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**MINIATURES OF THE TETRAEVANGELION
(ST. PETERSBURG, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF RUSSIA,
GR. 220): AN ATTEMPT OF ATTRIBUTION¹**

Abstract: The Tetraevangelion in the National Library of Russia (gr. 220) written and decorated with ornamental headpieces probably in the early 10th century in Constantinople was not supposed at that time to have evangelists' portraits. Its miniatures were inserted in some later époque as those in the Sinai codex of Praxapostolos (cod. 283) with which it formed once a New Testament edition. These images were variously dated by scholars, and most of them proposed the dating to the late 12th or 13th century. Nevertheless, the images of the Saint Petersburg manuscript have the strongest stylistic similarity with miniatures of the 2nd half of the 10th – early 11th century, especially with evangelists' portraits in the Tetraevangelion (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ex. Berol. gr. 4^o.67); the miniatures in both manuscripts were doubtlessly painted by the same miniaturist. They are mostly classical in style but reveal slight deviations from more corporeal and three-dimensional images of the Macedonian renaissance. The evangelists' portraits of Mark and Luke created in a Constantinopolitan ergasterion and inserted into the Georgian Tetraevangelion of Tbeti (National Library of Russia, collection of the prince John, gruz. 212) should be dated to the same period.

Keywords: Greek illuminated manuscript, Byzantine miniature, Macedonian renaissance, evangelists' portraits, inserted miniatures

The manuscript² was acquired by the Imperial Public Library in Saint Petersburg as a piece of a collection of the Bishop Porphyry Uspensky³ in 1883

¹ I warmly thank my colleagues and friends Georgi Parpulov, Elina N. Dobrynina and Marina A. Kuryшева for discussing with me various aspects of this study.

² Diktyon 57292; the codex has 214 folios, it measures 173x116 mm. For more detailed codicological description see: Н.Ф. Каврус, «Алмазное письмо» в греческих рукописях Москвы и Ленинграда, Византийский временник, 47, (Москва 1986), 196-197.

³ Zh.L. Levshina, *Bishop Porphyry (Uspensky) and Sinai Manuscripts from his Collection*, Codex Sinaiticus and Old Manuscripts of Early Christian Writing: Traditions and Innovations in Modern Research. Proceedings of the International Research Conference



Fig. 1
Tetraevangelion
(Saint Petersburg,
National Library of
Russia, gr. 220), fols.
1v-2. Photo: National
Library of Russia

Сл. 1
Четворојеванђеље
(Санкт Петербург,
Национална би-
блиотека Русије,
гр. 220), фол. 1в-2.
Фото: Национална
библиотека Русије

in a 19th-century binding most probably ordered by Porphyrius himself⁴. A note in the upper margin of the folio 198 states that the codex belonged to the library of the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai⁵.

Decoration of the codex includes four framings of the Eusebius Letter to Carpianus (ill. 1), eight Canon tables (ill. 2), ornamental headpieces over the headings of the contents of the Gospel texts (ill. 3) and headpieces to the Gospels themselves, and four evangelists' portraits (ill. 4-7). The text is written in minuscule bouletée on a fine, white, high-quality parchment by one scribe. N. Kavrus pointed out similarity of his handwriting with that of the first scribe of the 76 Homilies of John Chrysostom (Moscow, State Historical Museum, Syn. gr. 128 (Vlad. 159)), a codex created according to her opinion in one of the major scriptoria of Constantinople, probably in the Imperial one⁶; Kavrus argues that both manuscripts originate from the same ergasterion. The scholar also noted the identity of the handwriting of the Saint Petersburg Tetraevangelion with that of the Praxapostolos in the library of the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount

"Codex Sinaiticus: Manuscripts in the Digital Age" (The Fifth Zagreb Readings), Saint-Petersburg, November 12-13, 2009, Saint-Petersburg 2012, 229-230.

⁴ Каталог греческих рукописей Российской национальной библиотеки, сост. И.Н. Лебедева; науч. ред. Ж.Л. Левшина, Санкт-Петербург 2014, 108, №224.

⁵ Ye.E. Granstrom dated the note to the 16th-17th century in: Е.Э. Гранстрем, Каталог греческих рукописей ленинградских хранилищ, вып. 2: Рукописи X века, Византийский временник, 18 (43), (Москва 1961), 266, to the 18th-19th century in: Е.Э. Гранстрем, Каталог греческих рукописей ленинградских хранилищ, вып. 3: Рукописи XI века, Византийский временник, 19 (44), (Москва, 1961), 225; K. Treu – to the 16th-17th century in: K. Treu, Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR. Eine systematische Auswertung der Texthandschriften in Leningrad, Moskau, Kiev, Odessa, Tbilisi und Erevan, Berlin, 1966, 88; N.Kavrus – to the 18th century in: «Алмазное письмо», 196.

⁶ Н.Ф. Каврус, «Алмазное письмо», 195-196.

