

THE DOUBLE-LINE FOLD DRAPERY MOTIF

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ABSTRACT

A great many art objects produced in Rome during the late eighth and ninth century are characterized by a linear style. The mosaics and metalwork of Paschal I (817-824), the wall-paintings in Santa Maria Antiqua completed during the Pontificates of Paul I (757-67) and Hadrian I (772-95), and the wall-paintings in the lower church of San Clemente, commissioned during the Papacy of Leo IV (847-855), are only a few examples. A common stylistic trait of these works is the attempt to depict folds of drapery using two parallel lines.

This 'double-line fold system' occurs in almost every example of early- and mid-ninth century work from Rome and must be understood as the result of a gradual development towards the 'linear' in the style of Roman art during the latter half of the eighth century.

Apart from the Roman works of known date many of the objects in which the double-line fold system occurs are controversial in terms of date and place of origin. As a result it is necessary to examine thoroughly the scholarship surrounding these controversial works: the Sacra Parallela (Paris, B.N. cod. gr. 923), the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, B.N. cod. gr. 510), the ivory scepter of

Leo VI (Staatliche Museen), and the lost mosaic of the Virgin and Child in the Church of the Koimesis at Nicaea. These works can be dated to the second half of the ninth century and assigned to the region of Constantinople. Like the early-ninth-century mosaics and metalwork produced in Rome, the style of the drapery in these objects relies predominantly on the use of line to define form and the use of the double-line fold system to indicate folds of drapery.

Before considering a possible linear stylistic influence of the art of early-ninth-century Rome on the art of post-iconoclastic Constantinople certain questions must be answered: What is known about the art produced in the capital of Byzantium during the interlude between First and Second Iconoclasm (787-815)? Are there any other examples of influence, technical or iconographic, from the West to the East immediately after the restoration of the image? What are the means of transmission for this artistic influence?

If one considers the Coronation Gospels from Vienna and the Virgin and Child in the apse of St. Sophia as late eighth or early ninth century examples of Byzantine art, then one must concede a strong illusionistic tradition in the art of the Constantinople produced during the interlude between First and Second Iconoclasm.

The artistic vulnerability of Byzantium during and immediately following Iconoclasm must have led to a receptive attitude on the part of the artists and patrons.

The Emperor Theophilos adopted Islamic decoration from the Abbasid court at Baghdad; Carolingian enamel techniques were imported, and the painted initial was introduced to Byzantine manuscripts.

The point of contact between the West and Constantinople was Rome. A number of embassies passed between the two centers in the early- and mid-ninth centuries. With these diplomatic and ecclesiastical missions gifts were sent, often precious textiles, books, ivories and metalwork. It was from these objects that technical, iconographic and stylistic ideas must have passed between the centers of the Western and Eastern Church. These individual contacts between Rome and Constantinople were the means of transmission for this knowledge.

Because of the similarities in style between early-ninth century Roman art and post-iconoclastic Byzantine art, one can conclude that there was a stylistic influence on the art of Constantinople by Carolingian Roman art, an influence centered on the double-line fold system in the depiction of drapery.



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In the confused arena of early mediaeval Roman art the highly subjective process of stylistic comparison has often led to misleading results.

-Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings

Introduction

In 1935 Professor Kurt Weitzmann co-authored the first of many books and articles he has written during his long career. In this book, entitled Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts, Professor Weitzmann discussed Byzantine manuscript production during the ninth and tenth centuries -- a period of production from which survive few manuscripts and even fewer datable ones. In fact, the only datable manuscripts of the ninth century are an illustrated copy of Pope Zaccarias's Greek translation of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great (Bib. Vaticana, cod. gr. 1666) which dates to A.D. 800, an illustrated copy of the Manual Tables of Ptolemy (Bib. Vaticana, cod. gr. 1291) which dates A.D. 828-835 and an illustrated copy of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, B.N. ms. gr. 510) which can be dated securely to the years A.D. 879-883. Although they are written in Greek, these manuscripts are the product of the different centers of religious life in the early Middle Ages: Rome and Constantinople. This reflects the strong Greek presence in the religious life of not only Constantinople, but Rome, the center of the Latin tradition.

Among the manuscripts considered in Professor Weitzmann's monumental study was the luxurious Sacra

Parallela (Paris. gr. 923). In his discussion of the manuscript he noted a stylistic characteristic of the illuminations: the "Doppelinien-system", or the Double-Line System. This term refers to the use of two parallel lines to indicate folds of garments (Figure 1, 2 and 3). These garment folds occur on many areas of the cloth where one would expect a fold to appear. For example, a bent knee, or arm is often accompanied by such a fold in the drapery. The most conspicuous area in which the double-line fold occurs is the thigh region, where it is often accompanied by a sweeping line to indicate the upper thigh. Even though there are many areas on the garment where the fold appears, it is this particular area in the thigh region that is most popular. The double-line fold occurs on a great many of the garments of the figures which illuminate the text of the Sacra Parallela and can therefore be viewed as the stylistic trait of this manuscript.

Furthermore, the double-line fold motif is not restricted to this manuscript. It can be found on a number of stylistically and palaeographically related manuscripts, on mosaic decoration undertaken for Paschal I (817-24), metalwork, ivories, and wall-painting undertaken by Leo IV (847-55). This widespread use of the motif has subsequently caused Professor Weitzmann to suggest it represents a general Zeitstil throughout the Mediterranean area in the early ninth century. "This particular style, then,

prevailed in the East as well as in the West and pervaded all techniques."¹

However, Weitzmann's hypothesis is based on a group of monuments which are not securely dated. It is rare to find a manuscript, or ivory, which can be securely dated to either the first or second half of the ninth century, and scholars must therefore collect information from a variety of sources in hope that through this evidence questions concerning date and origin can be answered. This evidence must include stylistic comparisons, paleographic comparisons and codicological studies.

The purpose of Chapter I is to provide a catalogue of all the ninth-century monuments on which the double-line fold system can be found. An analysis of the scholarship concerning each object follows, and a complete bibliography for each object is provided. By clarifying the scholarship surrounding these objects, one can propose reasoned solutions to problems of date and origin.

Chapter II is an interpretation of these data. The depiction of drapery through line was common in the late-eighth and early-ninth-century art of Rome. The drapery often had a flat background colour, such as gold or ochre,

¹Kurt Weitzmann, "The Ivories of the So-Called Grado Chair", Dumbarton Oaks Papers 26, 1972, 74. Henceforth Dumbarton Oaks Papers will be referred to as DOP.

with a series of lines, often two parallel lines, indicating the folds of the garment. The double-line fold is therefore a characteristic of this linear style. This style is quite unlike the previous 'Hellenistic', or 'illusionistic', style of the seventh and early-eighth-century Roman art, such as the frescoes of John VII (705-707) in the church of S. Maria Antiqua, especially in the treatment of drapery, and its zenith occurs with the mosaic programmes of Paschal I.

It has been suggested by Robin Cormack² that there was a stylistic, and possibly iconographic, influence on the art of Byzantium by the art of Carolingian Rome immediately following the Second Iconoclasm. Recent scholars have advanced Cormack's hypothesis by citing technical and iconographic influences on the art of the capital after Iconoclasm. For instance, it has been suggested that Middle Byzantine enamel techniques were adopted from the West by Byzantine artists. As well, it has been suggested that the introduction of the painted initial into Byzantine manuscript illumination occurred immediately following the Second Iconoclasm, as a result of the Byzantine receptive artistic attitude.

If one regards the Coronation Gospels and the Virgin and Child in the apse of St. Sophia as examples of Byzantine

²Robin Cormack, "The arts during the age of Iconoclasm", Iconoclasm (Birmingham, 1977), 44.

art created between First and Second Iconoclasm (787-815), one can hypothesize that the style of the art of Constantinople during this period had strong illusionistic characteristics. This illusionistic tradition is quite different from the contemporaneous Roman linear tradition.

Furthermore, some examples of post-Iconoclastic Constantinopolitan art no longer display this illusionistic style; they use line to denote drapery in much the same manner as early- and mid-ninth-century Roman art. Given the experimental attitude on the part of Constantinopolitan artists at this time, and given the close contact between Rome and the Byzantine capital, it is possible that the art of Carolingian Rome exerted a stylistic influence on the art of Constantinople. This influence would especially have been concerned with the depiction of drapery through line and the use of the double-line fold system.

CHAPTER I: Catalogue

1. Manuscripts

i. Sacra Parallela. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. graecus 923. Late ninth century. Suggested origin: Constantinople. (Figures 1-3)

Commentary:

The Parisinus Graecus 923 is a copy of the Sacra Parallela, a text composed by John of Damascus (died c.749 A.D.). It is a marginally illustrated manuscript consisting of 394 folios, each measuring 35.6 x 26.5 cm. According to Weitzmann there are 1658 pictorial units: 402 scenic illustrations and 1256 portraits. The illustrations are usually placed in the outer margins and a gold bar in the text contains the source reference for each illustration (Figure 1). The parchment is relatively thick. Some folios have been lost or destroyed and there is some minor damage to the extant folios. The script is a sloping uncial in two columns of thirty-six lines with thirteen to seventeen letters to the line.

The double-line fold drapery motif is used extensively throughout the illustrations. In fact, this motif has been isolated as a distinctive stylistic feature of the manuscript.¹ Weitzmann attempts to distinguish various forms of

¹Weitzmann suggests that this manuscript is an example
(Footnote Continued)

the double-line fold within the Sacra Parallela. He defines four varieties: 1. The double-line folds that are used "sparingly" and "subordinated to the attempt to model the body beneath by smooth, curving lines". 2. Folds that are "more rigid, straight, and flattening". 3. The folds which "form a dense, even pattern in an almost mannered way". 4. Those that are "used so sparingly that no coherent system of fold lines covers the surface".²

Scholars agree that the manuscript should be assigned to the ninth century; however, there has been some dispute concerning a more specific date. Grabar does not attempt to be more specific than the ninth century.³ On the other hand, Weitzmann dates the manuscript to the first half of the ninth century.⁴ He points out that the Sacra Parallela's use of the double-line fold drapery motif has its closest parallels in mosaics and silver commissioned by

(Footnote Continued)

of the double-line fold at its zenith. He also briefly discusses another characteristic of the drapery--the use of gold. One should note that both of these characteristics can be found in the contemporary Book of Job in the Vatican (cod. gr. 749) and the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Milan (Ambrosiana 49-50). Kurt Weitzmann, The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela, (Princeton, 1979), 17-18.

²Weitzmann, The Miniatures, 18.

³André Grabar, Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IX^e-XI^e siècles), (Paris, 1972), 21-24.

⁴Weitzmann, The Miniatures, 20-23.

Pope Paschal I (817-824) in Rome (Figures 8-14, 17-20). He is convinced that the double-line fold motif ceased to be used during the second half of the ninth century, and therefore, that this manuscript must have an earlier date.

This suggestion has been challenged by Jaeger⁵, Cormack⁶, and Osborne⁷, all of whom propose a later date for the manuscript. Cormack compares both the palaeography and the style to the dateable Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (cod. Paris. gr. 510) and proposes a date of c. 880 for the completion of the Paris. gr. 923.⁸

Osborne supports this hypothesis and suggests that the manuscript could not have been completed prior to the death of Methodios, the Patriarch of Constantinople from 843-847.⁹

⁵Jaeger attributes the Sacra Parallela to the latter half of the ninth century based on palaeographic evidence. Werner Jaeger, "Greek Uncial Fragments in the Library of Congress in Washington", Traditio 5, 1947. pp. 79-102.

⁶Robin Cormack, "The arts during the age of Iconoclasm", Iconoclasm (Birmingham, 1977), 44.

⁷John Osborne, "A Note on the Date of the Sacra Parallela (Parisinus Graecus 923)", Byzantion 51, 1981. pp. 316-317.

⁸Brubaker elaborates on the stylistic similarities between the Par. gr. 923 and the Paris. gr. 510 and suggests a tentative date in the 870s for the completion of the Paris. gr. 923. Brubaker, "The Illustrated Copy of the 'Homilies' of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris," Ph.D. Dissertation. The Johns Hopkins University, 1982, 119 note 203. For these comparisons see page 27.

⁹Walter suggests that it was a common practice among
(Footnote Continued)

On folios 131v, 278v and 325r there is a bust of a figure who has a close-fitting hood over his head which ties below the chin. The text identifies him as Methodios, an early fourth-century bishop of Olympus in Lycia. Weitzmann argues that the artist was mistaken in depicting Methodios with a hood. This form of hood normally occurred in the portrayals of the patriarch of Alexandria. Osborne agrees that the artist was mistaken, but suggests that he was confused with Methodios, patriarch of Constantinople (843-847). In two known portraits of Methodios¹⁰ he is depicted in similar fashion. Methodios had his jaw broken and his teeth pulled out as a result of iconoclast persecution under Theophilos, and he needed a bandage around his head, which was tied beneath his chin. It is this bandage which the artist has mistaken for a simple head-covering. Osborne reasons that this method of depicting Methodios would certainly not have occurred prior to his persecution under Theophilos and probably not prior to his tenancy as patriarch (843-847).

(Footnote Continued)

artists to use as a model a portrait of a saint or bishop with the same name as the intended saint or bishop, if they had no model of the intended figure. This evidence supports Osborne's hypothesis that the portrait on folios 131v, 278v and 325r is, in fact, Methodios, the patriarch of Constantinople (843-847). Christopher Walter, Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church, (London, 1982), 105.

¹⁰A Nineteenth-century drawing of the lost mosaic from the north tympanum in St. Sophia and a fragmentary mosaic in the room over the south vestibule in St. Sophia. Osborne, "A Note on the Date," 316-317.

Osborne concludes that "the Paris manuscript of the Sacra Parallela is not contemporary with the Paschalian mosaic decorations in Rome (817-824) as Weitzmann suggests, but rather that it should be placed in the second half of the ninth century."¹¹

In addition to the controversy surrounding the date of the Sacra Parallela, there is also uncertainty concerning its place of origin. André Grabar points out a variety of stylistic, iconographic and codicological reasons why he believes this manuscript was made in Italy. For example, the gold medallions in the Sacra Parallela are very similar to the mosaic medallions above the entrance to the San Zeno chapel in S. Prassede. Likewise, the image of Saint John of Damascus (folio 208r) is similar to that of Basil under an arch in S. Maria Secundicerii, Rome (Figure 25). The inferior quality of the parchment is also characteristic of Italian manuscripts.

Weitzmann disagrees with Grabar and argues for a Palestinian origin, possibly in the monastery of San Saba. Weitzmann bases his conclusions on stylistic comparisons between this manuscript and certain icons in Palestine. His study is very thorough, but is restricted by his methodology. Furthermore, he does not mention important

¹¹Osborne, "A Note on the Date," 317.

palaeographical studies by Jaeger¹² and Cavallo.¹³ Both regard Palestine as an unlikely place of origin and prefer Constantinople and Rome respectively.

Jaeger bases his argument on a comparison of the Paris. gr. 923's sloping uncial script with several similar scripts found in the Vaticanus gr. 2066, MS 60 in the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.), Escorialensis Φ .III.20, and the Paris. gr. 510. According to Jaeger these manuscripts "form a special group among those written in sloping uncial, and are products of the same school and the same age."¹⁴ With the exception of the Paris. gr. 510, there has been controversy surrounding the dates of these manuscripts. Jaeger argues that, because of the similarity in script and subject matter, the fragments of MS 60 were originally part of the Vaticanus gr. 2066. This manuscript has been variously dated to the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries.¹⁵ However, because it contains accents and breathings Jaeger

¹²Jaeger, "Greek Uncial Fragments", 101-102.

¹³Cavallo, "Funzione e struttura della maiuscola greca tra i secoli VIII-IX," La Paléographie grecque et byzantine, (Paris, 1977), 95-137.

¹⁴Jaeger, "Greek Uncial Fragments", 94.

¹⁵Jaeger discusses the proponents of the various dates: C.R. Gregory, Cardinal Angelo Mai, and C. Tischendorf suggest the eighth century; Giorgio Pasquali prefers the ninth century; W.H.P. Hatch and Pierre Batiffol argue for the tenth century. Jaeger, "Greek Uncial Fragments", 91.

is very likely for the Vaticanus gr. 2066 and the Escorialensis Φ . III.20.

The next question concerns the place of origin of these manuscripts. Scholarship has traditionally held that the Vaticanus gr. 2066 was a product of the Basilian monastery of S. Maria del Patir in Rossano, southern Italy.¹⁹ However, Jaeger points out that the codex could not have been written there because the monastery was founded "not long before the end of the eleventh century."²⁰ Palaeographic studies suggest a date one or two centuries prior to the monastery's foundation. How did the manuscript find its way to Rossano? Jaeger suggests it was brought there in the early twelfth century by Bartholomew, the founder of the monastery, who had gone to Constantinople to acquire icons and manuscripts for his monastery.²¹

Although the Escorialensis Φ . III.20 contains no indications of its original owner or scribe, Jaeger argues that it was at one time part of a collection of a Greek noble, Antonius Eparchus, who left his island of Corfu and

(Footnote Continued)

Ninth-Century Byzantium: The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (B.N. gr. 510)", DOP 39, 1985, 1.

