The Contribution of "Greek" Rome (7th-mid 9th century) to the Formation of Post-Iconoclastic Iconography

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ART OF THE BYZANTINE WORLD

INDIVIDUALITY
IN ARTISTIC CREATIVITY

A Collection of Essays
in Honour of Olga Popova

ИСКУССТВО ВИЗАНТИЙСКОГО МИРА

ИНДИВИДУАЛЬНОСТЬ В ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННОМ ТВОРЧЕСТВЕ

Сборник статей
в честь Ольги Сигизмундовны Поповой

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В сборник вошли статьи по материалам конференции «Искусство византийского мира. Индивидуальность в художественном творчестве», состоявшейся 7—10 ноября 2018 года и посвященной выдающемуся ученому Ольге Сигизмундовне Поповой (1938—2020). Работы российских и зарубежных специалистов по искусству Византии и соседних стран освещают круг проблем, связанных с понятием индивидуальности: роль художника и заказчика, творчество в рамках традиции, соотношение столичных и региональных тенденций. Издание предназначено для специалистов и широкого круга читателей, интересующихся византийской культурой.

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The collection includes papers from the conference 'Art of the Byzantine World. Individuality in Artistic Creativity', which took place on 7—10 November 2018 and was dedicated to the prominent scholar Olga Popova (1938—2020). Essays by Russian and foreign specialists on the art of Byzantium and its neighbours investigate a range of problems connected with individuality: the roles of artists and donors, creativity and tradition, metropolitan and regional tendencies. This publication is intended for specialists and readers interested in various aspects of Byzantine culture.

На переплете:
Ангел из «Вознесения»
Фреска Святой Софии в Охриде. 1037—1056
Фотография М.Д. Долтмурзиевой

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF 'GREEK' ROME (7ᵗʰ–MID-9ᵗʰ CENTURY) TO THE FORMATION OF POST-ICONOCLASTIC ICONOGRAPHY

Intending to talk about Rome from the 7th until the mid-9th century, I first of all wish to remind you that we are dealing with a centre which at that time really belonged to the Byzantine sphere. This occurred because the city and its surroundings were still officially attached, at least until the mid-8th century, to the Eastern Roman Empire. From 642 to 649 the local bishop — i.e. the pope for the Latin community — was the Greek Theodoros, and from 678 to 752 he was succeeded, almost without interruption, by eleven bishops of Hellenic (or Hellenised) origin.[1] I refer to the thorough study by Jean-Marie Sansterre concerning the importance of the Greek monasteries established in the city during the whole period that I here take into account: to be precise, historical sources mention ten foundations of this

Christ and angels
Vault mosaic in St Zeno chapel in St Praxedes, Rome
Circa 820
Photo by the author

kind; and as to the recruitment having permitted their flourishing, it was first related to the arrival of fugitives from countries invaded by the Persians and Arabs and then to that of iconodule monks during the decades of official iconoclasm.[2] Among these Greek monasteries, I want to draw particular attention to the one attached to St Praxedes church by a decision of Pope Paschal I shortly after 817: in effect, as we shall see soon, the annex chapel of St. Zeno, and partly the church itself, display very significant samples of iconography foreshadowing the great Middle-Byzantine achievements.[3]

Regarding these, which I will discuss in detail now, it seems advisable to begin with the placement of the Saviour's figure above that of Mary, which corresponds to a very fundamental feature of any classical program, focusing the worshipper's attention and underlining, at once, the rational structure of the building itself, as clearly expressed by Patriarch Photios in his famous description of the Virgin of Pharos in the second half of the 9th century.[4] In fact, we come across something of this

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[1] J.-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VIe s.-fin du IXe s.)* (Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres; vol. 64), (Brussels, 1983), p. 30.

[2] J.-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux...,* pp. 49–50. For the "Greek" presence in Rome, generally speaking, see also A. Ballardini, "Fare immagini tra Occidente e Oriente: Claudio di Torino, Pasquale I e Leone V l'Armeno" in A.C. Quintavalle, ed., *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma 21–25 settembre 2004. (*Milan: Electa, 2007), p. 210, n. 16, with complementary bibliography.

