have been careful to show that only the central drum was pierced by windows. The painter of the 11th c. copy at Moscow was not so careful, and in the painting of the translation of the relics of the Patriarch Nicephorus from the island of Prokonnesos to the church of the Holy Apostles in 846 all five domes of the church have windows in the drum.² (Plate 3)

As S^t. John Chrysostom was buried in 438, before the rebuilding of the Constantinian basilica, yet is shown buried in the church rebuilt by Justinian, the model for this painting cannot be earlier than the sixth century. Not only does the painter show interest in topographical representation, but he has made an attempt to relate the size of the building to that of the figures; the church fills the whole of the background instead of being drawn in small scale in the foreground as in the Moscow manuscript

1. Procopius Buildings Book I, iv, 9 - 16. Loeb Classical Library, pp. 49 - 51.

2. Trenev and Popov Miniatures du Menologue grec du XI siècle no. 183 de la Bibliothèque Synodale de Moscou (1911)

p. 169 The Prayer of St. Matrona (Nestor)

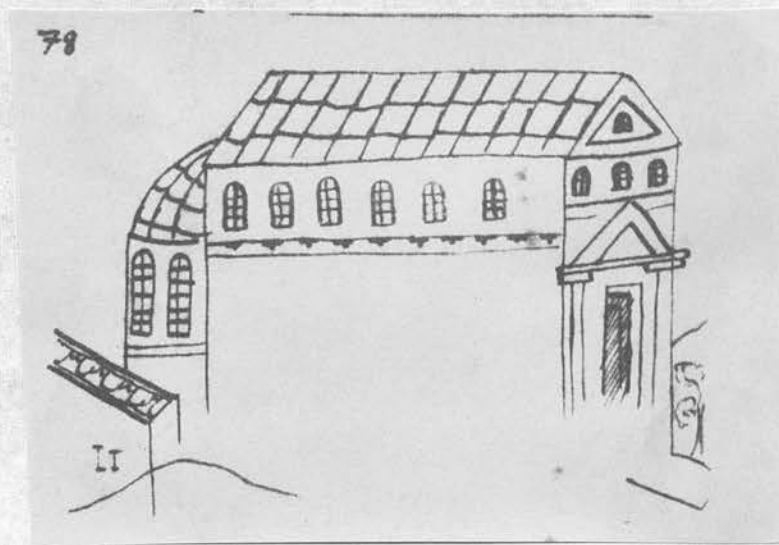


St. Matrona had lived for several years disguised as a monk in the monastery of St. Bassianus, but on his advice she founded her own convent in the quarter of *Σενηπλατεί* of Constantinople.

This convent had three storeys: the ground floor was reserved for the nuns' cells, the winter chapel was on the first floor and the richly decorated summer chapel was on the second floor.¹ This description does not correspond to the drawing in the Menologion, which shows a walled monastery with a high single domed church inside.

1. Janin p. 341.

p. 78 The Dream of St. Romanus Melodus in the Church of the Theotokos τῷ Κύρῳ in Constantinople (Mena)



St. Romanus, the sixth century hymn writer, dreamt that he received miraculous powers of poetry from the Virgin. The church of Theotokos ^{the} τῷ Κύρῳ has disappeared, but it is believed to have been situated near Topkapı in Constantinople.¹ Here it is shown as a tall basilica with semi-circular apse, a type of building which may well have existed in the sixth century even though domed churches were more usual by that date.

1. Janin p. 261 ff

p. 425 Prayer of St. Stephen, founder of an Old Men's Home in Constantinople (Pantaleone) (Plate 14)

St. Stephen was the Parakoimenos of the Emperor Maurice (582-602) and he built several important buildings in Constantinople, including a bath, a cistern, and the Old Men's home in the quarter of Armatation, as well as converting his own home into a church.¹ The old men's home is represented as a two storey building connected to a domed rotunda. Excavations at Bodrum Cami² show that two storey buildings existed in the 10th - 11th century as the lower church, probably 7th century in date, had an upper church added to it early in the 11th century. Close by stood a circular 6th century building, probably a bath, and the arrangement of these buildings is close to that in the Menologion illustration.

No-one would claim this painting to be an accurate representation of the Old Men's home, but like the drawing of the Monastery of St. Sabbas, on pages 225 and 230, it could be a schematic diagram of the arrangement of the buildings.

The establishment survived until the end of the Byzantine Empire.³

1. Codinus De Aedificiis P.G. CLVII col. 572 (93).

2. D. Talbot Rice, Byzantium (1933).

3. Janin pp. 565-6.

P. 142 Procession to the Church of S. Maria in Blachernae, Constantinople, to commemorate the earthquake of 740 (Michael of Blachernae)

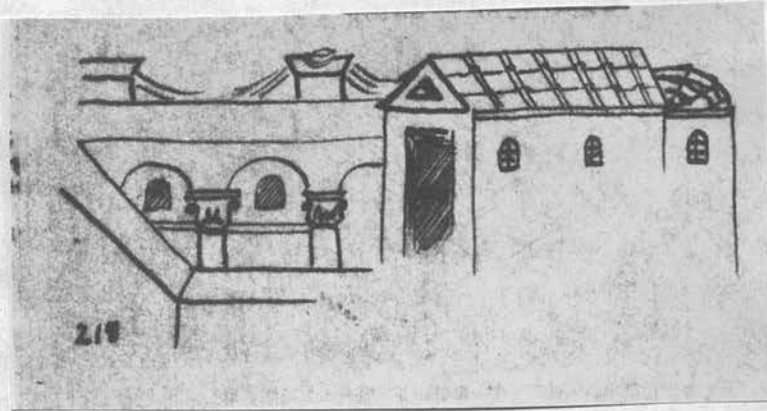


S. Maria in Blachernae was built originally by the Emperor Justinian as a basilica, with perhaps a central dome.¹ In 571 Justin II added two arms, thus converting the church into a cruciform building.² The church in the Menologion illustration is represented, however, as a simple basilica, although the painter, Michael of Blachernae, was living and probably working in the neighbourhood of the famous church.

1. Procopius Buildings Loeb Classical Library 1940 p. 39.

2. Janin p. 169.

p. 218 Funeral of St. Philaretus at the church of St. Andrew in Krisei in Constantinople in 792 (Michael ὁ Μικρός)



The funeral of St. Philaretus is shown inside an arcaded courtyard which contains a small rectangular church with a single apse. The church of St. Andrew is still standing as it was converted into a mosque by the Grand Vizier of Selim I and is now the mosque of Hoçamustafapaşa. It was originally built in the sixth or seventh century and heavily restored by Basil I after falling into decay during Iconoclasm.¹ Although there is some dispute over the form of the original groundplan,² there is no doubt that the church always had a dome and was never a basilica. The drawing in the Menologion is therefore inaccurate. (Plate 15)

1. Janin p. 33.

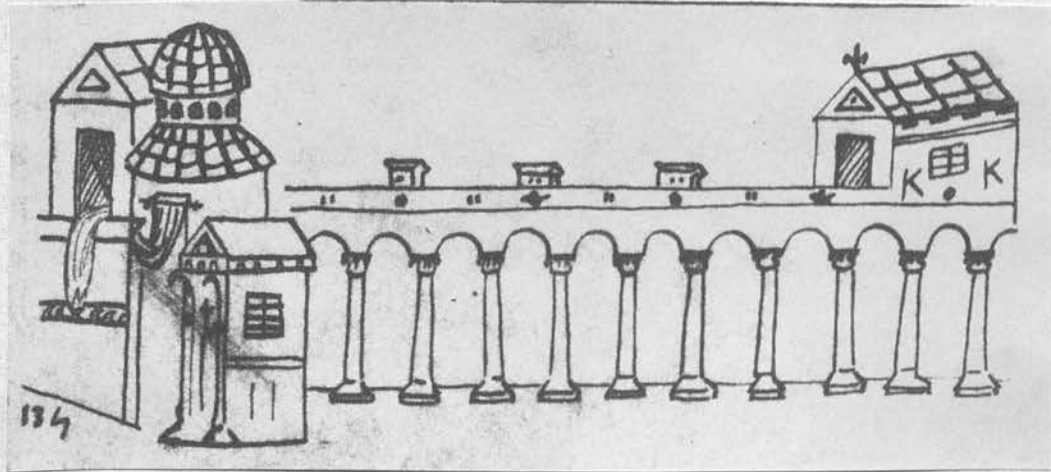
2. Van Millingen "Byzantine Churches in Constantinople" p. 115
Thiers and Ebersolt "Les Eglises de Constantinople" pp. 88-9.

p. 423. The Prayer of St. Tarasius (Michael of Blachernae)



St. Tarasius was elected Patriarch of Constantinople in 784 and converted some family property into a monastery which was named after him. This has since disappeared, but it is known to have stood on the European side of the Bosphorus.¹

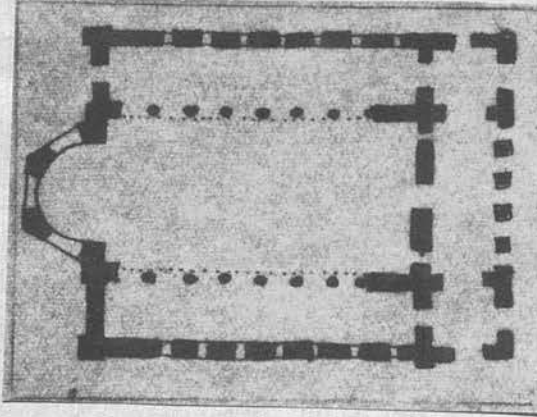
p. 134 Funeral of St. Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople (George)



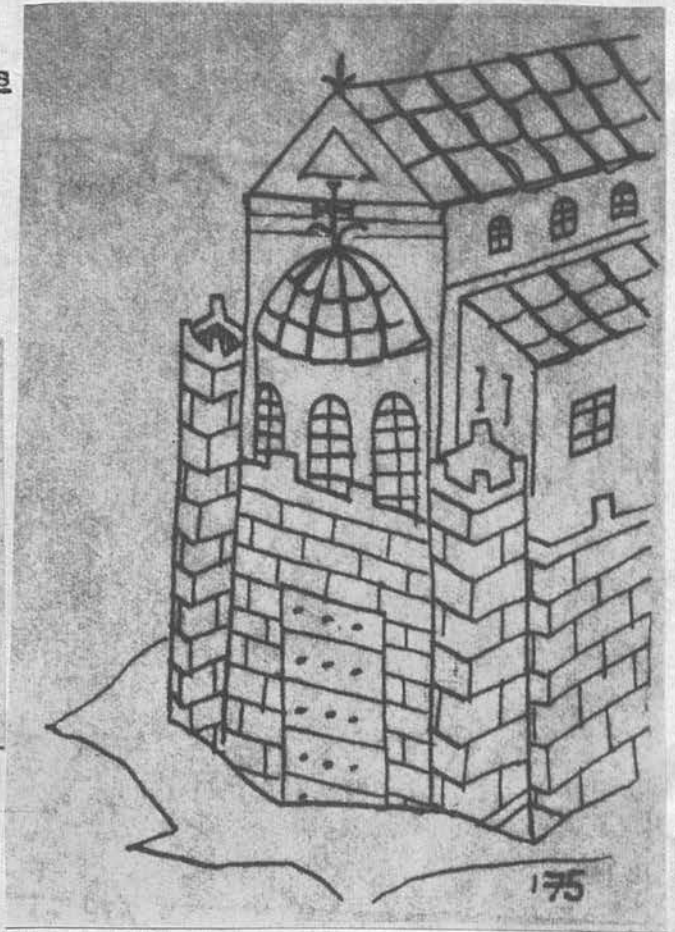
After his father the Emperor Nicephorus had been deposed by Leo V, Nicetas changed his name to Ignatius and retired to the monastery of Satyrus in Constantinople. Nothing is known of this monastery, however.

