ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ

ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ Δ' - ΤΟΜΟΣ Ι'
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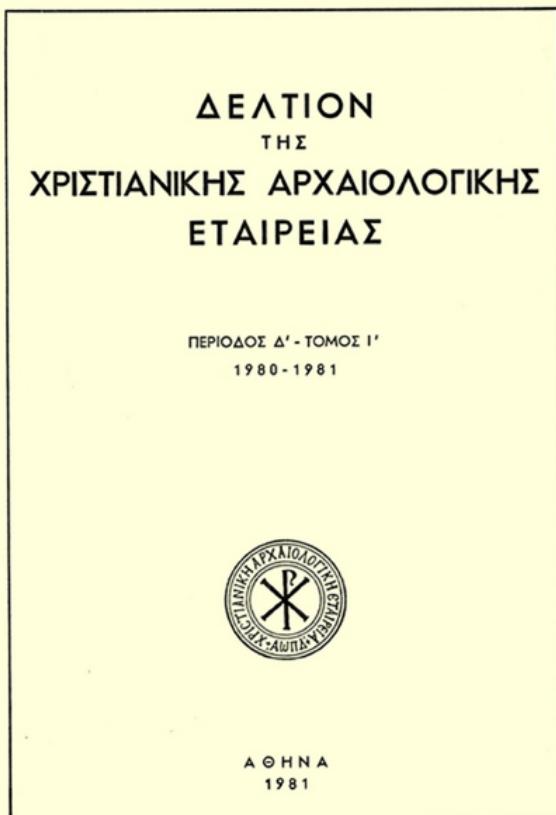
Ένας ασυνήθιστος εικονογραφικός τύπος του ένθρονου ευαγγελιστή (εικ. 1-2, πίν. 23-26)

Ioannis SPATHARAKIS

An Usual Iconographic Type of the Seated Evangelist
(fig. 1-2, pl. 23-26)

Ioannis   SPATHARAKIS

AN UNUSUAL ICONOGRAPHIC TYPE
OF THE SEATED EVANGELIST*

(PL. 23 - 26)

In 1975 - 76 an unusual iconographic type of a standing Evangelist was published by A. Xyngopoulos[1]. I have dedicated to his memory this paper, which also deals with an unusual iconographic type of an Evangelist, although in this case a seated one[2]. Xyngopoulos' example shows the Evangelist John receiving with both hands an open scroll from the hand of God, on which is written the beginning of his Gospel. Xyngopoulos correctly compared the stance of the Evangelist with that of Moses receiving the Law. His manuscript was a Lectionary, which he saw in the skevophylakion of the monastery of Iberon on Mt Athos. He could not identify the codex in Lambros' catalogue[3], nor is it included in the third volume of the *Treasures of Mount Athos*[4]. Xyngopoulos dated the codex to the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, after comparing it with Leningr. gr. 101, for which he accepted a date at the beginning of the 13th century[5].

1. 'A. Ξ υ γ γ ό π ο υ λ ο ς, Εὐαγγελιστὴς 'Ιωάννης - Μωυσῆς, ΔΧΑΕ, περ. Δ', τόμ. Η' (1975 - 76), 101 - 107, with French résumé pp. 107 - 108, pls 54 - 55.

2. On the iconographic types on the Evangelists in general see, A. M. F r i e n d, Jr., The Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek and Latin Manuscripts, Art Studies 5 (1927), 113 - 147, and 7 (1929), 1 - 29.

3. S. P. L a m b r o s, Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos[2], Cambridge, 1895 - 1900 (Amsterdam 1966).

4. S. M. P e l e k a n i d i s, P. C. C h r i s t o u, a.o., The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts, I - III, Athens, 1973 - 79.

