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THE OLD TESTAMENT MOSAICS OF THE CATHEDRAL OF MONREALE

BY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
(Art History)

at the
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1962

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES

CHAPTER I

The mosaic decoration of the Cathedral of Monreale is regarded as one of the high water marks of Byzantine influence in Western medieval art. The classification of the entire mosaic decoration in this church as Byzantine leads to difficulties in interpretation, as the Old Testament cycle has no counterpart in Byzantine monumental art which has survived.[1] The Byzantine nature of this part of the decoration is thus debatable. The clearest antecedent of the Monreale cycle is the series of Old Testament decorations in the Cappella Palatina at Palermo. The latter, dating from the 1140's or 1150's,[2] has close parallels with those in the Cathedral of Monreale dating from the 1170's or 1180's.[3]

Both cycles begin with the Creation of the World and conclude with a scene of Jacob wrestling with the angel. At the Cappella Palatina, there are forty-one scenes in thirty-two compositions, while at Monreale there are forty-seven scenes in forty-two compositions.[4] The greater space available in the Cathedral of Monreale made it possible to spread out scenes which had been combined in one composition in the Cappella Palatina. The scenes added to the later cycle serve mainly to clarify the narrative.[5]

Since this cycle of Old Testament scenes was copied

in the later church, it must have been regarded as a unit of decoration, although Ernst Kitzinger considers the termination of the cycle with the struggle of Jacob as rather abrupt.[6] While the style of the mosaics is clearly Byzantine, the question remains as to how the figure subjects used for the cycle were selected. The Old Testament series representing episodes from the thirty-two chapters of Genesis is regarded by Otto Demus as purely narrative; they are to be "taken at their face value." The group as a whole is, according to him, connected to the scheme of the rest of the church by "the thread of narrative only."[7]

The description of the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina by Hugo Falcandus, a twelfth century cleric, seems to corroborate the view of Demus for he says they contain the history of the Old and New Testaments.[8] There remains the question of what the meaning of the history of the Old Testament would have been for someone in the twelfth century. The Sacrifice of Isaac or the Flood could hardly have been regarded by someone in the twelfth century in Europe as an interesting occurrence in the history of the Jewish race. The narrative of the Bible was still a narrative, to be sure, but by the twelfth century it was interpreted in terms of Christianity, rather than in terms of Judaism.

By dealing with the interpretation which can be attached to this series of Old Testament scenes in addition to considering the iconographic parallels for the various

compositions, it becomes necessary to re-examine the nature of the contribution of Byzantium to Western medieval art. There is general agreement on the enormous influence of the Byzantine style of portraying the human figure on the development of Western Romanesque and even Gothic art.[9] But the implications of the presentation of a narrative from Genesis in monumental art are complex and relate to the attitude toward the Old Testament which is displayed in them.

Because of the difficulties in establishing iconographic prototypes for each of the Old Testament scenes in the Sicilian churches, it is necessary to investigate the problem in a more general way. This involves a discussion of the traditions of Biblical exegesis, for the interpretations of the Bible by the theologians are related to its use in art.

There was a distinct difference between the attitude of the Byzantine theologians toward the Old Testament and that of the Western Fathers. In broad terms, the Byzantine theologians were primarily interested in the Old Testament as a source of moral examples. They were not interested mainly in finding symbolic prefigurations of the life and death of Christ hidden in its narrative. It was this sort of symbolism which seems to have been the main source of interest in the Old Testament for the Western theologians from St. Ambrose and St. Augustine to Hugo of St. Victor.

The first theological school of Christian thought

developed in Alexandria in the third century. Following the example of Philo Judaeus, the Christians led by Clement and Origen turned to allegory as a means of interpreting the Old Testament. The interpretation of the Old Testament has been called "the most significant problem" of the Early Church,[10] and the allegorical method which led to the re-interpretation of the literal meaning of the Bible in terms of a symbolic content was systematically used by Origen.[11] His commentaries, which included several on the book of Genesis, expounded the mystical sense of the Bible, but, unfortunately, these commentaries have not survived. Fragments of his remarks on Genesis, however, are preserved in the writings of St. Basil and St. Augustine who mention his point of view only to take issue with it. The largest section of Origen's Old Testament exegetical works which have survived is that on the Song of Songs in which he interprets Solomon as a figure of Christ and the Bride as the Christian soul.[12]