Fig. 2 Tetraevangelion
(Saint Petersburg,
National Library of
Russia, gr. 220), fols.
4v-5. Photo: National
Library of Russia

Сл. 2
Четворојеванђеље
(Санкт Петербург,
Национална библио-
тека Русије, гр. 220),
фол. 4в-5. Фото:
Национална библио-
тека Русије

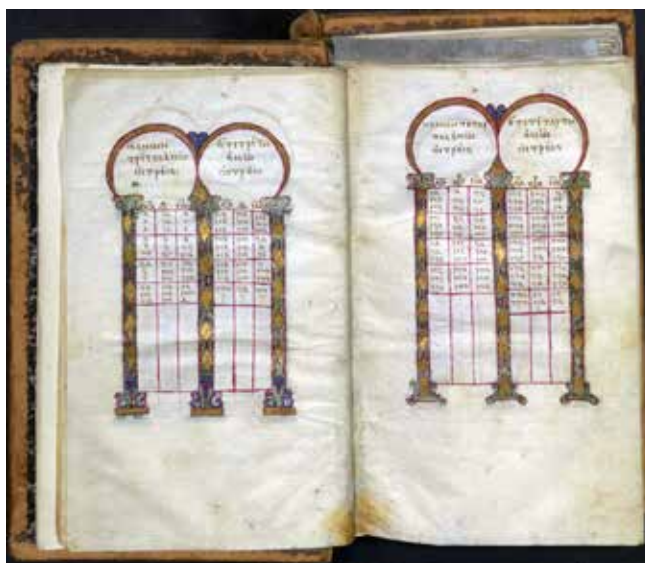
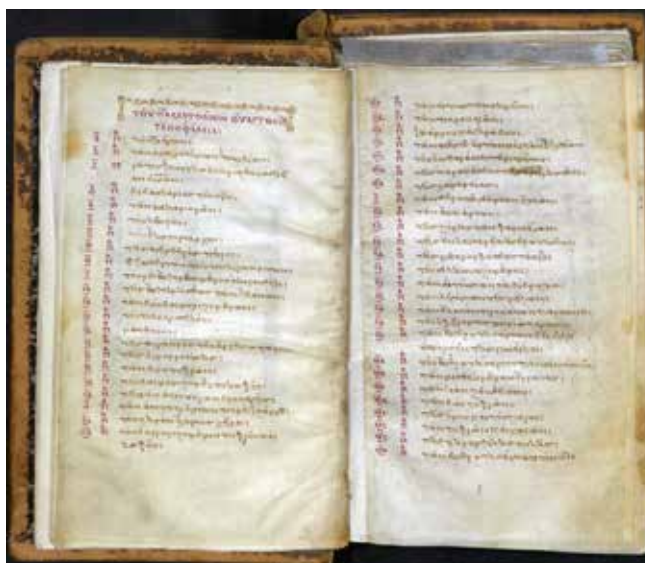


Fig. 3 Tetraevangelion
(Saint Petersburg,
National Library of
Russia, gr. 220), fols.
7v-8. Photo: National
Library of Russia

Сл. 3
Четворојеванђеље
(Санкт Петербург,
Национална библио-
отека Русије, гр.
220), л. 7в-8. Фото:
Национална библио-
тека Русије.



Sinai (cod. 283)⁷ (ill. 8). The similarity of both manuscripts was attested already by V.G. Putsko who published the miniatures of the Tetraevangelion (NLR, gr. 220) in 1979⁸. Besides the handwriting, the Saint Petersburg and Sinai codices

⁷ *Ibid.*, 196-197. On the Sinai manuscript (together with its “relative” in Saint Petersburg) see: K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai; The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts. Vol. 1: From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*, Princeton 1990, 24-28.

⁸ В.Г. Пуцко, *Синайское Четвероевангелие X века с миниатюрами эпохи крестоносцев* (ГПБ, греч. 220), *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, XVII, (Bucarest 1979),



Fig. 4 Tetraevangelion (Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 220), fols. 9v-10.
Photo: National Library of Russia

Сл. 4 Четворојеванђеље (Санкт Петербург, Национална библиотека Русије, гр. 220), л. 9v-10. Фото: Национална библиотека Русије.

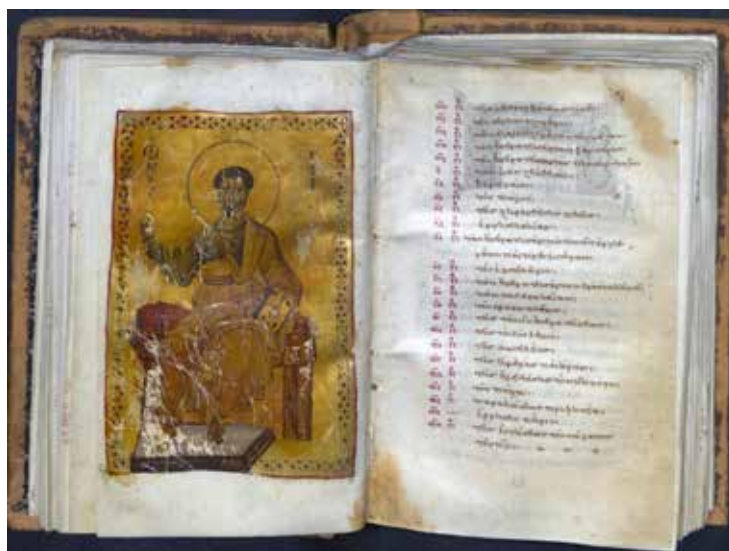


Fig. 5 Tetraevangelion (Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 220), fols. 67v-68.
Photo: National Library of Russia

Сл. 5 Четворојеванђеље (Санкт Петербург, Национална библиотека Русије, гр. 220), л. 67v-68. Фото: Национална библиотека Русије.



