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Το ευαγγελιστάριο της Τραπεζούντας (κώδικας gr. 21 και 21a) στη ρωσική εθνική βιβλιοθήκη, Αγία Πετρούπολη, και η βυζαντινή τέχνη μετά τη Μακεδονική αναγέννηση

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The Trebizond Lectionary (Cod. gr. 21 and 21a) in
Russian National Library, Saint Petersburg and
Byzantine Art after the Macedonian Renaissance

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THE TREBIZOND LECTIONARY (COD. GR. 21 AND 21a) IN RUSSIAN NATIONAL LIBRARY, SAINT PETERSBURG AND BYZANTINE ART AFTER THE MACEDONIAN RENAISSANCE*

The Trebizond Lectionary from the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg (gr. 21 and 21a)¹ has frequently attracted the attention of researchers on Byzantine art. The dating of the manuscript to the middle or second half of the tenth century is now beyond doubt, yet the question of its origin remains open². Many scholars have attributed the manuscript to the Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, as it was presented to Emperor Alexander II by the metropolitan of Trebizond. Other evidence quoted is based on certain features of the iconography and style of the miniatures, but no convincing arguments have been put forward³.

A different opinion is expressed by professor Boris Fonkich, who considers it more likely that the Trebizond Lectionary was produced in Constantinople, in the same workshop as the non-illuminated lectionary Syn. gr. 226 from the State Historical Museum in Moscow: the two manuscripts may have been written by the same scribe⁴.

The Constantinopolitan origin of the manuscript is also supported by some new data. In previous studies on the Byzantine tradition of illustrating lectionaries, we have sought to show that the Trebizond Lectionary holds a very important place among liturgical books of this type⁵. Some particular

* This research has been carried out with the financial support of the Russian Foundation for Humanities (within the framework of the project "Form and image in Byzantine manuscript illumination in the second half of the 10th and the 11th centuries", grant No. 05-04-04048a).

¹ *Otčet Imperatorskoj Publičnoj biblioteki za 1858 god*, St. Petersburg 1859, 81-84. E. de Muralt, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque impériale publique*, St. Petersburg 1864, 13, 14, 40. C.R. Morey, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures", *ArtB* 11/1 (1929), 53-92. E.E. Granstrem, "Katalog grečeskikh rukopisej leningradskih hranilišč, I: Rukopisi IV-IX vekov", *VizVrem* 16 (1959), 238. Ead., "Katalog grečeskikh rukopisej leningradskih hranilišč, III: Rukopisi XI veka", *VizVrem* 19 (1961), 230. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, Princeton 1970, 180-181. Id., "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustration", K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (H. L. Kessler, ed.), Chicago-London 1971, 257-258, 261-262. Id., "A Xth Century Lectionary. A Lost Masterpiece of the Macedonian Renaissance", K. Weitzmann, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*, London 1980, X, 624. *Iskusstvo Vizantii v sobranijah SSSR. Katalog vystavki*, II, Moscow 1977, 34-36. V.D. Likhačeva, *Vizantijskaya miniatyura*, Moscow 1977, 14, figs 5-10. V.N. Lazarev, *Istorija Vizantijskoj živopisi*, Moscow 1986, I, 70, 214 (n. 53); II, figs 105-106. E. M. Schwarz, *Das Lectionar von St. Petersburg: vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex gr. 21, gr. 21a der Russischen Nationalbibliothek in St. Petersburg*, I, II, Graz-Moskau 1994. K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts*, Wien 1996, I, 59, 61-62, figs 392-398; II, 57 (hereafter: *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*). O.S. Popova, "Grečeskij illyustrirovannyj kodex (Evangel'skie čtenija) vtoroj poloviny 10 veka iz Parižskoj natsional'noj biblioteki (Coislin 31)", in O.S. Popova, *Vizantijskie i drevnerusskie miniatyury*,

Moscow 2003, 19-20. I.P. Mokretsova, M.M. Naumova, V.N. Kireyeva, E.N. Dobrynina, B.L. Fonkich, *Materials and Techniques of Byzantine Manuscripts*, Moscow 2003, 103-106 (with complete bibliography).

² G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris 1916, 13, 557-558: an eleventh century imitation of a seventh-eighth century original, Anatolia. Morey, op.cit., 91-92: eighth c., Cappadocia. A.M. Friend, "The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts", *Art Studies, Medieval, Renaissance and Modern. An Extra Number of the American Journal of Archaeology*, 1927, 136: tenth c., Cappadocia. Likhačeva, op.cit., 14: ninth c., Asia Minor; Lazarev, op.cit., I, 70, 214 (n. 53): second half of the tenth c., Trebizond. Schwartz, op.cit., I, 14-15, 18, 23-24, 26: after the middle of the tenth c. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, I, 59: after the middle of the tenth c., Trebizond. Popova, op.cit., 19-20: after the middle of the tenth c.; Mokretsova et al., op.cit., 103: the middle of the tenth c., Byzantium.

³ Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei* I, 59, 61-62, dwells briefly on the iconographic features of certain scenes and detects the manner of five different masters in 16 miniatures, with which we cannot agree. Millet, op.cit., 173, 178, 218-219, 310-312, 462-464, 519-521, 535, 546, 557-558, 577, and Morey, op.cit., make a more detailed examination of the iconography of the miniatures comparing them with Cappadocian and other monuments. The arguments of these three scholars require more detailed consideration than is possible within the framework of this article.

⁴ B.L. Fonkich, "Zametki o grečeskikh rukopisiah sovetskikh hranilišč", *Pamiatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytia*. 1981, Moscow 1983, 11-12, 25. My warmest thanks to Prof. Boris Fonkich for consultations on the script of the Trebizond Lectionary and Cod. Syn. gr. 226.

⁵ A.V. Zakharova, "Pervonačal'nyj tsikl miniatur Trapezundskogo



Fig. 1. Evangelist Mark. The Trebizond Lectionary (Cod. gr. 21, National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg), f. 5v.

Evangelia i ego mesto v traditsii illiustirovaniia vizantijskogo leksionaria", *Vizantija v kontekste mirovoj istorii. Materialy naučnoj konferentsii, posviaščennoj pamiati A.V. Bank*, Saint Peterburg 2004, 42-52. A. Zakharova, "The Original Cycle of Miniatures in the Trebizond Lectionary and its Place in the Byzantine Tradition of the Lectionary Illustration", *Nea Rhome* 2 (2005) [= *Ampelokepion. Studi di amici e colleghi in onore di Vera von Falkenhausen*, II], 169-192.

⁶ Here we list only some main general works: H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, London 1938. K. Weitzmann, "Probleme der mittelbyzantinischen Renaissance", *AA* 1933, 336-360. Id., "Der Pariser Psalter ms. grec. 139 und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance", *JbKw* 6 (1939), 178-194. Id., *The Joshua Roll*, Princeton 1948. Id., "The Character and Intellectual Origins of the Macedonian Renaissance", in K. Weitzmann, *Studies* (n. 1), 176-223. Id., "The Classical in the Byzantine Art as a Mode of Individual Expression", *ibid.*, 151-175. Id., "The Classical Mode in the Period of the Macedonian Emperors: Continuity or Revival?", K. Weitzmann, *Classical Heritage in Byzantine and Near East Art*, London 1981, X, 71-85. E. Kitzinger, "The Hellenistic Heritage in

circumstances have made it possible to reconstruct its original illustrative cycle. In our view, apart from the sixteen miniatures that have survived, the Trebizond Lectionary included at least twelve more illustrations. It is a very early lectionary with an extensive and clearly structured cycle of miniatures on Gospel subjects. The relationship of the text and representations, the choice of subjects and the iconography of the scenes reflect a system obviously created specially for illustrating a book of this kind. Most probably the illustrative cycle arose in Constantinople.

The importance of our manuscript is by no means limited to the place it holds in the tradition of Byzantine lectionary illustration, however. The Trebizond Lectionary is an outstanding specimen of Byzantine artistic culture. In the present work we shall attempt to outline the artistic originality of its miniatures and examine them briefly within the context of the history of tenth-century Byzantine art.

The present view of tenth-century Byzantine painting is based on the study of two large sources of material. One consists of works from the brilliant court culture that reached its height during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959). These are mostly richly illuminated manuscripts produced under the influence of antique models. The Macedonian Renaissance has always aroused great interest among researchers⁶, with the result that other trends, which this article will now discuss, have remained underestimated.

The other is provincial monumental painting, first and foremost, that of the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia⁷. These paintings, orientated on ancient local traditions, are extremely original and have little in common with the classical ideal culti-

Byzantine Art", *DOP* 17 (1963), 95-115. H. Belting, "Problemi vecchi e nuovi sull'arte della cosiddetta "Rinascenza Macedone" a Bisanzio", *CorsiRav* XXIX (1982), 31-57. G. Galavaris, "Η ζωγραφική των χειρογράφων στον δέκατον αιώνα", *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his Age. Second International Byzantine Conference. Delphi*, 22-26 July 1987, Athens 1989, 333-375, etc.

⁷ Here again we list only some main general works: G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, I, II, Paris 1925-1942. N. et M. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce. Région du Hasan Dağı*, Paris 1963. M. Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, I-III, Recklinghausen 1967. L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*, London 1985. C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords*, Paris 1991. Ead., *La Cappadoce. Mémoire de Byzance*, Paris 1997. N. Thierry, *Haut Moyen Âge en Cappadoce. Les églises de la région de Çavuşin*, I, II, Paris 1983, 1994. Ead., *La Cappadoce de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2002.

vated in Constantinople. The miniatures of the Trebizond Lectionary also exhibit clearly expressed non-classical features and have therefore been associated with these monuments.