5. For Leningr. gr. 101 see now the colour reproductions in V. D. L i k h a c h o v a, Byzantine Miniature. Masterpieces of Byzantine Miniature of IXth - XIVth Centuries in Soviet Collections, Moscow, 1977, pls 41 - 44 (13th century), with bibliography. One may add, H. B e l t i n g, Stilzwang und Stilwahl in einem byzantinischen Evangelion in Cambridge, Zeitschrift für Kunstgeshichte 38 (1975), 215 - 244, esp. 225, fig. 9 (end 13th century). Xyngopoulos-comparison of the Iberon manuscript with Leningr. 101 and his suggested date around 1200 may need correction. John's portrait

The seated Evangelist I propose to discuss appears in the richly illu-
minated Lectionary Vat. gr. 1156[6]. Owing to the high quality of its
miniatures, this mid-eleventh century manuscript has already attracted

in Iberon is stylistically close to the portrait of the same Evangelists in the manuscripts
Vatopedi 954 and Bucharest, Muzeul de Artă al R.P.R., Secţia de Artă Feudalzx
(MARSR) inv. nr MS 32, both datable to the second half of the 14th century, a date
which I should like to assign also to the Iberon manuscript. On Vatopedi 954 see,
S. E u s t r a t i a d e s and A r c a d i o s, Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts in the
Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos (Harvard Theological Stu-
dies 11), Cambridge, 1924, p. 175 (13th century) and Illuminated Greek Manuscripts
from American Collections. An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann, Princeton,
1973, p. 197 n6. On the Bucharest manuscript see the catalogue of the exhibition,
Cultura Bizantină în România, Bucareşti, 1971, pp. 119 - 120, no. 71, 3 pls.
    6. Parchment, ff. 344, 355 × 270 mm. Bibliography in P. C a n a r t - V. P e r i,
Sussidi bibliographici per i manoscritti Greci della Biblioteca Vaticana (Studi e testi
261), Città del Vaticano 1970, p. 546. See mainly M. B o n i c a t t i, Per una intro-
duzione alla cultura mediobizantina di Constantinopoli, Rivista dell'istituto nazionale
d'Archeologia e storia dell'Arte, N.S. 9 (1960), 214, 217-220, passim (s. C a n a r t -
P e r i, p. 546), figs 7, 14, 16 - 19, 22, 25, 33; K. W e i t z m a n n, Studies in Classi-
cal and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination, Chicago-London, 1971, pp. 209 - 210, 230n,
251 - 252, 256 - 257, 295 - 297, figs. 192, 235 - 238, 243 - 244, 297 - 299. One may
add to the bibbliography in C a n a r t - P e r i, in addition to the last cited work
of Weitzmann, the following: S. D e r N e r s e s s i a n, L'illustration du roman de
Barlaam and Joasaph, Paris, 1937, pp. 123, 173, 208. I d e m, L'illustration de psautiers
grecs du moyen-âge, II: Londres Add. 19352 (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologi-
ques 5), Paris, 1970, pp. 15, 76 n40, 80 n24, 96 n62. V. L a z a r e v, Storia della pittura
bizantina, Torino, 1967, 188, 218n, 348n. P. M i j o v i ć, Une classification icono-
graphique de ménologes enluminés, Actes du XIIe congrès international d'études by-
zantines, Ochride 10-16 Sept. 1961[3], Beograd, 1963-64, III, pp. 271-279, esp. 275, 279.
I d e m, Menolog. Istorijsko-umetnička instraživanja, Beograd, 1973, s. index p. 434.
G. M i l l e t, Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile, Paris, 1916 (1960), s. index
p. 749. G. et M. S o t i t i o u, Icônes du Mont Sinai[2] (Collection de l'Institut
Français d'Athènes, 100 et 102), Athènes, 1956- 58, II, p. 122. P. A. U n d e r w o o d
(ed.), The Kariye Djami, vol.V, Princeton, 1975, s. index p. 370. T. V e l m a n s, Les
valeurs effectives dans la peinture murale byzantine au XIIIe s. et la manière de les
représenter, L'art byzantin du XIIIe siècle. Symposium de Sopoćani 1965, Beograd,
1967, pp. 47 - 57, esp. 49. C h. W a l t e r, The Triumph of Saint Peter in the Church
of Saint Clement at Ohrid and the Iconography of the Triumph of the Martyrs, Zog-
raf 5 (1974), 30 - 34, esp. 31. K. W e i t z m a n n, The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria
di Castelseprio (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology 26), Princeton, 1951,
p. 74 n4, 80. I d e m, The Origin of the Threnos, in Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky
(De artibus opuscula XL), New York, 1961, pp. 476 - 490, esp. 486, fig. 16. I d e m,
The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts, in Byzantine
Books and Bookmen. A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium, 1971, Washington, 1975, pp. 69 -
109, esp. 101. Α. Ξ υ γ γ ό π ο υ λ ο ς, Ἡ προμετωπὶς τῶν κωδίκων Βατικανοῦ 1162 καὶ
Παρισινοῦ 1208, ΕΕΒΣ 13 (1937), 157 - 178, esp. 164, fig 5.