Fig. 6 Tetraevangelion (Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 220), fols. 106v-107. Photo: National Library of Russia

Сл. 6 Четворојеванђеље (Санкт Петербург, Национална библиотека Русије, гр. 220), л. 106v-107. Фото: Национална библиотека Русије.



Fig. 7 Tetraevangelion (Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 220), fols. 168v-169. Photo: National Library of Russia

Сл. 7 Четворојеванђеље (Санкт Петербург, Национална библиотека Русије, гр. 220), л. 168v-169. Фото: Национална библиотека Русије.



Fig. 8 Praxapostolos (Monastery of St. Catherine, cod. 283), fol. 5. By permission of Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt. Photograph courtesy of Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai

Сл. 8 Праксапостолос (Манастир Свете Катарине, код. 283), л. 5. Уз дозволу Манастира Св. Катарине, Синај, Египат. Фотографија љубазношћу експедиција Мичиген-Принстон-Александрија на планину Синај.

reveal the same codicological features – size, number of lines on a page, ruling patterns, etc., which evidences that originally they made two volumes of the New Testament edition or even were members of the same manuscript subsequently divided into two parts⁹.

Studying the manuscript paleographers proposed for its main part, i.e. the text with Canon tables and headpieces various datings from the 9th¹⁰ until the 11th century¹¹ but the dating to the 10th century, the 1st half or even the 1st

523-539.

⁹ Kavarus-Hoffmann N. *Producing New Testament Manuscripts in Byzantium. Scribes, Scriptoria, and Patrons*, The New Testament in Byzantium (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia), ed. by D. Krueger and R.S. Nelson, Washington 2016, 132.

¹⁰ V.N. Benešević (В.Н. Бенешевич, *Описание греческих рукописей монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае. I. Замечательные рукописи в библиотеке Синайского монастыря и Синаеджуванийского подворья (в Каире), описанные архимандритом Порфирием (Успенским)*, Петербург, 1911): с. 900; K. Treu (*Die griechischen Handschriften...*, 88): 9th/10th century.

¹¹ Е.Э. Гранстрем, *Каталог греческих рукописей ленинградских хранилищ*, вып. 3, 225, while in the *Каталог греческих рукописей ленинградских хранилищ*, вып. 2, 266, the codex is dated by the same author to the 10th century.



Fig. 9 Praxapostolos (Monastery of St.Catherine, cod. 283), fol. 72v. By permission of Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt. Photograph courtesy of Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai

Сл. 9 Праксапостолос (Манастир Св. Катарине, код. 283), л. 72v. Уз дозволу Манастира Св. Катарине, Синај, Египат. Фотографија љубазношћу експедиција Мичиген-Принстон-Александрија на планину Синај.



Fig. 10 Praxapostolos (Monastery of St.Catherine, cod. 283), fol. 107v. By permission of Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt. Photograph courtesy of Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expeditions to Mount Sinai

Сл. 10 Праксапостолос (Манастир Св. Катарине, код. 283), л. 107v. Уз дозволу Манастира Св. Катарине, Синај, Египат. Фотографија љубазношћу експедиција Мичиген-Принстон-Александрија на планину Синај.

third of it prevails in the publications¹². The miniatures of the Tetraevangelion

¹² To the 1st half or the 1st third of the 10th century the codex was dated by N.Kavrus («Алмазное письмо», 196), and E. Dobrynina (E.N. Dobrynina, *Corpus of Greek Illuminated Manuscripts in Russian Collections*, vol. 1: Manuscripts of the 9th – 10th cc. at the State Historical Museum, Part 1, Moscow, 2013, 118 (with reference to: N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, *Tenth-Century Greek Gospels at the Walters Art Museum: Writing Styles and Ornamental Motifs*, The Journal of the Walters Art Museum, vol. 62, (Baltimore, 2004), 21-34); to the mid-10th century – by B. Fonkič who advised Putsko in the late 1970s, and G.Parpulov (G. Parpulov, *Middle-Byzantine Evangelist Portraits*, Berlin / Boston 2022, 5-6, cat. entry 40). Nevertheless, on the web-site of the National Library of Russia the date of the codex is indicated as the 10th century in general, as well as in the catalogue published in 2014 (*Каталог греческих рукописей...*, 108). In the article “Colophons and Running Titles...” E. Dobrynina related the Tetraevangelion in the National Library of Russia to a group of “manuscripts with a decorative system of the ‘transitional type’, in which the colophons with tailpieces are used at the same time as headpieces, or irregularly”; she dated those manuscripts to the