Of particular interest to the study of the Old Testament mosaics in the Cathedral of Monreale are the commentaries by the Greek Fathers on the book of Genesis. The Cappadocian fathers, St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Gregory Nazianzus, with the addition of St. John Chrysostom, are the four great figures in Byzantine theology. The chief work of St. Basil on Genesis was a set of homilies on the six days of Creation, delivered as sermons during Lent of the year 370; these were very influential on Greek

thought concerning the Creation. The interpretation of the Creation which he gives is according to the literal sense of the text, and he remarks that he deliberately avoided the introduction of allegory.[13] In the west, Basil's views were used by St. Ambrose in his own discussion of the six days of Creation, and also by Bede and his contemporaries.[14]

Basil's brother, St. Gregory of Nyssa, wrote a treatise on the Creation of Man to complete the treatment of creation by Basil. In this, and in another explanation of the six days of Creation also by Gregory, he carried on the tradition of his brother, priding himself on the fact that he "never distorted the literal sense of the Bible into figurative allegory."[15] In his other exegetical works he followed Origen in his use of allegory, one of his most famous being a discussion of the life of Moses as the ascent of the soul to God.[16] His contemporary and close friend, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, wrote no Biblical commentaries. His literary works were mainly orations, poems, and letters.[17] Among the doctrines of the Creation, ascribed to Gregory by other Greek writers, are those of the prior creation of angels, and an emphasis on the goodness of God being the cause of the Creation as well as a refutation of the Manichaean idea that the first darkness was an evil principle and real in itself. These ideas were scattered through his other writings.[18]

The fourth great figure, St. John Chrysostom, was a

product of the School of Antioch which is identified with the historical method of Biblical criticism and exegesis. Theodore of Mopsuestia, a close friend of St. John Chrysostom, specialized in historical interpretations of the Bible. He was interested in problems of authorship and dating of the various books of the Bible. He criticized the Messianic interpretations of the Old Testament put forward by the Alexandrian exegetes and proposed interpretations of the Psalms in terms of the history of the Jews. Theodore also wrote a treatise on Genesis in which he dealt with the events of Creation, avoiding allegorical interpretations.[19] St. John Chrysostom wrote two series of homilies on Genesis, one preached during Lent in 386, the other in 388. The identification of the time of Creation as being on the vernal equinox by the Greek writers perhaps explains the coincidence of the delivery of sermons on Genesis with Lent.[21] In his homilies, St. John tried to bring out the spiritual significance of the text, and in general, avoided the use of allegory.[22]

The ideas of the four great theologians of the Greek Church were organized and correlated by St. John of Damascus, the last of the creative theologians of the Greek Church, in his work, On the Orthodox Faith. Like them, he displays little interest in allegory, as can be seen in his other great work, the Sacred Parallels, which consists of collections of patristic and scriptural texts illustrating

Christian moral teachings.[23]

In the West, the allegorical method of Alexandria was very influential, while the School of Antioch with its interest in the significance of the text itself, had almost no impact.[24] Another key idea in the Western interpretation of the Bible grew out of St. Augustine's attempts to integrate the Old Testament narrative with a Christian philosophy of history. His division of the history of the world into the Ages of Man gave a structure to the narrative in Biblical and secular history, as well, which was to be accepted in the Middle Ages.[25] St. Augustine and St. Jerome made use of the allegorical method in their biblical treatises. Their ideas were used by Isidore of Seville in his works on the Old Testament which became the standard reference works for succeeding generations of students.[26] The popularity of Isidore's allegorical interpretations can be seen from the frequency of their appearance in the Glossa Ordinaria, a twelfth century compilation of helpful explanations to aid the study of the Bible. This compilation, believed for a long time to have been made at Fulda in the ninth century but now considered to have been made at Laon in the twelfth, was used by Peter Lombard as a source of patristic opinions used in his books of Sentences. His use of the Glosssa Ordinaria perhaps aided in its popularization, as copies of it appeared in Paris in the 1140's. It became the most popular compilation of its kind, and by the end of the

twelfth century was regarded as the standard set of glosses to be used in making a glossed Bible.[27]

The attitude toward the significance of the Old Testament and toward the manner of interpreting it seem to have been quite different in the Latin West from the Greek East. This is reflected in the use of the Old Testament in the art of both areas. The Octateuch, the Byzantine type of Old Testament manuscript containing an illustrated version of the book of Genesis, is known today in several examples dating from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries.[28] These different manuscripts are remarkable in their similarity one to another, and hence their common relation to a pre-iconoclastic prototype.[29] The cycle of pictures in the Octateuchs is very extensive, constituting an almost complete illustration of the Bible text. For example, the Octateuch of Smyrna, dated in the twelfth century by the script of the text, contains one hundred and eleven scenes dealing with the first thirty-two chapters of Genesis. Many of these compositions contain more than one episode enclosed within a frame.[30]