1. Janin p. 497.

p. 175 St. Theodore of Studius
(Nestor)



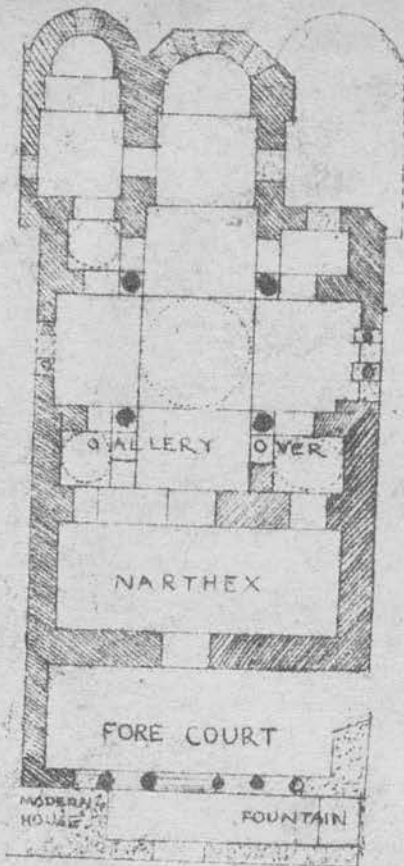
Ground Plan of the Church of St. John
(after Van Millingen fig 12, p. 56)



St. Theodore was the ninth century Abbot of the Monastery of Studius in Constantinople. The monastery had been founded in 463 by the Patrician Studius and its three aisled basilica church dedicated to St. John the Baptist is still standing. It is situated close to the sea of Marmara and was surrounded by a high wall.¹

The painter, Nestor, was faced with the problem of how to represent a basilica without using the conventional formula. He had solved it by representing the apse, instead of the more usual front view. He has also indicated the surroundings near the sea shore.

1. Janin pp. 444-455.



STREET
SKETCH-PLAN OF CHURCH OF
ST. STEPHEN, TRIGLIA.



St. Stephen was born in the Orient but came to Constantinople in the reign of Leon the Isaurian (813-20) and founded the monastery of Chenalakkos, near Constantinople. The precise situation of this monastery is not known for although Stephen was called ὁ ἡγουμένος Τριγχείας (Triglia), the monastery was also known as τὸ Πηχσίον Μυρχείας (Mudania).¹

A church in Triglia has been identified as the monastery church and there is some resemblance between it and the Menologion painting. Both have square ground plans with a central dome, but the church at Triglia only has small domes over each corner of the square, whereas the drawing shows a dome over the bema and an arcaded front to the south transept. The portico of the Triglia church is supported by four columns, whereas the drawing has two.

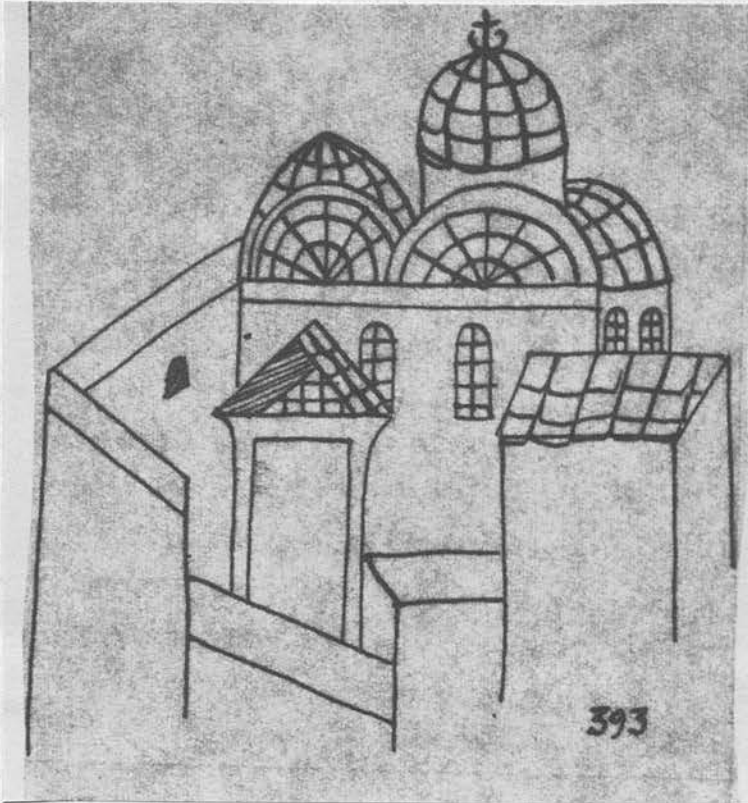
1. F.W. Hasluck, "Bithynica" Annual of the British School at

p. 418 Prayer of St. Athanasius (Nestor)



St. Athanasius was abbot of the monastery of Paulopetrion on the north shore of the Gulf of Nicomedia. He was exiled by the Iconoclasts, imprisoned in 820 and died in 826. No traces of the monastery survive.

p. 393 The Prayer of St. Anthony Kauleas (George)



St. Anthony was abbot of a monastery dedicated to the Virgin. He was elected Patriarch of Constantinople in 893 and died in 901. He was buried in his own monastery which was renamed after him. The church in this illustration is the one at which Leo VI (886-912) spoke at its consecration.¹ He mentions the dome which was decorated with an image of Christ Pantokrator. Nothing is now left of this church, but it probably occupied the site of the Valide Cami.²

1. A. Frolov "Deux Eglises Byzantines" Etudes Byzantines 3 (1945) p. 43.

2. Janin p. 44.

Topographical Drawings - Conclusion

Thirteen of the 34 churches or monasteries represented in this manuscript have survived today or have been described in sufficient detail for us to know their appearance:

Page 2	Quala'at Seman near Aleppo.
60, 213, 225,	
230.	St. Sabbas, near Jerusalem.
109	Martyrium of SS Probus, Tarachus and Andronicus at Anazarbus.
121, 353.	Holy Apostles, Constantinople.
142.	S. Maria in Blachernae, Constantinople.
218	St. Andrew in Krisei, Constantinople.
314	St. John, Ephesus.

Although one can test the accuracy of less than half the topographical drawings in the Menologion, this is sufficient to show that the Menologion painters were obviously interested in topography. Their interest was by no means consistent for of these 13 drawings, three are completely inaccurate, and these are all buildings in Constantinople: S. Maria in Blachernae and St. Andrew in Krisei, both domed churches, are represented as basilicas, and the three storey convent of St. Matrona resembles a walled city. The drawing of Quala'at Seman gives little information about the appearance of the church except that it had a dome. The two drawings of St. Sabbas on pp. 60 and 213 repeat conventional formulae of walls and gable-roofed buildings, completely different from the topographical drawings on pp. 225 and 230.

There was a tendency, therefore, to use a symbol instead of a representation, even when an accurate drawing existed elsewhere in the manuscript by the same artist, as in the case of the

Monastery of St. Sabbas painted accurately by George on page 230 and symbolically on page 60. We even find that when the painter himself came from the neighbourhood of the church, as did Michael of Blachernae, the painter of St. Maria in Blachernae on page 142, he could not represent it accurately.

Yet not all the drawings are completely symbolic. The two versions of the Monastery of St. Sabbas on pp. 225 and 230 correspond to the Russian abbot's description. The drawing on page 109 is so accurate that it has been used to identify the unknown rock-cut church at Anazarbus as the martyrion of SS. Probus, Tarachus and Andronicus, thus showing the account of their martyrdom to be based on fact and not pious fiction. The two drawings of the Holy Apostles on pp. 121 and 353 are not schematised drawings of a building with five domes, as in the frontispiece of the Vat. Grec. 1162, but are paintings done from one point of view, so that only four domes are visible. The painter of the monastery of Studius was faced with the problem of how to represent a three aisled basilica without letting it look like the conventional symbol for a church. He solved it by representing the apse at the east end, instead of the more conventional façade.

Even when the drawings are not representational, the presence of a building in the Menologion landscape can provide valuable evidence for the existence of a church or martyrion dedicated to the saint, as in the case of St. Irenarchus on page 213.

Thus the fact that some at least of the painters of the

Menologion were keenly interested in topography seems to be clearly established. From where did this interest come? We know from existing monuments that topographical landscapes were popular in the Early Christian period (see Chapter V). In view of the fact that this manuscript contains the interesting series of illustrations^{of} founders of 8th and 9th century churches and monasteries in prayer before their foundations, it would seem that this interest in topography continued in Constantinople right up to the tenth century. Indeed we may even go further and suggest that the growth of a new interest in topography may be regarded as one of the features characteristic of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance.

TABLE 3

<u>Summary</u>	<u>Century</u>						
	<u>1st-3rd</u>	<u>4th</u>	<u>5th</u>	<u>6th</u>	<u>7th</u>	<u>8th</u>	<u>9th</u>
<u>Buildings explained by the Text</u>							
Walled City	3	3			1		
Prisons	2	4					
Ampitheatres	1	2					
Temples	1	3					
Churches and Monasteries	5	17	11	4	2	4	6
<u>Buildings not explained by the Text</u>							
Architectural setting	2	3	1			2	
Stelai	2	4					
Tholoi	2						
Apses	1	2					
Statues		1	1				
Square buildings	15	7			1		
Buildings with gabled or barrel-vaulted roofs.	4	6				1	2

Conclusion

Table 3, on the opposite page summarises the types of building found in the landscapes of the Menologion. It clearly shows that the picturesque motifs, the stelai, tholoi, apses, square buildings and statues ceased to be used after the sixth century, whereas interest in topography continued right up to the end of the ninth century.

