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Χρονολόγηση και περιεχόμενο του Ευαγγελισταρίου της μονής Διονυσίου

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ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΗΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ

The Date and Content of the Dionysiou Lectionary

Christopher WALTER

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THE DATE AND CONTENT OF THE DIONYSIOU LECTIONARY

Unlike many of the important illuminated Byzantine manuscripts in the libraries of Mount Athos, which have long been known to scholars, the Lectionary Dionysiou 587 (formerly 740) has only in recent decades been an object of study. It was not described by Kondakov, nor by Brockhaus, nor by Dölger¹. Gabriel Millet did not exploit its miniatures in his study of Gospel iconography². The explanation of this lacuna is simple: because the Lectionary was still being used for cult, these scholars did not have access to it.

Much of what we know about the Dionysiou Lectionary is due to the studies of Kurt Weitzmann³. He has described the kind of miniatures with which it is illustrated: one full-page; three half-page; framed column-wide pictures at the head of the readings; unframed scenes in the margins; and a great variety of illuminated initials, some without a figure, some with a figure, others incorporating figures placed outside the letter. Such variety of illustration was commoner in the 12th than in the 11th century, as for example in the Sinai manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus no 339⁴.

There is no indication in the Lectionary itself as to its date and provenance. Nevertheless, Kurt Weitzmann opted for a mid-eleventh century date. Indeed he went even further. He has proposed that the manuscript be associated with the abdication of the emperor Isaac Comnenus, who became a Studite monk in 1059⁵.

Kurt Weitzmann has also indicated the sources for most of the miniatures. The scenes directly related to the text derive from illuminated Gospels. Those related rather to the feast on which the text was read derive from Synaxaries, notably from the Menologium of Basil II, *Vatican. graec.* 1613. There are, in fact, only a few miniatures which, because there is no known parallel, may be considered to be original creations.

Apart from Kurt Weitzmann's own photographs in Princeton, a certain number have been available in the Gabriel Millet collection in Paris⁶. It was on these that scholars had to base their study of the Dionysiou Lectionary until the publication in colour of all the scenes and a selection of the illuminated letters, thanks to the initiative of the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki⁷. This latter publication does not omit any important miniature. Moreover it gives the measurements of those which are published. However, it

does not indicate which illuminated initial letters have not been published; nor, although it gives references to the Gospel text, does it indicate the feast on which the text was read; nor does it indicate the place of the miniature of the folio. No doubt the provision of such data lay outside the scope of the publication. However, without such data, the scholar may easily commit errors in describing the miniatures. I am aware of having done so myself!

Further study of what has been described as one of the most important manuscripts on the Holy Mountain requires that this data should be readily available. The primary object of this article is to provide it. Thanks to the courtesy of the staff of the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, I have been able to obtain the data from the microfilm of the Dionysiou Lectionary in the library of the Institute. The description which follows is meant to be used in conjunction with the Institute's own publication. I therefore give references to the published miniatures, but list all the illuminated letters, noting the fact when they are unpublished and indicating when the illuminated letter contains a figure⁸. I give the feast and

1. N. Kondakov, *Pamjatniki christianskogo iskusstva na Afone*, Saint Petersburg 1902; H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern* (second edition), Leipzig 1924; F. Dölger, *Mönchsland Athos*, Munich 1943.

2. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile*, Paris 1916.

3. K. Weitzmann, *The Narrative and Gospel Illustrations*, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*, Chicago/London 1974, pp. 274-271; *Idem*, *Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century*, *ibidem*, pp. 271-313; *Idem*, *An Imperial Lectionary in the Monastery of Dionysiu on Mount Athos. Its Origins and its Wanderings*, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels*, XII (Variorum), London 1980.

4. J. Anderson, *The Illustration of Cod. Sinai. gr. 339*, *ArtB* 61 (1979), pp. 167-185.

5. Weitzmann, *Imperial Lectionary*, *art.cit.* (note 3), pp. 247-248.

6. The photographs are not complete; nor do they figure in the catalogue of the collection.

7. *Οί Θησαυροί του Ἁγίου Ὄρους* (The Treasures of Mount Athos), I, Athens 1973.

8. Since there are no legends, the identification of the figure is often conjectural. Where the context does not require another person, I suggest an author portrait.

ceremony at which the text illustrated was read⁹. I also give the reference to the reading, and indicate the position on the folio of the miniature¹⁰.

The plan of the Dionysiou Lectionary was ambitious and unusual. It was destined to be used only for selected feasts. (With regard to this, the description in "The Treasures of Mount Athos" may be misleading.) Usually only the Gospel reading for the liturgy is written out, although sometimes the orthros reading is either written out and illustrated or noted with a reference to another feast. In a few cases, the reading is given for some other office, the *paramone* of a great feast, for example, or the rite of footwashing on Great Thursday. In full lectionaries, the text of the four Gospels is written out in the first part for moveable feasts. In the second part, for immoveable feasts, a simple reference to the text in the first part was then sufficient. However, since in the Dionysiou Lectionary there are only selected readings for the moveable feasts, it was generally necessary that the text of the reading for immoveable feasts, contrary to normal lectionary practice, be written out in full.

The readings are presented in the Dionysiou Lectionary as follows: in the first part, for moveable feasts, there are firstly selected readings for Eastertide, then selected readings for Lent and Holy Week; in the second part, for immoveable feasts, there is a selection of readings for the year, beginning, as was the normal practice, at September 1st; in the third part, are the readings for the Eothina.

The content of the Dionysiou Lectionary is now described in this order.

PART I: MOVEABLE FEASTS

1. Readings for Eastertide

The following readings are given: Easter Sunday; Week of Renewal (τῆς διακαινησίμου); Sundays up to and including the Sunday after Pentecost; Mid-Pentecost; Ascension Day; Monday after Pentecost; First Sunday (of All Saints).

Fol. 1v: Saint John dictating to Prochorus.

This was the habitual "frontispiece" to the lectionary. It is the only full-page miniature in the manuscript (fig. 189).

Fol. 2: Easter Sunday, liturgy: John 1,1-17.