The Octateuch cycle must be used as the index of the Byzantine method of illustrating the book of Genesis, as there is no historical cycle of mosaics or frescoes comparable to that at Monreale which has survived in the Greek East. The most obvious difference between the Octateuch cycle of Genesis illustrations and that at Monreale is that the

Sicilian cycle is selective and has been arranged with care. The Octateuch cycle is pure illustration following the text of the Bible very closely and consequently containing many parts of the Genesis story to which no reference is made at Monreale.

It is commonly assumed there was in existence a Byzantine tradition of Biblical illustration upon which the Sicilian cycles and other twelfth and thirteenth century European monuments are based. Otto Demus is convinced of the Byzantine origin of the Sicilian cycles,[31] and Hugo Buchthal considers the Arsenal Bible an example of Byzantine iconography, although transmitted by a Western intermediary.[32] It is known, however, that the illustrations used with the book of Genesis in French and English Bibles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as well as illustrations included in Psalters referring to events in Genesis, show a definite relationship one to another. Buchtal finds this group of manuscripts to be the direct iconographic prototype of the Arsenal Bible.[33] While the style of the illustrations in the Arsenal Bible and its prototypes show the strong influence of Byzantium, it seems not only possible but likely that the cycle was not copied but rather adapted from Byzantine sources. The absence of an exact prototype for this Biblical cycle in Byzantine art would seem to strengthen this hypothesis. The cycles in the Octateuchs, although bearing resemblances to certain scenes in the Western group

of Bibles, do not form a prototype for the particular selection in the European Bibles. In contrast to the extensive cycle of illustrations in the Octateuchs, the Eastern Bibles have a limited number of subjects represented, and the same subjects tend to appear in different types of manuscripts such as Bibles and Psalters.

In his efforts to link the Sicilian cycles with the art of Byzantium, Otto Demus has overlooked the most obvious explanation for the highly selective series of scenes from the Old Testament used at Palermo and Monreale. A synopsis of the history of Genesis, consisting of the tracing of the generations of the Elect within the history of the Jews, is presented in the nave mosaics at Monreale. Figure subjects show the precursors and ancestors of Christ in the flesh. The acts of their lives were felt by the authors of the iconographic program to pre-figure the life of Christ, and also to pre-figure the Sacraments of the Church such as Baptism and the Eucharist.

The use of selected scenes from the Old Testament to illustrate aspects of the Life of Christ is an old one. In early Christian churches, the scenes from the two testaments were often placed on opposite sides of the nave, and this early Christian practice was revived in Italy in the twelfth century in various Benedictine monastic churches. The church of St. Pietro near Ferentillo contains such a scheme.[34] The series at Monreale is more of a narrative than most of the

other Old Testament cycles simply because it includes a greater number of scenes from the lives of the Old Testament figures which were felt to have special symbolic importance.

The conception of Christian history, portrayed in the mosaics, is one which is found in the works of St. Augustine. He elaborated the manner in which the small group of the elect have a continuity from the beginning of the world. These people constitute the ancestors of Christ in the flesh. St. Augustine used the Bible narrative to demonstrate the coexistence of the City of God with the City of Man.

His skeleton of the history of mankind in terms of these two groups of people was the basic order assumed by later western students of the Old Testament. Isidore of Seville did not challenge this basic framework, but rather made it more complex, finding an increased number of symbolic implications in the acts of the Patriarchs. The Old Testament became a Christian document and the oppositions of Christians and Jews was traced to the origin of the world. Manifestations of the conflict between Ecclesia and Synagogue were found in the Old Testament narrative. Thus, the parallels between the selection of scenes at Monreale and those emphasized in western Biblical exegesis demonstrate clearly enough its place within the development of western medieval art.

While the organization of the scheme as a whole

relates to Western Biblical exegesis, the iconographic prototype for each individual scene is more difficult to establish. The scenes have parallels in other Italian medieval monuments, but also in the Octateuch cycle. By discussing the scenes of the Old Testament at Monreale in terms of their link with Western medieval exegesis and Italian medieval art, and also by comparing them with the parallel scenes from the Octateuch of Smyrna, the nature of the synthesis of Byzantine style and Western content will be clarified. This synthesis had been in progress in Italy for some time, since the eleventh century examples, the frescoes of St. Angelo in Formis and the Paliotto of Salerno, bear strong similarities to the Sicilian cycles. The visual impact of the Byzantine style of the Sicilian mosaics has obscured the basically Western concept inherent in the organization of the scenes.