the attention of various scholars, although the portrait of the Evangelist
Mark has not been noticed. He is shown on fol. 141v in an unusual
position, trying to lock, or unlock, the door of his desk with a bunch of
keys (Pl. 23a).

Mark is also portrayed in an identical pose in the Tetraevangelion
Leningr. gr. 118[7], fol. 116v (Pl. 23b). My description of the details of
these two miniatures will take the form of a direct comparison. The
Vatican miniature is bordered with a dark blue band. It shows, in the
upper part, a curtain hanging from two hooks at the edges, supported
by a hand in the middle. Conversely, the Leningrad miniature is border-
ed by a floral motive, which consists of rather rectangular palmettes
running in succession from base to top, and arranged vertically on the
sides and horizontally along the top and the bottom[8]. Moreover, the
horizontal rows are arranged symmetrically from the mid point. A
curtain hangs from three hooks. Both miniatures show Mark in an identi-
cal pose, bending forward and placing his left hand on the desk. In both
portraits, Mark's hair and beard are dark, and he exhibits similar fa-
cial featutes; the head, however, in the Leningrad manuscript is broad
in contrast to that in the Vatican manuscript, which is elongated and
refined. The same contrast is found in the neck, arms and fingers, in
feet – which are placed in a similar position in both manuscripts –
and in the whole body in general. This deviation is due to difference
of style and the artistic abilities of the painters. The 11th-century artist
takes great care in representing every detail of the garments, and de-
lineates every fold in very thin strokes with a finesse which reaches its
apogee in the himation, especially on the thigh and upper part of the

7. Parchment, ff. 386, 180 × 137 mm. Bibliography in L i k h a c h o v a, op. cit.
(note 5), pls 56 - 62 in colour. One may add: M i l l e t, op. cit. (s. index p. 750),
fig. 290. K. T r e u, Die griechische Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der
UdSSR (Texte und Untersuchungen zum Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
91), Berlin, 1966, pp. 71 - 73. L a z a r e v, op. cit. pp. 253n, 370, 415 n56 - 416, 504.
H. B e l t i n g, Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft (Abhand-
lungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-histor. Klasse, Jahr-
gang 1970. 1. Abhandlung), Heidelberg, 1970, 53 n174, 89. I. S p a t h a r a k i s, The
Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts (Byzantina Neerlandica 6), Leiden,
1976, pp. 90 - 91. Iskusstvo Visantij v sobranijax SSSR[3], Moskva, 1977, II, no 514,
with bibliography.

8. The same motive appears, among others, in the following manuscripts: Auct.
T. inf. 1.10, Coislin 259, Par. gr. 223 (1045 A.D.), Par. Suppl. gr. 27, Vat. gr.]1756.
Cf. A. F r a n t z, Byzantine Illuminated Ornament, A Study in Chronology, The
Art Bulletin 16 (1934), 43 - 76, esp. 58, pl. VII. 14, XI. 14.

leg. The artist has used not one, but many colours, such as light blue, pink and green, which he mixed together to shape the chiton and the himation of the Evangelist. On top of the colours he has added very thin golden lines, thus achieving an incomparable effect not found in any other Byzantine illuminated manuscript. The effect unfortunately cannot be detected in my black and white reproduction. In the original miniature the thin golden lines glitter with the reflection of the light as the visual angle changes.