[3] J.-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux...,* p. 38.

[4] C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp. 185–186 (and bibliography p. 264).

Ill. 1. Christ, Mary and saints
Mosaic in St Venantius chapel in Lateran, Rome, 640s
Photo by the author

kind as early as the 640s in the chapel of St. Venantius, an annex to the Lateran baptistery erected on the initiative of Pope John IV and adorned with a mosaic by his successor Theodoros (the first Greek pope, mentioned above)[5] (ill. 1). It is true, of course, that both Christ and Mary are here brought together in the space of the sole semi-dome of the apse (the oratory being provided with a single timber roof). Nevertheless, Christ's figure is undoubtedly presented in celestial context, surrounded by clouds and flanked by angels; and below Mary, both arms half stretched in prayer, suggests the transition from the

celestial to the terrestrial world, accosted by apostles, saint martyrs and at least one prophet (John the Baptist). So, this image is a good match for the description by Photios, written two centuries later.

The forerunner of this canonical church decoration is even more strikingly marked in St Zeno chapel beside St Praxedes,[6] also mentioned above. In particular, and in accordance with the vaulting of the whole space, Christ's figure, exalted by angels, now really occupies the apex of the building (ill. 2). Many saints — as well as narrative Christological scenes, i.e. Transfiguration and Anastasis, which later became widely used in church decoration — are displayed below on the walls. Moreover, as noted by Beat Brenk and Marianne Wirenfeldt Asmussen,[7] a main east-west axis is here clearly accentuated. This is because on the eastern wall Mary and John the Baptist are depicted, turned towards each other and with a gesture of prayer (ill. 3): i.e. a genuine Deesis, taking over an iconography first attested in a mural icon probably dating back to the mid-7th century at the entrance of the choir in St Mary Antique[8] (ill. 4). And on the opposite, western wall of St Zeno, the apostles Peter and Paul are shown acclaiming the Empty Throne, alluding to Christ's final return (ill. 5). So, we are dealing with a perfect complementarity involving, first, the supplication addressed to the Lord by entering the chapel and, second, the expectation of the Judgement induced by the Hetimasia; a complementarity which is frequently observed in Middle-Byzantine programmes.

Focusing specifically on Christological scenes, and in a broader perspective than is given by the only two compositions in St Zeno chapel, we must go more than

[5] H. Brandenburg, *Ancient Churches of Rome. From the Fourth to the Seventh Century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 53–54.

[6] G. Mackie, "The Zeno Chapel. A Prayer for Salvation", *Papers of the British School at Rome,* vol. 57, 1989, pp. 172–199; R. Wisskirchen, "Zur Zenokapelle in S. Prassede, Rom", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien,* vol. 25, 1991, pp. 96–108; and A. Ballardini, "Fare immagini…", especially pp. 197–199 (the author considers there to be an initial emergence of the theme in the Eastern Empire properly speaking, with a slightly later diffusion towards Rome; it is possible of course but, to my mind, the 'Greek' Roman context would not preclude a creation in Rome itself).

[7] B. Brenk, "Zum Bildprogramm der Zenokapelle in Rom", *Archivio Español de Arqueologia,* vol. 45–47, 1972–1974, pp. 213–221; M. Wirenfeldt Asmussen, "The Chapel of S. Zeno in Rome. New Aspects of the Iconography", *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici,* vol. 15, 1986, pp. 67–86.

[8] A. Ballardini, "Fare immagini…", especially pp. 199 and 211 n. 35; M. Andaloro, "Dall'angelo bello ai padri della Chiesa della parete palinsesto" in M. Andaloro, G. Bordi and G. Morganti (eds.), *Santa Maria Antiqua tra Roma e Bisanzio. Catalogo della mostra (Roma, Foro romano, 17 marzo — 11 settembre 2016). (*Milan: Electa, 2016), pp. 180–189, especially pp. 183–184 and fig. 4.