¹⁹Jaeger, "Greek Uncial Fragments", 95.

²⁰Jaeger, "Greek Uncial Fragments", 95.

²¹Bartholomew was received by the emperor Alexius Comnenos (1081-1118) and the empress Irene.

emigrated to Venice in the sixteenth century.²² His heirs sold his large manuscript collection to King Philip II of Spain, who incorporated it into the library of the Escorial. In response to those who argue a Calabrian origin for this manuscript Jaeger says,

If...the provenance of Escorialensis $\bar{\xi}$.III.20 from the collection of Antonius Eparchus be regarded as an established fact, the question of where it was written can be answered with great certainty. It was one of the many manuscripts which Eparchus brought from Greece to Venice in order to sell them and gain a livelihood in his self-imposed exile. The codex therefore represents not a Calabrian but an Eastern school of calligraphy.²³

The palaeographic evidence points towards an eastern, possibly Constantinopolitan origin for these two important manuscripts, and if one considers the close similarity between these manuscripts and the Paris. gr. 923, a Constantinopolitan origin becomes more appealing.

However, before accepting a Constantinopolitan origin, Weitzmann's Palestinian origin must be addressed. Cormack points out that it would be most unlikely that such a luxurious manuscript would have been produced in Palestine during the early ninth century, since there were many years

²²Cavallo questions Jaeger's proposed provenance of this manuscript. The evidence that Antonio Eparchus brought this manuscript with him from Corfu has, according to Cavallo, "discarso valore e sostegno." Cavallo, "Funzione," 101 note 28.

²³Jaeger, "Greek Uncial Fragments", 100.

of disorder and devastation in its churches and monasteries after the death of caliph Harun al-Rashid in 809.²⁴ Describing the period between September 1, 808 and August 31, 809 Theophanes writes:

It was then that the churches in the holy city of Christ our God were laid waste, as were the monasteries of the two great groups of eremitic monks (Khariton and Kyriakos), that of St. Saba, and the remaining coenobitic communities of Sts. Euthymios and Theodosios. The slaughter, directed against each other and us, continued through five years of anarchy.²⁵

Several years later, between 812 and 813, Theophanes describes the general anarchy that had seized Syria, Africa, Egypt and Palestine. Many Christian monks fled. He writes: "In the same way, the famous eremitic monasteries of Sts. Khariton and Saba in the desert, as well as other churches and monasteries, were devastated. Some men became martyrs; others got to Cyprus, and from it to Byzantium."²⁶

Another fact, this time ignored by Grabar, is that the Sacra Parallela was acquired in Constantinople in 1728 and

²⁴Cormack refers to the Chronicle of Theophanes (c.752-818) regarding the state of affairs in Palestine during the early ninth century. Robin Cormack, "Review of The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela Parisinus Graecus 923", Burlington Magazine, 123,1981, 172. See also Cyril Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes", Byzantium and its Image (London, 1984).

²⁵Harry Turtledove trans., The Chronicle of Theophanes, (Philadelphia, 1982), 165.

²⁶Turtledove, Chronicle, 178.

then taken to Paris by Abbot Sevin in 1730. He received it from the hospodar of Walachia as a gift. There is no evidence that it had ever been to Italy or Western Europe before it left Constantinople in 1730.

It is often a very difficult task to locate precisely the time and place of a manuscript's production during the early Middle Ages. Paris. gr. 923 is no exception. Weitzmann's monograph, although extensive, fails to answer fundamental questions concerning the function, artistic milieu, purpose and patronage of this manuscript. His aim is not to address these questions, but to determine the models used by the illuminators; his primary interest lies in these lost models. As a result, his conclusions concerning date and place of origin must be viewed with reservation. If one looks for further evidence in areas such as palaeography, portraiture, provenance and the historical situation in the Middle East one must consider a later date than Weitzmann's, and a different place of origin than Palestine. The evidence would tend to support a late ninth-century date and a Constantinopolitan origin for the manuscript.

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----- The Miniatures.²⁷

----- "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination, Past, Present, and Future." The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art. Princeton, 1975. pp. 17, 21, 54, and figs. 14, 16.

ii. Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana codex 49-50. Ninth century. Suggested origin: Italy. (Figure 6)

Commentary:

The "Milan Gregory" is a marginally illustrated manuscript consisting of 816 folios in two volumes. Each folio measures approximately 43.5 x 30.5 cm. It is a copy of a collection of forty-five homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus written in a sloping uncial in two columns. The system and the technique of illustration are closely related to those used in the Sacra Parallela; however, in the Milan Gregory the illustrations also occur in the inner margin. This practice is unlike the Paris 923.²⁸

Weitzmann considers the Milan Gregory inferior in quality and character to the Sacra Parallela.²⁹ "The

²⁷For a further bibliography of the Sacra Parallela see pages 265-266.

²⁸Kurt Weitzmann, Illustrations in Roll and Codex, 118 and 122.

²⁹Weitzmann offers one exception: folio 814. One should also note that the border of the halo has dots much like the haloes of the Sacra Parallela. Other borders are simple bands of either one or two colours.

figures are inarticulate and stiff and the linear design of the drapery lacks the distinction of the system of folds typical in the Sacra Parallela."³⁰ It is true that many of the illustrations lack the quality of the Sacra Parallela. The lines are often broken and are less sure than those in the Paris 923. However, it is inaccurate to state that the double-line fold does not occur in the manuscript. Many examples of the motif can be found. On folio 72 the double-line can be seen in two figures around both their arms and chest. It also occurs crossing the thigh in many examples such as folio 151, 657, 681, 694, and 699.³¹

During the mid-1930's Weitzmann categorized the Milan Gregory, the Paris 923 and the Vatican Job as "the group of manuscripts with gold draped figures."³² Based on this stylistic similarity he attributed them to Italy. Subsequent research has led him to conclude that, even though there is gold drapery found throughout the illustrations, they are "stylistically quite different from one another."³³ He concludes that these stylistic

³⁰Weitzmann, The Miniatures, 15.

³¹This is only a partial list. At least ten more examples of the double line fold can be found. See Grabar, Les miniatures, for further examples: folios 88, 122, 185, 188, 713, 705, 742, 745, 754 and 785.

³²Weitzmann, The Miniatures, 15.

³³Weitzmann, The Miniatures, 15.

discrepancies are a result of different artistic centers; therefore, the use of gold drapery figures was not a local characteristic. He has subsequently reconsidered the origin of the Paris 923, but the Italian origin of the Milan Gregory and the Vatican Job is still widely accepted.

Grabar has discussed a variety of Western features present in the Milan Gregory such as the use of the clerical tonsure and the Roman ecclesiastical costume.³⁴ Also, Osborne notes the similarity of the three rayed cruciform surrounding the head of Christ in the Milan Gregory and depictions of this motif in wall-paintings in San Clemente.³⁵ This evidence helps to strengthen an Italian origin.

It is known that the Greek community in Rome had their own scriptoria. A copy of Pope Zaccarias's Greek translation of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great was completed in the year 800 (Biblioteca Vaticana, codex graecus 1666).³⁶ The fact that such a manuscript was

³⁴Grabar, Les miniatures, 21.

³⁵Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Painting, 81. (Compare plate 5 with plate XXXIII, page 451 in Grabar, Les miniatures).

³⁶Liber Pontificalis I, 435, note 57, Grabar, Les manuscrits, 30-31 and Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Painting, 80 (note 277 contains further bibliography).

commissioned attests to the strong presence and influence of the Greek community in Rome at this time.

The Milan Gregory should be regarded as having an Italian origin. The strong presence of a Greek community in Rome has been well documented,³⁷ and such a copy of Gregory of Nazianzus' homilies would not be out of place in Rome during the ninth century.

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- Der Nersessian, Sirarpie. "The Illustration of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus: Paris Gr. 510." DOP 16, 1962, 225.
- Galavaris, George. Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. pp. 4, 21, 27, 29, 36, 113, 126f., 133f., 137f., 191.
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- Osborne, John. Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings. pp. 79-84.
- Sansterre, J.M. Les moines grecs. I: pp. 170, 174, 203-204; II: 195-196.
- Walter, Christopher. Art and Ritual. pp. 41, 68, 78, 95, 101, 104, 130, 133.
- Weitzmann, Kurt. Illustrations in Roll and Codex. pp. 118,

³⁷For a thorough examination of Greek monastic influence in Rome during the eighth and ninth centuries see Jean-Marie Sansterre, Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^es.- fin du IX^es.), (Bruxelles, 1983). See also C. Mango, "La culture grecque et l'occident au VIII^e siècle", Byzantium.

122, 189, 199 and fig. 105.

Weitzmann, Kurt. The Miniatures. pp. 6, 11, 14-15, 20, 31, 33, 131, 212, 218-219, 228, 231, 235, 237, 262-263.

iii. Book of Job. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, codex graecus 749. Ninth century. Suggested origin: Italy. (Figures 4,5)

Commentary:

This is a marginally illustrated manuscript much like the Paris. gr. 923 and the Milan Gregory. Its script is a sloping uncial; the text is in two columns.

Within this manuscript a variety of hands have been identified. There is some confusion about the number of hands and how to divide the miniatures into different groups. Weitzmann first presented three groups: folios 1-37, 38-118 and 119 ff. Each of these groups would correspond to a different artist. On the contrary, Grabar feels that the third group should start with folio 226, not 119. Regardless of the number of hands involved, the double-line fold motif is common to all of them. The motif occurs in the garments on figures on folio 6, 8, 241, and 250 (Figures 4,5). It is interesting to note that, in the garment of Christ (folio 250), the fold occurs in the upper leg in the same manner as it does in the mosaics and frescoes of ninth century Rome. In the other examples the fold occurs more frequently, and in some cases (folio 6) functions as ornament.

There is unanimity concerning a ninth-century date. Only Belting, without discussing his rationale, narrows the date to the second half of the ninth century.³⁸

Like the Paris 923 and the Milan Gregory, this manuscript contains figures with gold garments.³⁹ Grabar is of the opinion that this is an Italian feature and thus concludes that the manuscript was made in Italy.

There are also close parallels between animal motifs in the Vatican Job (folio 6) and ornamented initials (folio 136v) in the Dialogues of Gregory the Great (Bib. Vaticana, cod. gr. 1666).⁴⁰ These similarities may likewise indicate an Italian origin.

In the hope of discovering this manuscript's place of origin, one must consider the history of the three manuscripts. The Milan Gregory had been at Chios for some

³⁸Hans Belting, "Byzantine Art Among Greeks and Latins in Southern Italy", DOP 28, 1975, 8.

³⁹Belting points out a "revealing difference" between the Paris 923 and the Vatican Job in the use of gold garments. The Paris 923 uses the gold drapery indiscriminately, whereas the Vatican Job uses it only in the garments of Job, and therefore it functions as an iconographic trait. The scribe may have adopted the technique but used it for a different purpose. Belting, "Byzantine Art", 9.

⁴⁰Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Painting, 80. See also Grabar, Les manuscrits, fig. 67.

years,⁴¹ while the Paris. gr. 923 was in Constantinople: Only the Vatican Job had never left Italy.⁴² This evidence, when considered in the light of the abundant similarities between the Vatican Job and Roman wall-paintings and one known manuscript produced at a Roman scriptorium, greatly enhances the argument for an Italian origin.

References:

- Belting, Hans. "Byzantine Art". pp. 3-16 and figs. 5, 6, 8-10.
- Cavallo, Guglielmo. Paléographie. pp. 101-103 and fig. 15.
- Grabar, André. Les manuscrits. pp. 16-20, 82, 88, 94f., and figs. 1-8.
- Osborne, John. Early Mediaeval Wall-Painting. pp. 79, 80, 104 note 269 and 190.
- Sansterre, J.M. Les moines grecs. Vol. I pp. 170, 172, 174 and Vol. II pp. 195-196, 231.
- Weitzmann, Kurt. The Miniatures. pp. 12, 15, 21, 111-112, 114, 117, 119, 218, 264.
- "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination".
p. 21 and fig. 15.
- Illustrations in Roll and Codex. p. 102 note
50.

⁴¹Belting, "Byzantine Art", 10 n. 3. and Martini, A. and Bassi, D. Catalogus codicum, 1086. "Ex insula Chio advectus a. 1606."

⁴²Belting, "Byzantine Art", 10 note 33.

iv. Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. gr. 510. Securely dated to the years A.D. 879-886. Suggested origin: Constantinople. (Figure 7)

Commentary:

The "Paris Gregory" has both marginal and full-page illustrations and consists of 465 folios on parchment. Like the Milan Gregory, it is a copy of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus written in a sloping uncial in two columns.⁴³

At the end of the fifteenth century it was brought to the West by John Lascaris; it then changed hands several times from Cardinal Nicholas Ridolfi, to Pietro Strozzi, and finally to Catherine de' Medici. Finally in 1594 it went to the Bibliothèque du Roi, after which it was assimilated into the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁴⁴

The manuscript contains 46 full page miniatures, a headpiece to each homily text, over 1600 gold and/or decorated initials and one painted colophon. Because of the variety and wealth of illustration it must have had aristocratic patronage.

Fortunately, the manuscript can be securely dated to the years 879-886. At the beginning of the manuscript are

⁴³Through palaeographic comparisons Jaeger has attempted to associate the Paris Gregory with the group of texts associated with the Vat. gr. 2066; this group includes the Paris. gr. 923.

⁴⁴Brubaker, "The Illustrated Copy," 4.

two full-page illuminations which depict historical persons. On folio B^r is the empress Eudoxia between her sons Leo and Alexander; on folio C^v is the emperor Basil between Elijah and the archangel Gabriel. Basil reigned from 867 to his death in 886. It may be safely concluded that the manuscript was produced during this time. A more accurate date can be proposed because Basil's son, Constantine, was not included in the full page miniatures. Constantine's death in 879 provides a terminus post quem for the production of the manuscript.

There have been attempts to date the manuscript more precisely. Spatharakis believes that the underdrawing of the central figure on folio B^v is Constantine. If this is correct, then one could suggest that the manuscript was completed in 879, and that Constantine's portrait was then replaced by a cross after his sudden death in that year.

This theory is quite attractive, but Kalavrezou-Maxeiner has pointed out some its shortcomings. She argues convincingly that the underdrawing was a preliminary drawing of Basil and was covered over for iconographic reasons.⁴⁵

One of the fascinating aspects of the Paris Gregory is the variety of styles found in the illustrations. Brubaker feels that although two distinct styles are found among the

⁴⁵Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "The Portraits," 19.

illustrations, the miniatures were completed during one single decorative campaign.⁴⁶ If so, this underscores the problem of stylistic comparison during this period. One of these styles relies on the use of a system of lines to depict drapery. The other, more 'Hellenistic', style also occurs, and is quite similar to later illustrations from the Macedonian renaissance (Figure 7). Even so, the double-line fold can be found on the garments of some of these Hellenistic figures. The artist is clinging to a familiar artistic convention.

Brubaker has outlined certain stylistic similarities with other manuscripts. The most informative similarities for this study are those between the Paris Gregory and the Sacra Parallela. These include: gold initials with black contours, striped initials, pearled borders, and figures, adjacent to initials in the Paris 923, which point to the text may be related to the 'hand-hasta epsilons' of the Paris Gregory.⁴⁷

It is important to note these similarities, as it may provide further evidence for a late ninth-century date for the Sacra Parallela. There is a definite stylistic link between these two manuscripts, which is enhanced by the use

⁴⁶For example, compare plate XXVI and XXVII, Omont, H. Miniatures.

⁴⁷Brubaker, "The Illustrated Copy," 77.

of the double-line fold system. Although the Paris Gregory does not have the extremely linear characteristics of the drapery found in the Paris gr. 923, it does use the double-line system, especially in the thigh region.⁴⁸

References:

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- Grabar, A. L'iconoclisme byzantin. pp. 247-256.
- Jaeger, W. "Greek Uncial Fragments". pp. 95, 97, 101 and plate XII.
- Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, I. "The Portraits of Basil I in Paris gr. 510". Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik 27, 1978. pp. 19-24.
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- Spatharakis, I. "The Portraits and Date of the Cod. Par. gr. 510". Cahiers Archéologiques 23, 1974. pp. 97-105.

⁴⁸See plates XX, XXIV, XXVIII, XXXII, XXXVI, XXXIX, XL, Omont, H. Miniatures.

----- Corpus.⁴⁹ Vol. I, pp. 6-9 and Vol. II, figs
10-15.