Let us now examine more closely certain miniatures from the Lectionary. The non-classical features of these miniatures are perhaps most evident in the portrait of the Evangelist Mark on f. 5v (Fig. 1). The pose and attributes surrounding the figure are perfectly traditional. Yet the usual ideas of reality are distorted in the representation of both the figure and the objects. The building in the background has a pronounced a-logical structure: the supports are cut off before they reach the ground and the entablature does not rest on the posts, but leans clumsily against them. The furniture is piled up in a disorderly fashion and hovers in an abstract gold background without any support. The proportions and structure of the figure of the Evangelist are also distorted. The legs are disproportionately long, the arms excessively thin and seem boneless. There is hardly any plastic modelling. The robes are crossed with jagged folds that form restless clusters and cascades. Most striking of all is the Evangelist's face. The contorted features, sloping forehead, sunken eyes, tense expression, sharply asymmetrical brows, deep furrows, tangled hair, the unusually dark shade of facial painting and the dark blue-green shadows, are all used boldly by the master to create an image full of profound tragedy.

The miniature shocks and is intended to do so. There can be no question here of insufficient mastery of painting technique. The painter is consciously distorting all the traditional devices for conveying physical reality. This is a deliberate rejection of the central task of art in the Macedonian Renaissance. It is an attempt to find new ways of creating an irrational, spiritually saturated image.

Other miniatures in the Trebizond Lectionary combine this new task with a splendid mastery of traditional painterly devices. Take, for example, the miniature of the Descent into Hell on f. 1v (Fig. 2). The miniature's dimensions are fully in keeping with the small light figures, and the composition is not meant to look cramped. At the same time it is dominated by the shining mandorla surrounding the figure of the resurrected Christ. Everything is constructed around this mandorla. It seems to shift the space and the figures, pushing them towards and beyond the edges of the frame. Beneath Christ's feet lies the personification of Hell, a muscular, swarthy old man, chained and reclining. The treatment of his body reveals an excellent knowledge of antique models: the fine proportions, complex foreshortening, and correct structure with plastically outlined sinews and muscles. Our Lord is trampling upon Hell, yet His feet barely touch the figure of the old man. The figure of Christ is quite weight-



Fig. 2. Descent into Hell. The Trebizond Lectionary (Cod. gr. 21, National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg), f. 1v.

less and immaterial. It hovers freely inside the mandorla, which is shifted slightly to the right, as if it cannot keep up with the rapid movement. The structure of the figure is not quite correct. The robes enfold it in mass of small, complex folds, yet this does not produce a convincing impression of plasticity. On the contrary, Christ's body seems boneless, light and weak. The bent back, bowed head, and expression of the face and eyes seem to stress the mercy and compassion with which Christ is gazing at Adam. There is no physical beauty in Christ's face. The brows are crooked and shifted towards the bridge of the nose, there is a deep furrow by the cheek and the corners of the mouth are pursed. The gestures are remarkably expressive. Christ's small, weak hand is firmly grasping Adam's limply dangling one and seems to be imparting a vital impulse to his whole body, which is outlined with an energetic line running from the wrist to the foot. Radiant streams of white light delineate the shape of the folds in the robes. The steady, pure, blue light of the halo is of a quite different nature. Christ's mandorla and robes seem to be composed of the same substance. The figure of

Adam is equally ethereal, as if woven from reflections of the Divine halo. Adam's face is painted in an expressive, almost grotesque manner, familiar to us from the image of Mark the Evangelist. The proportions of the head are distorted, the facial features deliberately ugly and unbalanced: the small sloping neck, narrow forehead, huge nose and mouth, and dishevelled hair and beard. His astonished, wide-open eyes are fixed on the face of Christ.

The faces and figures of the characters portrayed next to Adam are painted in a completely different manner. Here too the master's classical training is obvious. The serene poses with slightly bowed heads, dignified faces with fine, gentle features, and subtle illusionist painting of the draperies are all fully in keeping with works of the Macedonian Renaissance⁸. Here we see the hidden basis of the style in the miniatures of the Trebizond Lectionary, which is used for a completely different purpose here. The main aim is to convey the spiritual content of the image with the utmost expressiveness and clarity, and to this end the classical base is radically reworked.

If we now turn to Cappadocian painting of the tenth century, it is easy to see that the attitude to the classical tradition, always present in Byzantine painting in some form or other, is totally different here. In time of origin and relationship with general Byzantine artistic processes only a few ensembles⁹ can compare with the Trebizond Lectionary.