The Anastasis, half-page (fig. 190). The initial E is illuminated with a standing figure (Saint John?), left hand margin (not published).

Fol. 3v: Monday of Renewal, liturgy: John 1,18-28.

Saint John pointing to the Father and Son, represented in the initial Θ, right hand column (fig. 191).

Fol. 5: Tuesday of Renewal, liturgy: Luke 24,12-35.

Saint Peter arriving at the Holy Sepulchre, centre mar-

gin (fig. 192). The initial T is illuminated with a standing figure (Saint Peter?), extending his hand, left hand column (*ibidem*)¹¹.

Fol. 8: Wednesday of Renewal, liturgy: John 1,35-52. Saint John the Baptist is placed in the initial T; beside him are two disciples, left hand column (fig. 193)¹². Two disciples address Christ, right hand margin (fig. 194).

Fol. 10: Thursday of Renewal, liturgy: John 3,1-15. The initial T is illuminated with the figure of Christ, beside whom stands Nicodemus, right hand column (fig. 197).

Fol. 12: Friday of Renewal, liturgy: John 2,12-22.

The initial T is illuminated with the figure of Christ, with his Mother standing beside him, left hand column. His disciples are placed in the centre margin (fig. 195).

Fol. 13: Saturday of Renewal, liturgy: John 3,22-33. Christ baptizing, right hand margin (fig. 196)¹³. The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint John?), right hand column (not published).

Fol. 13v: (continuation of reading).

Saint John the Baptist baptizing, left hand margin beside verse 23 (fig. 198).

Fol. 14v: Second Sunday of Eastertide (Antipascha), liturgy: John 20,19-31.

Christ and the apostles, right hand column (fig. 199).

The initial O is illuminated with the bust of a beardless figure (Saint Thomas?), right hand column (fig. 200)¹⁴.

Fol. 15 and 15v: The reading continues on these folios, without miniatures. It ends abruptly at verse 26. A folio is then missing, on which would probably have been represented the headpiece to the next reading.

Fol. 16: Third Sunday of Eastertide (of the "Myrrhophores"), liturgy: Mark 15,43-47; 16,1-8.

The Entombment of Christ, right hand margin beside verse 47 (fig. 201).

Fol. 17v: Fourth Sunday of Eastertide (of the paralytic), liturgy: John 5,1-15.

The Miracle of Bethesda, right hand column (fig. 202).

The initial T is illuminated with the figure of Christ, right hand column (not published).

Fol. 19v: Mid-Pentecost, liturgy: John 7,14-30.

Christ teaching in the Temple, left hand column (fig. 203)¹⁵. The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint John ?), left hand column (not published).

Fol. 21v: Fifth Sunday of Eastertide (of the Samaritan woman), liturgy: John 4,5-42.

Christ and the Samaritan woman, right hand column (fig. 204). The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint John?), right hand column (not published).

Fol. 26v: Sixth Sunday of Eastertide (of the blind man), liturgy: John 9,1-38.

Christ healing the blind man, left hand column (fig. 205). The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint

John?), left hand column (fig. 207).

Fol. 31: The Ascension, orthros: Mark 16,9-20.

The Ascension, bottom of left hand column (fig. 210). The initial A is illuminated with the figures of Christ and of two of the holy women, top of right hand column (fig. 211)¹⁶.

Fol. 32v: The Ascension, liturgy: Luke 24,36-53.

The Mission of the apostles, right hand column (fig. 206)¹⁷. The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint Luke?), right hand column (fig. 208).

Fol. 34v: Seventh Sunday of Eastertide (of the Fathers), liturgy: John 17,1-13.

Christ praying to the Father, right hand column (fig. 212)¹⁸. The initial T is illuminated with a standing figure (Saint John?), right hand column (not published). A reference is also given to the orthros reading (10th of the Eothina), but this is not illustrated in the manuscript.

Fol. 36v: Eighth Sunday of Eastertide (Pentecost), liturgy: John 7,37-52.

The Descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles, right hand column (fig. 213). The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint John?), right hand column (not published).

Fol. 38v: Monday after Pentecost, liturgy: Matthew 18,10-20.

Christ blessing a child, right hand column (figure 214)¹⁹. The initial E is illuminated with a figure (Saint Matthew?), right hand column (fig. 209).

At this point in the liturgical year, the reading of the Gospel of Saint Matthew begins. The normal illuminated lectionary would be illustrated here with an author portrait of the Evangelist. However, although the Dionysiou Lectionary begins conventionally with an author portrait of Saint John, there is no portrait of Saint Matthew.

Fol. 40v: First Sunday (of All Saints), liturgy: Matthew 10,32-33...

A group of saints, left hand column (fig. 215)²⁰. The initial E is illuminated with a figure (Saint Matthew?), left hand column (not published).

2. Readings for Lent and Holy Week

The following readings are given: First Saturday and Sunday of Lent; Saturday of Lazarus; Palm Sunday; Washing of Feet; Pannychis of the Passion; Great Saturday.

Fol. 41v: First Saturday of Lent, commemoration of Saint Theodore, liturgy: Mark 2,23-28; 3,1-2.

Saint Theodore, right hand column (fig. 216)²¹. The initial T is illuminated with a standing figure (Saint Mark?), right hand column (not published).

Fol. 42: (continuation).

The disciples picking grain and the Pharisees remonstrating to Christ, across top of folio, referring to verses 23-24 (fig. 218).

Fol. 43: First Sunday of Lent (of Orthodoxy), liturgy: John 1,44-52.

Reading of the Synodikon of Orthodoxy, bottom of left hand column (fig. 220)²². The vocation of Philip, right hand margin, referring to verse 43 (fig. 217). The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint John?), top of right hand column (not published).

Fol. 43v: (continuation).

Philip and Nathanael, left hand margin, referring to verses 45-47 (fig. 219).

Fol. 44v: Saturday before Palm Sunday, commemoration of Lazarus, liturgy: John 11,1-45.

The Resurrection of Lazarus, left hand column (fig.