In the Leningrad manuscript the garments have volume, and the linear style of the Vatican manuscript has disappeared. The arrangement of both the chiton and the himation is similar to that in the 11th-century manuscript, but their modelling is accomplished with wide strokes of paint and broad high lights. The details of the folds, especially at the edges around the lower leg, follow those of the Vatican manuscript, but they are simplified and they appear much heavier, more stiff and less elaborate.

The chair is more elegant in Vat. gr. 1156 with a curtain at its back decorated with an abstract motive at the top. Moreover, the Leningrad Mark is seated in an awkward way. The desk is also simplified in the Palaeologan manuscript – I will come back later to the date of the Leningrad manuscript – and the numerous utensils on the desk of the Vatican manuscript (such as a knife, a pen, a "palette", a chain, a curved knife for erasing letters, a smaller knife, a scroll, a soapstone, an inkpot a pair of compasses and a sponge) are reduced to the minimum in the Leningrad manuscript [9]. The lectern and its support are also reduced in size and simplified.

The striking pose of Mark, common to both manuscrips, leads us to compare the other Evangelist portraits as well. Matthew in Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 69v is shown writing in a open book which is placed on his knees and is held in his left hand (Pl. 24a). He is depicted in an identical pose in Leningr. gr. 118, fol. 23v (Pl. 24b). The type of the face is common in both portraits. Also common, for instance, are the folds in front of the chest, the thigh and under it on the leg. Naturally, here again as in the garments of the two Mark portraits, the linear style in the Vatican manuscript has given way to a more voluminous one in the Leningrad manuscript. The desk is again simplified in the latter manuscript and

9. For the writing untensils of a scribe see: Φ. Κ ο υ κ ο υ λ έ ς, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός[5], ᾿Αθῆναι, 1948 - 52, I, pp. 78 - 79; Ν. ᾿Ε λ ε ό π ο υ λ ο ς, ῾Η βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ βιβλιογραφικὸν ἐργαστήριον τῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου, ᾿Αθῆναι, 1967, pp .27 - 28.

is shown more elongated, owing to the lack of space. A column with a lamp on it has been placed on the corner of the desk in the Vatican manuscript. The lectern and its fish-shaped support are identical in both manuscripts, as are the curtains above which hang from hooks. In the middle of the curtain in the Vatican manuscript we see a lion mask, which has taken a human face in the Leningrad manuscript. Even the borders of these two miniatures consist of a common floral motive, which, however, is finer in the 11th-century manuscript. All four Evangelist miniatures in the Leningrad Tetraevangelion have an identical border, while those in the Vatican Lectionary vary in their borders.

The same similarities and differences occur in the portraits of Luke in both manuscripts (Pl. 25a-b), which I will now leave to the reader to establish. Unfortunately the miniature of Luke in the Leningrad manuscript is partially flaked.

John's portrait in the Vatican manuscript is a master-piece of Byzantine finesse (fol. 1v, Pl. 26a). The border consist of Sassanian palmettes in circles, which are connected by converging diagonal lines; the triangular spaces thus formed are filled by a foliate motive[10]. At the lower left corner a light green and red acanthus leaf is painted, from which small leaves and a helix spring out. John is shown in his usual pose, writing and turning his head towards the hand of God, which appears from a double segment. A lamp hanging from a curtain is painted in front of John. The picture is enriched with the addition of a marble fountain with two *strobilia*, placed on four steps in front of an elongated wall[11]. It has a frieze which shows two birds flanking a fountain and surrounded by twigs. On top of it we can distinguish a little column surmounted by a water spout.

All these details, including even the curtain, are missing in the portrait of John in the Leningrad manuscript (fol. 303v, Pl. 26b). He is depicted in a identical pose to that in the Vatican manuscript, and again the folds follow those of the 11th-century manuscript, but lack the finesse of it. The desk and lectern have again been simplified.