Painting of the first half of the tenth century includes a large group of so-called "archaic programmes"¹⁰, similar to one another in their iconography and distinctive style, which shares little in common with the classical art of Constantinople. Take the frescoes from the first quarter of the century in the Old Tokali church in Göreme valley¹¹. The compositional treatment of the Gospel scenes is flat and decorative, as are the individual figures, robes, and faces. The forms of

the bodies and robes are schematic and stylised, while the drawing of the drapery is not connected with the shape of the body or the light with the surface of the fabric. The movements and gestures are treated conventionally and invested with a special visual element that conveys the meaning of the narrative.

In monuments of the mid-tenth century one sees a continuation of the same tradition. Thus in the painting of the Church of El Nazar¹² in Göreme valley the unbalanced, inorganic nature of the human figures and faces, which lack harmonic structure and plastic conviction, is even more pronounced. In the paintings of the Great Pigeon House in Çavuşin¹³ (Fig. 4), dated to 963-969, the excessively elongated, flat figures in robes crisscrossed with a fine network of lines, also have little in common with the normal structure of the human body. The most important thing here is the decorative unity and rhythmic structure of the composition as a whole. The individual image is not significant, which explains why all the faces are typified.

From this brief survey it is clear that we are dealing with a very special, autochthonic artistic tradition. Within the framework of this tradition other aims have been set, and a different understanding of image and form develops. In the miniatures of the Trebizond Lectionary the classical basis is taken as the point of departure, from which the master seeks to proceed further. In the Cappadocian paintings of the first half and middle of the tenth century this basis is neither the standard, nor the point of departure; it is simply not taken into account. In our view, the Trebizond Lectionary is not connected with this artistic tradition in any way.

Cappadocian monuments of the tenth century include one exception, the painting of the New Tokali church¹⁴. This ensemble is fairly precisely dated to the 950s. Nicole Thierry has argued convincingly that the paintings were commis-

⁸ Compare, for example, the figure and face of King David with the same image in the Leo Bible, of the second quarter of the tenth century, Cod. Vat. Reg. 1 B, f. 497v. See *Die Bibel des Patricius Leo. Reg. gr. 1B*, CVS, LXXV, Zürich 1988, I, f. 497v.

⁹ Works by researchers who connect the Trebizond Lectionary with Cappadocia do not contain any particular stylistic analogies with the miniatures.

¹⁰ De Jerphanion, op.cit. (n. 7), I, 67-94. R. Cormack, "Byzantine Cappadocia. The Archaic Group of Wall Paintings", *JBAA* 30 (1967), 19-36.

¹¹ De Jerphanion, op.cit., I, 262-294. Restle, op.cit., II, figs 61-97. A. Wharton Epstein, *Tokali kilise. Tenth-Century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia*, Washington 1986, 14-22, 60-65, pl. 1, figs 12-47. N. Thierry, "Un atelier de peintures du début du Xe siècle : l'atelier de

l'ancienne église de Tokali", in N. Thierry, *Peintures d'Asie Mineure et de Transcaucasie aux Xe et Xie siècles*, London 1977, IV. Ead., *La Cappadoce* (n. 7), fiche 26, pl. 80.

¹² De Jerphanion, op.cit. (n. 7), I, 177-198. Restle, op.cit. (n. 7), II, figs 1-20. Thierry, *La Cappadoce* (n. 7), fiche 29, pl. 68.

¹³ De Jerphanion, op.cit. (n. 7), I, 520-550. Restle, op.cit., III, figs 302-329. L. Rodley, "The Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin", *JÖB* 33 (1983), 301-339. Thierry, *Haut Moyen-Âge* (n. 7), I, 43-57. Ead., *La Cappadoce* (n. 7), fiche 36, 173-177, pl. 86.

¹⁴ De Jerphanion, op.cit. (n. 7), I, 297-376. Restle, op.cit. (n. 7), II, figs 98-123. Wharton Epstein, *Tokali kilise*. N. Thierry, "La Vierge de tendresse à l'époque macédonienne", *Zograf* 10 (1979), 59-70. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries* (n. 7), 213-222. N. Thierry, "La peinture de Cap-



Fig. 3. Adoration of the Magi. New Tokali Church, Göreme, Cappadocia.

sioned by the future Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas and his relatives¹⁵. Their iconographic programme is based largely on local Cappadocian traditions¹⁶. However, the superb quality of the painting and the close affinity with artworks of the Macedonian Renaissance allow us to assume that the ensemble was produced by masters who were connected in some way or other with Constantinople¹⁷.

In the painting of the New Tokali elements of a refined classical style dominate (Figs 3 and 5). The serene, balanced compositions are constructed so that the figures can move around freely in them. All the secondary details, include elements of the landscape or architectural background, are reduced to a minimum: attention is focused on the main *dramatis personae*. The large, powerful bodies with small heads and feet have a balanced structure. The proportions

are slightly elongated, which makes the figures seem light. This impression is enhanced by the somewhat dry graphic treatment of the robes, delineated with frequent fine lines. The complexity and beauty of the various movements is stressed by the refined drawing of the draperies, which verges on mannerism.