We thus find two completely different types of landscape in the Menologion paintings - landscapes with classical motifs used only in the miniatures of pre-iconoclast saints, and the topographical landscapes which continued to be painted until at least the end of the ninth century. The landscapes with classical motifs provided picturesque settings for the figure compositions, but the topographical landscapes were intended to be recognised as actual places and the buildings in them were of equal importance with the figures standing in the foreground. Although there is little difference in style between these two groups in the Menologion, it is clear that they must have been copied from two completely different models. The picturesque landscapes were probably copied from a model similar to the painting of St. Cyprian in the Paris Gregory which has a blue sky and illusionist landscape. Whereas all the buildings in the topographical landscapes stand in the foreground and space was of no interest to the painter.

The landscape traditions behind these types of setting will be discussed further in Chapter IV and V.

Chapter IV

The Landscape Tradition I: the Sacred Idyllic
Landscape

1. Hellenistic Landscape painting was concerned with the delineation of space - illusionism rather than naturalism. It combined a few simple motifs into spacious landscapes.
2. Alexandria and the pastoral poetry of Theocritus.
3. Did pattern books of these landscape motifs exist? Repetitious nature of the Roman mythological landscape and the survival of the landscape motifs into the 6th and 7th centuries.
4. The landscape motifs were given a Christian allegorical meaning: the Good Shepherd, the Well of Life, the Garden of Paradise.
5. The motifs could be used without the illusionist landscape setting as in the Vienna Genesis.
6. The Macedonian Renaissance saw a break in the tradition of landscape painting as no more landscapes were used in church decorations after Iconoclasm. Were the Joshua Roll, the Paris Psalter and the Bible of Leo copies of early Christian models?
7. In the Menologion it is only the paintings copied from early Christian models which contain classical motifs. In some cases classical motifs which existed in the model have been converted into topographical details. The Infancy Cycle, which has a full landscape setting at Castelseprio and also at Karieh Cami, was stripped of its setting during the 9th and 10th centuries.

Chapter IV

The examination of the landscapes of the Menologion has shown that only the classical motifs are found in the backgrounds of the paintings, whereas the topographical drawings stand in the foreground. There is a good reason for this as the classical motifs were taken from a style of landscape painting which was invented in the Hellenistic period essentially as a background; the object was to create an illusion of space.

The Classical Landscape

Landscape painting as we know it today was an invention of the Hellenistic period. Ancient painting in Egypt, Crete, Mycenae, Assyria and in particular, in Etruria, shows interest in natural forms, in trees, plants, animals, rivers and hunting scenes; a whole Etruscan tomb, the Tomb of the Hunt and Fishing (520-510 B.C.) was decorated with landscape motifs showing boys diving off rocks into the sea and there are also men fishing.¹ But none of these motifs have been arranged to show the spatial relationship between them. Ancient landscape paintings consisted of accurately observed drawings of natural objects, whereas the Hellenistic landscape was an attempt to reconstruct the space in which these objects existed. The Hellenistic artist attempted to create the illusion of a window in the wall through which the eye could travel into the organised space of his landscape. He was not concerned with naturalism, or with the accurate delineation of objects, but rather with illusionism, the creation of the third dimension on a flat surface.

1. Massimo Pallotino La Peinture Etrusque (1952) p. 50

This type of illusion would be impossible without some method of indicating the third dimension systematically. Perspective studies began about 467 when Agatharcus designed a stage set for the first performance of Aeschylus' trilogy of the Oresteia and wrote a commentary upon it.¹ Although no ancient painting is drawn completely accurately with all receding parallel lines converging at the eye level, the Pompeian frescoes show that Roman painters, at least, were aware of such a system.²

Hellenistic landscape

Although no pure sacred-idyllic landscapes have survived from before the 1st century B.C., landscape was of great interest to Hellenistic poets and much of Theocritus (300-c.260 B.C.) reads like a description of a sacred idyllic landscape.

"Follow yonder lane by the oaktrees, goatherd, and thou wilt find a new carved image of figwood; the bark is still on it, and has neither legs nor ears but is equipped with the procreant member to do the works of Cypris. A sacred precinct surrounds it and a spring that flows perennial from the rocks is thickset about with bay and myrtle and aromatic cypress. Around the spot a vine spreads its tendrils and bears its clusters, and in the spring-time blackbirds pour forth their gaily fluted notes in clear voiced minstrelsy, and tuneful nightingales raise their honeyed voices and warble in reply".³

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1. Vitruvius De Architectura II, 71.
 2. John White "Perspective in Ancient Drawing and Painting", Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies suppl. papers 7 (1956).
On the other hand G.M.A. Richter "Perspective Ancient, Mediaeval and Renaissance" Scritti in Onore di B. Nogara (1937) points out that although Euclid understood about lines converging for single objects, he did not apply it to whole scenes.
 3. Epigram IV trans. A.S.F. Gow, (1950) p. 241.

This epigram describes an idealised pastoral life, in which the only hardship to be borne was to be crossed in love - a world of eternal springtime dedicated to the worship of love. Theocritus was probably living in Alexandria when he wrote this poem, but he was not describing the Egyptian landscape. The streams, fountains, mountains and pastures for his sheep and cattle would not be found in the Nile valley. He was describing his native Sicily, rather than the grain-growing Egyptian countryside.

Bucolic poetry was associated with the Alexandrian school, but the landscape is not Egyptian. Because of the close resemblance between this bucolic poetry and the later sacred-idyllic landscapes they have been commonly termed "Alexandrian", but there is absolutely no evidence within the city of Alexandria itself to show that landscape painting was of any importance there before the 1st century B.C., by which time it was common all over the Hellenistic world.¹

After the fourth century the landscape setting to marble reliefs gradually became more extensive. But the first major work with extensive landscape setting to survive is the Telephus frieze from Pergamon (180-160 B.C.) now in Berlin. The first panel shows Aleos before an oracle, represented by a round stele supporting a statue with a tree behind it. In the scene of the discovery of Telephus (panel 12) Hercules stands before a plane tree and sees his son lying in a rocky landscape.² Although the landscape plays an important part in many of these

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1. Blanche R. Brown "Ptolemaic Painting and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style". Cambridge Mass., (1957), p. 88.
 2. H. Schrader "Die Anordnung und Deutung des pergamanischen Telephosfriezes." J.H.D.A.I. (1900)

panels it is made up of a few simple elements, rocks, trees, stelai, simple aediculae to represent temples or shrines, and curtains supported by columns to indicate interiors.

Hellenistic landscape, therefore, consisted of the composition of a few simple elements in order to create a pleasantly idyllic setting.

Roman Landscape

It was not until the first century that we find reliefs with completely pastoral subjects, such as the Peasant driving his cow to Market at Munich or the Peasant watering his cow in The Vatican. The backgrounds of both these reliefs are filled with rustic shrines, sacred enclosures and fountains. Such a setting is even used for the Vienna Well reliefs showing animals in rocky caves with their young. (Plate).

At the same time landscape became an important subject in painting. This may be due to accident of survival, but Vitruvius makes it clear that landscapes were only used to decorate houses in the time of the II style, i.e. in the middle of the first century B.C.

"Hence the ancients who first used polished stucco began by imitating the variety and arrangement of marble inlay, then they varied the distribution with festoons, ferns, coloured strips (I style). They then proceeded to imitate the contours of buildings, the outstanding projections of columns and gables, and in the open spaces, like exedrae, they designed scenery on a large scale in tragic, comic or satyric style (II Style); in covered promenades, because of the length of the walls, they used for ornament the varieties of landscape gardening, finding subjects in the characteristic of particular places; for they paint harbours, headlands, shores, rivers, springs, straits, temple groves, hills, cattle, shepherds. In places, some have also the anatomy of statues, the images of gods, or the represen-

tation of legends; further the battles of Troy and the wandering of Ulysses over the countryside with other subjects taken in like manner from Nature".¹

Vitruvius' catalogue of subjects which became popular in II style house decorations is very similar to that which Pliny claims was invented by Studius "a painter in the days of Augustus, the inventor of a delightful style of decorating walls with representations of villas, harbours, landscape gardens, sacred groves, woods, hills, fishponds, straits, streams and shores".² This passage shows that landscape painting developed enormously during the life time of Augustus (63 B.C. - A.D. 14), that painters broke away from the narrow confines of the sacred-idyllic landscape whose only subject was an imaginary pastoral life. This new type of realistic landscape painting will be discussed in Chapter V.

Nevertheless sacred-idyllic landscapes were extremely popular during the first century, and almost every house in Pompeii with any decoration contains an example. They contain no great variety of architecture - shrines, altars, syzigae, statues, stelai, sacred enclosures, houses with flat and pitched roofs. Nature is represented in the most sentimental manner, old and knotty trees, shepherds and their sheep, bridges over rivers, rustic shrines. There are no hard outlines, everything appears to be covered by a twilight mist and a tremendous effect of space and recession was achieved by a few technical tricks - a light horizon and a flickering quality of brushwork. (Plate 16).

1. De Architectura VII, 105, 1 - 2.

2. Natural History XXXV, 116 Trans.K. Jex Blake, London, 1896.

The popularity of these landscapes in the first century suggest the existence of pattern books, for we find the same motifs used with little alteration as late as the sixth century. The only pure landscape to be found at Antioch, in the House of the Boat of the Psyche, is dated between 235 and 312, contains a tree with a stele.¹ Another third century mosaic, a floor from a villa near Corinth shows a naked boy leaning against a tree playing his pipe to the cattle. (Plate 17). The late fourth century ivory divided between Paris and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, shows a priestess of Jupiter making a sacrifice at an altar overhung by a tree. The sixth century mosaic floor in the Great Palace of the Emperors in Constantinople contains several pastoral motifs, such as the (Plate 18) fountain, a shepherd milking his sheep and even a small circular shrine containing a statue of a deity. Pastoral and mythological subjects were used to decorate silver dishes as late as the sixth century, for instance the plate with a goat herd in Leningrad.²

We see the influence of these pattern books on the development of the Roman mythological landscapes. The earliest mythological paintings had little landscape setting, but during the first century they came under the influence of the sacred idyllic landscapes and separate scenes were joined together and set in a spacious landscape.³ Although the figure compositions remained

Antioch Mosaic Pavements

1. Doro Levi p. 191, plate XLII.
2. Leonid Matzulewitsch "Byzantinische Antike" (1929) No. 4
D. Talbot Rice "Art of Byzantium" Pl. 42.
3. Christopher Dawson "Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting" Yale Classical Studies IX.

the same, the settings vary from painting to painting. Thus in the illustrations of the Icharus legend, No. 1 is set among hills, while the other versions are sea-scapes. The tholos in number 55 becomes a distant town in number 9. The cliff in the background of number 47 is transformed into a distyle temple in number 21. This temple reappears in a completely different painting, number 7, Pegasus and Bellerophon.