Footnotes (Chapter I)

[1]Otto Demus, The Mosaics of Norman Sicily (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949), pp. 252-53.

[2]Ibid., pp. 26-7.

[3]Ibid., p. 246, and Ernst Kitzinger, The Mosaics of Monreale (Palermo, S. F. Flaccovio, 1960), p. 24.

[4]Demus, op. cit., p. 246.

[5]Kitzinger, op. cit., pp. 50-1.

[6]Ibid., p. 50.

[7]Demus, op. cit., p. 245.

[8]Romualdi Salernitani, "Chronicon," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, ed. by Antonio Lodovico Muratori (Citta di Castello, Tipi dell' editore S. Lapi, 1900--), 1st Series, Vol. VII, p. 232.

[9]Wilhelm Koehler, "Byzantine Art in the West," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Vol. I (1941), pp. 61-87.

[10]Johannes Quasten, Patrology, Vol. II, The Ante-Nicene Fathers after Irenaeus (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1953), p. 3.

[11]Ibid., p. 45.

[12]Ibid., pp. 48-51.

[13]Quasten, op. cit., Vol. III, The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature (1955), pp. 216-17.

[14]Frank E. Robbins, The Hexaemeral Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1912), p. 42; and Quasten, Patrology, Vol. III, p. 217.

[15]Quasten, Patrology, Vol. III, pp. 263-64.

[16]Ibid., p. 265.

[17]Ibid., p. 239.

[18]Robbins, op. cit., p. 53.

[19]Quasten, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 401-05.

[20]Ibid., p. 434.

[21]St. John of Damascus, "The Orthodox Faith," Writings, trans. by Frederic Chase (New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1958), Bk. II, Ch. 7, p. 217.

[22]Quasten, Patrology, Vol. III, p. 433.

[23]St. John of Damascus, op. cit., pp. xxi-ii.

[24]Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, 2nd edition (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952), p. 14.

[25]Ibid., pp. 23-4.

[26]Emile Mâle, The Gothic Image, trans. Dora Nussey (New York: Harper & Bros., 1958), pp. 136-38.

[27]Smalley, op. cit., pp. 40-43.

[28]Kurt Weitzmann, "Observations on the Cotton Genesis Fragments," Late Classical and Early Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), pp. 130-31.

[29]Jean Ebersolt, La Miniature Byzantine (Paris et Bruxelles: G. Van Oest, 1926), p. 31.

[30]D. C. Hessling, Miniatures de L'Octateuque Grèc de Smyrne (Leyden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1909), introduction, passim.

[31]Demus, op. cit., p. 253.

[32]Hugo Buchtal, Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 56.

[33]Ibid., pp. 54-56.

[34]Edgar Anthony, Romanesque Frescoes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 77-78.

CHAPTER II

The connection of the Monreale Mosaics with the trends of Italian medieval art was assumed by such scholars as Tikkanen and Grabar, who felt that the mosaics of St. Marks, of the Sicilian churches, and of the Florentine Baptistery, as well as the frescoes of Ferentillo, and the ivory carvings from Salermo and Berlin derived from earlier Italian sources.[1] Demus, on the other hand, has rejected the classification of many of these monuments as Italian and has attached them to the traditions of Byzantium. He also feels that the Old Testament cycles at the Palatine Chapel and the Cathedral of Monreale are independent of Italian traditions.[2] According to him, the Sicilian mosaics, the frescoes of Sant' Angelo in Formis and the Salerno ivory carvings belong to a Byzantine tradition related to Monte Cassino,[3] his fundamental assumption being that the art of Monte Cassino is completely Byzantine in nature. The Berlin ivories are classified as Byzantine but not related to other monuments.[4] (See Plate I) Kitzinger, who considers the Berlin ivories to be Italian, regards this classification by Demus as erroneous.[5] The Perugia Bible is cited by Demus as being one of three Italian monuments which is close to the Sicilian mosaics and different from the Italian tradition.[6]

(See Plate IIA) This Bible is classified by Garrison as being of Roman origin and dated by him to the second quarter of the twelfth century, making it contemporary with the Cappella Palatina.[7]