Weitzmann, K. The Miniatures. pp. 23-24, 32, 44-45, 54,
68-70, 72, 93, 138, 148, 150, 157, 161-164, 166, 169,
172, 175-176, 181, 185-186, 192, 203, 218-219, 228,
230, 235, 237, 240, 244, 255, 260, 262.

----- "Illustration for the Chronicles of Sozomenos,
Theodoret and Malales". Byzantion 16, 1942/43. pp.
87ff.

2. Mosaic Decoration

i. S. Maria in Domnica, Rome. Mosaics from the apse and
triumphal arch. Completed during the pontificate of Paschal
I (817-824). (Figure 14)

Commentary:

During the late eighth and early ninth centuries in
Rome, the Papacy attempted to reform and revive many of the
ecclesiastical buildings.⁵⁰ This program of renewal did not
occur under one specific pope, but spanned the rule of
several and was intimately connected to the Carolingian
renaissance at the court of Charlemagne. The movement
started with Hadrian I (772-795), continued and reached its

⁴⁹For further bibliography see pages 8-9.

⁵⁰For a general introduction to the Carolingian period
in Rome see Richard Krautheimer, Rome: Profile of a City,
312-1308, (Princeton, 1980), chapter 5, "Renewal and
Renaissance: The Carolingian Age." See also Richard
Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian
Architecture", reprinted in Studies in Early Christian,
Medieval, and Renaissance Art, (New York and London, 1969),
203-256.

height under Leo III (795-816), and Paschal I (817-824), and subsided under Gregory IV (827-844), Sergius II (844-847) and Leo IV (847-855).

The revival of the past by Charlemagne's court created a new interest in the city of Rome and its ancient institutions. "In both the papal and Carolingian camp, there was a manifest desire to restore some of its ancient importance to Rome, the burial place of St. Peter, the former capital of the world, the imperial city."⁵¹

This artistic renovatio was based on a renaissance of early Christian, specifically Constantinian, architectural forms and decoration. This concern with Rome, and her past, must be understood in the larger context of the Carolingian revival, north of the Alps.

Although there was an effort to revive the basilica form, there remained for a time the triple-apse formula originally derived from the east. The presence of Near Eastern architectural and artistic characteristics can be found in Rome, even in the ninth century.

The church of Santa Maria in Domnica followed the older Eastern triple-apse plan. Pope Paschal attempted to revive the grandeur of the early Christian basilica by commissioning mosaics in the apse area and above the

⁵¹Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival", 214.

triumphal arch. Paschal's patronage also included structural fortification,⁵² as the church was in a state of imminent collapse.

The use of mosaic itself was part of the revival; it had not been used for approximately one hundred years in Rome, and reappeared around the year 800. The tesserae employed by the mosaicists were glass, not the customary marble and glass used in Byzantium.⁵³ This technique has been seen as a "conscious revival of ancient forms that links the Carolingian popes with the early Christian past."⁵⁴ It is also believed that the tesserae were, for the most part, reused pieces taken from earlier buildings.

The implications of the technical data seem to be that the Zeno chapel mosaics are Roman made, in traditional, even recycled, materials, and fit into the general pattern of antiquarian revival practiced by Carolingian era popes,...⁵⁵

However, Mackie concludes that the recycling of tesserae, in particular glass tesserae, may reflect necessity, rather than a conscious revival of an early

⁵²Richard Krautheimer, Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae, (Vatican City, Rome, New York), Vol. II, 1959, 309.

⁵³For a discussion on the use of glass and marble tesserae in Early Christian decoration see H.P. L'Orange and P.J. Nordhagen, Mosaics, (London, 1966), 57-65.

⁵⁴Gillian Mackie, "The Iconographic Programme of the San Zeno Chapel at Santa Prassede, Rome", University of Victoria M.A. Thesis, 127.

⁵⁵Mackie, "The Iconographic Programme", 130-131.

Christian technique.⁵⁶ Indeed, it is quite likely that the only available material was glass and subsequently that is all they had to work with.

The mosaics are securely dated based on an inscription in the apse below the mosaic, recording the restoration of the church,⁵⁷ Paschal's monogram at the apex of the apse mosaic and documentation from the pope's biographical entry in the Liber Pontificalis.⁵⁸

The apse mosaic depicts the Virgin enthroned with the Christ-child surrounded by a multitude of angels (Figure 14). The donor, indicated by the square halo,⁵⁹ kneels

⁵⁶Mackie, "The Iconographic Programme", 128. Mackie hypothesises that the re-use of tesserae reflects the limited palette of the mosaics. This accounts for the 'impressionistic' style of the Paschalian mosaics. "There simply were not enough shades of most colours to attempt the subtle contouring of forms of the antique and Early Christian styles." 173.

⁵⁷ISTA DOMVS PRIDEM FUERAT CONFRACATA RUINIS
NUNC RUTILAT JUGITER VARIIS DECORATA METALLIS
ET DEUS ECCE SUUS SPLENDET CEU PHOEBUS IN ORBE
QUI POST FURVA FUGANS TETRAE VELAMINA NOCTIS
VIRGO MARIA TIBI PASCHALIS PRAESUL HONESTUS
CONDIDIT HANC AULAM LAETUS PER SAECLA MANENDAM
Krautheimer, Corpus Basilicarum, 310.

⁵⁸The Liber Pontificalis, II, 55 and 63 give an account of the contributions of Paschal I.

⁵⁹For a discussion of the square halo see John Osborne, "The Portrait of Pope Leo IV in San Clemente, Rome; a Re-examination of the so-called 'Square' Nimbus in Medieval Art", Papers of the British School at Rome, 47, 1979, 58-65. Henceforth Papers of the British School at Rome will be referred to as PBSR.

before the Virgin holding her right foot. The tradition of depicting an enthroned Virgin in the apse is new to the art of Rome and comes from Byzantium.⁶⁰ This is further evidence for the retention of Near Eastern elements in the art of the early ninth century.

A contrary theory is given by Susan Spain Alexander who argues that the apsidal composition of S. Maria in Domnica reflects that of the original lost mosaic in the apse of S. Maria Maggiore. She bases her argument on similar motifs in both schemes. These include "fruit laden swags rising from the baskets... on the intrados of the apsidal arch" and "jewelled chain" borders with four pearls.⁶¹ As Gillian Mackie has pointed out, this is meager evidence for such a hypothesis.⁶² Indeed, these same motifs can also be found in S. Prassede and the Zeno chapel.

Another Eastern characteristic found in this mosaic is the use of superimposed haloes to indicate a crowd of angels. This device occurs in the manuscripts previously

⁶⁰Emile Male suggests that this Virgin is quite similar to that in Santa Sophia in Salonica. Emile Male, The Early Churches of Rome, (London, 1960), 86.

⁶¹Susan Spain Alexander, "Carolingian Restorations of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome," Gesta, 16/1, 1977, 18.

⁶²Gillian Mackie, "The Iconographic Programme", 130. See Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Painting, 120-121 for a discussion of the 'Maria Regina' in S. Maria Maggiore.

mentioned, for example folios 12r, 14r and 391r of the Sacra Parallela.

Additional Near Eastern iconography can be found on the Triumphal arch, where Christ is seated on a rainbow, surrounded by a halo of light.⁶³ On either side of Christ is an angel and six apostles. Peter is on the left and Paul on the right. On the lower left is St. John the Baptist and towards the right is St. John the Evangelist.

There is some discussion about the order in which the Paschalian churches were completed. Krautheimer suggests that work began at S. Prassede, then the S. Zeno chapel, S. Cecilia in Trastevere and finally S. Maria in Domnica.⁶⁴ If one assumes that the account of the embellishments in the Liber Pontificalis is chronological, then a different order occurs: S. Prassede, S. Maria in Domnica and finally S. Cecilia in Trastevere.

However, Oakeshott and Male have argued that S. Maria in Domnica should be considered as the earliest of the three. Their argument centers on a stylistic analysis of the draperies. The draperies on these figures, although linear in character, have billowing forms unlike those draperies

⁶³Male, Early Churches, 87. This scene also appears on the fifth century apse vaults of S. Agata dei Goti and S. Andrea in Catabarbara. Krautheimer, Rome, 127.

⁶⁴Krautheimer, Rome, 127.

from Sta. Cecilia or Sta. Prassede. This style has a closer similarity to the mosaics commissioned by Leo III. "A comparison of the drapery forms with those on the remaining copy of the Triclinium mosaic suggests that the designer of the Sta. Maria Domnica mosaic may have worked for Leo III on the mosaic of the Triclinium."⁶⁵ This may be so, but Oakeshott fails to consider the fact that the Triclinium mosaic was dutifully restored in the seventeenth century,⁶⁶ and that only an eighteenth century copy of the original remains. It is impossible to know how accurate a copy it is, particularly in details such as the style of drapery forms.

One piece of evidence which has been ignored lies in the palaeography of the monogram of Paschal. If one compares it to the monograms in Sta. Cecilia and Sta. Prassede, one can find a slight difference in the letter A. The monograms of the latter churches are identical.⁶⁷ This

⁶⁵Walter Oakeshott, The Mosaics of Rome from the Third to the Fourteenth Centuries, (London, 1967), 203.

⁶⁶For a discussion of the seventeenth-century restorations and possible original fragments see Caecilia Davis-Weyer, "Karolingisches und Nichtkarolingisches in zwei Mosaikfragmenten der Vatikanischen Bibliothek", Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 34, 1974, 31-39.

⁶⁷Although it is difficult to tell from Matthiae's drawings of restorations, it looks as if the monograms of Paschal in S. Cecilia and S. Prassede had some later work on them. This may account for the difference.

may not provide proof that S. Maria in Domnica was completed first, but it does strengthen the argument that a different workshop was responsible for the mosaics.

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- Oakeshott, W. The Mosaics of Rome. pp. 196-198, 203-204, plate XX and figs. 21, 114-120.

ii. Santa Prassede, Rome. Mosaics in the apse, triumphal arch and arch outside the transept facing the nave. Also, the mosaics in the small chapel of San Zeno attached to the right aisle of S. Prassede. Completed during the pontificate of Paschal I (817-824). (Figures 8-12)

Commentary:

The work commissioned by Paschal during the early ninth century on the church of S. Prassede was clearly part of the renovatio of Early Christian art and architecture discussed

previously. Both the plan and the decoration of this church reflect this concern with the age of Constantine.

The plan is proportionally similar to that of the early Christian basilica of St. Peter's. It is, however, reduced in scale. There are two aisles instead of four, eleven instead of twenty-two columns on either side of the nave, and so on.⁶⁸

Another example of the renovatio can be found in the revival of fourth and fifth-century construction techniques⁶⁹ and the revival of opus sectile pavement in the San Zeno chapel.⁷⁰

The mosaics are securely dated based on an inscription⁷¹ above the entrance to the San Zeno chapel, a monogram of Paschal I above the apse mosaic and the entrance to the San Zeno chapel, as well as records of the embellishments by Paschal I in the Liber Pontificalis.⁷²

⁶⁸Krautheimer, Rome, 123.

⁶⁹Krautheimer, Rome, 124.

⁷⁰B. McClendon, "The Revival of Opus Sectile Pavements in Rome and the Vicinity in the Carolingian Period", PBSR, 48, 1980, 157-165.

⁷¹PASCHALIS PRAESVLIS OPVS DECOR FVLGIT IN AVLA
QVOD PIA OPTVLIT VOTA STVDVIT REDDERE DO PASCHALIS
Nicolette Gray, "The Paleography of Latin Inscriptions in the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Centuries in Italy", PBSR, 16, 1948, 100.

⁷²Liber Pontificalis, II, 54ff. for a description of Paschal's contributions.

The iconographic schemes used in the apse at S. Prassede are directly derived from an early Christian example close at hand. The scene depicts Christ at his Second Coming in the center of the composition, flanked by Peter and Paul who introduce the titular saint, Praxedis, her sister, Potentiana, and the donor, Paschal (Figure 11), again with the square halo. Christ floats in the heavens; palm trees and a phoenix are at the edge of the group. This entire composition was taken from the sixth-century apse mosaic of SS. Cosmas and Damian. There is also a frieze of lambs and an inscription written in antique script underneath the apse mosaic, which looks much like that at SS. Cosmas and Damian, and the composition on the triumphal arch surrounding the apse was also taken from SS. Cosmas and Damian.

Even though there is a conscious effort to emulate the apse mosaic in SS. Cosmas and Damian in terms of composition, iconography and epigraphy, the figure style is quite different. The figures have an overall linear characteristic (Figures 11,12); their facial features and garments tend to have very little shading and a greater use of line to define form. "Draperies are marked by a framework of lines, faintly suggesting the articulation of

limbs. Faces are oval or triangular, outlined by darker contours."⁷³

The double-line fold occurs on the draperies of all the figures in the apse mosaic. It is most noticeable as two lines cutting across the thigh of Christ, Paschal (Figure 12), Praxedis, and Potentiana. The motif also occurs on the right shoulder of Peter, and on the biceps of the unidentified figure to the right. In each case the fold is used to define some aspect of the garment, and not simply as ornament.

It has been suggested by Oakeshott⁷⁴ that there were four different mosaicists involved with the lamb frieze below the apse mosaic. This conclusion is based on an analysis of the way in which the lamb's fleece is depicted. In one particular case, the fleece is described by horizontal lines, very similar to the fleece of lambs in Sta. Cecilia. This argument is intriguing. Can a particular artist be isolated by such a characteristic? One is tempted to answer in the affirmative; however, such conclusions are extremely tentative without further documentation and proof.

⁷³Krautheimer, Rome, 130.

⁷⁴Oakeshott, The Mosaics of Rome, 206.

The programme of mosaic decoration in the Zeno chapel has been called the "most outstanding example of Byzantine influence on Rome within the Carolingian Renaissance."⁷⁵ In a discussion of the iconographic programme Mackie confirms Krautheimer's appellation.

An aspect of the decoration which has received relatively little attention is the figure style. Krautheimer says that "all the figure...are cast in traditional poses and are marked by the linear framework of faces and draperies customary in Rome by then."⁷⁶ This linear framework includes the double-line fold in most of the garments (Figures 9,10,11). A good example occurs on the garments of Saints Peter and Paul on the inner facade wall (Figure 8). They have the characteristic fold on the thigh along with the sweeping curved line to indicate the upper thigh. The gold background also occurs and, in conjunction with the double-line fold, reminds the viewer of the drapery style of the Paris. gr. 923, or the Milan Gregory.

If the Paris. gr. 923 can be referred to as the example par excellence of the double-line fold motif used in

⁷⁵Krautheimer, Rome, 128. For a complete discussion of the Zeno chapel see Gillian Mackie, "The Iconographic Programme".

⁷⁶Krautheimer, Rome, 132.

manuscripts, the mosaic decoration of S. Prassede and the San Zeno chapel must be the example par excellence of the motif used in ninth century mosaics. It is used, not as ornament, but as description occurring in areas where the drapery would naturally fold. Like the manuscripts, it occurs in conjunction with a gold background. Indeed, the use of the motif is strikingly similar to its use in both the Paris. gr. 923 and certain folios in the Vatican Job.

References:

Dodwell, C.R. Painting. pp. 13, 14, 142, 183 and figs. 2 and 5.

Ferrari, Guy O.S.B. Early Roman Monasteries. Rome, 1957. pp. 3-10.

Grabar, A. L'iconoclasme byzantin. pp. 195, 238 and 239.

Krautheimer, Richard et al. Corpus Basilicarum. Vol. III, pp. 232 ff. and figs. 201-226.

----- "The Carolingian Revival". p. 1ff.

----- Rome. pp. 113, 123, 124, 126-128, 130, 132, 133, 134, 136, 138, 173, 181, 206, 291, 299, 308, 314, 319 and figs. 94-97, 101, 102-107, 109-112.

Mackie, G. V. "The Iconographic Programme."

Male, Emile. Early Churches. pp. 53, 85, 87-91 and figs. 51-53.

Matthiae, G. Mosaici medioevali. pp. 79, 233, 234, 239, 237, 242, 243, 253, 254, 257, 259, 260, 261, 266, 309, 310, 344, 350, 361, 374, 385 and figs. 176-214.

Oakeshott, W. The Mosaics of Rome. pp. 16, 20, 22, 30, 196, 198, 200, 204-212, figs. 121, 123-127 and plates V, XIX, XXI, XXII.

Sansterre, Jean-Marie. Les moines grecs. Vol. I, pp. 34, 38, 49, 87, 97, 160, 170-172. Vol. II, pp. 93, 197.

iii. Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome. Mosaics in the half dome of the semicircular apse, completed during the pontificate of Paschal I (817-824). (Figure 13)

Commentary:

Like the previous structures, the decoration of this church forms part of pope Paschal's ambitious and generous renewal of the churches of Rome. Thanks to accounts in the Liber Pontificalis,⁷⁷ the structure can be securely dated. The characteristic monogram of Paschal I can also be found in the soffit of the arch.