All the personages are individualised. Each scene makes use of different types of faces, for which many analogies can be found in Constantinopolitan works of the mid-tenth century, and also in the Trebizond Lectionary. Compare, for example, David and the other elders from the Descent into Hell miniature on f. 1v (Fig. 2) with the eldest magus in the Adoration of the Magi from Tokali Kilise (Fig. 3). They have long thin faces, narrow foreheads, fine, flaring nostrils, and large mouths with thick lips. In both cases we find com-

padoce au Xe siècle. Recherches sur les commanditaires de la Nouvelle Église de Tokali et autres monuments", *Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus* (n. 6), 217-233. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines* (n. 7), 94-108. N. Thierry, "De la datation des églises de Cappadoce", *BZ* 88 (1995), 437-444. Ead., *La Cappadoce* (n. 7), fiche 35, 169-173, pls 80-85.

¹⁵ See n. 14.

¹⁶ Wharton Epstein, *Tokali kilise* (n. 11), 23-26, 44-49.

¹⁷ Ibid., 26-27, 39-44. Thierry, "La peinture de Cappadoce", *op.cit.*, 231. Ead., *La Cappadoce* (n. 7), fiche 35.



Fig. 4. Ascension. Great Pigeon House, Çavuşin, Cappadocia.

plex, multi-layered painting: volume is modelled by the gradual lightening of the main tone. Such close similarity in the types of faces indicates an orientation towards the tastes of the same period and the same milieu.

In Tokali Kilise, as in the miniatures of the Trebizond Gospel, one frequently finds faces painted sketchily, without careful modelling of the surface. Profile representations are also frequent, some of which can even be compared with Trebizond Lectionary images in their almost grotesque sharpness. In some Tokali Kilise figures the desire for heightened expressiveness acquires a qualitatively different nature, fully comparable with the artistic method of the Trebizond Lectionary master (Fig. 5). The rejection of gradual modelling of the surface, the dark tone of the facial painting combined with numerous rapid white strokes, and the expressive drawing of sharp facial features create an image far removed from the ideals of the Macedonian Renaissance.

In general, however, classical features dominate in the Tokali Kilise paintings. Ann Wharton Epstein's comparison with illuminated manuscripts of the Macedonian Renaissance shows that these frescoes are fully in keeping with the development of metropolitan art at the same period¹⁸. Certain elements in the style of Tokali Kilise find analogies in

slightly earlier works, such as miniatures in the Leo Bible: the elegant proportions of the figures with small heads and long legs, the sumptuous drapery, and the sometimes free, almost impressionistic painting which resembles water-colour. Yet there are also other features in these paintings that recall the mid tenth century metropolitan works (the Paris Psalter, the Gospel Stavronikita cod. 43 etc.), such as the complex plastic modelling of volume and the natural representation of the drapery. Wharton Epstein remarks that the miniatures in the Trebizond Lectionary show many of the same stylistic features as these metropolitan works, but that the craft employed in them is of a much lower level¹⁹.

We cannot accept such an assessment of the Trebizond Lectionary miniatures, although we agree that they contain many elements widespread in Constantinopolitan painting around the middle of the tenth century. Many of the miniatures in the Trebizond Lectionary do contain features that Wharton Epstein picks out as common to the Tokali Kilise

¹⁸ Wharton Epstein, *Tokali kilise* (n. 11), 39-44.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

frescoes and the miniatures in the Leo Bible²⁰. Compare, for example, the figures of the Levites on f. 85 v of the Vatican manuscript with the Apostles from the Incredulity of Thomas on f. 3v (Fig. 7) of the Trebizond Gospel. There is considerable similarity in the proportions of the figures, the facial types, and the painting technique. The same free, almost casual painting of the bright, semi-transparent robes, without gradual plastic modelling; and the expressiveness of the flexible lines that delineate the folds and convey movement so forcefully.

A similar pictorial manner is found in the miniatures of Gospel cod. 247 m from the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos (c. mid-10th cent.), although here the figures of the Evangelists are treated much more naturally²¹. The Evangelist Luke in this manuscript is physically similar to the Apostles from the Mission of Apostles on f. 11r²²: a narrow face, shining eyes, a full vivid mouth, sharply outlined hollows in the cheeks, and dishevelled hair, all of which makes the figure more lively, active and immediate.