It is obvious that the Leningrad portraits are copies of those in the Vatican. It is, however, difficult to establish whether they are direct

10. F r a n t z, op. cit., p. 57, pls. VII. 12, XI. 2 - 3, 6, 15, who cites the following manuscripts with the same motive. Par. gr. 519 and 49. Coislin 239, Morgan 748, Casanatensis 240.

11. Cf. L. B o u r a s, Some Observations on the Grand Lavra Phiale at Mt. Athos and its Bronze Strobilion, ΔXAE, περ. Δ΄, τόμ. 8 (1975 - 76), 85 - 96.

or indirect copies, and any verdict will have to rely on conjecture. The identical iconography of the Evangelists argues for a direct copy, especially the unusual portrait of Mark. Against this, however, there is the fact that the Vatican manuscript is a Lectionary and that in Leningrad a Tetraevangelion. This, however, need not be a serious objection; on the contrary, it can explain the omission of those miniatures in the Leningrad manuscript which appear in the Vaticanus, such as those decorating the lections of the Passion and the Menologion. It is also true that the Leningrad manuscript has miniatures from the Christological cycle and others, but these have been painted at a later date and are not copied from the Vatican manuscript[12]. A number of these have been painted on empty folia, sometimes after an entry has been removed to the previous page, in this way creating space for the miniature. Thus, the colophon, Τὸ κατὰ ᾿Ιωάννην ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον, ἐξεδόθη μετὰ χρόνους λβ΄ τῆς χυ ἀναλήψεως. στίχοι βτ΄ has been removed to the bottom of fol. 385vo[13], when originally was written at the top of fol. 386ro[14]. On the latter folio the Last Supper has been painted in a Western style, but some of the letters of the original colophon mentioned above are still visible[15]. The text of the Gospels, the head-pieces and the four Evangelists form an integral part of the manuscript. This was also the view of Ainalov who, in addition, believed that the portrait of Demetrios Palaiologos, depicted as supplicant on fol. 385v, is contemporary with the text[16]. Belting also considered the Evangelists contemporary with the text, but he did not express any opinion on the headpieces[17].

As regards the date of the Leningrad manuscript and its original decoration, most scholars, especially those of an older generation, have placed it in the Palaeologan era. Lazarev, however, dated the Evangelist portraits to the 12th century[18]. Treu dated the script to the middle of the 15th century[19], while Granstrem placed it in the 12th[20]. Lichačeva

12. They may be compared with the miniatures in Sinait. gr. 2123. B e l t i n g, op. cit. p. 53 n173 - 174, passim. S p a t h a r a k i s, op. cit. p. 51 - 53, esp. 91.

13. L i k h a c h o v a, op. cit. (note 5), pl. 62 in colour.

14. See also, T r e u, op. cit. 71 (16).

15. L i k h a c h o v a, op. cit. pl. 55b in colour.

16. D. V. A i n a l o v, Vizantijskaja živopic' XIV stoletija, Petrograd, 1917, pp. 113 - 116.

17. B e l t i n g, op. cit. 53 n174.

18. L a z a r e v, op. cit. (note 6), 253n.

19. T r e u, op. cit. 71.

20. E. E. G r a n s t r e m, Katalog grečeskich rukopisej leningradskich chranilišč, Byl. IV, Rukopisi XII veka, Vizantiskij Vremennik 23 (1963), 187 no. 352.

dated the Evangelists to the 13th century[21] and Belting put the script
and the Evangelists in the 12th century[22]. In the catalogue of the exhi-
bition *Iskusstvo Vizantij* a 12th-century date is suggested for the script;
this date is also extended to the Evangelists, but is followed here by a
question mark[23].

The closest stylistic example I have been able to find appears in the
Evangelists in the Tetraevangelion Marc. gr. I.22[24]. This manuscript
is dated 1356 A.D., but its miniatures seem to have been painted at
a later date. One of the reasons one cannot easily find stylistic parallels
for the Leningrad manuscript may be the fact that this manuscript is
a copy of an 11th-century manuscript. The artist was somehow restrict-
ed and influenced by his prototype and could not express fully the style
of the period in which he was working. The same can be said, for in-
stance, about the style of the Evangelists in Marc. gr. I.8, datable to
the 14/15th century, which are copies of the Evangelists appearing in
the so-called Ebnerianus group mainly from the first half of the 12th
century[25].