The composition of the apse mosaic is very similar to the apse mosaic at S. Prassede. Christ is flanked by Peter and Paul who introduce the titular saint and other figures, while the donor, Paschal, stands at the far right of Christ highlighted by the square halo. Christ is in the heavens, with the hand of God descending from above. Below their feet lies a frieze of lambs and below that, a dedicatory verse.

However, was the apse mosaic in S. Prassede the immediate model for the mosaicists of S. Cecilia? Obviously, it is very similar to the composition in S.

⁷⁷For an account of the construction of the present basilica to replace the ancient one see L.P., II, 56. For the account of the discovery and translation of the relics of St. Cecilia and the dedication of the apse mosaic see L.P., II, 57.

Prassede; however, it is equally similar to the scheme from SS. Cosmas and Damian. According to Oakeshott, the design of S. Cecilia was derived from S. Prassede and not the sixth-century mosaic.

It seems clear that the designer of the Sta. Prassede apse was following that mosaic (from SS. Cosma e Damiano) at first hand, whereas the Sta. Cecilia design is copied from Sta. Prassede. Thus, in Sta. Prassede we see features, such as the river Jordan, repeated from SS. Cosma e Damiano that are absent from Sta. Cecilia; while two small rocky lumps on the ground are faithfully imitated in Sta. Prassede, but omitted in Sta. Cecilia, and Christ is in the clouds, not virtually⁷⁸ standing on the ground, as in Sta. Cecilia.

However, there are other details which indicate a different model for the composition of the apse mosaic in S. Cecilia. The gesture of Christ is different. In S. Cecilia Christ touches his third finger with his thumb, a gesture of blessing, while at S. Prassede his open palm suggests judgement -- an appropriate gesture for the Second Coming. The figures of Peter and Paul are also curiously different. Rather than embracing the titular saint and motioning toward Christ in a gesture of introduction, they stand awkwardly apart from their neighbours with no clear purpose. Are they introducing the saints or modelling their garments?

⁷⁸Walter Oakeshott, The Mosaics of Rome, 206.

These curious deviations from the mosaics of both SS. Cosmas and Damian and S. Prassede could suggest a third model for this composition. The gestures of Christ, Peter and Paul are much closer to those in the slightly later apse mosaic of S. Marco (Figure 15). Another similarity between S. Cecilia and S. Marco has been noted by Osborne. In the S. Marco mosaic the group at the far left is derived from the group in S. Cecilia. "The model has been followed to such a close extent that the portion of the pallium which hangs down behind the pope's back, and is therefore normally concealed, is shown falling outwards to the left of the pontiff in both examples."⁷⁹

Whether or not another model was involved is difficult to determine; what can be said is that this mosaic is a development from the S. Prassede composition toward the mosaic found in S. Marco. Christ no longer wields the hand of judgement; instead he blesses his church.

Like all of the mosaic decoration under Paschal's patronage, the style of the garments can be characterized as linear. The double-line fold, although not frequent, occurs crossing the thighs of Christ, Paul and St. Valerian. The fold also cuts across the lower garments of Christ, Peter

⁷⁹John Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings, 75.

and Paul in a rather odd manner; its location is quite unusual.

The decorative programme of Santa Cecilia can be considered later than that at S. Prassede. Although similar in many respects, there are differences which indicate a slightly later campaign, closer to the programme at S. Marco. Even so, the style is characteristic of Paschalian mosaics, with its areas of flat colour, its predominant use of line to define figures, and its use of the parallel double-lines to describe garment folds.

References:

Dodwell. C.R. Painting. pp. 13, 14 and fig. 3.

Krautheimer, R. et al. Corpus Basilicarum. Vol.I, pp. 94ff. and figs 64ff.

----- Rome. pp. 18, 127, 126, 133, 137, 138, 176, 209, 214, 215, 217, 222, 223, 254, 274, 294, 305, 307, 308, and figs. 98, 172, 178-81.

Male, Emile. Early Churches. pp. 85, 89, 91-93, 150 and fig. 102.

Matthiae, G. Mosaici medioevali. Vol. I 225, 234, 251, 253-257, 260, 349, 386 and Vol. II, plates XXXVIII- XLI and figs 144- 152.

Oakeshott, Walter. The Mosaics of Rome. pp. 212- 213 and figs. 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, and 137.

Sansterre, Jean-Marie. Les moines grecs. Bruxelles, 1983. Vol. I, pp. 87, 132, 133-134; Vol. II, 128 n.36, 166 n.195, 189 n.172.

iv. San Marco, Rome. Mosaic from the apse, completed during the pontificate of Gregory IV (828-44). (Figure 15)

Commentary:

Included within the general renovatio of early ninth century Rome are the mosaics in the apse and on the triumphal arch of San Marco. The original structure was in a poor state by the late eighth century. Gregory IV (828-44), who was the former presbyter of San Marco,⁸⁰ kindly rebuilt much of the structure and decorated it with mosaics. He also donated a variety of gifts including altar vessels, a silver canopy, silver plaques for the altar, textiles for the side altars, and curtains for the arcades and main portal.⁸¹ Further evidence for ascribing the mosaic campaign to the pontificate of Gregory IV can be found in the dedicatory inscription on the arch of the apse mosaic,⁸² and the characteristic monogram of Gregory IV in the soffit of the arch.

⁸⁰Krautheimer, Corpus Basilicarum, 218.

⁸¹L.P. II, 74-75.

⁸²VASTA THOLI FIRMO SISTVNT FVNDAMINE FVLCHRA
QVAE SALOMONIACO FVLGENT SVB SIDERE SITV
HAEC TIBI PROQVE TVO PERFECIT PRAESVL HONORE
GREGORIVS MARCE EXIMIO CVI NOMINE QVARTVS
TV QVOQVE POSCE DEVM VIVENDI TEMPORA LONGA
DONET ET AD CAELI POST FVNVS SIDERA DVCAT.
Krautheimer, Corpus Basilicarum, 218.

The composition of the apse is a familiar one, and immediately recalls the Paschalian mosaics a generation earlier. The general design most closely resembles that of S. Cecilia, which in turn has antecedents in the apse mosaic of SS. Cosmas and Damian. The similarity between the heads of Christ, the large striped pots with foliage bursting from them, and the 'v-folds' of the clothing all occur in the earlier Paschalian campaign.

Despite the similarities there are some curious differences. The band of sheep at the bottom is much larger, forcing the standing figures closer to the upper border. In terms of style, the sheep are much more realistically rendered. This concern with illusionism is clearly demonstrated in the drapery of St. Mark, St. Felicissimus, Christ, Mark (the Pope in 336) and St. Agapetus (Pope from 535-36).

Gregory IV, with the square halo and wearing a gold chasuble, is much closer in terms of style to the mosaics a generation earlier. His drapery is created using a series of lines on a gold ground, with the double-line fold and the sweeping curved line clearly indicating the thigh region. Balancing Gregory is St. Agnes, who likewise has a flat gold ground with dark lines indicating folds of drapery.

With the mosaics of Gregory IV, there is a clear indication that the style of the draperies is much more illusionistic than those of the mosaics of Paschal I. Even

so, in certain figures the double-line system is clearly used to indicate drapery folds. One should note that the double-line fold is used only on those figures where a flat area of gold forms the basic shape of the drapery.

References:

Krautheimer, R. et al. Corpus Basilicarum. II. pp. 216ff. and fig. 193.

Male, Emile. Early Churches. pp. 93-94, 150.

Oakeshott, Walter. The Mosaics. pp. 213-214, plate XXIII and fig. 132, 134-137.

v. Church of the Koimesis, Nicaea. A mosaic of the Virgin and Child in the apse, completed immediately following Second Iconoclasm.

Commentary:

There is a great deal of difficulty in discussing stylistic attributes of this particular work because it no longer exists. In the Greco-Turkish wars in 1912, the church was damaged, and the mosaics were destroyed soon afterwards in 1922. Fortunately, in 1912 N.K. Kluge made a photographic record of the mosaics. These original photographs were reproduced in 1927 by Schmit⁸³, and again in 1947 by Lazarev⁸⁴. It is from these plates that scholars

⁸³Theodor Schmit, Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia, (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927).

⁸⁴Victor Lazarev, History of Byzantine Painting, (in Russian) 2 vols., (Moscow, 1947).

have worked and attempted to come to conclusions concerning date and style.

Early scholarship tended to discuss the mosaics in the apse as belonging to two campaigns: a pre-Iconoclastic campaign depicting the hand of God descending on a seated Virgin and Child, and an aniconic campaign inserted during Iconoclasm consisting of a large cross which would have covered the Virgin and Child. Presumably, this cross would have been removed after Iconoclasm.

In 1959, however, Underwood suggested a third period.⁸⁵ Through a detailed study of the photographic records, he managed to trace the decorative development of the apse. The first phase was pre-Iconoclastic and included the hand of God and the expanse of background mosaic. The second phase was the Iconoclast insertion of the cross, as had been suggested previously. The third, and final, stage was the insertion of the Virgin and Child where the cross had once been and where the original Virgin and Child had been depicted.

This interpretation has been widely accepted and means that the mosaic of the Virgin and Child could date from the period immediately following the restoration of the image in

⁸⁵P.A. Underwood, "The Evidence of Restorations in the Sanctuary Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," DOP 13, 1959, 235ff.

843. After the Iconoclast period the artists and patrons simply inserted what had been there prior to the aniconic interlude.

There is another scrap of evidence which may help to narrow the date. With the new set of figurative mosaics there is an inscription which mentions a certain Naukratios, the donor. Although there is no known documentation of such a person, Cormack offers Naukratios, the Studite disciple of St. Theodore (died 848), as a possibility.⁸⁶ This would affirm a post-Iconoclastic date for the decorative campaign.

What can be said concerning style? Again, because of the lack of good clear plates, it is very difficult to do a stylistic analysis. There are however, a few things which should be mentioned concerning the garments. Christ's garment is depicted by having a flat background colour, with a series of dark lines creating the drapery folds. Because of the black and white plates the background colour is not readily apparent. It is much lighter than the Virgin's garment and could possibly be gold. The dark lines are contrasted with this background colour. Although no clear indications of the double-line system occur, on the right leg there are parallel lines indicating the knee region.

⁸⁶Robin Cormack, "Painting After Iconoclasm," 147.

The double-line fold system does occur on the drapery of the Virgin. Because of the dark, possibly purple or blue, robes of Mary, lines are extremely difficult to identify. In fact, the two parallel lines cutting across her left thigh are the clearest visible lines.

While it is very difficult to conduct a proper stylistic analysis because of the lack of clear plates, it is obvious from the photographic evidence that the drapery of the Christ Child is depicted primarily through line, and in the drapery of the Virgin there is a clear indication of the double-line fold.

References:

Cormack, Robin. "Painting After Iconoclasm." p. 147 and fig. 28.

----- Writing in Gold. p. 142 and fig 47.

Grabar, A. L'iconoclasm byzantine. p. 194.

Mango, C. "The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea. DOP 13, 1959. pp. 245-252.

Nordhagen, P.J. "The Mosaics of John VII (705-707 A.D.)." Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia. 2. Rome, 1965. p. 161.

Underwood, P.A. "The Evidence of Restorations."

3. Wall Painting

i. Lower church of San Clemente, Rome. The Christological scenes completed during the pontificate of Leo IV (847-855). The late ninth century Anastasis. (Figure 21)

Commentary:

The wall-paintings which shall be discussed are part of two ninth century decorative campaigns in the fourth-century church of San Clemente. This church lies below the present twelfth century basilica, and is therefore referred to as the 'Lower Church' of San Clemente. There are two campaigns of decoration in which the double-line fold occurs: 1. Scenes depicting the life of Christ such as the Marriage Feast at Cana, Crucifixion, Anastasis, Women at the Tomb and the Ascension. 2. The Anastasis in the lunette to the right of the apse (Figure 21).

The Christological scenes have been assigned a ninth-century date, with a firm terminus post quem provided by the square-haloed Pope Leo IV in the Ascension fresco.⁸⁷ In a discussion of the relationship between the painted inscription below the fresco and the image of Leo IV, Osborne concludes that the "presbyter Leo", mentioned in the inscription as the donor, is not the same as the Pope Leo, depicted in the fresco. The inclusion of the Pope is simply to act as a "convenient chronological yardstick indicating the date of the painting."⁸⁸ Thus the Ascension would date

⁸⁷For a discussion of this figure see Osborne, "The Portrait of Pope Leo IV", 58-65.

⁸⁸Osborne, "The Christological Scenes in the Nave of the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome," British Archaeological Reports. International Series 125, 1982, 244.

from the reign of Leo IV (847-855). Assuming this is correct, the Ascension fresco provides an important date for a relative chronology of all the decorations in the lower church.

A slightly later fresco which must be included with those which have the double-line fold is the Anastasis (not to be confused with the Anastasis of the Christological cycle), which stands alone and is located to the right as you face the altar. The accompanying figure has been identified as the funerary portrait of Cyril, Byzantine missionary to the Slavs, who died in Rome in 869 and was subsequently buried in San Clemente. Osborne suggests that this wall-painting formed part of a funerary monument known to have been erected above Cyril's tomb at the time of his death.⁸⁹ By considering the stylistic evidence, the iconography and the development of the square halo, Osborne proposes a date in the second half of the ninth century.

Although the double-line fold occurs less frequently in these frescoes than in the mosaics of Paschal I, it can be found on a variety of figures in the Ascension scene as well as in the Anastasis fresco to the right of the apse.

Before describing the use of the fold in the Ascension fresco, it should be noted that the overall style of the

⁸⁹Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings, 197.

Christological scenes can be characterized as linear. In Osborne's analysis of the 'Leo IV' style he says that the "most noticeable characteristic of the...style is its predominant emphasis on the use of line."⁹⁰ The lack of attention to shading and colour modelling is readily apparent in the long, sweeping and parallel lines that indicate shape and form.

Edgar Anthony contrasts the style of these frescoes with the mosaics of Paschal I and Gregory IV.

No works could be more dissimilar in style than the mosaics of Paschal I (817-824) at S. Maria in Domnica, S. Cecilia in Trastevere, S. Prassede, or the apse of S. Marco executed a little later under Gregory IV (827-844), with their extreme stylization, their rigid, flat, almost paperlike figures, with their vacantly staring eyes, standing as icons against their gold backgrounds, and such a lively, dramatic⁹¹ fresco as the Ascension in San Clemente.

While it is true that the figures, especially the Apostles of the Ascension fresco, have a certain vitality and liveliness not found in the mosaics of Paschal I, they are by no means vastly dissimilar in style. Many of the characteristics of the 'Leo IV' style are anticipated in the mosaics of Paschal I, and are also similar to the ninth century manuscripts mentioned previously (Paris. gr. 923,

⁹⁰Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings, 72.

⁹¹Anthony, Romanesque Frescoes (Princeton, 1951), 40.

Vatican Job and the Milan Gregory). Osborne suggests that the Paris. gr. 923 is the closest to San Clemente in the treatment of drapery.⁹² This treatment of drapery relies on the use of the double-line fold motif, a motif which pervades many ninth-century works.

Perhaps a better comparison can be drawn between the figure of Leo in the Ascension and the figure of Gregory in the apse mosaic of San Marco. The use of line to define the leg, the similarity of dress and colour scheme, and the manner in which the chasuble is depicted over the arm of each pontiff, indicate a common style, and perhaps a common model. This common model may be the mosaics of Paschal I.⁹³

With such divergent opinions concerning the stylistic analysis and interpretation of one fresco, it is not surprising that scholars view stylistic analysis as a highly subjective process, a process which often leads to confusion.

As mentioned above, the double-line fold is used on the garments of a variety of figures from the Ascension scene and the late ninth century Anastasis. In the Ascension scene, parallel lines cut across the leg of Pope Leo IV and

⁹²Osborne, "The Christological Scenes", 268.

⁹³Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings, 76.

Peter, and the group of apostles to the right of the cavity in the wall have double-lines throughout their garments.

The economy of line so evident in the Ascension gives way to a more complicated system of lines in the Anastasis (Figure 21). The three figures (Cyril, Christ and Adam) have darker, bolder lines to define the general outline and a finer system of lines to indicate form. The double-line fold is used most noticeably in the thigh of Christ. In Adam, it appears above and below his bending knee; in Cyril, on his right shoulder. The billowing drapery of Christ is very similar to the drapery of the figures in the Roman church of S. Maria Secundicerii and the earlier figure of Peter in the Zeno chapel in S. Prassede. Indeed there are many stylistic details found in both the Anastasis fresco and those in S. Maria Secundicerii⁹⁴ (Temple of Fortuna Virilis, figures 22,23).