Since the investigations of Edward Garrison have helped to clarify the chronology of the development of the Roman school of illumination, a more successful examination of the relation of the traditions of Rome and Monte Cassino is now possible. A revival in the arts seems to have begun in both places during the eleventh century. The earliest Bible of the Roman group is dated in the eighties or nineties of the eleventh century,[8] thus making it contemporary with the rule of Desiderius at Monte Cassino.[9] Although the church which he constructed at Monte Cassino does not survive, the frescoes in the neighboring church of Sant' Angelo in Formis, dated in the seventies or eighties of the eleventh century, are in fair condition.[10] (See Plate IIIA)

The relation of the Roman tradition with that of southern Italy is seen most clearly in the depiction of the Creation. The earliest Roman Bible, although illustrated in a crude manner, contains a depiction of the Creator seated on a globe which is characteristic of later Roman examples in manuscripts and frescoes. The style of this Bible is so crude that Garrison is of the opinion that it must be reflecting a tradition rather than creating a new composition. The strength of this tradition can be seen in the remarkable

similarities in the depiction of the Creator in the many Bibles and frescoes of the Roman School.[11] A good example of this tradition is the Creator in the Perugia Bible (Bibl. Comm. Cd. Lat. 59). (See Plate IIA)

The depiction of the Creator in the Berlin ivories as beardless and seated on a globe relates this group of carvings to the Roman tradition. (See Plate I) The youthful Creator has a cruciform nimbus, a detail often found in the Roman Bibles. It is the presence and the appearance of the Creator which clearly links these ivory carvings to the Italian and not to the Byzantine tradition.

The type of Creator in the mosaics of Monreale also shows a kinship with the Roman group since he is portrayed seated on a globe. (See Plate IIIB) Because of this, Garrison concludes that Monreale must be connected in some manner with the traditions of Rome, and he suggests Monte Cassino as the possible intermediary between Sicily and Rome.[12]

In the Abbey Church of Sant' Angelo in Formis, constructed during the rule of the Abbot Desiderius, part of the decoration was devoted to the Creation of the world. There seem to have been eleven compositions preceding the Expulsion from Paradise. This makes the space devoted to it comparable to that at the Cappella Palatina where there are also eleven; Monreale has fifteen episodes illustrating the same subjects.[13] The iconography of the Sant' Angelo Creation frescoes is not known as they are almost totally

destroyed. However, some of the frescoes dealing with the New Testament are in rather good condition, including one of the story of Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery. This particular episode was rarely included in Byzantine cycles of the life of Christ,[14] and the composition at Sant' Angelo is considered by Demus to be an invention of the artists working on the church rather than an adaptation of a Byzantine model.[15] In this composition (See Plate IIIA), Christ is shown seated on a globe with his left hand resting on his kmee and his right raised gesturing toward the woman. This figure of Christ shows a strong resemblance to the figure of the Creator in both the Perugia Bible and the Monreale mosaics. (See Plate IIIB) It is strongly suggested, therefore, that the Creator depicted in the Sant' Angelo frescoes would have been very similar to the one appearing in the Sicilian mosaic.

The Sicilian version differs from the Roman tradition by showing the Creator as bearded rather than beardless. This is in conformity with the prevailing custom in southern Italy, where the more Byzantine type of Christ had been popular since the early eleventh century. The bearded Christ appears in manuscripts dated to the rule of Theobald at Monte Cassino (1022-1036). An historiated initial in a Sacra Lectioni of mid-eleventh century shows a Byzantine Deesis with St. Benedict replacing St. John, enclosed in a letter formed of panels of northern interlace.[16] The

assimilation of Byzantine compositions and style by the Italian tradition was already in progress in the eleventh century. An example of such an adaptation is the manner in which the Trinity is portrayed in a copy of De Universo of Rabanus Maurus made at Monte Cassino and dated to 1023. (See Plate IVA) The center figure in the attitude of the Byzantine pantocrator is Christ, while the standing figure on the left is God the Father; both have dark beards and cruciform halos.[17] The figure of God the Father on the left resembles the type of Creator used in the Salerno ivories and in the Cappella Palatina.[18] (See Plate VII)

The effort of Demus to prove that the Creator as shown in the Sicilian mosaics is part of the Byzantine tradition raises questions of a complex nature. As an example of the Byzantine seated Creator, he uses the Berlin ivories, while as examples of the Byzantine standing Creator, he cites the Cotton Genesis and the Smyrna Octateuch.[19] The Cotton Genesis is not very conclusive evidence for a Byzantine depiction of the Creation as it is dated in the fourth century, and all known examples of works in its "recension" are found in the West.[20]