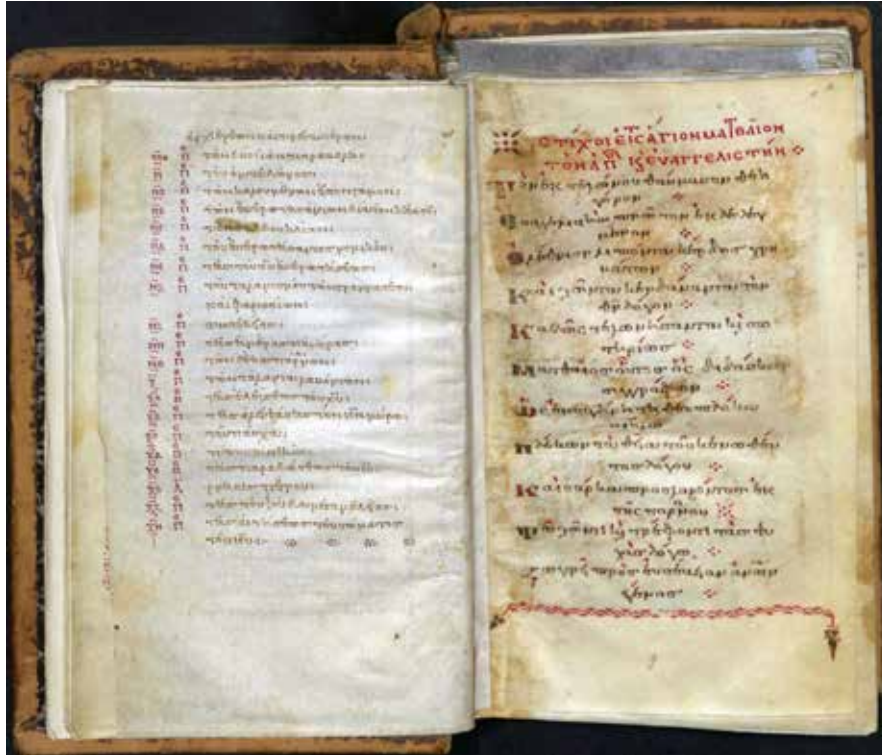


Fig. 11 Tetraevangelion (Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, collection of the prince John, gr. 220), fols. 8v-9. Photo: National Library of Russia

Сл. 11 Четворојеванђеље (Национална библиотека Русије, Санкт Петербург, збирка кнеза Јована, гр. 220), л. 8v-9. Фото: Национална библиотека Русије.

in the National Library of Russia (ill. 4-7) and in the Praxapostolos in Sinai (ill. 9-10) occupying in both codices inserted folios were from the very beginning discussed by scholars separately from their textual parts. They were variously dated as well. Thus, V. Lazarev without argumentation placed the miniatures of the Tetraevangelion among 11th-century illuminated codices¹³; R. Hamann-Mac Lean proposed the late 12th – early 13th century¹⁴; after the publication by

2nd half of the 9th or the turn of the century (E.N. Dobrynina, *Colophons and Running Titles. On New Terminology in Describing Greek Manuscripts of the Ninth–Tenth Centuries*, Greek Manuscript Cataloguing: Past, Present, and Future (Bibliologia: elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia. Vol. 48), eds. P. Degni, P. Eleuteri, M. Maniaci, Turnhout 2018, 244. According to the opinion for of M.A. Kuryшева the codex was written not later than the early 10th century.

¹³ В.Н. Лазарев, *История византийской живописи*, т. 1, Москва 1947, с. 316.

¹⁴ R. Hamann-Mac Lean und O. Rösser, *Der Berliner Codex Graecus Quarto 66 und seine nächsten Verwandten als Beispiele des Stilwandels im frühen 13. Jahrhundert*, Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters. Festschrift für K.H. Usener, Marburg an der Lahn 1967, 225-250.



Fig. 12 Niketas Bible (Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, B.I.2), fol. 12. Photo from: О.С. Попова, А.В. Захарова, И.А. Орецкая, *Византийская миниатюра второй половины X – начала XII века*, Москва 2012, с. 22, илл. 28

Сл. 12 Никетина Библија (Торино, Национална универзитетска библиотека, B.I.2), л. 12. Фото преузето из: О.С. Попова, А.В. Захарова, И.А. Орецкаја, *Византийская миниатюра второй половины X – начала XII века*, Москва, 2012, стр. 22, ил. 28.



Fig. 13 Tetraevangelion (BAV, Vat. gr. 364), fol. 205. Photo from: О.С. Попова, А.В. Захарова, И.А. Орецкая, *Византийская миниатюра второй половины X – начала XII века*, Москва 2012, с. 40, илл. 23

Сл. 13 Четворојеванђеље (Ватиканска апостолска библиотека, Vat. gr. 364), л. 205. Фото преузето из: О.С. Попова, А.В. Захарова, И.А. Орецкаја, *Византийская миниатюра второй половины X – начала XII века*, Москва, 2012, стр. 40, ил. 23.

V. Putsko¹⁵ the dating of the inserted images to the 13th century, i.e. to the time of the Latin Empire, or to the late 12th century seemed to be accepted by most of the scholars. Once they were even dated to the late 13th – early 14th century¹⁶ but still with reference to the article by Putsko. K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris found stylistic affinity of the miniatures of the Sinai and Saint Petersburg codices with “late Comnenian mosaics and wall paintings of the “dynamic style” in Sicily, Cyprus, Patmos, and a group of related manuscripts such as Athens,

¹⁵ Пуцко, *Синайское Четвероевангелие X века с миниатюрами эпохи крестоносцев*.

¹⁶ N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, Yu. Pyatnitsky, *New Perspectives on the Hoffmann Gospels, Codices manuscripti*, 76/77 (February 2011), 27.

Nat. Lib. 163”¹⁷. In the Addenda to the second edition of the “Die byzantinische Buchmalerei” Weitzmann repeated the dating to the late 12th century¹⁸. The only publication where the author refuses a later dating of the miniatures is the book by G. Parpulov who attributed the images in the Saint Petersburg codex to its original decoration and dated them to the mid-10th century (retouched in the 12th century)¹⁹.