Ill. 2. Christ and angels
Vault mosaic in St Zeno chapel
in St Praxedes, Rome. Circa 820
Photo by the author

Ill. 3. Deesis
Mosaic of the Eastern wall in St Zeno chapel St Praxedes,
Rome. Circa 820
Photo by the author, after a design by R. Wisskirchen

Ill. 4. Deesis
Mural icon (fresco) at the entrance of the choir in St Mary
Antique, Rome, mid 7th century
Photo by Maria Lidova

Ill. 5. Hetimasia with apostles
Peter and Paul
Mosaic of the Western wall
in St Zeno chapel St Praxedes, Rome
Circa 820
Photo by the author

Ill. 6. Maria Regina and Chistological scenes
Mosaic of John VII's oratory in Old St Peter's Basilica, Rome. Circa 706
 Photo by the author after Tasselli's design

one century backwards and consider the decoration of the oratory dedicated to the Virgin by Pope John VII in 706. This sanctuary, localised in the eastern end of the northern external aisle of the paleo-christian basilica Vaticana, would be destroyed together with the latter in 1609, but its iconographic program is well known thanks to Grimaldi's description and Tasselli's design.[9] Above the altar placed against the eastern wall (i.e. the reverse of the façade of the basilica), a mosaic panel with a standing figure of Maria regina in its centre presented a sequence of thirteen scenes illustrating Christ's Infancy, Miracles and Passion: i.e. Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Baptism, Healings of the blind and of the woman affected by issue of blood,

also Lazarus' raising, then Entrance into Jerusalem, Last Supper, Crucifixion and Anastasis (ill. 6). As was recently noted by Paola Pogliani,[10] it should be pointed out that the Nativity included the Announcement to the shepherds, a feature of post-iconoclastic Byzantine iconography of this event, attested here for the first time; the same is true for the Anastasis, unobserved in previous realisations. Moreover, it should be said that, regarding the whole sequence, we are facing a true preliminary sketch — and a rather elaborated one, — of the canoni-

Ill. 7. Enamelled reliquary cross with Christological scenes
in Sancta Sanctorum chapel. Lateran, Rome. Circa 820
Photo by the author

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[9] A. Ballardini, "Il perduto oratorio di Giovanni VII nella basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano. Architettura e scultura" in M. Andaloro, G. Bordi, G. Morganti (eds.), *Santa Maria Antiqua tra Roma e Bisanzio (Milan: Electa, 2016)*, pp. 220–233; P. Pogliani, "Il perduto oratorio di Giovanni VII nella basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano. I mosaici", ibid., pp. 240–259.

[10] Pogliani, "Il perduto oratorio...", p. 243.
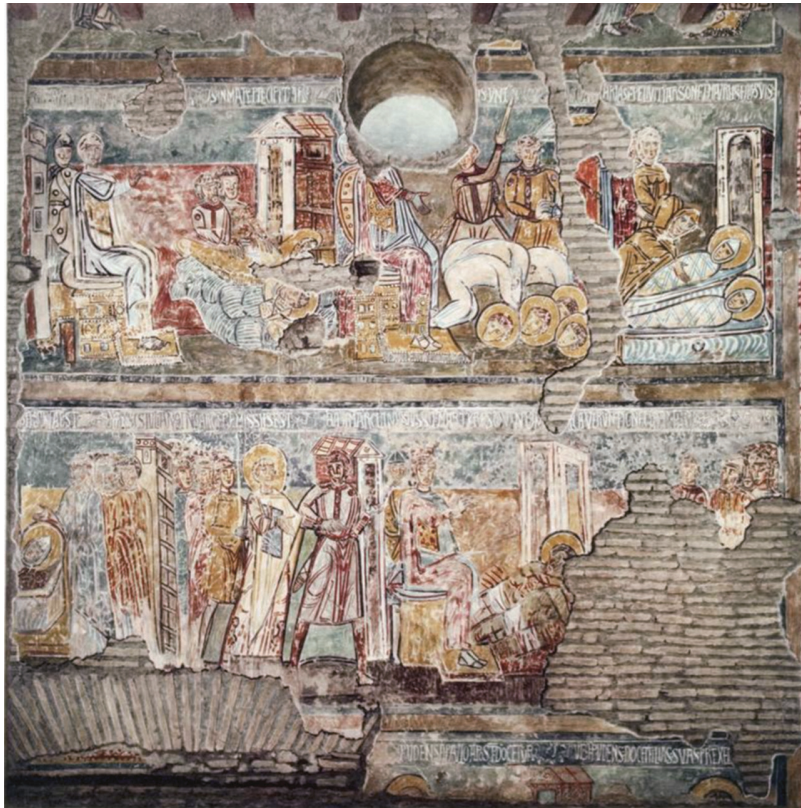
Ill. 8. Hagiographic scenes
Fresco of the transept of St Praxedes basilica, Rome. Circa 820
Photo by the author after Tabarelli's design