As regards the script of the Leningrad Tetraevangelion (Fig. 1), it
belongs to the type used by Joasaph, as for instance in Vat. Chis. R V

21. V. D. Lichačeva, Sud'ba odnoj vizantijskoj knigi, Kniga 18 (1969),
201 - 209.

22. Belting, op. cit. 53 n174.

23. Iskusstvo Vizantij, op. cit. (note 7), II, no. 514.

24. C. Castellani, Catalogus codicum graecorum qui in Bibliotheca D. M.
Venetiarum, Venetiis, 1895, 33 - 35 no. 13, pl. opposite p. 32 (text). E. C. Colwell -
H. R. Willoughby, The Elizabeth Day McCormick Apocalypse², Chicago,
1940, I, 236, II, 174. J. A. Mingarelli, Graeci codices manu scripti apud Na-
nios patricios Venetos asservati, Bononiae, 1784, 11 no 15. E. Mioni, Bibliothecae
Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti I, 1 (Indici e cataloghi, N.S. VI),
Roma, 1967, pp. 28 - 30. A. Turyn, Dated Greek Manuscripts of the 13th and 14th
Ceturies in the Libraries of Italy², Urbana-Chicago-London, 1972, pp. 216 - 217, pls.
174, 256 d-e (text). M. Vogel - C. Gardthausen, Die griechischen Schrei-
ber der Mittelalters und der Renaissance, Leipzig, 1909, p. 284. Illustrations from this
codex have not yet been published. Specimens will be reproduced in I. Spatha-
rakis, Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453, Leiden,
no 259, pl. 464 (John, fol. 177r). It also contains the portraits of the three other
Evangelists and four headpieces.

25. For this group and its later copies see: C. Meredith, The Illustration of
Codex Ebnerianus. A Study in Liturgical Illustration of the Comnenian Period,
Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 27 (1966), 419 - 424. One may
add to this group the Tetraevangelion Vatopedi 975, published by Χρ. Μαυρο-
πούλου - Τσιούμη, Εἰκονογραφικὰ θέματα ἀπὸ τὸν κώδικα ἀρ. 762 τῆς Μ. Βατο-
πεδίου, Κληρονομία 6 (1974), 357 - 359, esp. 367ff., figs. 4 - 7.

Fig. 1. The beginning of the Gospel of Mark, Leningr. gr. 118, fol. 127ʳ. Fig. 2. A Church, Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 1ʳ.
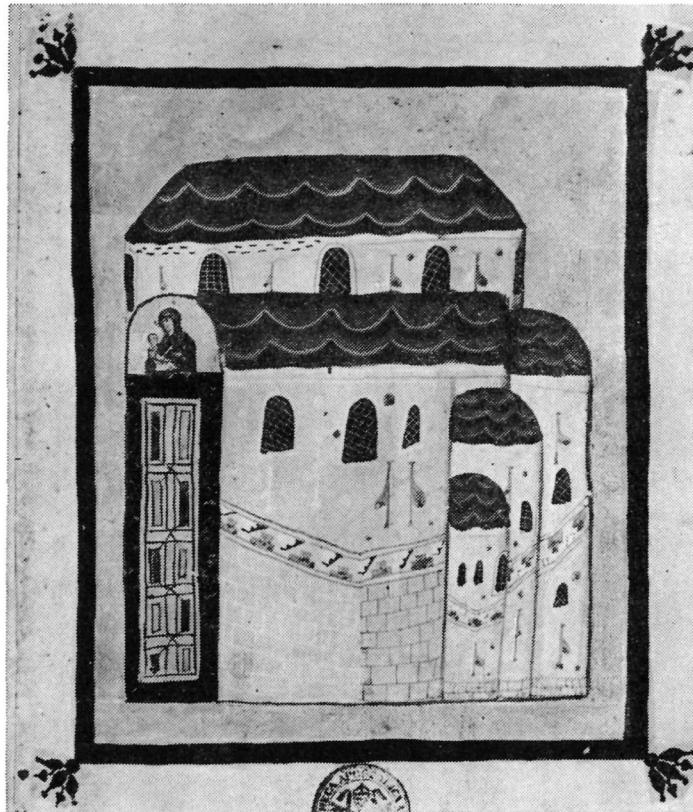
29 (gr. 23), dated 1394 A.D.[26] This type of script also appears in the 15th century.