Most of the scholars considered both codices a production of a metropolitan scriptorium; Weitzmann compared their original decoration to that of the Paris manuscript (BnF, suppl. gr. 1085), which he related to the western Asia Minor, in which he pointed out evident Constantinopolitan influence. He did not exclude a possibility of creation of the Sinai and Saint Petersburg codices in the Byzantine capital²⁰. Such an attribution with appeal to the refinement in execution of both its ornamental decoration and miniatures is also adduced in the edition of Sinai manuscripts²¹. Only V. Putsko proposed that the manuscript was endowed with miniatures in the Sinai ergasterion and even could have been written there a few centuries earlier²².

Evangelist portraits in the Tetraevangelion in the National Library of Russia are painted on verso sides of the inserted folios made of markedly thicker parchment, the rectos of which are occupied by epigrams in honour of the authors of the corresponding Gospel texts (ill. 11). The writing style as well as ornamental decoration on these folios differs from that of the text of the manuscript itself²³. The folios with miniatures are inserted between those with tables of contents and beginnings of the Gospel texts in the Gospels of Mathew and John, and among the folios of the tables of contents in two other cases. It is

¹⁷ K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai; The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 27. On cod. Athens, Nat. Lib. 163 see: A. Marava-Chatzinicolau, Chr. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, Athens 1978, vol. 1, no. 46, 189-197, figs. 481-511; but more recently the manuscript was dated by O. Popova to the third quarter of the 11th century (O.C. Попова, *На рубеже двух периодов византийского искусства XI в. Евангелие-апракос cod. 163 из Национальной библиотеки Греции в Афинах*, Византийский временник, Т. 73, (Москва 2014), 204–218; reprinted in: O.C. Попова, В.Д. Сарабьянов, *Мозаики и фрески Святой Софии Киевской*, Москва 2017, 460-479).

¹⁸ K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, II: Addenda und Appendix, Wien 1996, 89.

¹⁹ Parpulov, *op. cit.*

²⁰ Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, II.

²¹ Weitzmann, Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai; The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 27, 28.

²² Пуцко, *Синайское Четвероевангелие X века с миниатюрами эпохи крестоносцев*, 537-539.

²³ It is not minuscule bouletée but Perlschrift of the 10th century. One may suppose that images on the other sides of these folios should not be much later than the epigrams. M. Kurysheva is going to devote a special study to the handwriting styles of the Saint Petersburg codex.



Fig. 14 Tetraevangelion (National Library of Russia, collection of the prince John, gruz. 212), fol. 87v. Photo: National Library of Russia

Сл. 14 Четворојеванђеље (Национална библиотека Русије, збирка кнеза Јована, gruz. 212), л. 87v. Фото: Национална библиотека Русије.



Fig. 15 Tetraevangelion (National Library of Russia, collection of the prince John, gruz. 212), fol. 141v. Photo: National Library of Russia

Сл. 15 Четворојеванђеље (Руска национална библиотека, збирка кнеза Јована, груз. 212), фол. 141в. Фото: Национална библиотека Русије

evident that originally evangelist portraits were not conceived because the beginnings of the Gospel texts decorated with ornamental headpieces immediately follow those with Gospels' contents²⁴.

Evangelists are depicted on a golden background in ornamental framings partly worn-out and flaked. For three of them the artist used iconographic types widespread in the Middle-Byzantine period. Mathew is shown sitting on a stool, leaning with his left hand on a table and holding a codex on the knees; Luke – in a high red armchair, thinking, with a pen in his right hand and left hand lying on a knee; John – standing and turning to the Hand of God depicted in an upper right corner and dictating the Gospel to his pupil Prochorus who is sitting on a small stool in front of the table with writing implements. Only the image of Mark is somewhat rare. He is depicted frontally, sitting on a stool with a red cushion, holding a luxuriously decorated codex in the left hand and blessing with his right; this iconography reminds that of Christ. Frontally, as Luke in the Tetraevangelion in the National Library of Russia, apostle Paul is depicted with donors²⁵ (more likely pointing at them than blessing) and Peter holding a codex in his left hand and putting the right in front of his chest in the Sinai codex of Praxapostolos. We come across images of the authors, more often with face shown in three-quarter²⁶, already since the Macedonian period. Images of Mathew in the Gospel Lectionary in the Great Lavra (cod. A86), fol. 64v²⁷, of the 1st half of the 10th century, and of Mark on the miniature on a separate folio inserted in the Tetraevangelion in the Philotheou monastery on Mount Athos (cod. 33)²⁸ are frontal figures. However, shown frontally or almost frontally evangelists are usually depicted either pondering or reading, either blessing their codices. Iconographically the closest image to the miniature with Mark in the Tetraevangelion in Saint Petersburg is probably that of the apostle Paul in the headpiece to the Epistle to the Hebrews in the Praxapostolos (Scientific Library of Moscow State University, gr. 2) of the year 1072²⁹.

Images of four evangelists are painted in the same manner and have similar framings. They were undoubtedly executed by one miniaturist. Figures of the authors are quite big and occupy most space in the miniatures. The pieces of furniture are also large, without sophisticated or small details. Figures are of regular (Mathew and Mark) or of slightly elongated proportions with somewhat

²⁴ It was noticed already by V. Putsko (Пуцко, *Синайское Четвероевангелие X века с миниатюрами эпохи крестоносцев*, 529).