cal Twelve Feasts cycle. Their existence in Early Medieval Rome is confirmed by a few scenes in the chapel commissioned by Pope Paschal I around 820. It is an enamelled reliquary cross preserved in the Sancta Sanctorum chapel near the Lateran Cathedral.[11] It is decorated with scenes of Annunciation, Visitation, Journey toward Bethlehem, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple and Baptism (ill. 7). It should be recognised that the Journey toward Bethlehem is not particularly relevant to the later canonical cycle; the events of the Ministry, Passion and Resurrection are completely missing

(probably in relation to the nature of the relic, which was originally enclosed within it). But several variants of the Feast cycle are attested in post-iconoclastic times as well. And it is not before 1059 that in a manuscript now in the Vatican Library the sequence appeared — including in particular Transfiguration, Pentecost and Mary's Dormition — more frequently reproduced later.[12] The Roman monuments here mentioned certainly reflect an evolution leading to formation of the classical system of subdivision of the liturgical year, and to the iconography related to it.

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[11] E. Thunø, *Image and Relic. Mediating the Sacred in Early Medieval Rome* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2002), pp. 25–51.

[12] E. Kitzinger, *Studies in Late Antique, Byzantine and Medieval Western Art* (London, Pindar Press, 2002), especially p. 537 (the Psalter (Vat. gr. 752), fols. 17v – 18v).

Ill. 9. Martyrdom of Sts Cyricus and Julitta
Fresco of Theodotos' chapel in St Mary Antique, Rome. Mid-8th century
Photo by Maria Lidova

Another important aspect of Byzantine post-icono-clastic programs — and more exactly, of those of the period from the beginning of the Palaiologan period onwards — is the development of hagiographic cycles as can be observed, for instance, in Hagios Demetri-os in Mystra,[13] then in Hagios Nicholaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki.[14] Again, significant antecedents are at-tested in Early Medieval Rome. I here particularly men-tion the frescoes with which, around 820, the transept

of St Praxedes, commissioned by Pope Paschal I, was em-bellished after he gathered relics of numerous local mar-tyrs in this church, renewed especially for such a pur-pose. As noted in the recent thorough study by Carles Mancho,[15] we are dealing with several superimposed sequences, where the iconographic scheme is constant-ly repeated: i.e. of the saint standing before a magistrate (or other person of highest rank), then the saint put to death, then his burial. These frescoes are unfortunately

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[13] Γ. Μαρίνου, *Άγιος Δημήτριος. Η Μητρόπολη του Μυστρά* (Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου αρ. 78) (Athens, 2002), especially pp. 88 sq. (in Greek), and 246 (English abstract).

[14] K. Kirchhainer, *Die Bildausstattung der Nikolauskirche in Thessaloniki* (Weimar: VDG, 2001), especially pp. 137–142.