There are other works of the Macedonian Renaissance period in which this impressionistic technique is combined with a simplified, more conventional treatment of the figures and robes. For example, the figure of King Abgar on the famous icon of the Sinai monastery²³ has slightly unbalanced proportions, freely outlined contours of the robe folds, and a sharply expressive face similar in many respects to the miniatures of the Trebizond Gospel. One can also detect a more concrete similarity between the faces of King Abgar (Fig. 6) and the Evangelist Mark (Fig. 1). Both have large, irregularly shaped eyes with shining whites; deep furrows round the nostrils; full vivid lips; a beard in which individual long hairs are visible; and dark red-brown complexion of the face with sharp white highlights.

The Trebizond Lectionary master makes skilful use of the whole range of painterly devices widespread around the middle of the tenth century. Yet for all the outward similarity of devices and types of faces the general impression is fundamentally different. In the Trebizond Lectionary miniatures these elements form only a small part of the overall ar-

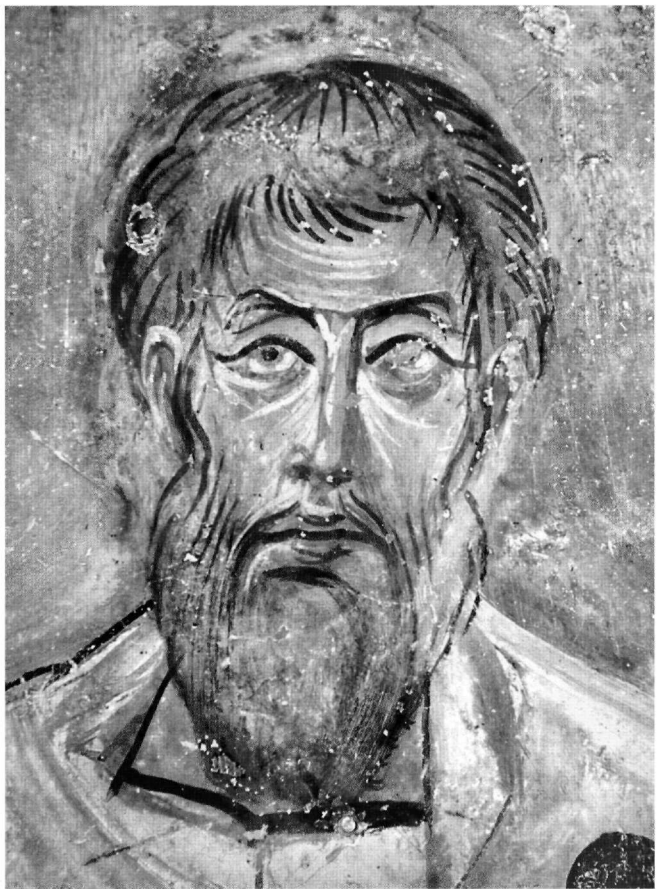


Fig. 5. St. Tarasius. New Tokali Church, Göreme, Cappadocia.

senal of expressive devices. They are included in a different artistic system, which was created to embody ideals different from the aspirations of classical art of the preceding generation. The main task now is to reduce the material, natural conditionality of what is represented in order to bring out the irrational forces behind what is taking place. Our manuscript is one of the most striking representatives of this trend, which appeared in Byzantine art after the middle of the tenth century. We have already noted the emergence of similar new features in the paintings of the New Tokali

²⁰ C. Mango, "The Date of Cod. Vat. Reg. Gr. 1 and the 'Macedonian Renaissance'", *Acta IRNorv* 4 (1969), 121-126. T. Mathews, "The Epigrams of Leo Sacellarios and an Exegetical Approach to the Miniatures of Vat. Reg. Gr. 1", *OCP* 43 (1977), 94-134. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, I, 40-42.

²¹ S.M. Pelekanidis, P.C. Christou, C. Tsioumi, S.N. Kadas, *Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, Athens 1975, II, 331, figs 168-171. M.L. Agati, *La minuscola bouletée*, Città del Vaticano 1992, 85-86.

G. Galavaris, *Painting of Byzantine Manuscripts*, Athens 1995, 220, fig. 29. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, II, 77, 78, figs 620-623.

²² Schwartz, op.cit. (n. 1), II, fol. 11r.

²³ K. Weitzmann, "The Mandyion and Constantine Porphyrogennitos", in K. Weitzmann, *Studies* (n. 1), 9, 225-246. K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons*, Princeton 1976, I, 94-98, cat. No. B. 58, pl. XXXVII.



Fig. 6. King Abgar. Monastery of St Catherine, Mount Sinai.

church. In many other works of this period they are used more widely and boldly.