In the Smyrna Octateuch, there is a frontispiece of a white-haired figure with a white beard holding a model of the Universe. (See Plate IVB) A similar figure seated on a throne surrounded by the angels and the heavenly host is found in the opening of the Laurenziana Octateuch.[21] But,

for the actual scenes of the Creation in the Smyrna Octateuch, the actions of God are represented by rays of light descending from a hand in the sky. (See Plates VIA, VIIIA, IXA)

Furthermore, in contrast to the cycles at Monreale and the Cappella Palatina, the figure of God does not appear in the Smyrna Octateuch in the theophanies to the Patriarchs. It seems likely that the reluctance to portray the God of the Old Testament in art is related to the quarrel of the Iconoclasts and the Iconodules in Byzantium. The argument advanced by the Iconoclast party against the portrayal of Christ was that His was a double nature, both human and divine and by portraying the human Christ his divinity was ignored.[22] One of the strong defenders of the use of images of Christ and the Virgin Mary was St. John of Damascus. His answer to the Iconoclasts was that images of Christ and of the Madonna and Child commemorate the Incarnation and do not make reference to his divine nature. Of the problem of representing God he says:

> Who can make a copy of the invisible, incorporeal, uncircumscribed, and unportrayable God: It is, then, highly insane and impious to give a form to the Godhead. For this reason, it was not the practice in the Old Testament to use images. However, through the bowels of his mercy, God for our salvation was made man in truth, not in the appearance of man, as He was seen by Abraham or the Prophets, but really made man in substance. Then he abode on earth, conversed with men, worked miracles, suffered, was crucified, rose again, and was taken up; and all these things really happened and were seen by men and, indeed, written down to remind and instruct us . . . . Since, however, not all know letters nor do all have leisure to read, the Fathers deemed it fit that these events

should be depicted as a sort of memorial and terse reminder.[23]

The issue, as St. John defined it, was the portrayal of the Incarnate Christ, the Old Testament God being considered impossible to represent in art.

In his recent book on Iconoclasm, André Grabar presents evidence which substantiates the point of view of John of Damascus. Grabar remarks that the issue in the Iconoclastic controversy was over the portrayal of the Incarnate Logos, other representations of God, such as those prior to the Incarnation, being considered as impossible. To show the audacity of the Iconodules after their victory over the Imperial party, he cites an illustration from a ninth century manuscript of the Sacra Parallela of St. John of Damascus. In this marginal illustration, a man stands looking up at two figures in a mandorla, one of whom is a white-haired, white-bearded figure seated on a throne, while the other is Christ with a dark beard and a cruciform nimbus. The white-haired figure is identified as the Ancient of Days, the manner in which God appeared to the Prophet Daniel. The meaning of this scene for Grabar is that by means of the contemplation of the Logos, or the Incarnate Christ, even the ordinary Christian is able to attain the level of knowledge of God accorded only occasionally to the Patriarchs of the Old Testament. According to Grabar, this presentation of Christ with God the Father was a symbol of the aims of

the Orthodox faction, namely, "the communion with God through the contemplation of the image of Christ."[24]

The figure of the Ancient of Days appearing in the Sacra Parallela is very similar to the figure in the frontispiece of the Smyrna Octateuch. (See Plate IVB) Since the Octateuch is dated in the twelfth century, three hundred years after the cessation of the Iconoclastic controversy, the failure to add this representation of God to the various Old Testament scenes must indicate a lingering reluctance to portray the Godhead.

By way of contrast, the portrayal of God in physical form in the scenes of the Creation is the dominant tradition in the West. The Ashburnham Pentateuch, the Carolingian Bibles, the Anglo-Saxon MSS of Caedmon's poems all show the Creator in physical form. The creation cycle in the Ashburnham Pentateuch, dating from the sixth century, bears an interesting kinship to later examples. In the page dealing with the Creation of the World, God appears four times. This figure, with a full dark beard, a halo and flowing garments stands beside the representations of the Days of Creation and gestures toward them. The scenes depicted are the Creation of Heaven and Earth, with the Spirit of God brooding over the waters, followed by the Separation of Light and Darkness, the Creation of the Firmament, and the Appearance of Dry Land caused by the gathering of the waters.[25] This page is the only one

illustrating the Creation now in the manuscript. Missing are the creation of the fish, fowls, animals, and man. The next surviving illustration deals with the story of Adam and Eve after their expulsion, and with the lives of Cain and Abel.[20] Since the manuscript is in a most mutilated condition, and none of the original quires have survived intact,[27] it is possible that a page once existed which would have filled this gap.