[15] G. Bordi, C. Mancho and V. Valentini, "Painting in Rome in the Time of Paschal I: S. Prassede all'Esquilino and S. Cecilia in Trastevere", *Summa,* vol. 9, 2017, pp. 199–209.

Ill. 11. Paschal I kneeling before the Virgin
Mosaic of the apse in St Mary in Domnica, Rome. Circa 820
Photo by the author

←
Ill. 10. Theodotos kneeling before saints
Fresco of Theodotos' chapel in St Mary Antique, Rome
Mid-8th century
Photo by Maria Lidova

in poor condition and are mainly known from a design by Tabarelli dating back to the beginning of the 20th century (ill. 8). But the same theme also appears in better preserved frescoes created notably earlier: for instance, the depiction of St. Erasmus' judgement and martyrdom in St Mary in Via Lata (now in the National Roman Museum, Cripta Balbi),[16] and the cycle dedicated to Saints Cyricus and Julitta in Theodotos' chapel, an annex of St. Mary Antique[17] (ill. 9), both painted around the mid-8th century. In all these examples the theme is

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[16] F. Betti, "La chiesa di Santa Maria in Via lata. La decorazione pittorica" in M.S. Arena, P. Delogu et al. (eds.), *Roma dall'Antichità al Medioevo. Archeologia e storia. Nel Museo Nazionale Romano Cripta Balbi* (Milan: Electa, 2001), pp. 450–465; and also G. Bordi "Tra pittura e parete: palinsesti, riusi e obliterazioni nella diaconia di Santa Maria in Via Lata tra VI e XI secolo" in A. Molinari, R. Santangeli Valenziani, L. Spera and C. Palombi (eds.), *L'archeologia della produzione a Roma (secoli V — XV)* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 516; Adrias, 11) (Rome/Bari: École française de Rome/ S. Spirito: Edipuglia, 2015), pp. 395–410.

[17] G. Bordi, "La cappella del *primicerius* Teodoto" in M. Andaloro, G. Bordi and G. Morganti (eds.), *Santa Maria Antiqua tra Roma e Bisanzio* (Milan: Electa, 2016), pp. 260–269, especially pp. 261 – 265. For more or less contemporary hagiographic cycles in other Roman churches, see also L. Jessop, "Pictorial Cycles of Non-Biblical Saints: The Seventh- and Eighth-Century Mural Cycles in Rome and Contexts for their Use", *Papers of the British School at Rome,* vol. 67, 1999, pp. 233–280.

Ill. 12. Last Judgment
Fresco of the reverse of the façade in the abbey church in Müstair, Switzerland. Late 8th – early 9th century
Photo by the author

seen in a somewhat ancillary zone: i.e. in a subsidiary space or on lateral walls, as is generally the case in later Byzantine churches.

I also want to draw attention to another feature of Theodotos' chapel. It is the depiction of the eponymous donor, *primicerius* (i.e. one among the dignitaries) of the pontifical court, kneeling before the standing patron saints[18] (ill. 10). Even if the figure does not yet adopt the thorough bending of the *proskynesis,* it nevertheless almost corresponds to the genuine scheme. And practically the same is seen in the image of Paschal I before the Theotokos, created around 820 in another of his renewed churches, St Mary in Domnica[19] (ill. 11). Of course, we are not dealing here with an iconography

[18] G. Bordi, "La cappella del *primicerius* Teodoto…", especially p. 267.

[19] M. Andaloro, "I papi e l'immagine" in A.C. Quintavalle (ed.) *Medioevo: immagini e ideologie. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma 23–27 settembre* 2002 (Milan: Electa, 2005), pp. 525–540, especially p. 537; A. Ballardini, "Fare immagini…", especially pp. 200–201.

frequently favoured in Byzantine post-iconoclastic monumental art. But we should recall, at least, the Emperor's depiction – that of Leo VI, probably created around 900 in the narthex of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople;[20] then the metropolitan's image in Hagios Demetrios in Mystra (later partially cancelled by one of his successors, but anyhow surely attested).[21] This most humble devotional attitude was particularly in use in Byzantium.