9. In most cases the reading is that of *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise*, edited J. Mateos, I, *Le cycle des douze mois*, Rome 1962; II, *Le cycle des fêtes mobiles*, Rome 1963. Usually the reading is also the same in the lectionary in current use in the Greek Orthodox Church.

10. The manuscript is written throughout in double columns. The left, centre and right margins are used for illustrations.

11. The miniature refers to the first verse, which is written in lectionaries but usually omitted from editions of the New Testament. A comparison with the miniature on fol. 170v (fig. 275) makes it clear that the artist has perpetrated an anomaly. The figure arriving at the tomb, who, according to the text, should be Saint Peter, has the features of Saint John! The artist has therefore adapted, without correction, a miniature intended to illustrate John 20,11-18.

12. These figures are John's disciples, not Christ's. Christ's disciples are represented as apostles, cf. fol. 12 (fig. 195).

13. Ch. Walter, *Baptism in Byzantine Iconography*, Sobornost 2 II (1980), pp. 8-25; Idem, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church*, London 1982, pp. 125-130.

14. The miniature in the margin refers to verse 30. The portrait is probably Saint Thomas, because this was "Thomas's Sunday".

15. Ch. Walter, *Mid-Pentecost*, *Eastern Churches Review* 2 (1970), pp. 231-233; Gordana Babić, *O prepolovljenju praznika*, *Zograf* 7 (1976), pp. 23-27; Ch. Walter, *The Earliest Representation of Mid-Pentecost*, *Zograf* 8 (1977), pp. 15-16.

16. The miniature probably refers to verse 9, although, according to the text, Christ appeared only to Mary Magdalene.

17. Weitzmann, *Narrative and Gospel Illustrations*, *art.cit.* (note 3), p. 263. The miniature probably refers to verses 47-53.

18. See below, p. 188.

19. The angels are mentioned in verse 10. The presence of Saint Paul is anomalous.

20. The Three Hierarchs and the warrior saints are obvious portrait types, but who is the monk? Not, unfortunately, Saint Theodore Studite, who is represented with a forked beard, Doula Mouriki, *The Portraits of Theodore Studites in Byzantine Art*, *JÖB* 30 (1971), pp. 249-280.

21. See below, p. 188.

22. This commemoration is not mentioned in the *Typikon of the Great Church*, but certainly had been introduced by the tenth century, Mateos, *op.cit.* (note 9), I, x-xiv.

221). The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint John?), left hand column (not published).

Fol. 45-49v: The reading continues on these folios, but ends abruptly in the middle of verse 45 on fol. 48v. A folio is then missing, on which would probably have been represented the headpiece for the reading for the orthros of Palm Sunday (Matthew 21,1-11; 15-17), followed by the first verses of the reading, which is taken up on fol. 49 half-way through verse 7. This reading ends at the bottom of fol. 49v.

Fol. 50: Palm Sunday, liturgy: John 12,1-8.

Christ at Bethany, left hand column (fig. 222).

Fol. 52: Great Thursday, Washing of Feet, first reading: John 13,3-11.

Christ washing the apostles' feet, left hand column (fig. 223). The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint John?), left hand column (not published).

Fol. 53: Great Thursday, Washing of Feet, second reading: John 13,12-17.

The Last Supper, right hand column (fig. 224). The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint John?), right hand column (not published).

Fol. 54: Great Thursday, liturgy: Matthew 26,2-20...

The chiefs and elders in the palace of Caiaphas, left hand column, referring to verse 3 (fig. 225). The initial E is illuminated with the figure of Christ extending his right arm, left hand column. Opposite Christ is the group of disciples whom he is addressing, placed in the centre margin and referring to verse 1 (*ibidem*). The composite account of the Passion, read on Great Thursday, is complete; it ends on fol. 65.

Fol. 65v is blank. There now begins the Pannychis of the Passion, for which there are traditionally twelve readings. The Dionysiou Lectionary omits the twelfth reading. Moreover, there is no question of a missing folio, for the eleventh reading ends on fol. 104, and the Vespers reading for Great Friday begins on fol. 104v.

Fol. 66: Great Friday, Vespers, Gospel 1 of the Passion: John 13,31-38...

Gethsemane, half-page (fig. 226)²³. The initial E is illuminated with the figure of Christ, his hand outstretched, and with two diminutive figures of disciples. Opposite Christ, in the centre and right hand margins, are two further groups of disciples (*ibidem*).

Fol. 81: Gospel 2 of the Passion: John 18,1-28.

There is only an illuminated T (not published).

Fol. 84v: Gospel 3 of the Passion: Matthew 26,57-75.

There is only an illuminated T (not published).

Fol. 87: Gospel 4 of the Passion: John 18,28-40...

There is only an illuminated initial T (not published).

Fol. 91v: Gospel 5 of the Passion: Matthew 27,3-32.

The initial T is illuminated with the figure of Judas. To the left, stand three figures, representing the elders and

high priests, to whom Judas has returned the pieces of silver, left hand column (fig. 227).

Fol. 95: Gospel 6 of the Passion: Mark 15,16-32.

Christ led to Crucifixion, centre margin (fig. 228). The initial T is illuminated with the figure of a Jew, left hand column (*ibidem*).

Fol. 97: Gospel 7 of the Passion: Matthew 27,33-54.

The initial T is constituted by a miniature of Christ on the Cross, to whom a sponge is being proffered on a cane, referring to verse 48, left hand margin. To the left is placed another crucified figure, while the third is in the centre margin. Below, the soldiers are casting lots for Christ's clothes, referring to verse 35 (fig. 229).

Fol. 99: Gospel 8 of the Passion: Luke 23,32-49.

The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint Luke?), right hand column (not published).

Fol. 101: Gospel 9 of the Passion: John 19,25-37.

The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint John?), right hand column (not published).

Fol. 103: Gospel 10 of the Passion: Mark 15,43-47.

The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint Mark?), left hand column (not published).

Fol. 104: Gospel 11 of the Passion: John 19,38-42.

The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint John?), right hand column (not published).

The twelfth reading, as noted above, is omitted.

Fol. 104v: Great Friday, vespers: Matthew 27...