Although Christian subjects tended to replace mythological themes after the fourth century, mythological landscapes were painted as late as the sixth century. Procopius of Gaza describes two paintings in a public building in Gaza which depicted the stories of Hyppolytus and Phaedra.¹ The first painting represented the palace at midday and the second showed the hunt on forest clad Mount Hymettos. As Paul Friedländer has pointed out, the description of the donor at the end of this passage would be quite senseless if Timotheus had not been a well known man of his day, living in about 500.

Landscape in Christian Art

a) Symbolic Landscapes.

Various motifs were taken from the sacred idyllic landscape tradition and given a Christian meaning. One of the earliest is the image of the Good Shepherd. He is usually shown watching his sheep graze, as in the Gnostic catacomb on the Viale Manzoni,

1. Paul Friedländer Spätantike Gemäldezyklus in Gaza. Vatican City 1939.

painted about 200 A.D.¹ But a fragment of a sarcophagus in the Vatican Museum shows a shepherd milking his sheep.² This subject is explained in a vision of Paradise in the Acts of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas where Perpetua saw a ladder, guarded by a dragon, leading up to Heaven. She climbed it and found herself in a great garden and in the middle there was a man with grey hair, a tall figure, dressed as a shepherd, milking the sheep.³ The theme ceased to be used on sarcophagi after the fourth century, yet we find it among the decorations of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna (430-50). The antique character of this mosaic must be due to the fact that the model was at least 200 years old.

The earliest Last Judgement scenes are completely pastoral, showing Christ dividing the sheep from the goats as in the mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo.

The Well of Life was another popular motif derived from classical landscapes. The Well was represented as a tholos, a funeral monument, because it was identified with the Holy Sepulchre.⁴ It was also considered to be the source of the four rivers of Paradise, the four Gospels, and so it was placed at the end of the Canon Tables in illustrated Gospels. A fourth century mosaic floor in the church at 'Ein et Tabigha, the

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1. G. Bendinelli "Monumenti Antichi" 28, p. 290 ff. Plate IX.
 2. Wilpert "I Sarcofagi Cristiani Antichi" Rome (1929) Vol. I, p. LXXXV, 2.
 3. Acta Sanctorum March I, p. 630.
 4. Paul Underwood "The Fountain of Life" Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 5, (1950)

traditional site of the miracle of the loaves and fishes, may represent the well as it shows a tholos standing in a garden full of plants, birds and other buildings.¹ This corresponds to the vision of Paradise seen by St. Marianus while waiting for martyrdom in 259. "Our path lay through a charming landscape with meadows and green woods with luxurious foliage. Tall cypresses and pine trees reaching to the sky gave abundant shade and it seemed as though the whole of that place was girdled by a belt of fresh green woods. In the middle thereof was a radiant fountain running over with abundant clear water".²

River landscapes were also popular subjects for church decorations as they were regarded as symbols of Paradise. Thus the *Mausoleum* of S. Costanza was decorated with a traditional Nilotic landscape with putti fishing, beneath the Old and New Testament scenes in the dome.³ Nilotic landscapes were also used to decorate the floors of two sixth century churches in Jerash, SS. Peter and Paul and John the Baptist.⁴ Chorichius of Gaza describes a Nilotic landscape in the church of St. Stephen in Gaza, and the church of St. Sergius contained a mosaic of a park filled with evergreen trees and wind blown vines standing near a river.⁵

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1. M. Avi-Yonah "Mosaic Pavements in Palestine" Quarterly of the Dept. Antiquities in Palestine Vols. II and III, No. 344.
 2. Acta Sanctorum April vol. III, p. 745.
 3. H. Stern "Les Mosaïques de Sainte Costance" Dumbarton Oaks Papers. 12 (1958) p. 159.
 4. F.M. Biebel "The Walled Cities of the Gerasa Mosaics" Gerasa City of the Decapolis (1938) p. 341.
 5. Laudatio Marciani II.

We can also include the river landscape in the courtyard of the Great Mosque at Damascus in this group, as its most important features are the river, a palace and trees, all of which were symbols of Paradise for both Moslem and Christian.¹ This mosaic is of great interest as it probably reflects the style of church decoration in Constantinople under Iconoclasm as the Byzantine emperor sent the Caliph Walid I gold, workmen and mosaic cubes.² (Plate 19)

Although the Iconoclast Emperors destroyed the images of Christ and the Virgin and Gospel scenes, they replaced them with representations of trees, birds and animals.³

Early Christian artists therefore adapted motifs from the Roman sacred idyllic landscape into symbols of paradise at an early date. A shepherd with his flock became the Good Shepherd; a landscape with a tholos became the Fountain of Life; any river scene could be interpreted as the Garden of Paradise. As the

1. A.U.Pope "A Sassanian Garden Palace" Art Bulletin XV (1933) p. 84.

Later writers, such as Muqadesi in the tenth century, claimed that this landscape was topographical. But the courtyard panel contains so many heterogenous elements that it seems to have been compiled from a pattern book and combined into an imaginary landscape. Marguerite van Berchem, "The Mosaics of the Mosque of the Umayyids" (K.A.C. Creswell Early Muslim Architecture) Vol. I, p. 239) however, attempts to recognize it as a portrayal of the outskirts of Damascus.

- 2 The tradition that the Byzantine emperor sent both gold, workmen and mosaic cubes to the Umayyad Caliph is first found in the writing of Al-Tabari, who died in 923. He was therefore writing almost 200 years after the Great Mosque had been decorated. This surprising information, in view of the continuous warfare between the Arabs and the Greeks in the 7th and 8th centuries, could be a later fabrication (Marguerite van Berchem ibid p. 156-7). But recently, H.A.R. Gibb has pointed out the reliability of Al-Tabari's sources ("Arab Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate" Dumbarton Oaks Papers 12 (1958) p. 225 ff) and that we have no reason to disbelieve him.
3. A. Grabar L'Iconoclasm Byzantine pp. 143, 144, 156.

original meaning of the word "Paradise" was a hunting park, this may explain the popularity of hunting scenes for church decorations which aroused the anger of St. Nilus¹ in the fifth century. Although landscapes without figures were used to decorate churches during iconoclasm, there is no evidence that they were so used after iconoclasm, when the system of church decoration was rigidly formalised.

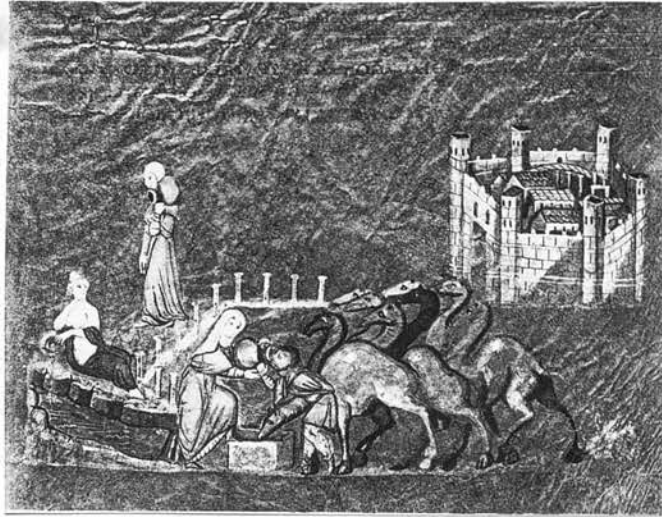
Landscape in Christian Art

b) The Landscape Setting.

No attempt will be made to discuss the various types of landscape setting found in Christian art, as that would involve us in the entire history of Christian art. We can be concerned here only with the survival of classical motifs and the illusionist landscape.

The two are not necessarily associated, for illusionist landscapes survived in the West and were revived in Carolingian art though they did not include any classical motifs. Similarly, although the Gospel had been illustrated with an illusionist landscape setting, traces of which can be seen in the Codex Rossanensis and the Rabbula Gospels,² its illustrations contain no stelaí, distant buildings or personifications.

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1. He wrote to Olympiadoses begging ^{him} to abandon his plan of decorating his church with hunting and fishing scenes. Migne P. G. LXXIX col. 577.
 2. C.R. Morey "The Painted Panel in the Sancta Sanctorum" Festschrift Clemens (1926) p. 151.



Rebecca meeting Abraham's servants at the Well



Jacob blessing Joseph's sons.

In manuscript painting we find these motifs only in Greek illustrations, or Western illustrations under Greek influence, of the Old Testament, such as the Vienna Genesis,¹ the Patmos Job,² and the Utrecht Psalter.³

The illustrations of the Vienna Genesis are interesting as they show how the motifs could survive with or without the illusionist landscape. The first 32 illustrations of this manuscript (except the Flood) are unframed miniatures which use the purple parchment as a neutral setting. The ground is indicated by a line on which stand figures, houses, rocks and trees without any attempt to show the spatial relationship between them. Although the painter had some idea of the meaning of "to the left of" or "behind", he had no means of expressing exactly where one object was in relation to another. Thus, one has no idea of the distance separating the City of Nahor from the well where Rebecca meets Abraham's servant (Fig. 82). Nevertheless, she is shown walking along a colonnaded road, and the well is personified by a nymph. On the other hand the illustrations of the second half of the manuscript retain the illusionist technique and the last illustration showing Jacob blessing Joseph's sons is set in a panoramic rocky landscape with a blue sky.

In wall paintings we find illusionist landscapes with classical motifs as settings for the Infancy Cycle at Dêx Abu

1. Gerstinger "Die Wiener Genesis" (1931).
2. Clara Rhodos VII, 1933, p. 584 ff Figs. 91-105. Weitzmann Roll and Codex, p. 120.
3. E. Benson and D. Tselos "New Light on the Origins of the Utrecht Psalter" Art Bulletin (1931).

Hennis and also at Castelseprio. Although the inscriptions at Castelseprio are in Latin, the iconography is Greek and the paintings appear to be similar in style to the extraordinary frescoes in classical style which appeared in S. Maria Antiqua in the mid 7th century painted by a Greek workshop.¹

We also find this type of landscape used for votive panels dedicated to St. Demetrius in the church of St. Demetrius in Salonica.² One panel shows the saint standing before his shrine while a mother presents her daughter to him. In the background there is a hilly landscape with a stele supporting a vase. (Plate 20)

Illusionist landscapes with classical motifs were therefore not widespread in early Christian art, but found only in paintings and mosaics under Greek influence of Old Testament or apocryphal subject and also illustrations of saints.

The Classical Landscape in the Macedonian Renaissance - 9th Century.