The use of parallel lines to define a garment fold in the upper leg occurs frequently in many of these ninth century manuscripts, mosaics and frescoes. This motif is invariably accompanied by a single curved line to depict the

⁹⁴Osborne discusses a variety of motifs, including the geometric designs which decorate the head covering of Cyril and the unusual column next to Cyril, which occur in S. Maria Secundicerii. He concludes that the same Roman workshop was responsible for both. See Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Painting, 188 ff.

entire upper leg.⁹⁵ This single curved line is fully developed in the mosaics of Paschal I, is used in the frescoes of Leo IV and on the drapery of angels in the triumphal arch of S. Maria in Cosmedin.⁹⁶ Osborne suggests that its use in Roman art ceases after the second Anastasis in San Clemente and the frescoes in S. Maria Secundicerii.⁹⁷ However, it does occur in a variety of late ninth century works of uncertain origin, for example the Paris. gr. 923 and the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris. gr. 510). In these examples the double-line fold accompanies this single sweeping line, thus the use of the double-line and this single curved line to depict the upper leg should be viewed as a unit.

References:

- Anthony, Edgar. Romanesque Frescoes. pp. 30, 40f., 45, 66f., 73f., 99, 122 and figs. 46-52, 73-76.
- Dempsey, Luke O.P. ed. San Clemente Miscellany II. Rome, 1978. especially pp. 60-80.
- Demus, Otto. Byzantine Art and the West. New York, 1970. pp. 107 and fig. 107.
- Dodwell, C.R. Painting. pp. 121, 125-6, 138-40, 141, 142, 148, 233 n.29 and figs. 141, 152-4.
- Krautheimer, R. Rome. pp. 14, 18, 34, 35, 112, 128, 141, 180, 219, 278, 279, 321, and figs. 117, 118, 136, 139, 141-145.

⁹⁵Osborne, "The Christological Scenes", 266.

⁹⁶Anthony, Romanesque Frescoes, fig. 55.

⁹⁷Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Painting, 189.

----- et al. Corpus Basilicarum. Vol I 1937, pp.
117ff.

Osborne, John. "The Christological Scenes". pp. 237-285.

----- "The Portrait of Leo IV". pp. 58-65 and
plate VII.

----- Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings.

ii. The Medieval church of S. Maria Secundicerii, Rome. The six horizontal registers of scenes on the side walls and the Christ in glory with angels on the end wall completed during the pontificate of John VIII (872-882). (Figures 22,23)

Commentary:

There is some uncertainty concerning the proper name of the medieval ecclesiastical structure. The building was originally a Roman temple, probably built during the Republican period, and now popularly called the Temple of Fortuna Virilis. Like other pagan buildings, it was consecrated as a church at some unknown date. The proper name of the medieval church is uncertain but varies from S. Maria de Gradellis, S. Maria Egiziaca, to the most recently proposed S. Maria Secundicerii.⁹⁸

The dating of the fresco campaign has also been debated. Early scholarship pointed to the tenth century as

⁹⁸For a discussion of the medieval name of the church see Osborne, "A Note on the Medieval Name of the So-Called 'Temple of Fortuna Virilis' at Rome," PBSR 56, 1988, 210-212.

a possibility, but recently the late ninth century, especially the pontificate of John VIII, has gained popularity. This date was suggested by Lafontaine, and was based on two inscriptions, neither of which survives, which refer to the decorative campaign. The first refers to the donor as Stephen, and names the reigning Pope as John VIII. The second refers to the type of donation made.⁹⁹

Further evidence for dating these frescoes can be inferred from stylistic comparisons. Because of the abundant stylistic and decorative similarities between these frescoes and the second Anastasis in the lower church of San Clemente, Osborne has suggested that the same workshop was responsible for their production. The following stylistic similarities have been noted: the large solid faces with heavily accented eyes and large pupils, the plaited-braid hair style, elongated fingers, the use of three red stripes

⁹⁹First inscription:

Virginis in variis radiat domus alta figuris
 Quae Dominum castis visceribus tenuit,
 Cuius amore pius Stephanus cum coniuge fretus
 Cum genitisque pium quod nitet auxit opus.
 Nobilis, ingenuus, doctissimus, integer, almus,
 Aethereum est et erit culmen is Ausoniae,
 Praesulis octavi nunc tempore iure Ioannis.
 Templata dicenda dei plena favore pio,
 Ut simul angelicum tenet super aethera thronum,
 Sitque sui pulchrum seminis inde genus.

Second inscription:

purgavit...atque decoravit

Both taken from Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings, 203 note 96 and 191 respectively.

in the drapery, the arbitrary use of folds for decorative reasons, and the blowing drapery of certain figures.¹⁰⁰

Osborne suggests that more conclusive comparisons can be made concerning the decorative motifs: geometric designs on the clothing, the decoration of the cover of the Gospel books, the cloth around the column and the interruption of the fluting of the columns (Figure 23).

These comparisons supplement the documentation and provide a relatively secure date for the campaign during John VIII's papacy.

Several of the above features are not only common to the frescoes of San Clemente and Santa Maria Secundicerii, but can also be found in a variety of related objects, objects discussed with respect to the double-line system. The red stripes of the clothing occur in the frescoes of San Saba, the mosaics of Santa Prassede and San Marco. A similar interruption of the fluting on the columns occurs on folio 72 of the Paris Gregory (Cod. gr. 510) and the plaited braids occur in the three closely related manuscripts discussed above, the Sacra Parallela (fol. 134v and 161v), the Vatican Job (fol. 6, 8, 241) and the Milan Gregory.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Painting, 187.

¹⁰¹Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Painting, 187.

Further stylistic comparisons can be made concerning the double-line fold system. Like the frescoes in the lower church of San Clemente, the drapery of the figures is depicted through a complex system of lines, combined with the large sweeping line for the thigh and the double-line fold cutting across the thigh. The figure of Basil in Santa Maria Secundicerii can be compared with the figure of Christ in the late ninth century Anastasis in San Clemente. In both cases, the double-line fold and the single sweeping line defining the thigh should be considered a stylistic unit.

References:

Anthony, E. Romanesque Frescoes. pp. 68ff. and figs. 59, 60.

Grabar, A. Les miniatures. pp. 22, 64, 83.

Krautheimer, R. Rome. pp. 128, 167, 239, 320.

Lafontaine, Jacqueline. Peintures médiévales dans le temple dit de la Fortune Virile à Rome. Brussels, 1959.

Osborne, J. "A Note on the Medieval Name of the So-Called 'Temple of Fortuna Virilis' at Rome." PBSR 56, 1988, 210-212.

----- Early Mediaeval Wall-Painting. pp. 186-190 and figs 30-33.

4. Icons

i. The icon of SS. Chariton and Theodosios, from the collection of Icons at St. Catherine's monastery at Mount Sinai. Dated eighth or ninth century.

Commentary:

The dimensions of the icon are: height, 22.2 cm; width, 9.4 cm; thickness, 0.5 cm. The icon was the right wing of a triptych which is now lost. The wooden plaque is split into two and held together by pieces of metal attached to the top and bottom.

Both saints are depicted in a frontal position with their hands in a gesture of prayer. Their eyes glance sideways -- an indication of their awareness of the outside world. They both wear shoulder pieces and a megaloschema, or black stole, which is decorated with crosses and white parallel lines indicating the hem. Painted inscriptions identify them as Chariton and Theodosios.¹⁰²

The many icons that were found in the monastery at Mount Sinai display a variety of styles and diversity of iconography. Based on an analysis of style in particular, Weitzmann proposes a relative chronology of works, and has dated this particular icon to the eighth or ninth century. He believes that the style of early icons displays many Hellenistic qualities, but that in the eighth and ninth centuries the concern for colour modelling and attention to shading decreases, and more attention is given to line as

¹⁰²Both saints lived in Palestine. According to Weitzmann they are Chariton, originally of Iconium, who retired to Palestine, and Theodosios 'Coenobiarches'. Weitzmann, The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: the Icons, (Princeton, 1976), 64.

creating form. It is the "tendency toward linearism"¹⁰³ that occurs in this icon.

This characteristic concern for line is most clearly illustrated in the design of the garment. "In the design of the garments there has been introduced the abstract formula of the double-line fold..."¹⁰⁴ It is important to note that Weitzmann uses the term 'design'. Indeed, one is unsure whether the lines on the robe indicate a design or pattern, or an actual fold of the cloth. The garment fold is unlike any of those which occur in the mosaics of Paschal I and Gregory IV. Rather than indicating a fold, it functions simply as an abstract pattern.

It is this curious abstract quality which separates this icon from the previous examples. The manuscripts, mosaics and frescoes used the double-line to describe a fold. It had a descriptive function. However, in this icon of SS. Chariton and Theodosios the double-lines are simply parallel lines which form a design upon the garment; they do not indicate a fold.

References:

Weitzmann, Kurt. The Monastery of Saint Catherine. pp. 64-65, B.37 and plates XXVI and XCI.

----- "Loca Sancta". p. 50 and fig. 42.

¹⁰³Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta", 50.

¹⁰⁴Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta", 50.

----- "The Ivories". p. 74 and fig. 47.

5. Ivories

i. An ivory scepter in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Inventory No. 2006; 10 x 9.5 x 2cm. Suggested date: the reign of Leo VI (886-912). Suggested origin: Constantinople. (Figure 24)

Commentary:

By the late eighth and early ninth centuries there was a strong concern for line in the manuscripts, mosaics, wall-paintings and icons. A work which represents a culmination of this linear style is the head of an ivory scepter which depicts the coronation of an emperor Leo by the Virgin, and in the presence of the Archangel Gabriel. On the opposite side is Christ flanked by the saints Peter and Paul.¹⁰⁵

There is general agreement concerning the date and origin of this ivory. The majority of scholars believe that the emperor depicted is Leo VI¹⁰⁶ and that this work served

¹⁰⁵For a discussion of the identifying inscriptions see Kathleen Corrigan, "The Ivory Scepter of Leo VI: A Statement of Post-Iconoclastic Imperial Ideology", Art Bulletin, 60, 1978, 409.

¹⁰⁶See Corrigan, "Ivory Scepter", 407 and Schlumberger, "Un Ivoire byzantin du IX^e siècle", Gazette des beaux-arts, 7, 1892, p. 119.

as a reminder that the emperor was sanctified by Christ. The work should therefore be placed in the reign of Leo VI, that is between 886 and 912.

There is however, one dissonant voice: that of Kurt Weitzmann. He bases his argument on stylistic comparisons with the dateable Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus (B.N., cod. gr. 510) and the mosaic in the narthex of St. Sophia depicting Leo VI in proskynesis before Christ enthroned.¹⁰⁷ Both of these works are late ninth century and, according to Weitzmann, differ greatly in style from the ivory scepter. He assumes that there should be some stylistic unity even though there is a great difference in medium. The stylistic disparity could easily be accounted for when one considers the different processes involved in carving an ivory, in painting an icon, and in creating a mosaic.

He points out that the blank, drilled, staring eyes which occur in the Leo scepter do not occur in the Paris Gregory or the narthex mosaic. Weitzmann does not consider the way in which the technique and medium would effect the style of the work. It is understandable that when an artist uses drills and carving tools on ivory, the lines look incised and the eyes may look 'blank, drilled and staring'.

¹⁰⁷See Hawkins, E. "Further observations on the narthex mosaic in St. Sophia at Istanbul", DOP 22, 1968, 153-166 and Oikonomides, N. "Leo VI and the narthex mosaic of Saint Sophia", DOP 30, 1976, 151-172.

One must account for the obvious, namely that painting and mosaic techniques are quite different, and that they therefore produce quite different results. Even so, some of the miniatures in the Paris Gregory have a painted version of these drilled eyes found in the ivory. One must keep in mind that the Paris Gregory is far from having a homogenous style. On the contrary, a variety of styles occur: some miniatures form part of the return to Hellenism characteristic of the Macedonian renaissance, while others reflect the early ninth century concern for flat areas of colour and line as description. It is this stylistic disparity which is not recognized by Weitzmann.

Another stylistic characteristic of the ivory scepter is the use of the double line-fold motif. Weitzmann says: "Most characteristic of the ivory figures and particularly clear in the figures of Christ flanked by Peter and Paul is the treatment of the drapery in a rather linear, graphic manner, so that two fold lines are nearly always parallel."¹⁰⁸ According to Weitzmann, this motif was widespread and represents a "general Zeitstil in the early ninth century."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸Weitzmann, "Ivory Sculpture of the Macedonian Renaissance", Kolloquium über spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Skulptur, 1970, 10.

¹⁰⁹Weitzmann, "Ivory Sculpture", 11.

The examples discussed previously attest to the widespread phenomenon of the double-line fold, but the examples are not limited to the early ninth century. The motif occurs frequently in the late ninth century Paris. gr. 923, in certain miniatures of the Paris Gregory, and in the wall-paintings of the lower church of San Clemente and S. Maria Secundicerii.

It is because Weitzmann believes this motif does not extend into the second half of the ninth century in Constantinople and Rome that he dates the ivory scepter prior to mid-century. However, he had to overcome the problem of identifying the emperor and decided that it must be Leo V (813-820): an emperor who strongly favoured Iconoclasm. He argues that even though Leo V favoured Iconoclasm, he gave written assurance before his ascension that he would make no changes in the existing faith, that is to tolerate images.¹¹⁰ Based on this fact he hypothesizes that, for a brief period, Leo V could have patronized the arts. Corrigan is quick to point out that the oath to uphold the continuing faith was by no means unique to Leo V.¹¹¹ In fact, many previous and subsequent emperors made

¹¹⁰Weitzmann, "Ivory Sculpture", 11.

¹¹¹Corrigan, "Ivory Scepter", 407.

such commitments; these oaths were a formality upon accession to the throne.

In Corrigan's discussion of the relationship between the images on the scepter and the surrounding inscription she ingeniously determines the function of the scepter. Not only does the scepter function as a reminder of the emperor's coronation, but it functions as an integral part of the annual Pentecost celebration -- a celebration of the transmission of power from the Holy Spirit to the Apostles, and from Christ to the emperor.¹¹²

According to Corrigan, the message which is conveyed by the scepter "fits most comfortably in the historical situation of Leo VI's reign."¹¹³ Leo VI was troubled by his military campaigns against the Russians, Bulgarians and Arabs. Furthermore, although he had outlived several wives, he had no son; he would finally have a son (Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus) by his mistress Zoe Carbonopsina, but had to confront the authority of the church in order to legitimize his heir. The message of the scepter, namely "the divinely appointed and inspired Macedonian emperor, an equal to the Apostles,"¹¹⁴ could live on with his son.

¹¹²Corrigan, "Ivory Scepter", 407-416; especially 412-413.

¹¹³Corrigan, "Ivory Scepter", 407 note 2.

¹¹⁴Corrigan, "Ivory Scepter", 416.

References:

- Beckwith, J. Early Christian and Byzantine Art. London, 1970. pp. 91-92.
- Brehier, Louis. La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins. Paris, 1936 reprinted London, 1973. p. 73 and plate XXIX, fig. 2.
- Cormack, Robin. Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and its Icons. London, 1985. p. 163 and fig. 57.
- Corrigan, K. "Ivory Scepter". pp. 407-416 and figs. 1,2.
- Schlumberger, G. "Un Ivorie byzantin". pp. 118-122.
- Weitzmann, K. "Ivory Sculpture". pp. 1-12.

6. Metalwork

i. A Casket for a reliquary of the true cross, in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Museo Sacro. Inventory No. 985; 29.5 x c.9.9 x 25cm. Suggested date: the pontificate of Paschal I (817-824). Suggested origin: Rome. (Figures 18-20)

Commentary:

This casket is cross-shaped and was thought to have held particles of the true cross of Christ. It is made of thick sheets of silver, which are worked in repoussé on the lid and sides.

The inscription¹¹⁵ surrounding the central scene says that it was made for Pope Paschal I (817-824) and therefore

¹¹⁵PASCHALIS EPISCOPVS PLEBI DEI FIERI IVSSIT. Museum Catalogue, The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art (New York, 1982), 100.

must date to his pontificate. Although no mention of the reliquary can be found in the Liber Pontificalis, it has been suggested that the relic it contained was brought to a Church Council at the Lateran, during the pontificate of Nicholas I (858-867). A later twelfth century inventory is the first certain mention of the casket, and in the early part of this century it was discovered in the main chapel in the Lateran Palace known as the "Sancta Sanctorum."

On the lid are a variety of scenes from the life of Christ, with a depiction of the Communion of the Apostles in the center (Figure 19). The sides illustrate events that occurred after the Resurrection, a theme appropriate to a reliquary containing a piece of the true cross.¹¹⁶ (Figure 20).