The type of Creator in the Ashburnham Pentateuch reappears in Italy in the eleventh century. In the set of ivory carvings from Salerno, the Creator is bearded, standing and has a cruciform nimbus. (See Plate VB) This set of carvings is considered as part of the tradition of Monte Cassino, and the standing bearded Creator also appears in one of the illustrations from the previously cited De Universo manuscript from that monastery. (See Plate VA) The Creator, a bearded figure with a cruciform nimbus, stands over the lifeless body of Adam. He is in the act of shaping it with his hands. These two figures are carefully placed against concentric rings representing the heavens. Around the heavens are twelve angels, grouped in pairs, the ones near the top being shown most completely while the lower ones have only the heads visible. The arrangement of the scene suggests a derivation from monumental art, being perhaps arranged for the perspective decoration of a curved surface such as the half dome of an apse. Although by its style of

drawing and coloring the manuscript is clearly south Italian,[28] Fritz Saxl considered that the prototypes of the many miniatures should be traced to Fulda. The profusion of genre scenes in the manuscript were related by him to Carolingian compositions available at Fulda. Saxl was not certain of the origin of the compositions in the manuscript deriving from Biblical illustrations; he states that these were much more likely to have been changed and "modernized" when the manuscript was copied at Monte Cassino,[29] and the prevalence of the heavily bearded "Byzantine" type of Christ in the manuscript would seem to support this hypothesis. There is a further difference between the genre subjects and the Biblical compositions in their mode of organization. The figures of men tilling the ground, and pruning the vines are scattered over the page in a casual manner,[30] while several of the Biblical compositions are very carefully organized, an indication of two different sources for the compositions.

The standing Creator used in the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina would seem to be related to an Italian tradition manifested in the Salerno ivories. This image of the Creator also appears in the twelfth century reliefs on the facade of the Cathedral of Modena, and in the carvings on St. Zeno in Verona also dated in the twelfth century.[31] Both types of Creators, the seated version used at Monreale and the standing version used at Palermo, apparently follow Italian traditions. The Byzantine tradition for the

portrayal of the Creator has a different development, and is related to controversies about the portrayal of the God-Head which had no importance for the Sicilian monuments.

The Italian tradition also contains examples which are similar to the Monreale mosaics in the depiction of the separate days of Creation. Although the Roman Bibles commonly contain only three scenes dealing with the Creation: the Creation of the Universe, followed by the Creation of Adam and the Creation of Eve, there is a more extensive cycle in the Perugia Bible, as well as in the Berlin and Salerno ivories. These examples, along with the former cycle in Sant' Angelo in Formis, demonstrate that the depiction of the days of creation one by one was not an innovation introduced by the Sicilian churches. The larger version of the Creation story used in the mosaics also has counterparts in Italian art. (See Plate VIB) The initial scene in the Monreale mosaics can be related to the common illustration appearing in Italian Bibles. The Roman Bibles usually have a youthful Creator in a mandorla with his right hand raised and a scroll in his left. The Creator in the first section of the Berlin ivory is a good example of this general type. (See Plate I) Like the Roman Bibles, it contains a Dove below the Creator, flanked in this case by two spheres marked "Lux" and "Ten," but in the Bibles usually placed between personifications of Night and Day in mandorlas. In addition to these features, the opening illustration of a Roman Bible often has the four

rivers of Paradise in the lower area of the scene.[32] The Sicilian mosaics share with the Italian Biblical tradition the representation of a bust of the Creator in a mandorla, and the showing of a Dove descending upon the waters which is labeled as the Spirit of God in the Palatina version. (See Plate IIB) This depiction of God in a mandorla has no parallels in Byzantine illustrations of the Creation.[33] The mosaic at Monreale has a head in the waters, and Garrison notes that a similar head appears in the Creation frescoes in the Cathedral of Anagni. He considers this personification to be "Oceanus," and believes that it is a possible sign of Byzantine influence as the Seraglio Octateuch contains a personification of Oceanus, although the latter figure is different in appearance from the Italian examples mentioned previously.[34] It is possible, however, that this personification of the waters is part of a tradition of vague but early origin and wide-spread usage since a head appears in the opening section of the Berlin ivory which is similarly placed to the one at Monreale. (See Plate I) This head is labeled "A", meaning perhaps that it is a personification of the "deep" or "Abyssus" mentioned in Genesis. This head resembles the crude type of personification appearing in the Monte Cassino Rabenus Maurus <u>De Universo</u> as "Mare."[35] A similar personification also appears in the Creation page of the Noailles Bibles, a Spanish MS of the ninth century, where it is labeled "Abyssus,"[36] and in the waters in the

Majesty page of the Bamberg Apocalypse of the eleventh century.[37] Thus the use of a personification of the Waters of the Deep in the first mosaic of the Cathedral of Monreale is not necessarily due to Byzantine influence as it resembles a simpler type of personification used frequently in medieval art.