The final defeat of Iconoclasm in 843 was not immediately followed by the redecoration of the major churches, probably because of lack of artists and also the fear of offending the still powerful Iconoclasts. The earliest decorations to be set up were

1. Myrtilia Avery Art Bulletin (1925) p. 149.
2. The votive mosaics in the nave of St. Demetrius have been dated between the 5th and the 7th centuries. They are completely different in style from the austere official portraits which were executed after the fire of 629. But Kitlinger (Byzantine Art in the period between Justinian and Iconoclasm 1958) has shown that the votive panels could have been executed just before the fire and the difference in style was due not to date, but to the fact that they were private commissions whereas the portraits were official.

those of the Chrysotriklinos in 856 and 857, our Lady of the Pharos in 864, St. Sophia in 867 and SS. Sergius and Bacchus in 867-77. Therefore thirteen years elapsed before redecoration began.¹

The earliest decorations consisted of single figures, and Gospel scenes were not introduced until the time of Basil I in the church of the Virgin τῆς Πηγῆς decorated before 879.² Constantine Rhodius' description of the mosaics in the Holy Apostles suggests that the landscape setting was kept to the barest minimum.³ Landscape did not appear to be a feature of Macedonian church decoration at this period.

1. Jenkins and Mango "The date and Significance of the 10th "Homily of Photius" Dumbarton Oaks Papers 9 - 10 (1955), p. 139.
2. Palatine Anthology I, 106 - 117.
3. There is a problem attached to the date of the mosaics in the Holy Apostles described by Constantine Rhodius in the tenth century. The original building was probably decorated at the time of Justinian, but it is difficult to estimate how much of this decoration survived Iconoclasm as Theophanus Continuatus said that Basil I not only restored the walls, but also the decoration (P.G. CIX col. 337D). But it is very unlikely that a Gospel cycle would have survived iconoclasm in the most important church in Constantinople, and the mosaics Constantine Rhodius describes seem to be very closely related to the Gospel Cycle in the Paris Gregory, which was also painted for Basil I.

Mesarites, on the other hand, was describing the work of a 12th century artist, Eulalios, who restored the mosaics after the earthquake and introduced several new scenes such as Christ walking on the Water. His description is full of indications of setting, although there were no landscapes in the mosaics described Constantine Rhodius.

A. Heisenberg Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche (1908) vol. II, p. 10 ff.

N. Malickij "Remarques sur la date des mosaïques de St. Apôtres à Constantinople décrites par Mesarites". Byzantion (3) 1926, p. 123.



83 Vat.Grec. 699 The Sacrifice of Isaac

One finds a similar aversion to landscape in the earliest post-iconoclast manuscripts. The settings of the marginal illustrations to the Chludov Psalter are extremely abbreviated and the framed miniatures of the Vatican Cosmas Indicopleustes, such as the Sacrifice of Isaac are without landscape, although the empty space shows that the original model must have had some form of coherent setting. (Fig. 83). The figures are not placed on one straight line but are scattered over the page. Their feet are at different levels so that Isaac on the left hand side is obviously walking up a hill, although this has been eliminated from the painting.

However, many of the illustrations of the Paris Gregory have retained their setting but the character and style of this landscape depends to a large extent on the subject of the painting. The manuscript contains fragments of at least 9 different cycles of paintings,¹ although the basic cycle, to which the others were added, is that of the life of St. Gregory. Although the sermons were written between 362-381, it is unlikely that they were illustrated at such an early date. The style of dress and crowns suggest that the illustrations were copied from a sixth century model, and the settings are similar to those in sixth century manuscripts. In particular, the setting is similar to that of the first half of the Vienna Genesis, consisting of a ground line and antique buildings, such as the tholos on f452 and the round tower on f104. There is only one pure land-

1. The original cycle of illustrations to the Homilies of Gregory of Nazienzus consisted of scenes from his life. But to this were added illustrations from various historians, such as Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas, a Menologion, a Psalter, Prophet Books, the Book of Kings, and Octateuch, New Testament with Acts and also the Protoevangelium. Weitzmann "Illustrations for the Chronicles of Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas" Byzantion 16 (1942-3).

scape, illustrating the Sermon on the Hill on F78, which is close in style to the Garden of Olives in the Agony in the Garden in the Codex Rossanensis.

The other illustration of the Saint's life, St. Cyprian on f.332v, has already been mentioned because of the illusionist landscape and classical motifs it contains and because it must resemble the model used by the Menologion painters for the illustrations of pre-iconoclast saints. We also find this type of setting in the two paintings of the lives of the twelve apostles: Baptising the people, Deaths of the Apostles.

Classical motifs are also found in the Old, but not New Testament illustrations of the Paris Gregory. The most remarkable is that of the Vision of Ezekiel on f438v where the prophet stands in a rocky defile lit by the pink light of the sunset. At the foot of the painting there is a small architectural vignette. Although in a different position, this building is very similar to one in the background of the Vision of Ezekiel in Hosias David in Thessaloniki, which also has a rocky landscape.¹ (Plate 21)

There are two reasons for this difference in character between the illustrations of the Old and New Testament. Even in the sixth century there was a tendency towards eliminating the landscape setting from the New Testament although retaining it

1. Dated between the 5th and the 7th centuries. Most authorities prefer the earlier date (Volbach: Frühchristliche Kunst 1958). But Kitzinger (Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm 1958) brings forward evidence for an early seventh century date. The later dating is supported by Morey (Early Christian Art pp. 189-191) who regards the 7th century as the great period of Byzantine classicism, to which he also dates the Paris Psalter.

for Old Testament illustrations. Secondly, the iconography of the New Testament was in the process of being revised, in the ninth century, while that of the Old Testament was still unchanged. For instance, the illustration of Joshua and the Angel on f226v is much closer to the fifth century mosaic in S. Maria Maggiore than the version in either the Vatican Menologion or the Joshua Roll (Chapter II p. 12). The painting of the Flood f360 resembles the one in the Vienna Genesis rather than the illustrations in the Smyrna or Seraglio Octateuchs. The Crossing the Red Sea on f42 is almost identical to a relief on a sarcophagus at Aix.¹

The New Testament illustrations, on the other hand, show signs of revision, in particular the Passion on f30v. Unlike the earlier versions of the Crucifixion, it does not illustrate one Gospel, but places the man with a lance, mentioned by John, together with Luke's Centurion. The Descent from the Cross was a completely new subject in the 9th century and no pre-iconoclast painting of the Entombment is known.³ (Plate 22).

Macedonian Renaissance - 10th century

Little is known of 10th century church decorations in Constantinople, but the mosaics of Daphni and Hosias Lucas show that in the 11th and 12th centuries the nave of the church was still decorated with the twelve festival icons, while apocryphal subjects were confined to the narthex.³ Even the apocryphal scenes at Daphni show little influence of the picturesque landscape tradition.

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1. Garrucci 308, 2.
 2. Millet Recherches sur L'Iconographie de l'Evangile (1960), p. 425, 470 and 491.
 3. Demus Byzantine Mosaic Decoration, London 1947.

But the most famous products of the tenth century Macedonian Renaissance are three manuscripts with remarkable landscapes in the classical style - the Joshua Roll, the Paris Psalter and the Bible of Leo. These are all Old Testament manuscripts which, as we have seen, tended to retain the conservative classical tradition, while the New Testament illustrations were treated in a more avant-garde non-representational style.

One of the chief problems of the Macedonian Renaissance is to determine to what extent were these paintings in classical style copied from late antique models. Dr. Weitzmann¹ has shown that the Joshua Roll contains many more classical features than ever existed in its model, and they must have been added by the tenth century painter. Dr. Buchtal, on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of the pre-iconoclast model of the Paris Psalter,² portions of which were also followed in the Paris Gregory. But he nevertheless admits that the artists were capable of improvising new illustrations in the style of the original, and cites as an example the second illustration David and the Lion.

The illustrators of the Bible of Leo the Patrician were prepared to borrow motifs from other manuscripts to embellish their own illustrations. For instance the Job illustration, (f17) has the same figure composition as the illustration in the Paris Gregory (f71v). But the architecture in the fore-

1. Joshua Roll Princeton (1948) p. 51 ff.

2. Paris Psalter p. 49.

ground has been taken from quite a different illustration, the Life of St. Cyprian (f332v) (Plates 23, 1).

Although classical motifs could be borrowed from other models, there is no evidence to show that they were added to paintings without any landscape setting whatever. This is shown by the illustrations of the Vatican Menologion. The illustrations in this manuscript of pre-iconoclast saints must have been copied from models with landscapes in the sacred-idyllic style, but there is no trace of this setting in the paintings of later saints. Moreover, if we compare the post-iconoclast Infancy Cycle in the illustrations of the Paris Gregory and the Menologion with the pre-iconoclast cycle at Castelseprio and Dier Abu Hennis, we find that there are far more classical features in the earlier works which were almost completely eliminated in the 9th and 10th centuries.

Chapter V

The Landscape Tradition II the Realistic Landscape

1. The sacred-idyllic landscape was at the height of its popularity during the 1st century. At the same time a new type of realistic landscape was developed characterised by a flat style of painting.
2. The stoic theory of perception and the problem of why distant objects appear small.
3. As space causes a distortion, it has to be eliminated from painting which is why the topographical drawings are all in the foreground of the painting.
4. The difficulties of representation without a system for indicating the third dimension and the tendency ^{to} rely on symbols.

The Realistic Landscape

1. Realism in Roman painting and the New Attitude towards space.

In the previous chapter we have traced the history of one particular type of landscape painting, the sacred-idyllic landscape, characterised by an interest in classical architecture and the creation of an illusionist three dimensional space. It was not, however, the only type of landscape painting known to the Romans, and its nostalgic obsession with an unreal, romantic, pastoral past soon made it old fashioned after Roman painters lost interest in the formal problems of creating the illusion of three dimensional space at the end of the 1st Century B.C.

The change in attitude towards space under the reign of Augustus is seen in the change from the illusionist II style decorations, where the painter covered the wall with architectural constructions drawn according to the Euclidean laws of optics, to the flat and frankly decorative III style of the beginning of the 1st century A.D. (see chapter VI).

Although the sacred-idyllic landscapes continued to be painted, a wave of realism hit Italian art and new subjects were introduced into landscape painting which Pliny tells us were invented by the painter Studius or Ludius, who introduced such subjects as depictions of villas, harbours and gardens into landscape painting. Instead of painting imaginary Arcadian idyls (probably using motifs from pattern books) Italian painters began to paint the countryside around them. The accuracy of these villa landscapes is proved by comparing

those from the House of Lucretius Frontonus, with the younger Pliny's description of his own villa.¹

This realism increased in the 2nd century A.D. and a Trajanic mosaic at Zliten in Tripolitania² gives a true picture of farm life, instead of the idealised pastoral fantasies of the sacred-idyllic landscape. It shows peasants tilling and hoeing, a donkey grazing and children playing. There are no pillars or shrines, but only poor barns and farm buildings.

Even the early villa landscapes show quite a different attitude towards space from the impressionistic sacred-idyllic landscapes. They tend to be painted in a dry, prosaic style, and the harbour scenes have a high point of view which accentuates the flatness, for instance a harbour scene from Stabia, now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples.