The figures on the lid are very similar to those in the Paris. gr. 923. They have rather squat proportions, large heads, staring eyes and a linear treatment of drapery using the double-line fold extensively.

As in the manuscripts, mosaics and wall-paintings discussed thus far, the double-line fold occurs with a single sweeping line that identifies the upper leg. The fold also occurs in a great many other areas: the shoulder, upper arm, chest, and lower leg -- in fact, almost anywhere.

¹¹⁶The Vatican, 101.

There is an even distribution of the motif over the drapery, without consideration of where a fold would naturally occur. In this respect they are very much like the third category of double-line folds identified by Professor Weitzmann in the Paris. gr. 923: folds which form a dense, even pattern in an almost mannered way.¹¹⁷

References:

Prandi, A. Art Treasures of the Vatican Library. New York, n.d. pp. 171, 172 and figs. 84,85, 87-89.

The Vatican. pp. 100-101 and plate 37.

Weitzmann, K. The Miniatures, pp. 17-18.

ii. A Casket for a reliquary of the true cross in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Museo Sacro. Inventory No. 1888; 30 x 19.7 x 6.2cm. Suggested date: the pontificate of Paschal I (817-824). Suggested origin: Rome. (Figure 16,17)

Commentary:

Unlike the previous, cross-shaped reliquary, this one is a rectangular box. It was found with the cross-shaped reliquary in the Sancta Sanctorum, which is to say in the main altar of the Oratory of San Lorenzo in the Lateran Palace.

Unfortunately the casket bears no inscription, but an enamelled reliquary that it contained bore an inscription

¹¹⁷Weitzmann, The Miniatures, 18.

with the name of Paschal I. It therefore most likely dates from his pontificate.

Stylistic evidence concurs with this hypothesis. "The figures in each are stocky, their faces large and broad, and their draperies described by a limited number of double-line folds."¹¹⁸ According to Margaret Frazer, the figures are poorer in quality than the cross shaped reliquary; nevertheless, they probably came from the same Roman workshop.

References:

Prandi, A. Art. p. 173 and illustrations on pages 94 and 95.

The Vatican. pp. 101, 102 and plate 38.

Weitzmann, K. The Miniatures. pp. 17-18.

¹¹⁸The Vatican, 102.

CHAPTER II: Interpretation

i. The style of Roman art in the Carolingian era

The first section of this chapter will deal with a discussion of the style of Roman art in the years preceding the pontificate of Paschal I (817-24). Since Roman art of the early and mid-ninth century can be roughly characterized as "linear", and uses the double-line fold motif frequently, one must inquire as to the origin of this linear style. Was there some outside influence which affected the art of the eighth and ninth centuries in Rome? Or did this style emerge from within an indigenous Roman artistic tradition? In order to clarify this development it is necessary to outline briefly the artistic accomplishments in Rome immediately prior to the Carolingian renaissance.

Some of the most important examples of Roman art prior to the Carolingian renaissance can be found in the church of Santa Maria Antiqua¹ in the Roman Forum. The frescoes which cover the walls of this early medieval structure span several centuries and provide valuable historical, iconographic and stylistic information for the understanding of artistic production in Rome between the sixth and ninth centuries.

¹G. M. Rushforth, "The Church of Santa Maria Antiqua", PBSR 1, 1902. pp.1ff. For further bibliography see Osborne, "The Atrium of S. Maria Antiqua, Rome: A History in Art", PBSR 55, 1987, p. 186, n. 3.

It cannot be the purpose of this inquiry to discuss all the earliest campaigns of decoration in Santa Maria Antiqua. Although important to the study of early medieval paintings, they provide little direct information about the stylistic development in Rome leading to the linear style of the ninth century.

Even so, it is necessary to begin with the campaign of decoration undertaken by Pope John VII (705-707).² The style of the frescoes undertaken by John VII has often been characterized as "impressionistic", especially with regard to the quality of brushwork.³ Although they can be thus categorized, the term "impressionistic" must be understood in the context of earlier works of this style. If one compares the frescoes to earlier impressionistic examples which date c. 650, it is evident that there is a greater sense of the two-dimensional surface, or a 'linear' concern in John VII's frescoes. A good example of this concern for line, giving a two-dimensional look to the work can be found in the Chapel of the Holy Physicians, especially in the garments of the saints. The terms "impressionistic" and

²Per Jonas Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII (A.D. 705-707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome", Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, 3. (Rome, 1968).

³Nordhagen, "The Frescoes", 101.

"abstract" must be understood as relative terms, especially during this period.

In Nordhagen's discussion of the stages of Hellenism in the seventh and eighth centuries, he points out that the "heavily outlined figures" and the "colder and denser colours" found in the frescoes of John VII mark a decisive shift towards the two-dimensional.⁴ In the earlier works, dating from the mid-seventh century, figures had a classical sense of movement and repose, and a logical and natural relationship to their pictorial surroundings. It is this sense of movement, and their relationship to their surroundings, that is lost in the works executed under John VII's patronage.

Nordhagen argues that because of the vigorous brushwork and the lively animated poses of the figures, the frescoes represent "a more expressive version of 'Hellenism'"⁵ than previous 'Hellenistic' frescoes in Rome. Because of this he concludes that there was a new and foreign influence in Rome affecting the art of John VII.

Nordhagen presents another convincing argument in his discussion of the mosaic campaigns of John VII.⁶ He reveals

⁴Nordhagen, "The Frescoes", 106.

⁵Nordhagen, "The Frescoes", 108.

⁶P.J. Nordhagen, "The Mosaics of John VII", 121-166.

that the material used for tesserae was indigenous Roman glass. Mid-seventh century examples of this tradition include mosaics in the Cappella di S. Venanzio (c. 640-649) in the Lateran Baptistery, and a mosaic fragment of St. Sebastian in S. Pietro in Vincoli. As mentioned previously, it is this glass tradition that was 'revived' by Paschal I for his mosaic decorations in S. Prassede.

However, this was not the only mosaic technique used in Rome. There are two instances where both glass and marble tesserae were employed together. In the mid-seventh century in the churches of S. Agnese fuori le mura and S. Stefano Rotondo, and in the early eighth-century mosaics of John VII. Because the use of glass and marble tesserae together has been linked with the Byzantine tradition from the time of Theoderic (493-526)⁷, Nordhagen concludes that this represents a Byzantine technical influence on these mosaics. This makes a great deal of sense when one considers the historical links between Rome and Constantinople at this time.⁸

Demus agrees with Nordhagen and suggests that this influence came directly from Constantinople.

⁷Nordhagen, "The Mosaics", 157.

⁸For a summary of the Greek influence on the political and cultural life of Rome during the early eighth century see Krautheimer, Rome, chapter 4, pp. 89-108 and Sansterre, Les moines grecs, especially pp. 115-219.

It was the time of the learned Greek Pope John VII...who gave Santa Maria Antiqua a new coat of frescoes, in a style that must have been newly imported direct from Constantinople.⁹

If these frescoes illustrate a new interest in 'Hellenistic' style on the part of early eighth century artists in Rome, one would expect further examples a generation later. However, this is not the case. Rather than a flourishing development of these Hellenistic elements, the later campaigns of decoration in S. Maria Antiqua move rapidly towards the linear style which characterizes the early ninth century mosaics of Paschal I. It is as if the Byzantine illusionistic sensibility was translated into the Roman stylistic repertoire.

Frescoes at San Saba, Santa Maria in Via Lata, in the Theodotus Chapel in Santa Maria Antiqua (Figure 25) and later frescoes in S. Maria Antiqua completed during the reigns of Paul I (757-67) (Figure 26) and Hadrian I (772-95) illustrate intermediary steps along this evolution of 'linear' style during the eighth and ninth centuries in Rome.

Even though there is a continuous stylistic development towards the linear in the eighth century, Weitzmann prefers to argue that it was the result of a "Byzantine wave which

⁹Demus, Byzantine Art (New York, 1970), 47.

had swept the art of Rome."¹⁰ He points out similarities between a Crucifixion icon from Mount Sinai and the Crucifixion in the Theodotus Chapel in Santa Maria Antiqua which dates to the period of Pope Zacharias (741-52). These similarities include elements of landscape and the way in which the garments of Christ and the Virgin are rendered.¹¹ Based on these similarities he dates the Sinai icon to the eighth century.

Is this icon stylistically comparable with the scene in the Theodotus chapel? If so, can one assign a date to it, and can it be used as an example of Palestinian stylistic influence on the art of Rome? Cormack thinks not. "The panel is not however dated, nor is it very similar to the rendering in Rome."¹² The theory that there is a new abstract linear influence on the art of Rome in the middle of the eighth century hinges on the frail similarities between these two depictions of the Crucifixion. It seems much more reasonable to view the frescoes of the Theodotus chapel as less successful attempts at the illusionism provided in the John VII frescoes. This linear tradition need not be a result of foreign influence, but can be seen

¹⁰Weitzmann, "The Classical", 152.

¹¹Weitzmann, "The Classical", 153 and Demus, Byzantine Art, 47.

¹²Cormack, "The Arts During the Age of Iconoclasm", 42.

in earlier Roman works such as the depiction of garments in S. Venanzio. The Theodotus chapel wall-paintings are moving towards greater abstraction, in terms of depicting figures and drapery through line (Figure 25).

Further evidence of this shift can be found when one considers paleography. The forms of letters are considerably less elegant in the Theodotus chapel than those found in inscriptions undertaken during John VII's campaign.¹³

The process toward abstraction is taken one step further in the frescoes in the aisle of Santa Maria Antiqua completed during the reign of Paul I (757-67) (Figure 26). These painted saints are referred to by Demus as having an "iconic sternness and spartan linearism."¹⁴ The drapery of St. Clement, immediately to the right of Christ, is defined primarily by line, and the folds of the garment are indicated by the double-line system. This is especially true of the right thigh area (Figure 26). Here is an early example of the double-line fold being used in the thigh region -- an area in which its use becomes predominant in the early-ninth-century mosaics of Paschal I, and later ninth-century manuscripts such as the Paris gr. 923.

¹³Nordhagen, "The Frescoes of John VII", 108.

¹⁴Demus, Byzantine Art, 48.

The final step towards this linear style occurs in the fresco campaign of Hadrian I (772-95) in the atrium of Santa Maria Antiqua.¹⁵ Very little pigment remains. The drapery of the saints, who were identified by Rushforth as Sergius and Bacchus, is defined by line. The double-line fold occurs in the shoulder region of both saints and in the typical fashion on the thigh of Sergius. Unfortunately, very little can be gleaned from the remaining figures because of their bad state of repair.

The style of the mosaics executed under the direction of Paschal I must be considered linear, and this linear style was not something new to the art of Rome. It evolved over the preceding century and continued throughout the wall-paintings in the lower church of S. Clemente completed during the pontificate of Leo IV.¹⁶

The artists who produced this group of wall-paintings were not interested in modelling through contrasts of light and shadow or by means of subtle variations in chromatic tones ...the range of colours in their palette was extremely limited ...little or no attention has been paid to the realistic portrayal of facial features, and there has been no attempt

¹⁵Osborne, "The Atrium," 194-197, 199, 200.

¹⁶A rather archaic appraisal of the 'Leo IV' style was put forward by Frothingham: "the rather vulgar and crude style and the coarse outlines show how the school has lost ground since even the days of Paul I". A. Frothingham, The Monuments of Christian Rome from Constantine to the renaissance (New York, 1908), 200.

at the shading of flesh tones.¹⁷

Central to this linear style is the depiction of folds using two parallel lines. It is also apparent that this linear style can be found in a variety of media, including wall-paintings and manuscripts from both early-ninth-century Rome and post-Second Iconoclasm Constantinople. In all of the works the double-line fold was used to varying degrees.

ii. Constantinopolitan style between First and Second Iconoclasm

An important question must be addressed at this point. What can be said of the art of Constantinople during the late eighth and early ninth century, in particular during the twenty-eight year period between First and Second Iconoclasm (787-815)? Because of the Controversy there is very little evidence from which an opinion (never mind a stylistic opinion) can be formulated. All is not lost, however.

There are two scraps of evidence. The first example of Byzantine art dating to the period between First and Second Iconoclasm comes not from Constantinople, but from the court of Charlemagne at Aachen. There is an intriguing argument concerning the 'Group of the Vienna Coronation Gospels'

¹⁷Osborne, Early Mediaeval Wall-Paintings, 72.

(Figure 27) which was first proposed by Koehler and then discussed by Demus.¹⁸ This group is named for a manuscript of the four Gospels, now in the Weltliche Schatzkammer in Vienna, which was used by the Holy Roman Emperors in their Coronation ceremony.¹⁹

Because the style of the miniatures differs greatly from contemporary Carolingian works,²⁰ the miniatures of the Vienna Gospels group have been variously dated.²¹ At first Koehler placed them after the death of Charlemagne, but then through textual analysis "proved irrefutably that the foreign artists who produced the Vienna Gospels worked at

¹⁸Demus, Byzantine Art, 60-65.

¹⁹Tradition says that Otto III found the manuscript in the tomb of Charlemagne at Aachen in the year 1000. It was then removed from Aachen during the revolutionary wars and brought to Vienna in 1811. Joachim E. Gaehde, Carolingian Painting, (New York, 1976), 24.

²⁰Demus discusses the athletic figures of the Evangelists, the landscape setting, rich and subdued colouring of the sky and classical garments. "There are no ornamental or linear trappings to these garments; no crumpled silk effects, no transverse cuts heighten the exquisite simplicity of the modelling." Demus, Byzantine Art, 62. Professor Cormack agrees saying, "the high quality of their 'illusionist' figures is achieved by a facility in modelling and by the merging of wet colours, which makes other Carolingian painting look artificial". Cormack, "The Arts During Iconoclasm", 43.

²¹For instance a seated Evangelist in Bibl. Royale in Brussels, MS 18723 was mistaken for a genuine late antique painting. Demus, Byzantine Art, 62.

the same time and probably even side by side with the painters of the Palace School."²²

If these 'Hellenistic' miniatures are examples of late eighth century Carolingian works, why are they so stylistically different from contemporary miniatures? Some suggest they were painted by "strangers" or "foreigners". Because of the high degree of illusionism there could only be two places from which they might have come: Constantinople or Byzantine Italy.

In Rome, as has been shown, a very linear style developed during the late eighth century, a style which had a long and uninterrupted evolution. Because of the Second Iconoclasm there are very few extant examples of Constantinopolitan work during this period. There are, however, some clues which point to Constantinople: "the lack of adhesion of the colours to the ground. There is considerable flaking- a phenomenon which is only too well known to all students of Byzantine manuscripts."²³ As well, the absence of the Evangelist symbols is a characteristic Byzantine feature,²⁴ as are the architectural settings: in a tenth century Gospel Book from Constantinople (Mount

²²Demus, Byzantine Art, 62.

²³Demus, Byzantine Art, 64-65.

²⁴Gaehde, Carolingian Painting, 51.

Athos, Stauronikita, cod. 43) a similar spatial niche can be found.²⁵

Although it is far from certain, the Vienna Gospels may provide an example of illuminations created by a small group of Greek painters who had found their way to the court of Charlemagne from Constantinople. If so, their work may be seen as indicative of the stylistic experiments which may have occurred during the interlude between First and Second Iconoclasm.²⁶

Recently, further evidence for artistic production during this critical period has been presented by Nicolas Oikonomides,²⁷ in discussing the mosaic of the Virgin and Child in the apse of St. Sophia in Constantinople. The Patriarch Photios is known to have referred to the St. Sophia apse mosaic in a homily delivered in the church on 29 March, 867.²⁸ Oikonomides points out that Photios described the scene as a painting, not a mosaic, and as representing the Virgin as a type known as a Hodegetria, not a seated Virgin looking straight ahead. As well, a fourteenth

²⁵Gaehde, Carolingian Painting, 51.

²⁶The interlude between the Council of Nicaea (787) and Second Iconoclasm (815) is a logical possibility.

²⁷Nicolas Oikonomides, "Some Remarks on the Apse Mosaic of St. Sophia", DOP, 39, 1985, 111-115.

²⁸C. Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453, (Toronto, 1986), 187. Photios, Homil. XVII 2ff.

century text²⁹ also mentions a Hodegetria type of the Virgin and Child located in the apse. These descriptions are unlike the present mosaic. Furthermore, an early thirteenth century³⁰ reference to the Virgin and Child described it as a painting, not a mosaic. Oikonomides suggests that the mosaic of seated Virgin and Child in the apse was completed during the interval between First and Second Iconoclasm, in the decade 787-797. It was then covered during the Second Iconoclasm and a painted Virgin and Child (Hodegetria type) replaced it after Second Iconoclasm. It was this painted version that was described by Photios, by Anthony the early thirteenth century archbishop of Novgorod, and the later fourteenth century source. In the mid-fourteenth century a series of devastating earthquakes are known to have occurred. As well, an opening in the roof of the church between 1346 and 1355 left the interior exposed. This exposure and/or the previous earthquakes could have resulted in damage to the painted Virgin and Child. Subsequent repairs could have exposed the older mosaic, and this may explain the fact that Patriarch Neilos (1380-1388) adopted

²⁹The Life of Patriarch Isidoros Boucheiras (1347-49), written by Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos between 1355 and 1363. Oikonomides, "Some Remarks", 112.