Betrayal of Christ, right hand column (figs. 233 and 234)²⁴. The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint Matthew?), right hand column (not published).

Fol. 113 Great Saturday, orthros: Matthew 27,62-66.

High Priests and Pharisees before Pilate, left hand column (fig. 230).

Fol. 113v: Great Saturday, liturgy: Matthew 28,1-20.

The Holy Women before the Sepulchre, right hand column (fig. 236). The initial O is also illuminated with a scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, right hand column (fig. 235).

PART II: IMMOVEABLE FEASTS

According to normal practice, the calendar of immoveable feasts begins in the Dionysiou Lectionary with the month of September. Even if they are not fully illuminated Byzantine manuscripts, whose content follows the order of immoveable feasts of the calendar year, are frequently decorated with a picture of Saint Symeon the Stylite the Elder, whose feast falls on September 1st²⁵. The Dionysiou Lectionary conforms to this practice. The first half-page miniature may be considered to be a "frontispiece" to this part of the text.

Fol. 116: September 1st, beginning of the indication, Saint Symeon the Stylite: Luke 4,16-22.

Saint Symeon the Stylite, half-page (fig. 237). The initial T is illuminated with the figure of Christ Emmanuel, left hand column (*ibidem*).

Fol. 117v: September 8th, Nativity of the Virgin, orthros: Luke 1,39-49.56.

The Visitation, left hand margin (fig. 232). The initial E is illuminated with a figure (Saint Luke?), left hand column (fig. 231).

Fol. 118v: September 8th, Nativity of the Virgin, liturgy: Luke 10,38-42; 11,27-28.

Christ with Martha and Mary, bottom of left hand column (fig. 238). The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint Luke?), top of right hand column (not published).

Fol. 119v: September 14th, Exaltation of the Cross, liturgy: John, 19,6-11...

Presentation of the Cross, right hand column (fig. 239)²⁶. In the centre margin, is represented a group of Jews, referring to verse 12 (fig. 240).

Fol. 122v: On this folio a number of feasts are listed, but not illustrated. A reference is given to the reading, which is written out on another folio: September 23rd, Conception of Saint John the Baptist; September 26th, Metastasis of Saint John Theologus; October 6th, Saint Thomas; October 18th, Saint Luke.

Fol. 123: October 26th, Saint Demetrius, liturgy: Matthew 8,23-27.

Saint Demetrius as a warrior, left hand column (fig. 241)²⁷. Saint Peter awakening the sleeping Christ in the boat is represented in the right hand margin, referring to verse 25 (fig. 243). The initial T is illuminated, left hand column (not published).

Fol. 123v: November 8th, Archangels, liturgy: Luke 10,16-21.

Group of archangels, right hand column (fig. 242). The initial E is illuminated with a figure (Saint Luke?), left hand column (fig. 244).

Fol. 124v: December 6th, Saint Nicolas, liturgy: Luke 6,17-23.

Saint Nicolas as a bishop, bottom of right hand column (fig. 245).

Fol. 125 (continued)

The reading begins on this folio. The initial T is illuminated with the figure of Christ, who addresses a group of figures opposite him in the centre margin (fig. 246).

Fol. 126: Sunday before Christmas (of the Holy Fathers), liturgy: Matthew 1,1-17.

The Holy Fathers, left hand column (fig. 247)²⁸. The initial B is made up of a miniature of the Nativity, left hand column (*ibidem*).

Fol. 128: December 25th, Nativity, orthros: Matthew 1,18-25.

Dream of Saint Joseph, framed in the left hand margin, referring to verse 20 (fig. 248).

Fol. 129: December 25th, Nativity, *paramone*, third hour: Luke 2,1-20.

Census, right hand column (fig. 249)²⁹. The initial E is illuminated with a figure (Saint Luke?), right hand column (not published).

Fol. 131v: December 25th, Nativity, liturgy: Matthew 2,1-20.

The Nativity, right hand column (fig. 250). The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint Matthew?), right hand column (not published).

Fol. 133v: December 26th, Mother of God, liturgy: Matthew 2,13-23.

Flight to Egypt, left hand column (fig. 251). The initial A is illuminated with a scene of a dream of Joseph, probably referring to verse 13 where there is explicit mention of an angel, left hand column (*ibidem*).

Fol. 135: January 1st, Circumcision, liturgy: Luke 2,20-21; 40-52.

Christ Child in the Temple, right hand margin (fig. 252)³⁰. The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint Basil, commemorated the same day?), right hand column (not published).

Fol. 137: Sunday *πρὸ τῶν Φώτων*, liturgy: Mark 1,1-8. Saint John baptizing, right hand column (fig. 253). The initial A is illuminated, right hand column (not published).

Fol. 138: January 5th, *paramone* τῶν Θεοφανείων, ninth hour: Luke 3,1-18.

Saint John the Baptist preaching, right hand column, referring to verse 9 (fig. 254). The initial E is illuminated with a figure (Saint Luke?), right hand column (*ibidem*).

23. Weitzmann calls attention to the narrative character of the miniature, Narrative and Gospel Illustrations, *art.cit.* (note 3), p. 255. The passage to Gethsemane is only mentioned in the last verse. Although the title to the first reading is written above the miniature, it is likely that it was intended as a "frontispiece" to all the readings of the Pannychis.

24. The relevance of the miniature is not evident, for the events recounted in the reading took place after the Betrayal.

25. Walter, Art and Ritual, *op.cit.* (note 13), p. 48.

26. *Ibidem*, pp. 154-155.

27. See below, p. 188.

28. In the Typikon of the Great Church the Sunday before Christmas the Forefathers were commemorated, Mateos, *op.cit.* (note 9), I, p. 135. However, in other Typika, the Forefathers were commemorated two Sundays before Christmas and the Fathers the Sunday before Christmas, Le Typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine, edited M. Arranz, Rome 1969, p. 73. I thank Sysse Engberg for pointing this out to me.

29. This unique iconographical theme seems to be modelled on an "official scene", Ch. Walter, Papal Political Imagery in the Medieval Lateran Palace, *CahArch* 22 (1971), pp. 109-110.