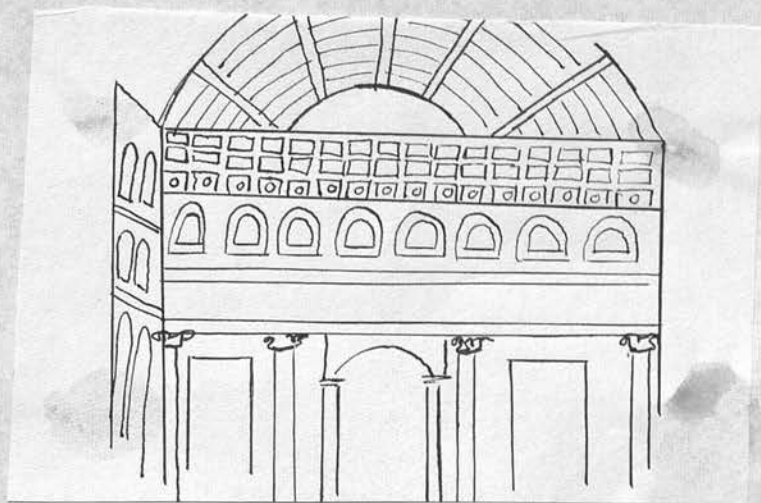
The reliefs on Trajan's column show that this flatness was not due to incompetent provincial craftsmanship, as this column was erected for the Emperor in Rome. Yet the figures have not

1. Rostowzew points out that the architecture in sacred-idyllic landscapes is Hellenistic, whereas the villa landscapes are Italian. "Pompeianische Landschaften und römischen Villen" J.D.I. (1904) 19, pp. 103-20. Pliny Epistulae II, 17; v, 6.
2. Aurigemma Zliten p. 14 ff., Fig. 50. Doro Levi Antioch Mosaic Pavements p. 605, fig. 194.

been related to their settings and sometimes tower over the buildings as in the scenes of burning barbarian villages. Several points of view were often combined in one scene, or evening in drawing one building, such as the theatre at Salona, where the proscenium wall is seen from below and the auditorium from above (Fig. 84). There are very few picturesque details, such as stelae or shrines, but topographical details abound, such as the Arch at Ancona, or the wooden bridge over the Danube.¹

Fig. 84

The Theatre at Salona
(after Cichorius Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule
vol. II (1900) Pl. LXIII



84

Other reliefs of the 2nd century show an increasing interest in topography, such as the Sacrifice of Marcus Aurelius in the Palazzo dei Conservatori which has the temples of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva in the background.²

A third century relief from the tomb of the Haterii in Rome not only shows a number of buildings along the Via Sacra, but also a view of both the interior and the exterior of the tomb (Plate 24)³

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1. Cichorius Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule (1896) and 1900)
 2. A.S. Jones Catalogue of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (1926) pp. 22-4, Pl. 12.
 3. E. Strong La Scultura Romana (1923) p. 130

A mosaic of similar date in the Piazzale della Corporazione in Ostia contains a number of representations of light houses. A particularly fine mosaic pavement in the Palazzo dei Conservatori shows a ship in sail leaving a harbour which can be recognized as Ostia from the light house.¹ The background of the Oratio Augusti on Constantine's Arch consists of a view of the Roman Forum, the Arch of Septimus Severus on the right, the Arch of Tiberius on the left. Further still on the left is the Basilica Julia.² Instead of showing the buildings at right-angles to each other they have been drawn as if standing on a straight line.²

These third century landscapes are all characterised by interest in realistic detail, without any attempt at illusionist representation. As we have seen, the absence of scale between figures and buildings, the distorted drawing of the buildings seen from several points of view simultaneously, and the general flatness of style, was not due to incompetence, as it is found on Imperial monuments and on other works where the standard of carving is high. Nor was it due to ignorance, as illusionist landscapes were still being painted. It appears to be due to a deliberate rejection, on the part of the artist, of the laws of classical perspective which demanded a single point of view.

A cube drawn according to the modern laws of linear perspective presents a curious appearance, as at the most only

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1. Catalogue pp.268-9, Pl 107.
 2. J.B. Ward Perkins, "The Art of the Severan Age in the light of the Tripolitanian discoveries", Proceedings of the British Academy 37 (1951) pp 286-288, n.69,70, discusses the Adlocutio scenes on Roman Imperial monuments and points out the increasing frontality and flatness of composition culminating in the relief on the Arch of Constantine.

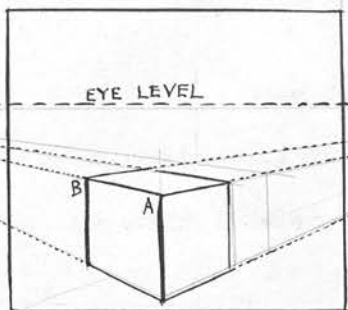
three of its six sides are visible, and not even one of its angles may appear to be a right angle and its sides all of uneven length. It is true that the laws of perspective give us the rules for explaining the distortions, but such a drawing does not express the essential nature of a cube, namely that all its sides and angles are equal. The painter is always faced with the problem of whether to paint what he sees or what he knows to be there. (Fig. 85).

The problem of the difference between illusion and reality is one which occupied many late antique philosophers. They were puzzled by why objects should appear smaller with distance and this question is found as early as in the writings of Aristotle. In De Anima he asks how one can have a false image of an object which is contradicted by one's knowledge - why should the sun appear so small when it has been proved that it is larger than the earth.

Plotinus was particularly interested in this contradiction and summarised the current theories.¹ He knew of the mathematical explanation for this diminution of size with distance because of the reduction of the angle at which they were viewed, which is the theoretical basis for the system of linear perspective with parallel lines converging at the view point, (Fig. 86) but dismissed it. He was not concerned with the Stoic explanation² that perception was not due to light from the object impinging

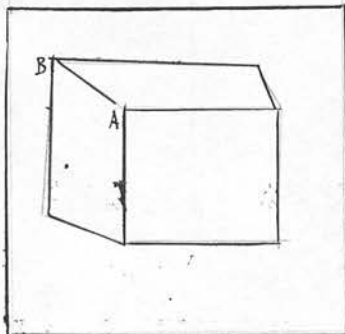
1. Second Ennead VIII "Why Distant Objects appear small".
2. Seneca Quest. Nat. 1, 3, 10. Plotinus Fourth Ennead VI "Perception and Memory".

85. Four Methods of Drawing a Cube



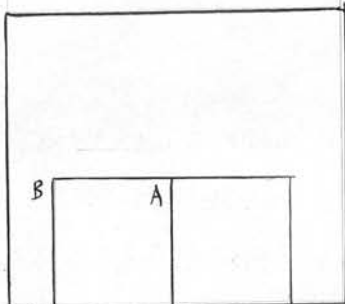
Modern Linear Perspective

Receding parallel lines appear to converge at eye level. The apparent difference in size between AA' and BB' is due to the different angle at which they are viewed (see fig.86) It is possible to calculate the distance between A and B in the drawing.



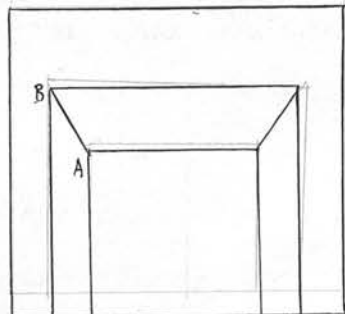
Non-converging Perspective

There is no fixed eye level but receding planes are indicated by upward sloping lines. There are no means of calculating the distance between A and B.



Complex Frontal Setting

Planes at right angles to the picture surface are drawn as if parallel to it

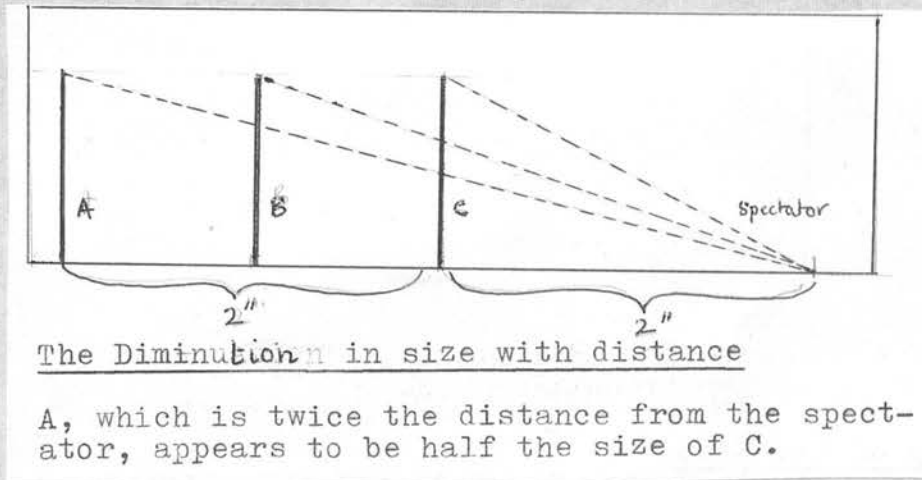


Inverted Perspective

All the planes have been drawn as if standing in the foreground. But objects originally in the background have been drawn on a larger scale.

on the eye to create an impression, but that it was an active force from the mind reaching out towards the object which could be affected by space. Plotinus had, however, his own theory about how we recognise the true size of an object by the perception of detail. If there is no detail then we can have no idea of the size of the object.

Fig. 86



We find the Stoic theory of perception also in the writings of St. Basil,¹ who, like Plotinus, used a landscape to illustrate the theory. He places the spectator at the top of a high mountain and points out the oxen and the labourers apparently the size of ants. He then looks out to sea and remarks on the size of the islands and the white sailed merchant ship carrying 10,000 amphorae looking as small as a dove against the dark blue sea. Vision is so weakened by distance that it no longer has the power to perceive objects accurately. Distance can even be positively misleading - mountains pierced by steep ravines appear to be

1. Hexameron V, 9.

rounded and smooth because the vision is so weakened by distance that it can not reach into their depths. At a distance even square towers can appear round.¹

This theory that distance caused a distortion in vision which prevented a perfect knowledge of an object had a profound effect on landscape painting, for it meant the elimination of space from painting. If distance caused distortion, everything had to be brought as close to the spectator as possible, and so be placed in the foreground of the painting. The single point of view was no longer possible. This resulted in the two "perspective" systems common in the middle ages - inverted perspective and the complex frontal setting. In inverted perspective background objects are brought into the foreground but drawn on a larger scale so as not to be obscured by anything in front of them. In the complex frontal setting all planes at right angles to the picture plane are placed parallel to it.

We find these two "perspective" systems in the paintings throughout the Menologion. But there are also the remnants of the classical linear perspective in some paintings where receding planes are indicated by upward sloping lines.

This theory explains why the topographical drawings in the Menologion are found only in the foreground whereas the background architecture is mostly picturesque, in the style of the illusionist sacred-idyllic landscapes.