Thus, it is not hard to find analogies with the Trebizond Lectionary miniatures in illuminated manuscript produced in Constantinople after the middle of the tenth century. One such manuscript is the sumptuously illustrated Lectionary Coislin 31 in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris²⁴. In the miniatures with Evangelists the gold background surrounds the ethereal figures and objects on all sides, depriving them

of points of support and links with one another. A similar effect is used in the Trebizond Lectionary miniature of the Washing of Feet (f. 6v)²⁵, where the whole composition is shifted sideways, leaving almost a third of the space surrounding the ethereal figures for the gold background. The similarity with the Trebizond Lectionary is also evident in more concrete features, such as facial types and expressions. Thus, the Evangelist Luke from Coislin 31 resembles the young Apostles in the middle of the scene described above, and the Evangelist Mark is very like the Apostle John the Theologian on f. 3v of the Incredulity of Thomas from the Trebizond Lectionary (Fig. 7)²⁶. In this scene the Apostles are attired in light blue-greenish robes, which emit a blinding radiance. The folds are indicated with elastic, springing lines, which produce a tense rhythm and fill the composition with amazing energy. The representation of the Evangelists in the Paris Lectionary also gives one the same sense of the non-material nature of the shining blue robes with their delicate, flexible folds.

There is similar use of line and light in the miniatures of the cod. Canon gr. 110 from the Bodleian Library²⁷. The figure of the Apostle Judas (f. 157v) in a tense pose has a clear, laconic outline. Similar sharp, dark lines are used to indicate the folds of the dress, on which there are bright splashes of light. Once again we see a special, characteristic type of face, reminiscent of Christ's face from the Washing of Feet scene in the Trebizond Lectionary. The young Apostles in this scene resemble the Evangelist Luke from the British Library New Testament Cod. Add. 28815²⁸ (Fig. 8). The theme of light as an image of inspiration and the Divine Presence in the world is particularly obvious in the miniatures of this New Testament. The Evangelist's robes and the unfurled scroll he is holding are full of the turbulent energy of radiant streams of light. White spots and lines of different configuration create the form of the folds and invest them with movement. The traditional construction of form by revealing its plasticity is absent here.

A similar combination of classical principles in the treatment of the figures and expressive motifs is found in the mosaic in the south vestibule of St Sophia in Constantinople²⁹. The figures of emperors Constantine and Justinian have al-

²⁴ Popova, *op.cit.* (n. 1).

²⁵ Schwartz, *op.cit.* (n. 1), II, fol. 6v.

²⁶ See Popova, *op.cit.* (n. 1), figs 6, 7. Schwartz, *op.cit.* (n. 1), II, fol. 6v.

²⁷ Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, I, 13-14, figs 71-77; II, 26. D. Buckton, *Byzantium. Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections*, London 1994, 137-138. I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen*

Miniaturehandschriften. Bd. 1. Oxford Bodleian Library, Stuttgart 1977, Nr. 3, S. 3-8, figs 11-26, pl. II. Agati, *op.cit.* (n. 21), 117-118.

²⁸ Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, I, 20, figs 136-139; II, 29. Buckton, *op.cit.*, 136, 137.

²⁹ C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of Saint Sophia at Istanbul*, Washington 1962, 23-24.



Fig. 7. The Incredulity of Thomas. The Trebizond Lectionary (Cod. gr. 21, National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg), f. 3v.

most balanced proportions and their poses are stable and natural. The faces are marked with deep furrows, however: there are triangular, dark hollows on the cheeks and tear-like bags under the eyes. The large hands with their excessively long fingers are crossed with dark and white bands. All these features invest the images of the emperors with dramatic tension.

Thus, as our survey shows, the non-classical trends in painting of the third quarter of the tenth century were fairly strong and widespread. Nevertheless, even against this background the miniatures of the Trebizond Lectionary remain a unique phenomenon. No other work of this period can rival them in power of emotional impact. The question remains as to where such a clearly expressed desire to return to the



Fig. 8. St. Luke. New Testament (cod. Add. 28815, The British Library, London), f. 162v.

original meaning of Christian art, to depict the undepictable, could have come from. We take the liberty of advancing the following proposition: it may have arisen under the influence of some early models, the collection and copying of which was promoted by Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his followers³⁰. We do not insist on a direct link between the Trebizond Lectionary and Constantinopolitan court circles. Nevertheless, we consider it perfectly possible that the master was striving to imitate the style, and in part the iconography also, of some early Christian model. This hypothesis requires further checking, however.

Now to sum up. The style of Constantinopolitan painting during the period in question was determined entirely by the premises of the Macedonian Renaissance. Very early on,

³⁰ On "copying" and "imitating" early Byzantine models in tenth c. manuscripts see H. Belting, G. Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas. Ein Werk der hofischen Buchkunst in Byzanz und sein antikes Vorbild*, Wiesbaden

979, 46-48, and J. Lowden, "An Alternative Interpretation of the Manuscripts of Niketas", *Byz* 53 (1983), 559-574; see also n. 6.

however, already by the middle of the century, attempts were made to go beyond the bounds of classicism³¹. The desire for the spiritualization of the artistic image became the decisive trend. For this purpose special expressive devices were used, which aimed at transforming the usual visual image of the material world. In many works of the third quarter of the tenth century classical harmony was disturbed by indi-

vidual features and expressive accents only. In the Trebizond Lectionary miniatures these tendencies found their most radical and consistent expression. We believe that the distinctive artistic features of these miniatures are not connected with Cappadocian traditions, but reflect certain general tendencies in Byzantine art after the middle of the tenth century, which most probably came from Constantinople.