30. See above, note 15, for bibliography. There is sometimes a confusion in the iconography of the Christ Child in the Temple and in that of Mid-Pentecost.

Fol. 141: January 6th, τὰ ἅγια Θεοφάνεια, orthros: Mark 1,9-11.

The initial T is illuminated, left hand column (not published).

Fol. 141v: January 6th, τὰ ἅγια Θεοφάνεια, liturgy: Matthew 3,13-17.

The Baptism of Christ, left hand column (fig. 255). Christ blesses Saint John the Baptist, left hand margin, referring to verse 14 (?) (*ibidem*). The initial T is illuminated, left hand column (not published).

Fol. 142: January 7th, Saint John the Baptist, liturgy: John 1,29-34.

Saint John the Baptist showing Christ and his disciples to the Jews, right hand column (fig. 256). The initial T is illuminated, right hand column (not published).

Fol. 143: January 25th, Saint Gregory Theologus, liturgy: Matthew 4,25-5,12.

Saint Gregory, left hand column (fig. 258). The initial T is illuminated with Christ seated "on the Mount" and teaching, left hand column. In the centre margin is a group of Jews facing Christ (fig. 257).

Fol. 144v: January 27th, Translation of the relics of Saint John Chrysostom, liturgy: John 10,1-9³¹.

Translation of relics, left hand column (fig. 259). The initial E is illuminated with the figure of Christ extending his right hand, left hand column. In the centre margin there is again a group of Jews facing Christ (*ibidem*).

Fol. 146: February 2nd, Presentation, liturgy: Luke 2,22-40.

Presentation of Christ, left hand column (fig. 260). The initial T is illuminated with a figure (Saint Luke?), left hand margin (*ibidem*).

Fol. 148: February 24th, Invention of the Head of Saint John the Baptist, liturgy: Matthew 11,2-15.

Invention, right hand column (fig. 261)³². The initial T is illuminated, right hand column (not published).

Fol. 148v (continuation).

Saint John the Baptist in prison, left hand margin, referring to verse 2 (fig. 262). Immediately below this miniature in the left hand margin is another of Christ speaking to the people, referring to verse 7 (fig. 263).

Fol. 150: March 25th, Annunciation, liturgy: Luke 1,24-38.

Annunciation, left hand column (fig. 264). The initial E is illuminated, left hand column (not published). A reference is given to the orthros reading.

Fol. 151v: April 23rd, Saint George, liturgy: John 15,17-27; 16,1-2.

Saint George, right hand column (fig. 265)³³. The initial E is illuminated, right hand column (not published).

Fol. 153v: May 8th, Saint John the Evangelist, liturgy: John 19,25-28...

Saint John, left hand column (fig. 266). The initial T is

illuminated, left hand column (not published).

Fol. 154v: June 24th, Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, liturgy: Luke 1,1-25...

Nativity of John the Baptist, left hand column (fig. 268). The initial E is illuminated, left hand column (not published).

Fol. 158v: June 29th, Saints Peter and Paul, liturgy: Matthew 16,13-19.

Mission of the apostles, left hand column (fig. 267)³⁴. The initial T is illuminated, left hand column (not published).

Fol. 159v: July 1st, Saints Cosmas and Damian, liturgy: Matthew 10,1.5-8.

Saints Cosmas and Damian at prayer, right hand column (fig. 269)³⁵. The initial T is illuminated, left hand column (not published).

Fol. 160v: August 6th, Transfiguration, orthros: Luke 9,28-36.

Transfiguration, right hand column (fig. 270). The initial T is illuminated, right hand column (not published).

Fol. 162: August 6th, Transfiguration, liturgy: Matthew 17,1-9.

The initial T is illuminated, right hand column (not published).

Fol. 163v: August 15th, Dormition of the Virgin: no text is written out but a reference is given to the readings for September 8th.

Dormition, bottom of left hand column (fig. 272).

Fol. 163v: August 29th, Beheading of Saint John the Baptist, liturgy: Mark 6,14-30.

Beheading of Saint John the Baptist, same folio, top of right hand column (fig. 271). The initial T is illuminated, right hand column (not published). The text of this reading finished on fol. 166.

Fol. 166v is blank.

PART III: EOTHINA

The title of this section reads as follows: Εὐαγγέλια ἐωθινὰ ἀναστάσιμα ἑνδεκά. It may then be inferred that, when the Lectionary was planned, it was intended to include in it either the text or a reference for all eleven readings. Possibly it was also intended that the blank fol. 166v should be illustrated, for, unlike the other parts of the Lectionary, the Eothina readings have no "frontispiece". Only five of the readings are illustrated with a headpiece.

Fol. 167 Reading 1: Matthew 28,16-20.

Apparition of Christ on the mountain in Galilee, left hand column (fig. 273). The initial T is illuminated, left hand column (not published).

Fol. 167v Reading 2: Mark 16,1-8.

The Holy Women at the Sepulchre, top of right hand column (fig. 274).

Fol. 168v Reading 3: Mark 16,9-20. There is a reference to the orthros reading for the Ascension.

Fol. 169 Reading 4: Luke 24,1-12.

The initial T is illuminated, left hand column (not published).

Fol. 170v Reading 5: Luke 24,12-35. There is a reference to the liturgy reading for the Tuesday of Renewal.

Fol. 170v Reading 6: Luke 24,36-53. There is a reference to the liturgy reading for the Ascension.

Fol. 170v Reading 7: John 20,1-10.

Martha and Mary telling Saints Peter and John about the empty tomb; Saint John looking into the empty tomb, left hand column (fig. 275).

Fol. 171v Reading 8: John 20,11-18.

Saint Mary Magdalene addressing the two angels before the Sepulchre, bottom of right hand column (fig. 276).

Fol. 172 (continuation).

The reading begins at the top of the left hand column. The initial T is illuminated, left hand column (not published).

Fol. 173 Reading 9: John 20,19-31. There is a reference to the liturgy reading for the Second Sunday of Eastertide (Antipascha).