²⁵ Identification of the donors could become a key to the attribution of the manuscript but it is an extremely difficult task as there are no inscriptions or colophon preserved (I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, (Leiden 1976), 55).

²⁶ As e.g. in some images in the Gospel Lectionary (BAV, Vat. gr. 1522) of the 1st half of the 10th century or in the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles (Bodleian Library, Canon 110) of circa mid-10th century.

²⁷ Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, I, 46-48, 64, 65, Abb. 316, II, 48-49.

²⁸ Σ. Μ. Πελεκανίδης, Π.Κ. Χρήστου, Χ.Μαυροπούλου-Τσιούμη, Σ.Ν. Καδά, Αικ. Κατσαρού, *Θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους*. Τ. Γ'. Αθήνα 1979, 307.

²⁹ *Деяния и Послания апостолов. Греческая иллюминированная рукопись 1072 года из собрания Научной библиотеки Московского университета*, сб. статей, ред.-сост. Э.Н. Добрынина, Москва 2004, 40, ил. 21.



Fig. 16 Tetraevangelion (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ex. Berol. gr. 4o.67), fol. 4v. Photo: Jagiellonian Library of Kraków

Сл. 16 Четворојеванђеље (Краков, Библиотека Јагиеллонска, ек. Берол. гр. 4о.67)



Fig. 17 Tetraevangelion (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ex. Berol. gr. 4o.67), 183v. Photo: Jagiellonian Library of Kraków

Сл. 17 Четворојеванђеље (Краков, Библиотека Јагиеллонска, ек. Берол. гр. 4о.67), 183в.

shortened upper part of the body³⁰. Their volume is slightly smoothed over by ample clothes with beautiful mild folds, which are finely shaped with light and shadow; the shadow sides of folds are skillfully outlined with dark lines or strokes³¹. Postures of the evangelists are easy, expression of faces calm, only their look is slightly tense as if a miniaturist wanted to emphasize their immersion in the intellectual work.

Original colouring of the miniatures has changed, turned yellow, and looks faded. It happened because of the putting of drying oil³², most probably to prevent partly flaked miniatures from further destruction. Miniatures were covered with drying oil when both parts of the New Testament, in Saint Petersburg and Sinai, were in the same place.

In spite of the layer of drying oil covering folios with miniatures we can appreciate the high quality of design and get an idea of the manner of painting in

³⁰ This peculiarity is especially noticeable in the images of Luke and John.

³¹ Outlines and folds in the image of Paul in the Sinai manuscript were probably repainted in a less careful manner in a later period; red inscriptions on the miniatures in both Saint Petersburg and Sinai codices were perhaps also made in that time (12th century?).

³² Putsko mentioned this fact in 1979 (Пуцко, *Синайское Четвероевангелие X века с миниатюрами эпохи крестоносцев*, 530, 532) and wrote about the necessity of restoration but it was never undertaken.



Fig. 18 Tetraevangelion (Mount Athos, Dionysiou, cod. 588), fol. 225v. Photo from: O.C. Попова, А.В. Захарова, И.А. Орецкая, Византийская миниатюра второй половины X – начала XII века, Москва 2012, с. 173, илл. 132

Сл. 18 Четворојеванђеље (Атонска Гора, Дионисије, код. 588), фол. 225в. Фотографија са: О.С. Попова, А.В. Закхарова, И.А. Орецкаја, Византијска минијатура друге половине X – почетка XII века, Москва 2012, стр. 173, илустр. 132

whole. Treatment of faces and clothes is mostly smooth, multilayer, with mild transitions from one colour to another. Various strokes almost merge forming a unified colour surface. Such a manner of painting appears in Byzantine art around mid-10th century. In images of earlier time, we often come across another approach for where different strokes and spots are clearly discernable³³. This method, more graphic, sometimes with stylized details was sporadically used even after the Macedonian renaissance in treatment of faces to increase their expressiveness, as it was done, e.g., in the miniatures of the Trapezund

³³ See, for instance, the miniatures of the Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes (BAV, Vat. gr. 699) or of the Tetraevangelion (Mount Athos, Iviron. cod. 1387).

Lectionary (National Library of Russia, gr. 21+21A)³⁴ of probably the third quarter of the 10th century. One should keep in mind, however, that the painted surface looks smoother and more monotonous because of the use of the drying oil, which turned yellowish; original colours were brighter and more contrasting, there were fewer warm tints, and strokes were easier discernable.

For evangelists portraits the miniaturist used one and the same type, of which we see slight variations. Evangelists and apostles have oval faces with quite wide cheekbones, straight and somewhat short noses, almond-shaped eyes looking from the deep shadows of superciliary arches, mouths with dropped corners (that creates pensive and slightly severe expression). A variant of this facial type represents the Sinai miniature with the apostle Paul, who has a face with slightly projecting tip of the nose marked by a white stroke on it. Most often we find this facial type in the manuscript illumination of the 2nd half of the 10th – early 11th century but one may see it also in miniatures created circa mid-10th century and until the end of the 1st third of the 11th. The Minor prophets in the Niketas Bible (Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, B.I.2)³⁵, fol. 11v-12 (ill. 12), John in the Tetraevangelion (BAV, Vat. gr. 364)³⁶, fol. 205 (ill. 13) and the same evangelist in a very similar codex (ÖNB, suppl. gr. 50*)³⁷, fol. 244v, etc. demonstrate this facial type. We come across resembling faces in the miniatures with Mark and Luke inserted in the Tetraevangelion (National Library of Russia, collection of the prince John, gruz. 212) written in 995 in Tbeti³⁸ (ill. 14, 15). But the closest affinity with the images in the Tetraevangelion (gr. 220) reveal those in the Tetraevangelion (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ex. Berol.