I want finally to come to one of the most recurrent themes of the post-iconoclastic programmes: the Last Judgment, the canonical version of which can be first observed in the narthex of the Panagia tôn Chalkeôn in Thessaloniki, which was decorated with frescoes in 1028.[22] But more than one century earlier (at the end of the 8th century, or perhaps shortly after), a similar formula appeared on the reverse of the façade in the abbey church of Müstair, now located in south-east Switzerland[23] (ill. 12). The convent is far from Rome and belonged to the bishopric of Chur, which was part of the Carolingian realm, occupying a highly strategic position in the Alpine region and being situated on the way to Italy.[24] But it cannot reasonably be imagined that such an elaborate iconography was conceived in a provincial place. And if we consider the artistic situation in the main Carolingian centers of those decades, it appears that it was still in an emergent phase, after a long period of decline following Late Antiquity. The artistic renewal of the Frankish realm broadly relied on contacts with Rome. There are good reasons to think of the participation of a Roman painter in the illumination of one of the first – and most important – Carolingian manuscripts (the so-called Godescalc's Evangelistary), in direct connection with Charlemagne's journey to the pontifical city in 781.[25] And apart from stylistic analogies between the miniatures of this manuscript and the paintings in Müstair and in another monastery in its vicinity (the one in Mals),[26] technical observations should be taken into account: on the basis of spectrometric analysis, it has recently been established by Patricia Roger that the same "Egyptian blue" – a rare component at that time – was used in frescoes in Rome, in those in Müstair and in this manuscript.[27]

[20] C. Jolivet-Lévy, "L'image du pouvoir dans l'art byzantine à l'époque de la dynastie macédonienne (867–1056)", *Byzantion,* vol. 57, 1987, pp. 441–470 and figs. 1–3, especially pp. 453–454 (with bibliography).

[21] M. Chatzidakis, *Mistra. La cité médiévale et la forteresse* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1981), especially p. 35. Also, for the chronology, Γ. Μαρίνου, *Ἅγιος Δημήτριος,* pp. 19–33 (in Greek) and 245–246 (English abstract).

[22] Y. Christe, *Jugements derniers* (La Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1999), especially pp. 27 sq. (and pp. 21–25 for the description of some antecedents in Capaddocia, in Kastoria, and in the (possibly realised in Italy during the 9th century) *Sacra Parallela,* now in Paris, BnF, gr. 923; all of them lacking main elements of the canonical version). For the Panaghia tôn Chalkeôn, see also the monograph by *Α.Η. Τσιτουρίδου, Παναγία των Χαλκέων* (Thessaloniki: Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου του Αίμου, 1975). And for the development of the iconography of the Last Judgment, V. Pace (ed.), M. Angheben et al. *Le Jugement dernier entre Orient et Occident* (Paris: Les Éd. du Cerf, 2007), especially pp. 27–37, 53–60 (and note Catherine Jolivet-Lévy for the Cappadocian examples, pp. 47–51) (with review by Christe in Pace, Angheben et al. *Le Jugement dernier entre Orient et Occident...* 2007, *Cahiers archéologiques,* vol. 52, 2005–2008, especially p. 165).

[23] Y. Christe, *Jugements derniers...,* especially pp. 151, 172–173; Pace (ed.), Angheben et al. *Le Jugement dernier...,* especially pp. 28–30 (and note pp. 43–44 by Peter K. Klein); J. Goll, M. Exner, and S. Hirsch, *Müstair. Die mittelalterlichen Wandbilder in der Klosterkirche: Unesco Welterbe* (Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2007), pp. 105–107 (with a noticeably later date – around 840 – not really convincing, to my mind).

[24] Ibid., especially pp. 28–31.