Fol. 173 Reading 10: John 21,1-14.

Apparition of Christ by the Sea of Tiberias, bottom of left hand column (fig. 277). The initial T is illuminated, top of right hand column (not published).

Here the Eothina readings end. There is no 11th reading (John 21,15-25), nor is a reference given to it.

A full account of the content of the Dionysiou Lectionary makes it possible to appreciate more accurately the overall character of the manuscript.

Since the Lectionary was destined to be used in the offices of the Byzantine Church, the choice of readings must be the first consideration for those who study it. Although it was unusual to write out a lectionary which contained only a selection of readings, the actual choice seems to be highly conventional: the great Christological feasts; those of the Mother of God and of Saint John the Baptist, the two human creatures who were closest to Christ on earth, and, by consequence, closest to him in heaven³⁶; the angels and the apostles; the Three Hierarchs and Saint Nicolas; the three most eminent warrior saints; Saints Cosmas and Damian; Saint Symeon the Stylite. All these saints ranked high in the celestial echelons. They were —and, indeed, still are— the saints considered to be most venerable in the Byzantine tradition. However, it is to be noted that no feast of an Old Testament saint occurs in the Lectionary; nor is there a feast for any of the celebrated monks, not even for Saint Theodore Studite and Saint Stephen Neos.

Among these feasts, some might be considered to rank higher in the “hierarchy”, because the Lectionary gives the reading, or a reference to it, for the orthros as well as for the liturgy. This is the case for the Ascension (fol. 31); the 7th Sunday of Eastertide (fol. 34v); Palm Sunday (fol. 49); Great Saturday (fol. 113); Nativity of the Virgin (fol. 117v); Nativity of Christ (fol. 128); Theophanies (fol. 141); Annunciation (fol. 150); Transfiguration (fol. 160v); Dormition (fol. 163v). With the exception of the 7th Sunday of Eastertide, these are the traditional Great Feasts of the Byzantine Church.

In passing it may be noted that a liturgical scholar might be intrigued by the fact that, both for the Pannychis of the Passion and for the Eothina, the last reading is omitted.

In choosing the theme for illustration, the miniaturist had possibly more liberty than the scribe. He used it freely in illuminating initial letters, far more freely than did other miniaturists, whose *oeuvre* may be associated with the monastery of Saint John Studius and dated to the mid-eleventh century³⁷. There are seventy illuminated initial letters in the Dionysiou Lectionary, of which forty-four remain unpublished. These merit a study apart. For the present it must suffice to note the great variety: letters which contain no figure; letters with a figure, most often, it would seem, an “author portrait”; letters containing a scene; letters to which figures are added outside it to constitute a scene. This rich improvisation would certainly have been *avant-garde* at the time of Isaac Comnenus’s abdication.

The unframed scenes in the margins illustrate directly the narrative of the Gospel reading which they accompany. They recall the well-known ones in the Paris Tetraevangelion, *graec.* 74³⁸ and in the Florence Tetraevangelion, *Laurent.* VI 23³⁹. Stylistically they seem clos-

31. Walter, *op.cit.* (note 13), pp. 150-151.

32. Ch. Walter, The Invention of John the Baptist’s Head at Gračanica, ZLU 16 (1980), pp. 71-83; *Idem*, *op.cit.* (note 13), p. 149.

33. See below, p. 188.

34. The relevance of this scene is not evident. It implies that Christ’s mission to Saint Peter extended to all the apostles.

35. See below, p. 188.

36. Ch. Walter, Two Notes on the Deësis, REB 26 (1968), pp. 311-336 = Studies in Byzantine Iconography I (Variorum), London 1977.

37. J. Anderson, The Date and Purpose of the Barberini Psalter, CahArch 31 (1983), pp. 43-56.

38. H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peinture byzantines*, Paris (no date); Suzy Dufrenne, *Deux chefs-d’oeuvre de la miniature du XIe siècle*, CahArch 17 (1967), pp. 177-191.

39. Tanya Velmans, *Le tétraévangile de la Laurentienne*, Paris 1971.

er to the Paris Tetraevangelion, which is associated with the monastery of Saint John Studius.

For the headpieces, the miniaturist could choose whether to illustrate the reading or the feast. In the case, of course, of the Christological feasts, except the Anastasis, the theme of the reading and the feast generally coincided. However, sometimes, because the Sunday was accompanied by another commemoration, there was a choice. Thus, the Fathers of the First Council of Nicaea were commemorated on the Seventh Sunday of Eastertide⁴⁰. In the Pierpont Morgan Lectionary, fol. 42, the initial T is illustrated with portraits of the Fathers⁴¹. Although the Sunday was considered to be of unusual solemnity, so that the orthros Gospel was indicated as well as that of the liturgy, in the Dionysiou Lectionary, fol. 34v, it is illustrated with a scene of Christ praying to the Father. On the other hand, for the First Sunday of Lent, when the restoration of images was commemorated, the Dionysiou Lectionary, 41v, is illuminated with the unique miniature of the reading of the synodikon from the ambo.

For feasts of the Mother of God, apart from the Annunciation, the Gospel reading could not coincide with the theme of the feast. The references to the readings for the Dormition, fol. 163v, are illustrated with the traditional iconographical type of the Dormition, the unique case in the Lectionary when references are accompanied by a miniature. On the other hand for the feast of the Mother of God, fol. 133v, the headpiece illustrates the Gospel reading. More surprisingly, neither of the readings for her Nativity, fols. 117v and 118v, are illustrated with the well-known iconographical type for this feast. For both a miniature illustrating the narrative was preferred.

For feasts of saints, the miniaturist generally preferred a model taken from an illuminated manuscript of the calendar type. In most cases of this kind, the iconography is close to that of the corresponding scene in the Menologium of Basil II, *Vatican. graec.* 1613: Saint Symeon the Stylite (fol. 116); Saint Nicolas (fol. 124v); Saint Gregory of Nazianzus (fol. 143); Translation of Saint John Chrysostom's relics (fol. 144v); Invention of Saint John the Baptist's head (fol. 148); Saint John the Evangelist (fol. 153v); Saints Cosmas and Damian (fol. 159v). The same is true for the Exaltation of the Cross (fol. 119v)⁴².