1. St. Basil Homilies sur L'Hexaéméron trans. Stanislas Giet (1949), p. 375.

Two reasons can be put forward for the acceptance of this philosophy in the third century. Perspective studies had begun in the fifth century B.C. and in the 2nd century they were 600 years old. About the same distance in time separates the modern painter from the discoveries of Brunelleschi at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Today there is a feeling that illusionism has been taken as far as it can go; painters are tired of the single point of view and want to experiment with vision. A similar reaction may have been felt by the sculptors of Trajan's column in the second century A.D. The new style also perhaps became widespread during the third century because of the political anarchy of the Roman empire at that time. When the outside world becomes hostile, there is no desire to accept it at its face value, but to search for some inner reality behind superficial appearances.

Topographical landscapes were extremely popular in early Christian art, and were used not only to decorate private houses such as one in the Yakto Complex where a mosaic border represents the neighbouring town of Daphni,¹ but also in churches. The Emperor Zeno (474-91) sent a team of mosaic workers to his relation, St. Lawrence, together with a hundred pounds of gold to decorate the church of St. John in Sipontum with the representations of the churches of Sipontum, Gargano and others in the diocese.²

1. Doro Levi Antioch mosaic Pavements p. 328. The mosaic is dated to between 450-57 from the inscription referring to Ardaburius as Magister Militum.

2. E. Bertaux L'Art dans L'Italie Meridionale I (1904) pp. 66-7.

This is important, as it shows that topographical landscapes were not merely a provincial fashion, although the only ones to survive are outside Constantinople.¹ The Trier ivory, however, was carved in Constantinople in the 6th or 7th centuries and shows the transfer of a relic to a church in Constantinople. The relic is carried in a wagon and the procession is led by the Emperor towards the doorway of the church, where the Empress is waiting. The church is a three aisled basilica with a main entrance and a side door and behind it there is a three storey building with spectators standing at the windows and on the roof. Unfortunately, the identity of the church is not known, but it appears to have been connected with the palace.²

This ivory shows that it is extremely difficult to identify buildings when there is no inscription. All the drawings in topo-

1. For example: a fourth century mosaic representing the town of Hippo. (De Pachthère Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire XXI (1911) pl. XVII, XVIII, p. 330).

A mosaic from the frigidarium of Fundus Bassianus in the Arsenal at Sidi Abdallah representing the owner's villa on the sea shore. (P. Gauckler Catalogue de la Musée d'Aloui (1907) No. 231 Pl. V).

Theodoric's Palace and the port of Classis in S. Apollinare Nuovo.

Jerusalem in the apse of S. Pudenzianna.

The shrine of St. Peter's on the Pola Casket (J. McC. Toynbee and J. B. Ward Perkins The Shrine of St. Peter's and the Vatican Excavations (1956) p. 203).

The Madaba mosaic map of Syria and Palestine.

The churches of Palestine on a border to a floor at a church at Ma'an (Père de Vaux Revue Biblique XLVIII (1938) p. 293).

The cities of Alexandria and Memphis and the shrine of SS. Cyrus and John decorating the floors of the churches of SS. Peter and Paul and John the Baptist at Jerash. (F. M. Biebel "The Walled Cities of the Gerasa Mosaics" Gerasa City of the Decapolis (1938) p. 391ff.) (Plate 10)

2. D. Talbot Rice The Art of Byzantium p. 305, pl. 70.

graphical landscapes are indeed difficult to interpret because the laws for indicating the third dimension systematically had been abandoned. So, it is often difficult to decide, as in the relief of the tomb of the Haterii, whether the upper part of a building is intended to represent a second storey or the interior. There is also an indiscriminate mixture of conventional formulae with realistic detail.

We know of no surviving examples of topographical landscapes in monumental art after iconoclasm. But the miniatures of the Menologion contain many topographical drawings of churches, not only of pre-iconoclast foundations, but also of new buildings erected after Iconoclasm, such as the church of St. Anthony Kauleas where Leo VI spoke at its consecration (p. 393). These illustrations show that not only did interest in topography survive Iconoclasm, but that it appears to have been an important aspect of the Macedonian Renaissance.

Chapter VI

The Portrait of the Saint

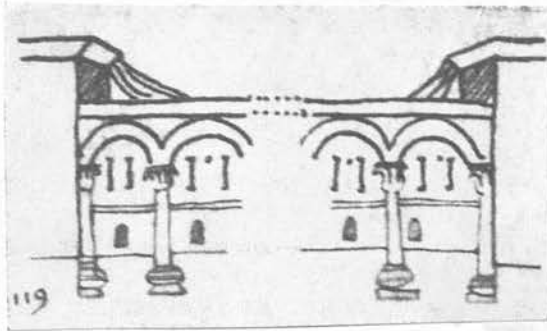
1. While the narrative illustrations have landscape settings, the portraits are placed against architecture.
2. The portraits are mostly of later saints and the architectural background was added by the painters of the Menologion.
3. They used four different settings, but they are all either representations or symbols of palaces.
4. A palace as a symbol of heaven.
5. Architectural symbolism in Roman painting.
6. The architectural backgrounds to the portraits of martyrs in St. George, Thessaloniki.
7. Whereas the palaces in St. George are basically Hellenistic, those in the Menologion are Byzantine.

Chapter VI

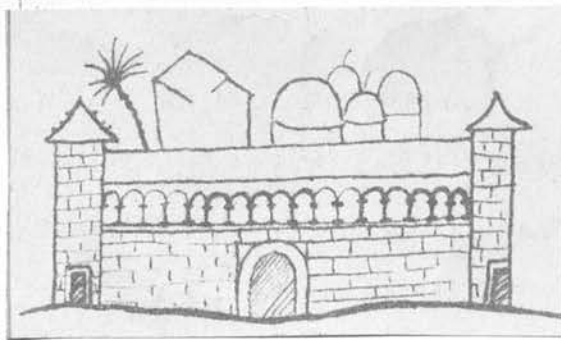
Up to now we have only looked at the narrative illustrations in the Menologion, which all have landscape settings. But there are also a large number of portraits in this manuscript and these have symbolic architectural settings.

This architectural setting was added by the Menologion artists and not copied from the model along with the portrait. This is shown by the fact that each painter had his own favourite type of setting; Mena never used an arch or an arcade but preferred the façade flanked by two towers, whereas Pantaleone, with one exception, always used the arch or arcade. Only Michael of Blachernae, Nestor and Symeon used a courtyard. Moreover, we find the same type of setting in paintings obviously copied from different sources such as the prophet on page 119 and the saint on page 38 (plate 25) while SS. Cyriacus and Euthymus (pp. 73 and 338), from the same monastery but illustrated by different painters, have completely different settings.

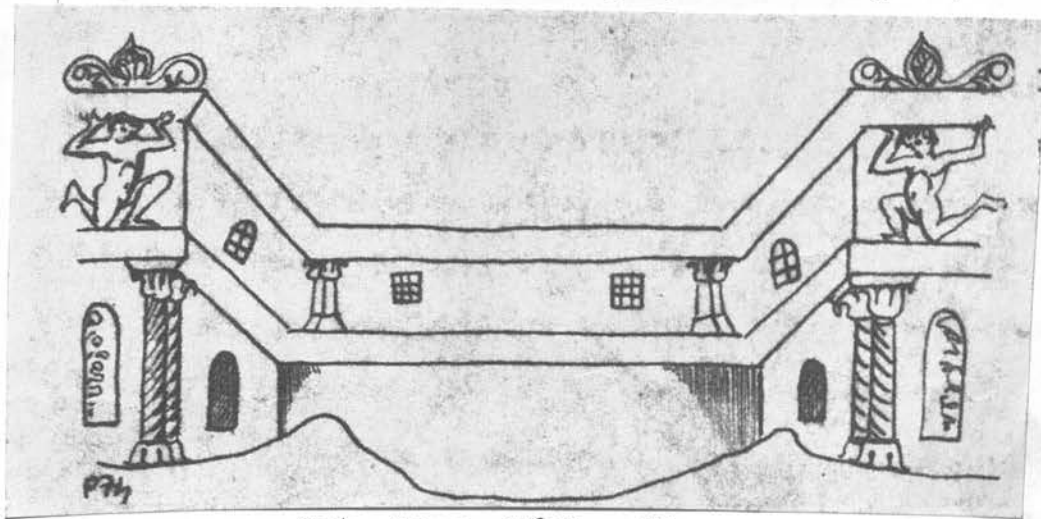
We find that it is mostly the later saints who have been illustrated by portraits. Although there are 230 paintings of saints who lived before the 5th century in this manuscript, there are only 24 portraits among them. Whereas there are only 85 paintings of later saints, yet this includes 34 portraits. All the prophets, except Micah, are also illustrated by portraits. The reason for these statistics is that whereas there were probably many pre-iconoclast paintings with landscape setting of early saints, the later saints may only have been illustrated by single standing figures without setting.



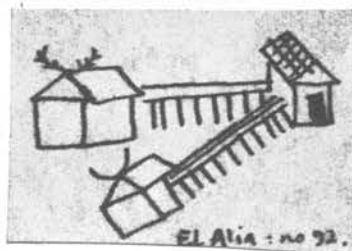
Vat. Grec. 1613 p.119



North African villa from a mosaic at Carthage (Lantier fig.14)



Vat. Grec. 1613 p.74



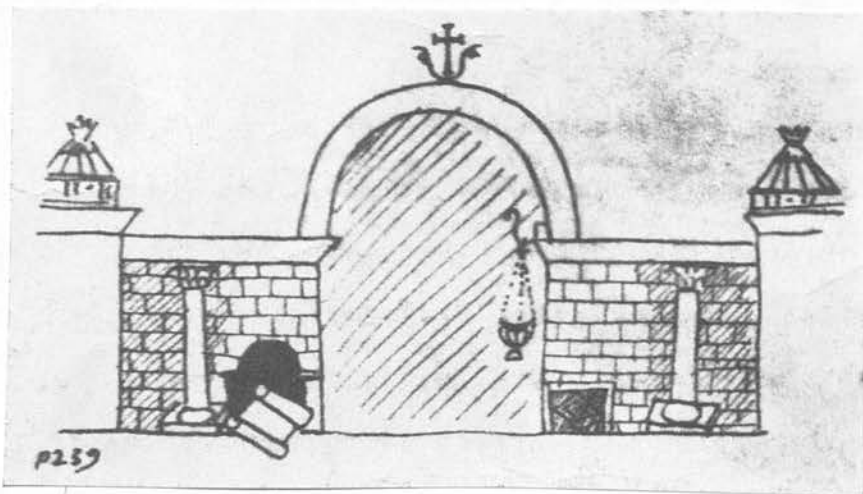
Villa mosaic from El Alia (no.92)

The Menologion artists were faced with the problem of how to convert such models into paintings of fixed size and shape (18 cms. x 12). They solved it by adding an architectural setting, using four different types of background, progressing from one to the other as the work proceeded. They began by using a façade with two towers (pp. 6, 29, 54, 104, 116, 119, 188, 232, 248), then followed this with a courtyard (pp. 74, 88, 123, 124, 193, 226, 248, 265). Towards the middle of the work an apse was introduced (p. 239) which then was converted into an arch (p. 332 etc). The last portraits are framed by a triple arcade.