³⁰Anthony, archbishop of Novgorod, visited St. Sophia in 1200 and declared the painter Lazarus had painted the Virgin and Child. Oikonomides, "Some Remarks", 115.

the seated Virgin type on his seals. Prior to the late fourteenth century the Hodegetria type was depicted on Patriarchal seals; subsequent seals followed Neilos' example.³¹

Although Oikonomides does not address the question of the style of the mosaic, it may be useful to do so. George Zarnecki mistakenly refers to the mosaic as late ninth century but gives a brief description of its style: "The majestic figures demonstrate that the hiatus of artistic production for over a hundred years was bridged remarkably well, and that the artist recaptured the classical element...in the modelling of the faces and the treatment of the draperies."³²

Although very little is known concerning the style of the art of Constantinople in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, the "Coronation Gospels" and the apse mosaic of St. Sophia may provide a clue. The illustrations of the Coronation Gospels have a high degree of colour modelling and an attempt at illusionism unprecedented since antiquity. In the apse mosaic as well there is a concern for the

³¹Oikonomides, "Some Remarks", 113.

³²George Zarnecki, Art of the Medieval World, (New York, 1975), 144-145.

modelling of light and shade, as well as the asymmetrical distribution of shadows in patches of soft hues.³³

The focus of the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium of 1984 was "Byzantine Art and Literature around the Year 800." Although many of the papers were inconclusive because of the lack of extant material, some of David Wright's concluding comments may be helpful in summarizing the style of Constantinopolitan art at this time.

It seems that on the literary side the Symposium made clear to a more general audience what had already been known to some specialists: the period around 800 was the beginning of a broad cultural revival in Constantinople. On the artistic side the evidence for a corresponding revival is much more difficult to assess, but the Symposium brought together material for a working hypothesis that the years 787 to 815 saw a renewed flourishing of Christian art in the capital, that this art was characterized by a relatively lively and naturalistic figure style...³⁴

It is obviously very difficult to formulate an accurate opinion about the style of a particular period and region when there are very few extant remains. As with a great deal of ninth-century art, the historian must analyse, synthesize, hypothesize and, in the end, hope that a clearer

³³P.J. Nordhagen, "The Mosaics of John VII", 162. It is interesting to note that Nordhagen contrasts this with the angel heads in the apse mosaic at Nicaea, where shadows are arranged "in broad, regular bands". He says that this results in a greater 'painterly' freedom for the St. Sophia mosaicists.

³⁴David H. Wright, "Byzantine Art and Literature around the Year 800", DOP, 40, 1986, 185.

picture of artistic production emerges. In this particular period one can put forward a reasonable hypothesis that the style of Constantinopolitan art displayed a high degree of illusionism, a concern with tonal modelling in the depiction of both faces and draperies, and a predilection towards colour modelling unparalleled since antiquity. This style occurs in both manuscript painting and mosaic; unfortunately, one can only speculate about the extent of this style in other media.

iii. Constantinopolitan style immediately after Second Iconoclasm

By careful consideration of the scholarly arguments presented concerning the date and origin of many of the objects discussed in Chapter I, one can conclude that certain manuscripts such as the Paris gr. 923, Paris gr. 510, as well as the ivory scepter of Leo VI and the lost mosaic of the Virgin and Child at Nicaea should be placed after Second Iconoclasm and assigned to the region of Constantinople. Granted, nothing is certain without proof. But the accumulation of circumstantial evidence, of evidence from fields such as codicology and paleography points to the Constantinopolitan area as a possible origin for these post-Iconoclastic works.

It has been demonstrated that for the most part the style of these objects is linear, and that this linear style

relies heavily on the double-line system to indicate the folds of garments. The best Roman examples of the double-line fold can be found in the metalwork and mosaics completed during the pontificate of Paschal I. The Paris gr. 923 has a high degree of stylistic similarity to Paschalian mosaics and metalwork.³⁵

This linear style developed gradually in the art of Rome in the late eighth century and reached its zenith with the Paschalian decorative campaigns. It is important to note the stylistic similarities between the post-Iconoclastic works of Constantinople and the early and mid-ninth century works of Rome. These similarities have been noted before, but historians tended to find creative solutions concerning the date and/or the origin of a work more often than to discuss stylistic, and possibly iconographic, influence. For instance, the recognition of stylistic similarities between the Leo VI ivory and the mosaics of Paschal I by Kurt Weitzmann caused him to propose an interesting, albeit unlikely, earlier date for the ivory scepter. Rather than exploring the possibility of Carolingian stylistic influence on the art of Constantinople after Iconoclasm, a less probable solution was proposed.

³⁵These stylistic similarities have been noted by Margaret E. Frazer, "The Reliquaries of the True Cross of Pope Paschal I", Byzantine Art and Literature around the Year 800, Dumbarton Oaks Symposium of 1984.

One can understand how such an influence would not find a sympathetic ear. After all, scholars have traditionally concerned themselves with the influence of Constantinople, and Byzantium in general, on the art of the West. Only recently have scholars explored "Carolingian art and the East."

iv. Relations between Rome and Constantinople

It is not enough to discuss simply stylistic similarities between the art of Carolingian Rome and that of post-Iconoclastic Constantinople. One must first inquire about the relations between Rome and Constantinople during the ninth century, in order to determine if there were any means of transmission of artistic ideas, and, secondly, one must look for other examples of influence from the West to the East.

The knowledge of Roman art may have been channelled by the various political and religious contacts between Rome and Constantinople at this time.

The Emperor Michael II (820-829) felt that the obstinacy of those who professed image-worship lay in their hopes that the Pope would intervene in the affairs of the Byzantine church. He reasoned that if he could sway the Pope in his favour, the internal opposition to Iconoclasm would dissipate. In order to do this he sought the

assistance of the Frankish Emperor Louis.³⁶ He sent four envoys³⁷ with a long letter to Louis and a letter and gifts for the Church of St. Peter. These envoys were met with favour by Louis and were sent on to Rome, although, there is no knowledge of how they fared there. Here is an example of an early-ninth-century contact between Constantinople and Rome in which gifts were part of the diplomatic mission. What is even more significant is the fact that the envoys were sent first to the court of Louis in the West, and after discussing matters with him and his ambassadors, sent to Rome.

With the conclusion of the Iconoclast controversy came further direct contact between Rome and Constantinople. In the 850s and 860s there was an ecclesiastical power struggle between Photios (858-67, 877-86) and Ignatius (847-58, 867-77) for the Patriarchate of the Eastern Church. Photios, a very learned and determined individual, held the Patriarchate with the approval of the Church and Emperor, but there were a few who remained fiercely loyal to Ignatius. Unrelated to these events, Photios sent letters

³⁶Sansterre, Les moines grecs, 42-43.

³⁷The envoys were: Theodore, a strategos of protospathar rank; Nicetas, bishop of Myra; Theodore, oekonomos of St. Sophia; Leo, an Imperial candidatus; and the Patriarch Fortunatus of Grado accompanied them. Bury, Jonathan B., A History of the Eastern Roman Empire, (London, 1912), 117 note 3.

to Pope Nicholas I (858-67) requesting that Papal legates attend a Synod which would decide questions of the iconoclastic heresy. The letters no longer exist, but through Nicholas' extant reply, scholars have attempted to reconstruct its contents.

The letters were presented by an embassy consisting of Arsaber, an Imperial spatharios, and three bishops, who bore gifts from the Emperor: a gold paten with precious stones... ; a gold chalice from which gems hung by golden threads; a gold shield inlaid with gems; a gold embroidered robe with trees, roses, and sacred scenes... The envoy reached Rome in summer 860 and were received in audience in S. Maria Maggiore.³⁸

Again, here is an example of a diplomatic mission sent to Rome bearing gifts. Nicholas I, cognizant of Photios' problem with the Ignatians, decided to seize the opportunity to exert Papal authority. He despatched two legates, Rodoaldus of Porto and Zacharias of Anagni,³⁹ to Constantinople with instructions to investigate and report on Ignatius' claims to the Patriarchate. As soon as the legates arrived and Photios learned of their intentions, he would not allow them to see Ignatius or speak to any of his followers. They were cajoled and threatened into confirming Ignatius' deposition at a council assembled in May 861. Of

³⁸Bury, Eastern Roman Empire, 193 note 2. Originally found in Vita Nicolai Papae, 147.

³⁹Bury, Eastern Roman Empire, 193 note 3.

course, this infuriated Nicholas I and fueled his sympathy for the Ignatian cause.

Shortly after the return of the papal legates Theognostos, an avid supporter of Ignatius, made his way to Rome in disguise bringing with him a petition describing Ignatius' plight and imploring the Pope to intervene. It was probably under the influence of Theognostos that Nicholas convened a Synod in April 863, to condemn Photios' ecclesiastical authority and to threaten his excommunication. The proceedings were sent to the Byzantine capital, and in August 865 Nicholas received a letter from the Emperor who declared he would destroy Rome if the Pope did not withdraw his threat of excommunication on Photios.

These are examples of diplomatic and ecclesiastical contact between Rome and Constantinople in the early and mid-ninth century. The legates and ambassadors acted, or tried to act, in the interest of those they represented. It has been demonstrated that they brought gifts with them, gifts which no doubt expressed the style and iconography of the arts at that time.

Probably the best-known contact was the figure of Methodios, the future Patriarch of Constantinople, who was in close contact with Paschal I in the 820s. Due to Iconoclast persecution, Methodios found his way to the sympathetic Paschal I. Methodios had a reputation as a

scribe and it is believed he copied the work of Pseudo-Dennis the Aeropagite⁴⁰ while in Rome.

With the resolution of the Iconoclast Controversy, Methodios returned to the Byzantine capital and may have taken with him manuscripts, pattern books, and other art objects. This may provide further proof for the transmission of these ideas.

Additional evidence for contact can be found in the Liber Pontificalis. During the pontificate of Benedict III (855-858) Lazarus, a famous artist and monk, came to Rome as a representative of the Byzantine court. Michael III sent with Lazarus many gifts for St. Peter's including (among other items):

evangelium de auro purissimo I cum diversis lapidibus pretiosis; calicem vero similiter de auro et lapitibus circumdatum; reticula pendente de gemmis albis pretiosis mire pulchritudinis decoratum; et vela II de olovera cum cruces de olovera et lista similiter de chrisoclavo, parva coopertoria ipsius calicis, sicut mos Grecorum est;⁴¹

This passage provides more evidence that there was a variety of art objects passing between Constantinople and Rome immediately after Second Iconoclasm. It must have been

⁴⁰"il y copia les oeuvres du pseudo-Denys l'Aéropagite et il y 'écrivit de sa propre main' un grand recueil hagiographique en deux volumes qu'il constitua à l'aide de collections plus anciennes ou peut-être même en rassemblant des textes épars." Sansterre, Les moines grecs, 175.

⁴¹L.P., ii, 147, 148.

natural to give gifts as part of diplomatic missions. What is even more significant in this case is that Lazarus, the once persecuted artist-monk, was chosen for this mission.⁴² Since Lazarus was an artist, he must have taken an avid interest in Rome's artistic milieu during his visit.

It is evident that embassies passed between Rome and Constantinople in the ninth century and that these embassies brought with them gifts, including manuscripts, metalwork and so on.

One must now turn to the objects themselves and ask whether there are any examples of artistic influence on the art of the Byzantine capital.

Because of Iconoclasm, Byzantium was receptive to new artistic ideas. This receptiveness can be illustrated by the willingness of the Emperor Theophilus to adopt Islamic decoration from the Abbasid court at Baghdad.

⁴² Like other artist monks of the period Lazarus was subjected to torture and imprisonment for his production of painted icons. As a result of his obduracy, the Emperor Theophilus (829-42) ordered that the palms of his hands be burned with leaves of red-hot iron. C. Mango and E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia", DOP 19, 1965, 144. Other examples of persecution and torture have been outlined in P.J. Alexander, "Religious Persecution", Speculum 52, 1977, 238-264. These include: forcing monks to parade in the main Hippodrome at Constantinople, each leading a nun by the hand; encouraging the public to curse monks and throw stones at them; burying monks alive; slitting their noses; and a particularly cruel ultimatum of either marrying nuns or being blinded and exiled to Cyprus. (Undoubtably a tough decision)

In 830 John the Synkellos (later Patriarch of Constantinople) was sent on an embassy to Baghdad and was greatly impressed by the splendour of the Arab capital... 'Having come back to Theophilus and described to him things [he had seen] in Syria... he [John] persuaded him to build the palace of Bryas in imitation of Arab [palaces] and in no way differing from the latter either in form or decoration.'⁴³

Further evidence for the receptive artistic attitude of Byzantium immediately after Iconoclasm has been recently proposed by Leslie Brubaker and David Buckton. In a paper presented to the Byzantine Studies Conference in 1982, Buckton argued that Middle Byzantine enamel techniques have their antecedents in the Carolingian West. Buckton concludes, "technical features suggest that the erstwhile prototypes of Middle Byzantine Enamel, besides being of ninth-century date, were the work of Carolingian craftsmen. The genuine antecedents of Middle Byzantine enamel must therefore be sought in the West."⁴⁴

This suggests that there was some movement of artistic ideas from the West to the East in the second half of the ninth century. In 1985, Leslie Brubaker discussed the introduction of the painted initial in Byzantine

⁴³Theophanes Continuatus Chronicle, cited by Cyril Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 160.

⁴⁴David Buckton, "The Oppenheim or Fieschi-Morgan Reliquary in New York, and the Antecedents of Middle Byzantine Enamel," Eighth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstract of Papers, Chicago, 1982, 36.

manuscripts. The earliest example of a Greek manuscript with painted initials is the Paris. gr. 510, a manuscript which also employs the double-line fold system. She argues that there are similarities to Western initials in the manuscripts, especially to the Anastasios and Tours groups.⁴⁵ Because of these similarities, she concludes that, "italo-greek and Carolingian books were available in Constantinople in the years after Iconoclasm, and that Byzantium was receptive to their influence."⁴⁶ Brubaker feels that an autonomous Constantinopolitan style had not evolved in the late ninth century, but that the prevailing artistic mood "seems to be experimental, and if a single thread runs through the whole fabric of the Paris. gr. 510 it is one of reevaluation and assimilation."⁴⁷

Working along similar lines, John Osborne explored the role played by Rome in the transfer of these artistic traditions from the West to the East. He discusses both Greek and Latin manuscripts produced in Rome in the late eighth and early ninth century. The only Greek manuscript for which a secure date and Roman origin can be proposed is

⁴⁵Brubaker, "The Introduction of Painted Initials in Byzantium", Eleventh Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstract of Papers, Toronto, 1985, 56.

⁴⁶Brubaker, "The Introduction", 56.

⁴⁷Brubaker, "The Illustrated Copy," 79.

the copy of Pope Zacharias's Greek translation of the Dialogues of Gregory I (Bib. Vaticana, cod. gr. 1666). Each of the four books begins with a painted initial, and even though the first three initials (folios 3r, 42v, and 83r) have immediate Italian precedents, the fourth initial, a mu on fol. 136v, may ultimately display Insular ancestry.⁴⁸

There are two Latin manuscripts, also assigned to Roman scriptoria, which help to clarify this transmission: the Homiliarium Agimundi (Bib. Vaticana cod. lat. 3835 and 3836) and the Codex Juvenianus (Biblioteca Vallicelliana ms. B 25 II). One section of the Homiliarium (Vat. lat. 3836, fol. 55-70) can be dated to the late eighth or early ninth centuries. In it the painted initials display an explosion of colour, various animal forms and the 'hand-hasta epsilon', unlike the initials of earlier eighth-century manuscripts attributable to Rome. These characteristics were first developed in the Latin West, but can be found in later Greek manuscripts from southern Italy, and the late ninth century Paris. gr. 510.

The Codex Juvenianus is generally assigned to the early ninth century. It also provides evidence that Roman scriptoria were becoming interested in the use of lavish painted initials at this time.

⁴⁸Osborne, "Greek and Latin Manuscript Production in Rome ca. A.D. 800", Unpublished Conference Paper, 5.

Osborne concludes that because of the type and abundant number of initials found in the Vat. gr. 1666, Vat. lat. 3836 and the Biblioteca Vallicelliana ms. B 25 II, it is reasonable to consider Italy, and specifically the city of Rome, as the 'bridge' between the West and Constantinople, a bridge by which artistic ideas passed.⁴⁹

Documentation suggests that during the mid-ninth century there was a great deal of contact between Rome and Constantinople. This contact occurred on a variety of levels, but diplomatic missions did take place at the highest political and religious levels. With these missions a variety of art objects were exchanged and, one might imagine, a variety of ideas, political, religious and artistic, were discussed.