Taking into account the style of the miniatures and script in the Leningrad manuscript, I would favour a 15th-century date, of course before the death of Demetrios Palaiologos, Despot of the Morea (1449 - 60) in 1470, who is depicted on fol. 385v[28]. We do not know if Demetrios commissioned the codex. The inscription accompanying his portrait, ὁ δοῦλος χυ τοῦ θυ δημήτριος παλαιολόγος has been re-written and might have originally been scribal. What is certain is that for some time he was in possession of this manuscript. Both inscription and portraits raise a number of questions which are difficult to answer. The black costume of Demetrios may suggest that he is depicted as a monk – he died in Adrianople as the monk David – but one would also expect to find his monk's name. Neither inscription nor costume suggest that the portrait was done when he was Despot of the Morea. It could be that it dates from the period when he was in the service of Muhammed II (1451 - 81).

Whatever the exact date of the Leningrad manuscript is, we are here provided with late Palaeologan illuminations, the prototype of which has been established as the 11th-century Vatican Lectionary. We are thus furnished with another concrete example which shows the eclecticism of the Palaeologan artists who were using models not only from the Macedonian Renaissance, but also from other periods[29].

26. A. T u r y n, Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi (Codices e Vaticanis selecti XXVIII), Vatican, 1964, tab. 158.

27. On Demetrios Palaiologos see: A. T h. P a p a d o p o u l o s, Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259 - 1453, München, 1938 (Amsterdam, 1962), no 96. D. Z a k y t h i n o s, Le despotat grec de Morée, Paris, 1932, p. 241ff.

28. S p a t h a r a k i s, op. cit. (note 7), fig. 60, L i k h a c h o v a, op. cit. (note 5), pl. 62 in colour.

29. Models from earlier periods, used in early Palaeologan book illumination, have been established by K. W e i t z m a n n, Eine Pariser-Psalter-Kopie des 13. Jahrhunderts auf dem Sinai, JÖBG 6 (1957), 125 - 143: B e l t i n g, op. cit. (note 7), 9, passim; I d e m, Zum Palatina Psalter des 13. Jahrhunderts. Aus der Werkstattpraxis eines byzantinischen Malers, JÖB 21 (1972), 17ff, esp. 33ff., H. B u c h t h a l, Notes on Some Early Palaeologan Miniatures, Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu zeinem 70. Geburtstag, Salzburg, 1972, pp. 36 - 43. I d e m, Toward a History of Palaeologan Illumination, in K. W e i t z m a n n, W. C. L o e r k e, a.o., The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art, Princeton, 1975, pp. 143 - 177, esp. 145 - 146. B e l t i n g, op. cit. (note 5), 222ff. has argued that the inserted portraits of Matthew, Mark and John in the Tetraevangelion and Apocalypse manuscript Cambridge, Univ. Libr. Dd 9.69, dated 1297, are contemporary with the codex and