However, some miniatures of saints suggest that the Menologium was not the only model available. The three saints Theodore, Demetrius and George (fols. 41v, 123, 151), lean and spindly, wearing armour and holding a shield and spear, recall rather the Saint Procopius in the Moscow Metaphrast, *graec.* 9, fol. 72v⁴³. This manuscript can be securely dated to 1063. Yet in the

miniature for the First Sunday (of All Saints), the three warriors are represented in noble costume (fol. 40v). They recall rather their portraits in the London Psalter, British Library additional 19352, fol. 13v, dated 1066, or the Barberini Psalter, *Vatican. Barb. graec.* 372, fol. 23v⁴⁴. These Psalters depend in part on a lost common model, which can be dated to the middle of the eleventh century⁴⁵. In the same miniature in the Dionysiou Lectionary, the Three Hierarchs are represented together, with pride of place in the centre. The earliest dated representation of the Three Hierarchs is again in the London Psalter, fol. 35v⁴⁶. These are further indications that the Dionysiou Lectionary has some association with manuscripts illuminated in the mid-eleventh century.

There are few miniatures in the Lectionary for which no parallel is available. Apart from the reading of the synodikon from the ambo, fol. 41v, mentioned above, the following may be noted: Saint John showing the Father and the Son (fol. 3v); the Census (fol. 129); Christ on the mountain in Galilee (fol. 167).

There is another characteristic of the Dionysiou Lectionary, to which Kurt Weitzmann has called attention: the large number of representations of Saint John the Baptist, and the large number of readings destined to be used for his feasts⁴⁷. There are, in fact, readings or references for the following feasts of Saint John the Baptist: Conception (fol. 122v); Nativity (fol. 154v); Beheading (fol. 163v); Invention of his head (fol. 148); his commemoration after the Theophanies (fol. 142). Apart from his Conception, for which there is only a reference to the reading, all these feasts are illustrated. Yet in no case is the orthros reading given.

Besides these miniatures, there are others which illustrate the readings for other feasts. Saint John the Baptist is represented four times in the illustrations to the readings for the Theophanies: fols. 137, 138, 141v. He also recurs in an illuminated letter (fol. 8), and in two narrative scenes (fols. 13v and 148v). The accumulation is impressive. It is clear why Weitzmann suggested that the Lectionary was illuminated to be used in the most august shrine of Saint John the Baptist, where his head had been deposited, the monastery of Saint John Studius. However, as Weitzmann conceded, the argument is not conclusive. As I mentioned above, Saint John the Baptist is, in the Byzantine tradition, the most revered of saints, ranking directly after the Mother of God.

Weitzmann went further. Arguing from the frequent use in the Lectionary of iconographical themes which occur in the imperial Menologia, he suggested as a propitious date for the illumination of the manuscript the year 1059, when Isaac Comnenus abdicated to become a Studite monk. Points of contact have been noted be-

tween the Lectionary and manuscripts known to be connected with the monastery of Saint John Studius, notably the London Psalter, dated 1066, and the Paris Tetraevangelion. The portraits of the warrior saints also recall the Moscow Menologion, dated 1063. However, these resemblances are slight. There is no question of actually maintaining that the same artists worked on these manuscripts and on the Dionysiou Lectionary in the monastery of Saint John Studius.

Unfortunately, although it is assuredly *ben trovato*, the association with Isaac Comnenus requires a dating that is, to my mind, too precocious for this Lectionary. A close examination of the illuminated initial letters is necessary before a really convincing argument may be constructed for dating the Lectionary rather later in the eleventh century. For this, a *sine qua non* is the publication and study of all its initial letters. Yet the thirty-six which have been published provide ample material for a *rapprochement* with those manuscripts in which the illuminated letters are similar, recently grouped together by Anderson and dated to the last decades of the eleventh century⁴⁸. Of these, by a curious coincidence, one also belongs to the same monastery library as the Lectionary: The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Dionysiou cod. 61⁴⁹.

A final point for consideration is the absence of any readings or miniatures which might imply that the Lectionary was intended for use in the offices of a monastery. Yet one miniature, the unique representation of reading of the Synodikon of Orthodoxy, makes it more likely that the Lectionary was, in fact, intended for use in a cathedral. This ceremony was not regularly performed in monastic churches, for which, Jean Gouillard has suggested, a bogus decree, purporting to have been promulgated by the synod of 843, was compiled⁵⁰. There is little doubt that the miniature in the Dionysiou Lectionary (fol. 43) is modelled on the actual ceremony as it was performed in the Great Church. I would pro-

pose, in consequence, that further research on this magnificently illuminated manuscript should start from the hypothesis that it was an imperial gift to the cathedral of Saint Sophia, Constantinople, and that the munificent emperor was either a later Comnenus or an Angelus.