[25] J.-P. Caillet, "La classification des manuscrits carolingiens. Le problème des écoles", *Cahiers archéologiques,* vol. 53, 2009–2010, pp. 33–47, especially pp. 41–43.

[26] E. Rüber, *Sankt Benedikt in Mals* (Bozen: Verlagsanstalt Athesia, 1992), especially p. 35.

[27] P. Roger, "Étude technique sur le décor de manuscrits carolingiens" in J.-P. Caillet and M.-P. Laffitte (eds.), *Manuscrits carolingiens. Actes du colloque de Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 4 mai 2007* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 203–216.

I here also rely on Michael Schmitz's observation about what might have originally existed in St Cecilia in Trastevere,[28] another church renewed by Pope Paschal I around 820. In effect, Marangoni's description before the mid-18th century modifications of the building indicates that the Biblical and hagiographic scenes on the upper part of the walls were placed over portraits of successive popes, from St Peter to Paschal I, the last ones depicted in the spandrels of the arches. So, Schmitz reasonably proposes that towards the end of the 13th century, Pietro Cavallini, responsible for the partially conserved paintings, was the one who mainly restored decoration dating back to Paschal I's time (as he probably also did for the cycles in the nave of St Paul fuori le mura). Consequently, I cannot exclude that the Last Judgment of the reverse of the façade, Pietro Cavallini's achievement again in its present state, might also have been inspired by a scheme of similar nature at this same place, also conceived around 820.

It is probable that in the paleo-christian period several of these themes already started to appear (and sometimes were even noticeably defined). In particular, the placement of the figure of Christ above Mary is clearly attested in the 6th–7th-century Egyptian frescoes in Bawit,[29] or on the pilgrim's *ampullae* from the Holy Land;[30] and we know that Pope Theodoros, commissioner of the mosaic in St Venantius in Lateran, had improved relations with Palestine.[31] It is also possible to recognise partial antecedents of the scenes of the Feast cycle on some pilgrims' *ampullae*.[32] As for the hagiographic cycles, texts from the second half of the 4th century or the first half of the 5th allude to their existence in several churches dedicated to martyrs, and we also have, in Rome itself, the testimony of the apostolic cycles in the naves of St Peter and St Paul, no later than the 5th century.[33] Plus, a remote forerunner of the *proskynesis* attitude can be recognized in the 6th-century painting of the catacombs of Commodilla, depicting the defunct Turtura before the Theotokos;[34] one must note, however, that Turtura is still standing upright, and this main difference establishes Theodotos' image as the very first true step towards the post-iconoclastic scheme. This aside, we are facing true innovations, like the genuine Deesis, the clearest prefiguration of the Twelve Feasts cycle in the mosaics of John VII's oratory,[35] and (probably, as suggested above) a Last Judgment that is generally close to its canonical version. This occurred mainly during the period when, in Constantinople, true creations in imagery seem to have been very rare and iconoclasm prevailed. So, within the broad hiatus that occurred in the heart of the Empire, the Greek popes and monks in Rome (as the *primicerius* Theodotos and Pope Paschal I had close relations with them) played a crucial role in maintaining the heritage of the first Christian centuries. Moreover, they brought about its flourishing and helped it develop towards the great achievements of classical religious imagery in the Byzantine world.

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[28] M. Schmitz, *Pietro Cavallini in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere. Ein Beitrag zur römischen Malerei des Due- und Trecento* (Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana; 33) (Munich: Hirmer, 2013), especially pp. 137, 157–158.

[29] C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie; 4), 2nd revised edition (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), pp. 198–202.

[30] A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza, Bobbio)* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1958), especially pp. 58–59.

[31] J.-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux…*, p. 116.

[32] E. Kitzinger, *Studies…*, pp. 546–547 (but limited, in fact, to seven events – Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion, Women at the Sepulchre, Ascension – on one sample now in Monza and three in Bobbio: see also A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte…*, catalogue nos. 2 and 17–19).