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I should like to finish this paper with another interesting miniature in the Vatican Lectionary, which has also escaped the attention of previous scholars. On fol. 1r a church is depicted (Fig. 2). In my estimation this miniature depicts a real church because it lacks the strong decorative appearance which is present in the churches in the two Kokkinobaphos manuscripts or in Sinait. gr. 339 [30]. Above the entrance door is found a portrait of the Virgin *dexiokratousa* [31]. Three apses are visible, with spherical roofs, windows, decoration and bands with crenellations. The bands form angles, as in the case of the band which decorates the side wall. Below the band a corner is formed by the bricks, while above it a circular form is suggested, because the window on the right is shown smaller and in perspective. The upper part of the building has five windows, of which two are shown in perspective. An identification of the church would contribute to a better knowledge of our manuscript, but I have not so far been able to do so. Prof. Krautheimer and Mango have been kind enough to answer my letters on this question, but neither felt able to suggest an identification of the church in question. In Prof. Mango's opinion, the miniature appears to represent a basilica with five apses; Prof. Krautheimer suggested that the nave seems rounded at either end, and that the small niches in the apses point to a date in the late 11th century at the earliest (e.g. Eski Imaret, Gül and Zeyrek Cami). Whatever might be the identification of this church – and one may hope that after this publications more suggestions will come – its presence in the Vat. gr. 1156 would indicate that this sumptuous Lectionary was either presented to this church, or that it was written and decorated there.

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have been copied from an earlier manuscript of ca. 900, while the portrait of Luke and the miniature showing Christ as the Ancient of Days have been taken from a manuscript from the 14th century. In my opinion the portraits of Matthew, Mark and John are genuinely from the Macedonian Renaissance and were painted ca. 900 A.D.

30. X y n g o p o u l o s, op. cit. (note 6). I d e m, Ἡ μικρογραφία ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Σιναϊτικοῦ κώδικος 339, ΕΕΒΣ 16 (1940), 128 - 137. Cf. also G. G a l a v a r i s, The Illustration of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Studies in Manuscript Illumination 6), Princeton, 1969, pp. 21 - 22, fig. 377.

31. See Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, III, 169 - 170 with bibliography.

a., Mark, Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 141v.   b. Mark, Leningr. gr. 118, fol. 126v.

a. Matthew, Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 69v.   b. Matthew, Leningr. gr. 118, fol. 23v.
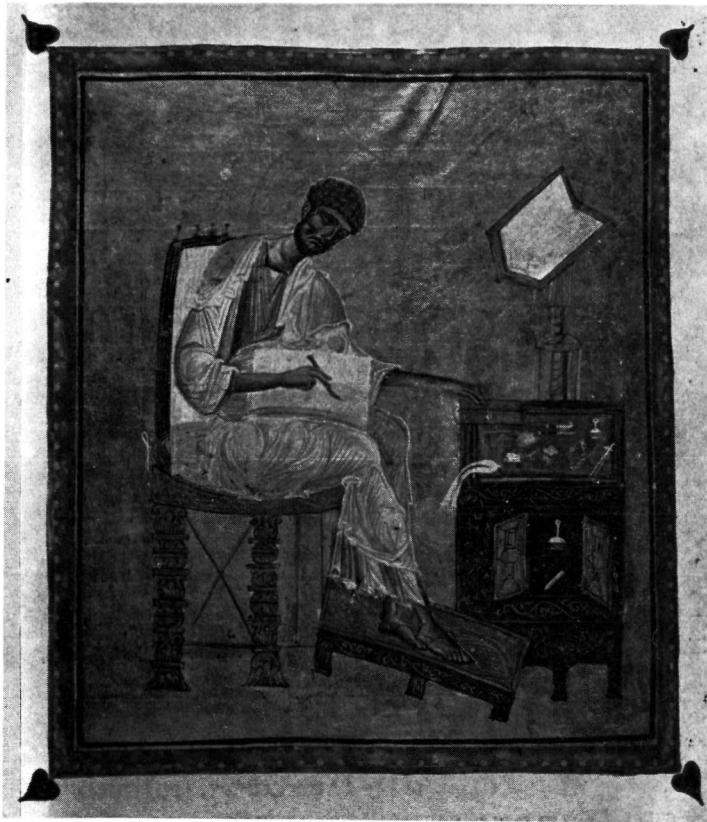
a. Luke, Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 101v.   b. Luke, Leningr. gr. 118, fol. 195v.

a. John, Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 1v. b. John, Leningr. gr. 118, fol. 303v.