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40. Mateos, *op.cit.* (note 9), II, pp. 130-131.
41. K. Weitzmann, The Constantinopolitan Lectionary Morgan 639, Byzantine Liturgical Psalters, *op.cit.* (note 3), XIV, p. 372, fig. 306; Ch. Walter, *Iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine*, Paris 1970, p. 38-40, fig. 8.
42. Il Menologio di Basilio II, edited C. Stornajolo & P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, Vatican/Milan 1907: Symeon Stylite, p. 2; Nicolas, 226; Gregory, p. 349; Invention of John the Baptist's head, p. 420; Cosmas and Damian, p. 152; Exaltation of the Cross, p. 35. For the Translation of John Chrysostom's relics, cf. p. 306, 341, 355. John the Evangelist's portrait is of the same type as those of the two bishops. For the antique origin of this iconographical type, see Ch. Walter, *The London September Metaphrast Additional 11870*, Zograf 12 (1981), pp. 20-23, fig. 26.
43. Weitzmann, *Byzantine Miniature*, *art.cit.* (note 3), p. 211, pl. 8; Vera Likhachova, *Byzantine Miniature*, Moscow 1977, pl. 13; Nancy Ševčenko, *An Eleventh Century Illustrated Edition of the Metaphrastian Menologium*, *East European Quarterly* 13 (1979), pp. 423-430, fig. 2; Anderson, *art.cit.* (note 37), p. 45, fig. 9.
44. Sir. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, Paris 1970, p. 21, fig. 24; Ch. Walter, "Latter-day" Saints in the Eleventh-century Byzantine Marginal Psalters, to appear in *REB* 46 (1988).
45. Walter, *ibidem*.
46. Der Nersessian, *op.cit.* (note 44), p. 26, fig. 60; Walter, *op.cit.* (note 13), p. 111.
47. See above, note 5.
48. *Art.cit.* (note 4), pp. 171-176. For the style of initial letters in illuminated manuscripts associated with the monastery of Saint John Studius, see Anderson, *art.cit.* (note 37), pp. 42-45.
49. G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus*, Princeton 1969, pp. 205-207, pls. 355-376; *Treasures I*, *op.cit.* (note 7), plates 104-107; Anderson, *art.cit.* (note 4), p. 180.
50. J. Gouillard, *Le décret du synode de 843*, *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines II*, Belgrade 1964, pp. 448-449.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΗΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΑΡΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ

Οι μικρογραφίες του κώδικος 587 της μονής Διονυσίου, ενός από τους σπουδαιότερους και ωραιότερους του Αγίου Όρους, μελετήθηκε κυρίως από τον Kurt Weitzmann (1974-1980), ο οποίος τις συσχέτισε με άλλες και τις χρονολόγησε στα μέσα του ΙΙου αιώνα. Πρόκειται για ένα Ευαγγελιστάριο προοριζόμενο για χρήση κατά τις θείες λειτουργίες με επιλογή διαφόρων αναγνωσμάτων.

Οι περισσότερες από τις μικρογραφίες του κώδικος δημοσιεύτηκαν έγχρωμες στον πρώτο τόμο των «Θησαυρών του Αγίου Όρους», από το Πατριαρχικό Ίδρυμα Πατερικών Μελετών το 1973 (σ. 162-219, 434-446, εικ. 189-277). Ένας από τους σκοπούς του παρόντος άρθρου είναι να δώσει περισσότερες πληροφορίες για το σπουδαίο αυτό υλικό και συγκεκριμένα: α) για τα εικονογραφημένα αρχικά τα οποία μένουν αδημοσίευτα, β) για την αντιστοιχία εορτών, κειμένων και μικρογραφιών και γ) για τη θέση κάθε μικρογραφίας στο φύλλο του χειρογράφου. Δίδεται έτσι μια πληρέστερη περιγραφή φύλλο προς φύλλο του Ευαγγελισταρίου 587 της μονής Διονυσίου, που χωρίζεται σε τρία μέρη: Στο πρώτο περιλαμβάνονται αναγνώσματα των κινητών εορτών, αφ' ενός της Πεντηκοστής (φφ. 1-40) και αφ' ετέρου της Σαρακοστής και της Μεγάλης Εβδομάδος (φφ. 41-113). Στο δεύτερο περιλαμβάνονται αναγνώσματα για τις ακίνητες εορτές του έτους (φφ. 116-166), αρχής γενομένης την 1η Σεπτεμβρίου με αντίστοιχη μικρογραφία του Συμεών του Στυλίου. Στο τρίτο, τέλος, περιλαμβάνονται τα ένδεκα αναστάσιμα εωθινά ευαγγέλια (φφ. 167-173).

Σχολιάζεται ακολούθως η επιλογή των αναγνωσμάτων που περιέχονται στον κώδικα. Δεν υπάρχουν εορτές της Παλαιάς Διαθήκης και οι εορτές των αγίων έχουν

επίσης επιλεγεί πολύ συμβατικά. Ο ζωγράφος που έκανε την εικονογράφηση φαίνεται ότι είχε μεγαλύτερη ελευθερία στις επιλογές του. Έκανε έτσι περισσότερα αρχικά γράμματα από τα συνηθισμένα (44 από τα 70 συνολικά, παραμένουν αδημοσίευτα) σε ποικιλία συνδυασμών. Εξετάζονται επίσης τα πρότυπα των σκηνών στα περιθώρια, των παραστάσεων με χριστολογικές σκηνές και των μικρογραφιών που αντιστοιχούν στις θεομητορικές εορτές. Οι παραστάσεις αγίων έχουν αντιγραφεί από μικρογραφίες του τύπου των μηνολογίων.

Ορισμένες εικονογραφικές ιδιομορφίες παραστάσεων αγίων στο εξεταζόμενο Ευαγγελιστάριο πείθουν ότι έχει κάποια σχέση με εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα των μέσων του ΙΙου αιώνα και ότι έχει δοθεί κάποια ιδιαίτερη σημασία στον άγιο Ιωάννη τον Πρόδρομο. Ο Κ. Weitzmann που το πρόσεξε, συνέδεσε τον κώδικα 587 με το μοναστήρι του Στουδίου και μάλιστα με την εγκατάσταση εκεί του Ισαακίου Κομνηνού, μετά την παραίτησή του το 1059. Και όμως, η λεπτομερέστερη μελέτη των μικρογραφιών των αρχικών γραμμάτων οδηγεί σε συσχετίσεις με άλλα χειρόγραφα χρονολογούμενα στις τελευταίες δεκαετίες του ΙΙου αιώνα. Δεν υπάρχει άλλωστε καμιά ένδειξη ότι το Ευαγγελιστάριο εχρησιμοποιείτο σ' ένα μοναστήρι αλλ' αντιθέτως μια μοναδική του παράσταση (η ανάγνωση του συνοδικού της Ορθοδοξίας από άμβωνος) αποτελεί ένδειξη ότι εχρησιμοποιείτο σε κάποια μητρόπολη. Διατυπώνεται λοιπόν η υπόθεση ότι ήταν δώρο ενός από τους Κομνηνούς ή Αγγέλους αυτοκράτορες στην ίδια την Αγία Σοφία.

CHRISTOPHER WALTER