Because Constantinople, and Byzantium in general, had suffered an artistic hiatus spanning at least one generation, one can speculate that they were quite receptive towards foreign artistic attitudes. They may have been searching for their new mode of expression in terms of both style, technique and iconography. As a result, they adopted foreign enamel techniques and elaborately decorated and painted initials into their artistic repertoire. Rome played an important role in the transmission of ideas from

⁴⁹Osborne, "Greek and Latin Manuscript Production", 5.

the West, and one can only assume that artistic trends in Rome were swept to the East along with those from the court of Charlemagne. The double-line fold system, so popular in Carolingian Roman art, made its way to Constantinople, to be used extensively by artists in a variety of media. With Basil I, and the Macedonian renaissance, its use came to an end. Even so, an early manuscript of the Macedonian period (Paris. gr. 510) still displays the fold of garments with two parallel lines in the thigh region. It is with this manuscript that the linear experiments of the post-Iconoclastic artists came to an end and the 'new' Hellenistic style of the Macedonian renaissance emerges.

Conclusions

As a result of the lack of available documentation and extant material, it is often very difficult for the art historian to understand the complex artistic developments of the early Middle Ages. Recent scholarship has looked towards 'non-stylistic' criteria to further understand Early Medieval art. This relatively unexplored area is necessary for the proper understanding of this period. However, one cannot completely disregard the style of an object. After all, discussions of style play an integral part in the understanding of an object, and this aspect must be considered.

Kurt Weitzmann felt that the double-line fold system was so widespread in the Mediterranean area that it should be considered a general Zeitstil in the art of the early ninth century. Central to his discussion of this Zeitstil is the Sacra Parallela which he placed in early-ninth century Palestine. His conception of the stylistic and iconographic interrelationships between Palestine, Rome and Constantinople hinges on this date and origin. As shown in Chapter One, this manuscript is more likely a late-ninth century Constantinopolitan product. It has many similarities in terms of style, decorative details, and paleography with the datable Paris. gr. 510, a product of a Constantinopolitan scriptorium.

If the Sacra Parallela dates to the late ninth century

then one should reconsider Weitzmann's theory of a general Zeitstil. The style of many objects during this period can be characterized as linear, but the curious use of the double-line fold, especially in the thigh region, was restricted to late-eighth and ninth century Roman art and post-Second Iconoclastic Constantinopolitan works.

The depiction of drapery folds with two parallel lines was the fashion in late-eighth and ninth century Roman art. It was often accompanied by a gold background, either gold tesserae in mosaics, or ochre coloured pigment in wall-painting. The relationship, if, indeed there is one, between the gold background and the use of the double-line fold system is unclear.

There may be an increased popularity of gold and gold grounds due to the artistic renovatio of the Carolingian renaissance. The use of gold was widespread in the late classical period and was used for clothing in early illuminated manuscripts such as the Virgilius Vaticanus (Cod, Vat. lat. 3225) and the Quedlinburg Itala (Berlin, State Library cod. theol. lat. II) of the fifth century, and the Gospels of Rossano of the sixth century. Even though there are no known examples of gold clothing in manuscript illuminations between the sixth and the ninth centuries, one must be wary of concluding that gold was not used in manuscripts of this period. It may simply be that the next

extant example of gold leaf used in the depiction of drapery came during the Carolingian renaissance in Rome.

It is reasonable to assume that a gold leaf or solid gold background would be conducive to a linear style. Black lines would indicate drapery folds and model the garment, much in the same way that lines indicate garment folds in the Milan Gregory, the Book of Job, Sacra Parallela, and the reliquaries of the true cross in Rome.

The relationship between the gold background and the double-line system is unclear, simply because the double-line system occurs throughout a variety of media.

The wall-paintings of S. Maria Antiqua show a slow but certain development toward an overall linear style in the depiction of draperies in the late eighth century. In the frescoes of Paul I (757-767), one finds the first clear indication of the double-line fold system as it cuts across the thigh of St. Clement. Seventy-five years later the mosaics of Paschal I display this linear style at its zenith. The double-line fold occurs not only in the thigh region but also on various other parts of the garment.

Weitzmann's theory of a general Zeitstil in the Mediterranean area must be reconsidered. There was a tendency to define drapery through line throughout the Mediterranean area in the late-eighth and early-ninth century, but the peculiar use of the double-line fold system

developed out of the indigenous Roman tradition, and was not as widespread as Weitzmann suggests.

At the end of the Iconoclast controversy, Byzantium was receptive to artistic ideas from the West. The diplomatic missions between the West and Constantinople could have provided the means for the transmission of such artistic ideas, and because of the abundant use of the double-line fold in manuscripts such as the Sacra Parallela and the Paris Gregory, and in the mosaics at Nicaea, one may postulate that Rome exerted a stylistic influence on the art of Byzantium.

This linear influence was short-lived, as the artistic ideals of the Macedonian renaissance soon took hold. Nevertheless, such a stylistically diverse manuscript as the Paris Gregory displays the double-line fold on a great many of its garments, regardless of their general style.

As certain scholars of Early Medieval art have suggested, historians must be wary of the subjective process of stylistic comparison. After all, the description of a wall-painting or mosaic as 'linear', 'abstract' or 'illusionistic' can only be understood in relative terms. It is therefore understandable that this subjective process has led to misleading results.

Even so, careful stylistic analysis remains one of the keys to understanding the Early Medieval period. The depiction of drapery by the double-line fold system in

ninth-century art enables the art historian to partially understand this often confusing period. It is a motif that appears on mosaics, wall-painting, ivories and metalwork and as such provides a common denominator for the understanding of ninth-century style. The art historian must be wary of such an intrinsically subjective process as stylistic comparison, but careful stylistic analysis is something one must not neglect.

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Figure 1: Bibliothèque Nationale cod. gr. 923
Sacra Parallela
 folio 208r
 John of Damascus



Figure 2: Bibliothèque Nationale cod. gr. 923
Sacra Parallela
folio 339v
Jeremiah



Figure 3: Bibliothèque Nationale cod. gr. 923
Sacra Parallela
folio 248r
Abram and Lot



Figure 4: Biblioteca Vaticana cod. gr. 749
 Book of Job
 folio 6

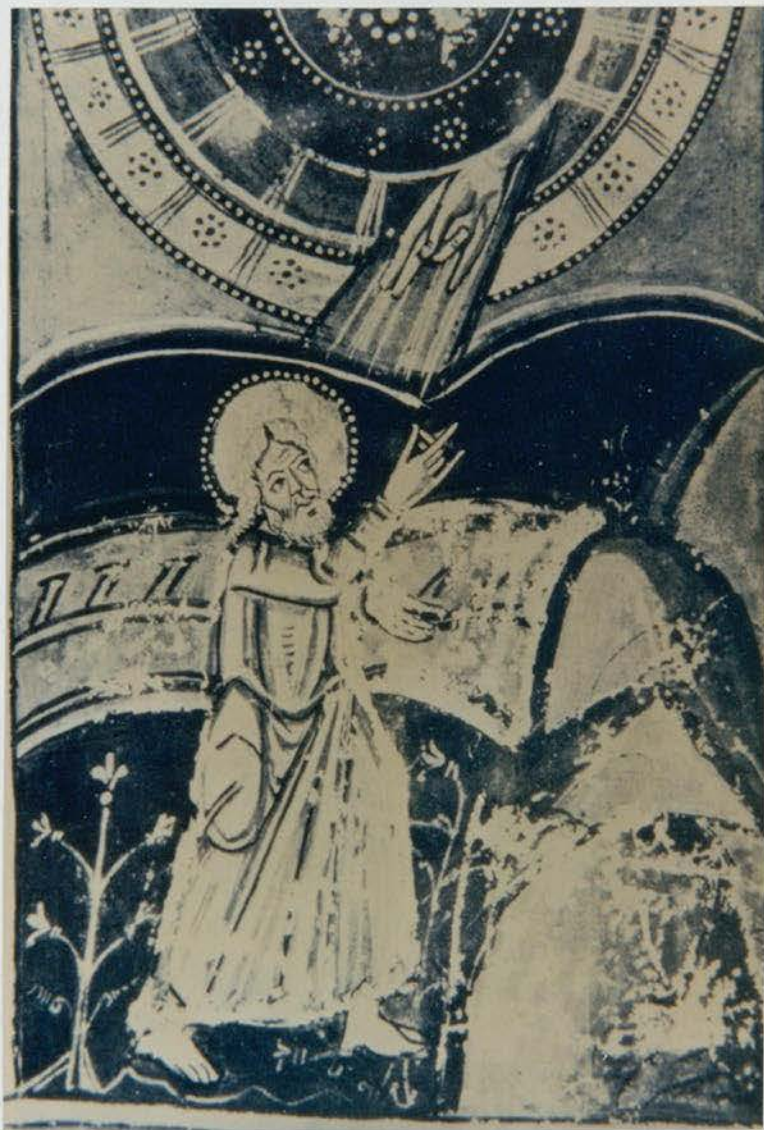


Figure 5: Biblioteca Vaticana cod. gr. 749
Book of Job
folio 241



Figure 6: Biblioteca Ambrosiana cod. 49-50
Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus
 folio 156



Figure 7: Bibliothèque Nationale cod. gr. 510
Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus
folio 438v
Ezekiel's Vision of the Dry Bones



Figure 8: Santa Prassede, Rome
San Zeno Chapel
Peter and Paul



Figure 9: Santa Prassede, Rome
San Zeno Chapel
Agnes and Potentiana



Figure 10: Santa Prassede, Rome
San Zeno Chapel
Andrew and James



Figure 11: Santa Prassede, Rome
Detail of the Apse mosaic
Paschal I



Figure 12: Santa Prassede, Rome
Apse mosaic
Detail of Paschal I



Figure 13: Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome
Apse mosaic
The Second Coming



Figure 14: Santa Maria in Domnica, Rome
Apse mosaic
The Virgin and Child



Figure 15: San Marco, Rome
Apse mosaic
The Second Coming



Figure 16: Casket for a reliquary, Rome
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Museo Sacro
No. 1888



Figure 17: Detail of a casket for a reliquary, Rome
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Museo Sacro
No. 1888



Figure 18: Casket for a reliquary, Rome
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Museo Sacro
No. 985



Figure 19: Detail of a casket for a reliquary, Rome
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Museo Sacro
No. 985



Figure 20: Detail of a casket for a reliquary
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Museo Sacro
No. 985



Figure 21: Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome
Anastasis



Figure 22: Santa Maria Secundicerii, Rome
St. John greets St. Peter

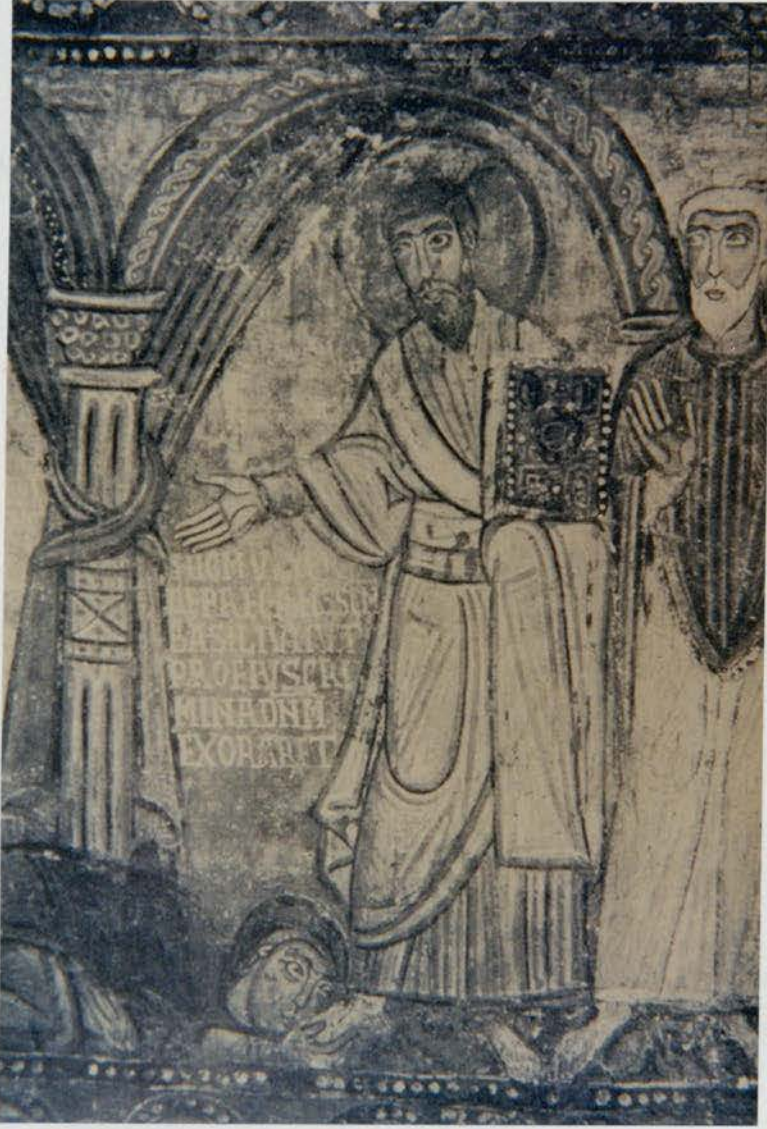


Figure 23: Santa Maria Secundicerii, Rome
St. Basil and the repentant sinner



Figure 24: Ivory Scepter
Staatliche Museen, Berlin
No. 2006



Figure 25: Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome
Theodotus Chapel
The Four Saints

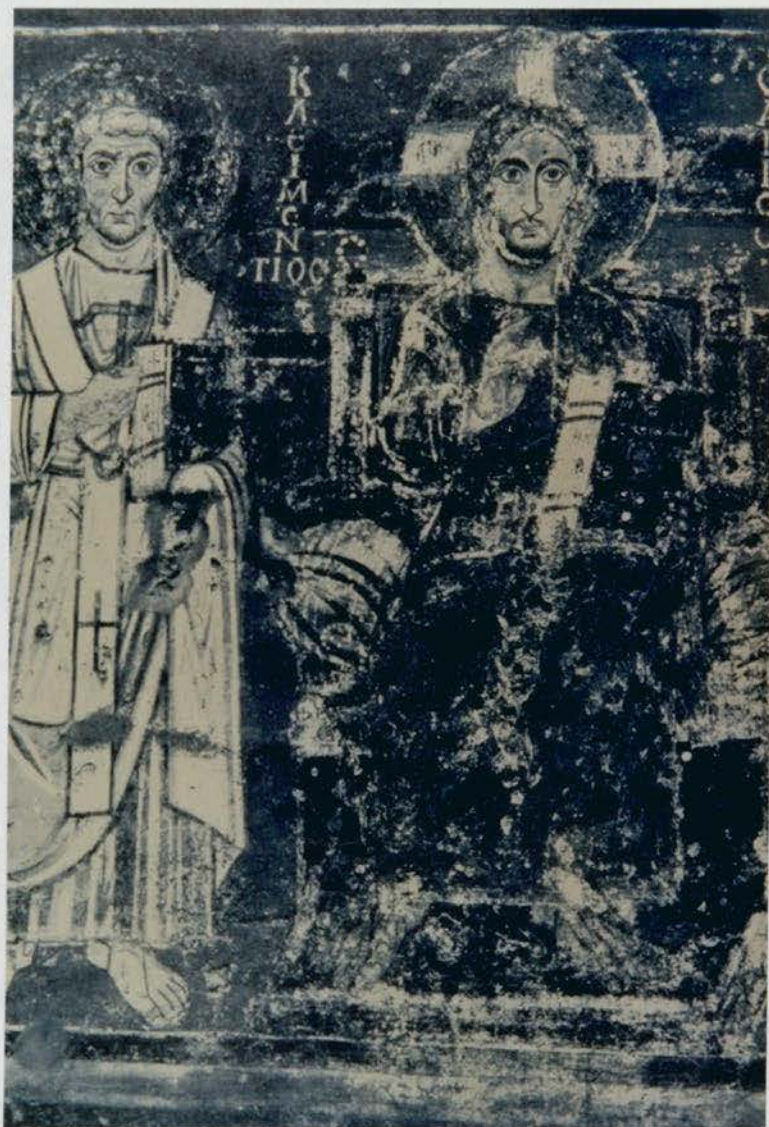


Figure 26: Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome
Christ and St. Clement



Figure 27: Weltliche Schatzkammer, Vienna
Coronation Gospels
folio 178v
Saint John

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