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ΤΟ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΑΡΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΥΝΤΑΣ (COD. GR. 21 ΚΑΙ 21a) ΣΤΗ ΡΩΣΙΚΗ ΕΘΝΙΚΗ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ, ΑΓΙΑ ΠΕΤΡΟΥΠΟΛΗ, ΚΑΙ Η BYZANTINΗ ΤΕΧΝΗ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΗ ΑΝΑΓΕΝΝΗΣΗ

Οι μικρογραφίες του ευαγγελισταρίου της Τραπεζούντας (cod. gr. 21 και 21a) στη Ρωσική Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη στην Αγία Πετρούπολη αποτελούν ένα ενδιαφέρον φαινόμενο στην τέχνη του δεύτερου μισού του 10ου αιώνα, το οποίο δεν έχει φωτιστεί πλήρως από την έρευνα.

Το χειρόγραφο συχνά συνδέεται από ερευνητές με τις ανατολικές επαρχίες της βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας. Η άποψη αυτή βασίζεται στη σπάνια εικονογραφία ορισμένων από τις μικρογραφίες του χειρογράφου και στο ασυνήθιστα εκφραστικό τους στυλ. Τα ιδιαίτερα αυτά χαρακτηριστικά έχουν συνδεθεί με τη ζωγραφική των λαξευτών εκκλησιών της Καππαδοκίας, μολονότι δεν έχει γίνει λεπτομερής σύγκριση με αυτές ή με άλλα έργα του 10ου αιώνα.

Στο παρόν άρθρο γίνεται προσπάθεια να αποδειχθεί ότι οι μικρογραφίες του ευαγγελισταρίου της Τραπεζούντας δεν συνδέονται με την καππαδοκική παράδοση. Αντιθέτως, αντανακλούν ιδιαίτερα σημαντικούς καλλιτεχνικούς τρόπους που εμφανίστηκαν στο δεύτερο μισό του 10ου αιώνα και συνδέονται εμφανώς με την Κωνσταντινούπολη. Πιστεύουμε ότι το κύριο περιεχόμενο της τέχνης της περιόδου αυτής ήταν η αναζήτηση μιας διεξόδου από τον κλασικισμό της μακεδονικής αναγέννησης και η επιθυμία να δοθεί στην ιερή εικόνα

ένα βαθύτερο πνευματικό περιεχόμενο. Στις μικρογραφίες του ευαγγελισταρίου της Τραπεζούντας η τάση αυτή εκφράζεται με ένταση και δύναμη. Ο καλλιτέχνης υπερβαίνει το νατουραλιστικό χαρακτήρα της μακεδονικής αναγέννησης παραβλέποντας εσκεμμένα τη σχέση μεταξύ των πραγμάτων και των μορφών στο χώρο, παραποιώντας τις αναλογίες και την κίνηση των ανθρωπινων σωμάτων και των προσώπων με τη χρήση σκληρού, αφύσικου φωτός. Παρόμοιες τάσεις ηπιότερου χαρακτήρα παρατηρούνται και σε άλλες μικρογραφίες χειρογράφων (Λονδίνο, Brit. Lib. Add. 28815, Παρίσι Coislin 31 κ.ά.), σε εικόνες (εικόνα με το βασιλιά Άβγαρο και τον απόστολο Θαδδαίο στο Σινά κ.ά.) και σε έργα μνημειακής ζωγραφικής κωνσταντινουπολίτικης και επαρχιακής προέλευσης (ψηφιδωτό στο τύμπανο της νότιας εισόδου στο νάρθηκα της Αγίας Σοφίας στην Κωνσταντινούπολη, τοιχογραφίες της Νέας Τοκαλί στην Καππαδοκία κτλ.).

Πιθανώς η νέα αυτή τάση είναι εν μέρει εμπνευσμένη από την παλαιοχριστιανική τέχνη. Σε κάθε περίπτωση, είναι εμφανές ότι οι μη-κλασικές τάσεις στη ζωγραφική του δεύτερου μισού του 10ου αιώνα ήταν σχετικά ισχυρές και διαδεδομένες, στις μικρογραφίες δε του ευαγγελισταρίου της Τραπεζούντας βρήκαν την πιο πλήρη και συνεπή έκφρασή τους.

³¹ On non-classical trends in the art of the second half of the tenth century see: Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei*, I, 30-32. Galavaris,

op.cit. (n. 6), 362-375. Popova, op.cit. (n. 1), 18-21.