[33] C. Proverbio, *I cicli affrescati paleocristiani di San Pietro in Vaticano e San Paolo fuori le mura. Proposte di lettura* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016) (who does not preclude a late enough – end of the 8th century, 9th century? – date for the apostolic cycle in St Paul; this eventuality, however, would not affect really the considerations that I produce here).

[34] For instance, K. Weitzmann, *The Icon, Holy Images, Sixth to Fourteenth Century* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1978), pp. 14, 35 (no. 5), 48–49.

[35] Not signalled as so, let's note, in the study by E. Kitzinger *Studies…* (see 32).

Название:

Вклад «греческого» Рима (VII — середина IX века)
в формирование постиконоборческой иконографии

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Аннотация

Хорошо известно, что в течение рассматриваемого периода
«греческая» культура получила широкое распространение
в Риме, особенно в папских кругах. По заказам понтификов
были выполнены фресковые и мозаичные ансамбли,
а также элементы литургического устройства церквей
и капелл города. Что касается главных черт византийской
постиконоборческой иконографии, то можно назвать
несколько памятников, в которых они уже присутствуют:
ораторий Св. Венанция в Латеране (образ Христа
над изображением Богоматери в апсиде), церковь Санта
Мария Антиква (последовательность агиографических сцен
и донатор, представленный в положении, близком к позе
проскинесиса в капелле Теодота), Санта Прасседе
(образ Христа в куполе капеллы Св. Зенона
и иерархическое расположение фигур под ним и вокруг
него, прежде всего Деисус), реликварии, изготовленные
по заказу папы Пасхалия I для Sancta Sanctorum
(несколько сцен двунадесятых праздников).
Мы можем учесть также классическую схему изображения
Страшного суда, впервые появляющуюся на западной стене
церкви в аббатстве Мюстер — скорее всего, оно было
выполнено приехавшими из Рима художниками.
Для некоторых рассмотренных здесь сюжетов можно
найти образцы уже в V—VI веках, в основном в восточном
Средиземноморье. Тем не менее можно утверждать,
что в период иконоборчества в Константинополе
и на периферии инициативы папских кругов играли
особенно важную роль в развитии христианской
иконографии.

Ключевые слова: иконография раннего Средневековья,
греческая культура, образ Христа над образом Богоматери,
Деисус, двунадесятые праздники, агиографические циклы,
проскинесис, Страшный суд, Мюстер.

Title:

The Contribution of 'Greek' Rome
(7th — mid-9th century) to the Formation
of Post-Iconoclastic Iconography

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Abstract

It is well known that during the period in question 'Greek'
culture largely prevailed in Rome, especially in the papacy's
circle. Popes' orders initiated most of the significant fresco
or mosaic programmes, as well as elements of liturgical
setting in the churches and main oratories of the city.
Regarding what would become major features in Byzantine
Post-Iconoclastic iconography, several antecedents clearly
appear in St Venantius in Lateran (Christ over Mary
in the apse), St Mary Antique (sequence of hagiographic
scenes, and donor in (almost) proskynesis in Theodotos'
chapel), St Praxedes (Christ at the apex of St Zeno chapel
and the whole hierarchical disposition of the figures beneath
and all around, including in particular a Deesis),
and in the reliquaries commissioned by Paschal I
for the Sancta Sanctorum (several compositions of the Twelve
Feasts cycle). We can take into account the classical scheme
of the Last Judgment, attested for the first time on the reverse
of the front wall in Müstair abbey, very probably the work
of Roman painters. For some of these subjects, it is possible
to find examples as early as in the 5th and 6th centuries,
mainly in Eastern Mediterranean areas. Nevertheless, it seems
that especially during the period of official Iconoclasm
in Constantinople and in its periphery the initiatives
of the pontifical circle played a very important role
in the development of Christian iconography.

Keywords: Rome, Early Medieval iconography,
Greek culture, Christ above Mary, Deesis, Twelve Feasts,
Hagiographic cycles, proskynesis, Last Judgment, Müstair.

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