All these four different types of setting were derived ultimately from palace architecture. The first two types of buildings were common types of Roman villas, frequently found in Pompeian villa landscapes and still found in north African mosaics of the 4th century (fig. 87). The two towers are believed to have had a royal significance,¹ but they also had a sacred quality as they are frequently found decorating the façades of early Christian churches in Syria and Palastine and are found as late as the fourteenth century on the exo-narthex of St. Sophia in Ochrid. (Plates 25, 26)

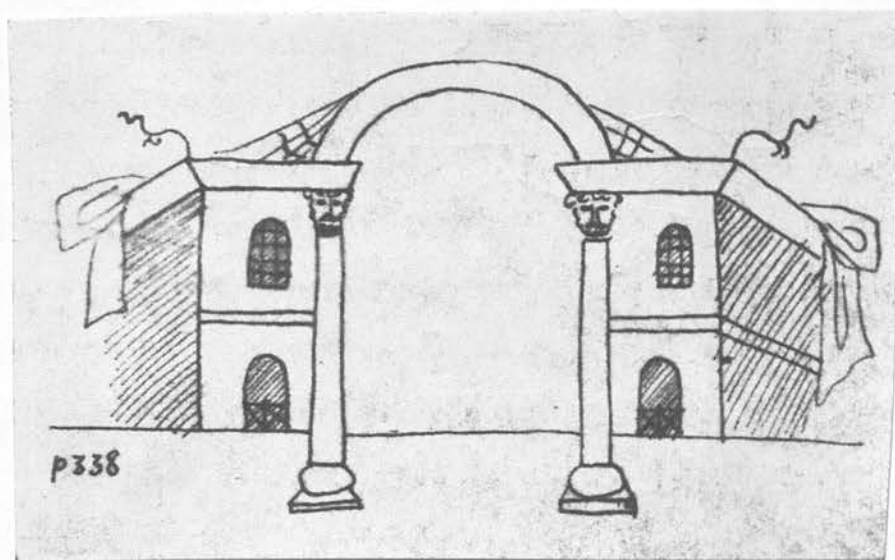
The buildings with towered façade and courtyard probably represent, in a formalised manner, however, Byzantine palaces.²

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1. The Symbolism of this type of façade is discussed by Earl Baldwin Smith in Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages (1956) chapter II.
 2. This hypothesis is supported by L. de Beylié's L'Habitation Byzantine (1902) p. 163 and Swoboda Römische und Romanische Paläste (1919). The thirteenth century Fondaco dei Turchi in Venice shows that there must have been a tradition of building palaces with towered façades in Byzantine architecture (Agostino Sagredo e Federico Berchet II Fondaco dei Turchi in Venezia (1860).



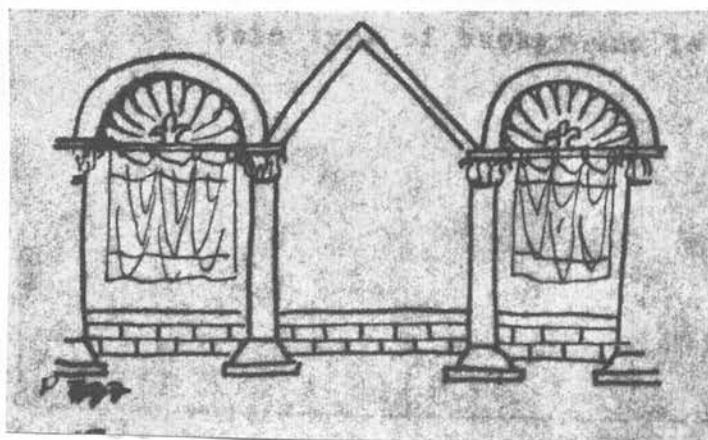
p239

Vat. Grec. 1613 p. 239 The Apse



p338

Vat. Grec. 1613 p. 338 The Single Arch



Vat. Grec. 1613 p. 397 The Triple Arcade

Even apparently fantastic details such as the capital in the form of a bearded man's head on page 338 is a copy of one excavated recently in Constantinople.¹ The crooked silver finger holding back the curtains on page 310 can be found as curtain rod holders in the narthex of St. Sophia in Constantinople. (Fig. 88, Plate 27)

Although the arches and arcades are obviously not representations of palaces, they can be regarded as abbreviated palace symbols. Arches were common frames to portraits in the 6th century, and a famous ivory of the Empress Ariadne now in the Bargello in Florence, is framed by a baldachino decorated with eagles. This is clearly intended to represent the baldachino over the Imperial throne, as we find the same eagles decorating the imperial throne in a 9th century miniature (Paris B.N. Grec. 510 f239). But we also find the same eagles decorating an arch over the portrait of St. Theodosius the abbot on page 310 of the Vatican Menologion. (Plate 27)

The painters of the Menologion were using these palace symbols as settings to their portraits of saints because Heaven was conceived as a palace. This is shown, not only by much early Christian iconography, such as the Virgin and Christ enthroned,² but also by the legend of St. John of Alexandria, whose portrait is found on page 177 of the Menologion. The saint had persuaded a miserly bishop called Troilus to give £30 to the poor, but the bishop regretted the loss of his money so much that he became ill.

1. D. Talbot Rice Art of Byzantium, plate 32.

2. A. Grabar L'Empereur dans l'Art Byzantin (1936) p. 196ff.

So the kind hearted saint returned the money and that night the bishop dreamed of the paradise he had lost:

"I saw a house whose beauty and size no human art could imitate, with a gateway all of gold, and above the gateway an inscription painted on wood which ran 'The eternal home and resting place of Bishop Troilus' ... But I had hardly finished reading the inscription when, behold, an imperial chamberlain appeared with others of the divine retinue, and as he drew near the gateway of the radiant house, he said to his servants 'Take down the inscription', and when they had taken it down he said again 'Change it and put up the one the King of the World has sent'. So they took away the one and fixed up another while I was looking on, and on it was written, 'The Eternal home and resting place of John, Archbishop of Alexandria, bought for £30'!"¹

This moral tale shows that heaven was conceived as a royal palace and God as King of the World. Each saint had his own private palace waiting for him in heaven, and these palaces are represented in the Menologion illustrations.

Architectural Decorations

The use of symbolic architecture was, of course, no new invention. Most Pompeian houses were decorated with painted architecture which, Vitruvius tells us, was copied from stage sets.² But Vitruvius also makes clear that these stage sets represented royal palaces.³ The most important feature of these Pompeian decorations was the tholos, which as a circular domed building carried with it rich symbolic associations. It could be regarded both as a tomb, a temple and as part of a palace.⁴ By the first

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1. Supplement to the life of St. John the Almsgiver by Leontius, Bishop of Neapolis. Trans. Dawes and Baynes, Three Byzantine Saints, p. 239.
 2. De Architectura, VII, 5, 2, 1-2.
 3. Ibid. V, 7, 8-9
 4. The symbolism of domes and tholoi are discussed in: K. Lehmann "The Dome of Heaven" Art Bulletin XXVII (1945). Earl Baldwin Smith The Dome. A study on the History of Ideas Louis Hautecoeur Mystique et Architecture. Symbolisme du Cercle et de la Coupole (1954).

century, this architecture was used to frame images of the gods, as in the Casa di Apollo (Plate 28) 1).

This symbolic architecture was accepted without modification into Christian art in the fourth century mosaics in St. George in Thessaloniki,¹ which, like the Menologion illustrations, show saints standing before buildings (plate 29). The buildings in the St. George mosaics follow the scheme of the Roman decorations and have tholoi either standing before the façade as in the II style decorations, or incorporated into the upper ^{part} as in the IV style. They also have the double nature of being both palaces and tombs, resembling both the Roman tombs at Petra and also Circe's Palace in the Odyssey landscape as well as a palace in the 8th century Damascus mosaics (plate 30,3)

Although the buildings behind the portraits of saints in both St. George and the Menologion are all palaces, the style of architecture is quite different. The St. George palaces are basically Hellenistic, derived from theatre painting, whereas the two towered façades in the Menologion were Byzantine types of building derived from Roman villa architecture.

There was therefore no direct return to classical forms in the settings of the Menologion portraits. Although arches and arcades had been motifs in the Pompeian decorations, as in the Villa of Mysteries, they had become traditional settings for portraits and are found in the Paris Gregory (f 71v Plate 32). The towered façade, although a common motif in the Pompeian villa landscapes, does not appear to have been used as a setting for portraits before this date.

1. H. Thorpe "Quelques remarques sur les mosaïques de l'église saint-Georges à Thessalonique" Proceedings of the 9th Byzantine Conference (1953). R.H. Hodkinson Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia (1963).

Conclusion

The illustrations of the Menologion contain three completely different types of setting:- the landscape based on classical illusionist motifs, the topographical landscape, and the architectural decoration of the portraits.

Although the Menologion was painted at the end of the Macedonian Renaissance, there is no evidence that its paintings show the result of a revival in the sacred-idyllic style of landscape painting. Classical motifs are found only in those of its paintings which represent pre-iconoclast saints; the Biblical illustrations copied from pre-iconoclast models, such as the Infancy Cycle and the Deaths of the Apostles, have been stripped of their classical details. The painters of the Menologion preferred topographical details to classical motifs and in the Baptism we find a cross instead of a river god in the Jordan and in the Death of James "Frater Domini" a tholos has been converted into an ambone. The Menologion contains a series of apparently accurate drawings of 9th century churches which shows that there was a renewed interest in topography during the Macedonian Renaissance.

Classical landscape painting survived into the tenth century because Byzantine artists were accurate copyists and there were many early Christian models of Old Testament and Apocryphal subjects painted in this style. The painters of the Paris Psalter and the Joshua Roll were prepared to follow these models and even to embellish them. But this type of landscape was not used for completely new paintings for which no models existed, as in the case of illustrations of the lives of post-iconoclast saints.

Although the tendency was to eliminate classical motifs, this did not mean the complete end of the classical tradition. The topographical landscapes with views of churches and martyria, the shrines and tombs of saints, can be regarded as Byzantine forms of the Hellenistic sacred-idyllic landscapes which also represented shrines and tombs. The symbolic architecture used as a setting to the portraits, although no longer Hellenistic in style as in St. George, was still derived from a palace and so had the same significance. In both landscapes and portraits classical motifs had been revised and brought up to date.

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