³⁴ А.В. Захарова, *Трапезундское Евангелие (РНБ, гр. 21 и 21А)*, О.С. Попова, А.В. Захарова, И.А. Орецкая, *Византийская миниатюра второй половины X – начала XII века*, Москва 2012, 113-144.

³⁵ H. Belting, G. Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas. Ein Werk der hofischen Buchkunst in Byzanz und sein antikes Vorbild*, Wiesbaden 1979, and recently: М.А. Курышева, *Китонит Никита – заказчик «Библии Никиты» X века*, Вестник Волгоградского государственного университета, серия 4, История. Регионоведение. Международные отношения, т. 24, № 6 (Волгоград 2019), 121-128.

³⁶ I vangeli dei popoli: la parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia. Mostra, Città del Vaticano, Palazzo della Cancelleria, 21 giugno – 10 dicembre 2000, a cura di F. D'Aiuto, G. Morello, A.M. Piazzoni, Città del Vaticano 2000, 207-209; https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.364

³⁷ P. Buberl, H. Gerstinger, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, II, Leipzig 1938, Abb. V. the painting style in this manuscript is more graphic.

³⁸ In the most recent publication by Alexander Saminsky the Canon tables inserted in the codex are dated to the early 11th century, and two miniatures also inserted in Constantinople – to the early 12th century; at the same time the scholar points out to a number of stylistic features relating the evangelists' portraits to the manuscript illumination of the 10th century (А.Л. Саминский, *Константинопольское украшение Первого Тбетского Евангелия в начале XI и в первые десятилетия XII в.*, Византийский временник, 71 (96) (Москва, 2012), 200-211). I do not agree with the later date of the miniatures and believe that both Canon tables and evangelist portraits were created and inserted into the codex soon after it has been written. See also: О.В. Васильева, *Грузинские рукописи в Российской национальной библиотеке*, Санкт-Петербург 2019, 19, 58-67.

gr. 4^o.67)³⁹ (ill. 16, 17), and most of all the best-preserved portrait of Mathew. In the first folio of this manuscript, originally empty, there are calendar notes mentioning years AM 6532-6535, i.e. 1024-1027 AD⁴⁰; it means that by the year 1024 the manuscript should have already been written. Miniatures in the codices in Saint Petersburg and Krakow – figures and faces of the evangelists (of Mathew in both manuscripts, and of Luke in the cod. gr. 220 and John in the cod. ex. Berol. gr. 4^o.67), folds of the clothes, pieces of furniture – everything including designs of the framings is painted so similarly that undoubtedly was made by one and the same artist. Krakow manuscript is bigger (250x180 mm) and has less emphasized vertical format as well as its images. They are slightly bigger than those in the Saint Petersburg codex and have more details (writing implements, designs on furniture, Hand of God blessing each of the evangelists).

Image of Mark in the Krakow manuscript⁴¹ resembles the portrait of the same evangelist in the Tetraevangelion (BAV, Vat. gr. 364), fol. 84, and that of Mathew in the Tetraevangelion (Athens, EBE, cod. 56)⁴², fol. 4v. In the manuscript illumination of the 2nd half of the 10th – early 11th century we can discern two stylistic trends – one closer to classical images based mainly on the tradition of the Macedonian renaissance, and the other, more expressive, which can be observed in the miniatures of the Trapezund Lectionary or in the scenes created by artists Georgios and Simeon of Vlachernae for the Menologion of Basil II (BAV, Vat. gr. 1613)⁴³; the latter would result in the so-called “ascetic” style of the 2nd third of the 11th century⁴⁴. In the late 10th – early 11th century artists adhering to more expressive trend often depicted evangelists and Prochoros whom John dictates his Gospel strongly bent forward, thus breaking the balance and harmony of images characteristic of the miniatures of the Macedonian renaissance⁴⁵ (ill. 18). Images of this type appear already in the 1st half of the

³⁹ Parpulov, *Middle-Byzantine Evangelist Portraits*, 5, cat. entry 39, pls. 15-18.

⁴⁰ De Boor, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Bd. II: Verzeichniss der griechischen Handschriften, Berlin 1897, S. 216, n. 369.

⁴¹ Parpulov, *Middle-Byzantine Evangelist Portraits*, pl. 16.

⁴² Marava-Chatzinikolau, Toufexi-Pashou *Catalogue of the Miniatures*, 1, 16–27, figs. 1–10; О.С. Попова, А.В. Захарова, И.А. Орецкая, *Византийская миниатюра*, с. 30, илл. 18.

⁴³ A. Zakharova, *Gli otto artisti del Menologio di Basilio II*, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, vol. 10 (= Studi e testi, 416), (Città del Vaticano 2003), 379–432.

⁴⁴ On the “ascetic” style see publications by D. Mouriki and O. Popova: D. Mouriki, *Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece During the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 34-35, 77-124; eadem., *The mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*. Athens, Athens 1985; О.С. Попова, *Аскетическое направление в византийском искусстве второй четверти XI в. и его дальнейшая судьба*, *Византийский мир: искусство Константинополя и национальные традиции. К 2000-летию христианства*, под ред. Э.Н. Добрыниной, Л.И. Лифшица, М.А. Орловой и др., Москва 2005, 175-204; eadem., *Византийское искусство второй половины X – первой четверти XI века*, *Появление «аскетического» стиля в 30-х – 40-х гг. и его дальнейшая жизнь*, О.С. Попова, В.Д. Сарабьянов, *Мозаики и фрески Софии Киевской*, Москва 2017, 203-237, etc.

⁴⁵ See, for instance, miniatures in the Tetraevangelion in the Dionysiou monastery on Mount Athos (cod. 588) (S.M. Pelekanidis, P.C. Christou, Ch. Tsoumis, S.N. Kadas, *The*

10th century⁴⁶ but by the end of it the postures of the authors of the Gospel texts bent over their codices become less and less natural and more strained. In the images of the Tetraevangelia in Krakow and Saint Petersburg evidently painted by the same artist mainly following classical models the balance is almost preserved – evangelists sit in more or less correct postures. But if we compare these evangelists' portraits with images of the 1st half and mid-10th century, we note that folds of the clothes are more numerous, and they are treated in a more linear way, and because of that figures look less three-dimensional (their volume is less emphasized) and finer. The lower parts of the bodies became longer – a feature more typical of the painting of c.1000. These hardly noticeable details evidence in favour of some deviation from the classical principles of the 1st half of the 10th century at the next stage of evolution of the Byzantine painting. Apart from the evangelists the pieces of furniture in the miniatures of the Saint Petersburg Tetraevangelion reveal similarity in treatment with 10th-century images but not with those of the late 12th or 13th-century.

Thus, the miniatures of the Tetraevangelion in the National Library of Russia (gr. 220) and of the Praxapostolos in the monastery of St. Catherine, and images in the Krakow manuscript, very close to them in style, were probably created in the 2nd half of the 10th – early 11th century. The facial type and rendering of faces, proportions of figures and their placement in the pictorial space, treatment of furniture and writing implements, as well as the design of the framings remind us most of all of the works of art of that time. We find in them small changes in comparison with the miniatures of the Macedonian renaissance which in whole result in less corporeality and three-dimensionality of images, a striving to make them more abstract and ideal. At the same time these changes are far from being considerable; some images created at the turn of the century look much more expressive.

High quality of the miniatures in the Saint Petersburg, Sinai and Krakow codices and some resemblance with the evangelists' portraits in the Tetraevangelion (BAV, Vat. gr. 364) speak in favour of their execution in an ergasterion in Constantinople. In such an ergasterion and in the same period the miniatures and Canon tables were created for a Georgian manuscript – the Tetraevangelion of Tbeti.

Treasures of Mount Athos, vol. 1, Athens 1973, 446-448, figs. 278-289).

⁴⁶ See, e.g. the portrait of Mathew in the purple Tetraevangelion in the National Library of Russia (gr. 53) (И. А. Орецкая, *О миниатюрах Четвероевангелия (РНБ, гр. 53)*, Актуальные проблемы теории и истории искусства: сб. науч. статей, вып. 14, под ред. А. В. Захаровой, С. В. Мальцевой, Е. Ю. Станюкович-Денисовой, Москва – Санкт-Петербург 2024, илл. 32).

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МИНИЈАТУРЕ ЧЕТВОРОЈЕВАНЂЕЉА (САНКТ ПЕТЕРБУРГ, РУСКА
НАЦИОНАЛНА БИБЛИОТЕКА, ГРЧ. 220)

Четворојеванђеље, које се чува у Руској националној библиотеци (грч. 220), вероватно је написано и украшено орнаменталним заставицама почетком X века у Цариграду. Првобитно у њему није требало да буду слике јеванђелиста, о чему сведочи распоред јеванђелских текстова на страницама које следе након садржаја. Минијатуре у Четворојеванђељу, као и у рукопису Дела апостолских и Посланица апостола из манастира св. Катарине на Синају (cod. 283), с којим су некада чиниле јединствено „издање“ Новог завета, уметнуте су у неко касније време. Ове слике су научници различито датирали, али већина их смешта у крај XII – XIII века.

Ипак, слике у рукопису из Санкт Петербурга показују велику стилску сличност са минијатурама из друге половине X-почетка XI века, нарочито са представама јеванђелиста у Четворојеванђељу (Краков, Јагелонска библиотека, ex. Berol. gr. 4o.67). Очигледно је да је минијатуре оба рукописа израдио исти уметник. Ако ове представе јеванђелиста упоредимо са минијатурама из прве половине X века, може се приметити да су набори на одећи постали бројнији, а фигуре су мање наглашено тродимензионалне, што их чини нешто равнијим. Доњи делови тела су мало издуженији, што је карактеристично за прелаз између векова. Ове суптилне разлике указују на благо одступање од класичне основе слика из прве половине X века у наредној фази развоја византијског сликарства.

У једној од цариградских радионица, у истом раздобљу, настале су и минијатуре убачене у Тбетско јеванђеље (РНБ, збирка царевића Јована, грузијски 212) из 995. године. Код ових јеванђелиста приметне су не само сличности у типологији ликова, већ и у декоративним мотивима који украшавају минијатуре.