The second composition in Monreale's Creation series shows the Creator seated on a globe with a group of angels before him. A similar scene is shown in the Berlin ivories, and also in the Salerno carvings. (See Plate VB) A later Italian example of this motif is to be found in the frescoes of S. Maria ad Cryptas near Bominaco where in the second of the series of Creation frescoes, a youthful beardless Creator, labeled IHS, is seated on a Byzantine throne flanked by two groups of angels. These frescoes are dated by Bertaux in the thirteenth century.[38] The inscription on the Mosaics at Monreale links the appearance of the angels with the Creation of Light, and the denomination of light, Day. (See Plate VIB) An interesting parallel to the iconography at Monreale is to be found in a German Bible dating from the twelfth century (British Mus. Harley 2803). The Genesis initial contains two medallions, the upper one with a bearded Creator with a cruciform nimbus, holding an open scroll which reads "Fiat Lux" and accompanied by two angels. The lower medallion shows the creation of Eve out of the side of the sleeping Adam.[39] Another parallel

example can be found in the Genesis initial of the Lambeth Bible, dated 1140-1160. This initial contains eight medallions, the first with a bust of the Creator who seems to be bearded and the second with a group of angels. These two scenes are followed by medallions representing the subsequent days of Creation and the concluding roundel contains the Creator resting on the seventh day.[40]

The Byzantine rendition of the Creation of Light shows a continuity with a Hellenistic use of personifications. The separation of Night and Day in the Smyrna Octateuch (See Plate VIA) presents Night as a woman with a veil over her head, and Day as a young boy with a torch. Both personifications resemble those used with the Prophet Isaiah in the famous Paris Psalter (MS Grec 510).

The explanation for the linking of angels and light is to be found in the writings of the Early Christian exegetes who were combating Manichaean doctrines, and who were also seeking to combine philosophical notions with the primitive account of the creation of the world given in Genesis. The urgency of the identification of angels with light was to rule out the possibility of angels being equated with darkness, or to give any opening for a dualistic interpretation of the opening verses of Genesis. It would seem that the Manichaeans insisted that the "darkness" on the waters was an active principle of evil which thus preceded light in the order of Creation. In order to defeat

this argument, the Christians insisted that light preceded the creation of the world, and that the darkness mentioned was caused by a temporary absence of light thus proving darkness to have no independent reality.[41] The platonic heritage of Christian theologians found expression in the notion that a creation of immaterial essences preceded the creation as related in Genesis, and angelic beings were an important part of this spiritual universe. Origen is identified with this theory of the creation of the angels.[42] St. Basil accepts Origen's idea about the pre-existence of angels and places it in a time when invisible beings existed in spiritual light.[43] In another sermon, he refers to this era preceding the material creation as a time when the angels lived in "light and spiritual joy."[44]

The popularity of this explanation of the creation of the angels in the Greek world can be seen in the comments of St John of Damascus, in which he quotes St. Gregory Nazianzus:

> Now some say that the angels were made before all creation, as Gregory the Theologian says: "First He conceived the angelic and heavenly powers, and His conception was an accomplished work." But there are others who say that they were made after the creation of the first heaven. However, they all agree that it was before the formation of man. For my part, I agree with the Theologian because it was fitting for the spiritual substance to be created first and then the sensible and finally man himself from both.[45]

The Byzantine theory of the Creation of the Angels, then, was that they were created before the material world and

were identified with the spiritual light which antedated the Creation.

The Western fathers had a less abstract theory about the Creation of the Angels. The tone of the Western interpretation was set by St. Augustine. Although he reflected the trends of neo-Platonic speculation in his work, De Genesis ad Litteram, his approach was slightly different from that of the Greek theologians. He was primarily interested in placing the Creation of the Angels within the narrative in the text of the Bible. Taking evidence from other places in the Bible where reference is made to God's having created the angels, he applied it to the text of Genesis, and reached the following conclusion in the City of God:

> "When the stars were made, the angels praised me with a loud voice." The angels therefore existed before the stars and the stars were made on the fourth day. Shall we then say that they were made the third day? Far from it for we know what was made that day. The earth was separated from water, and each element took its own distinct form, and the earth produced all that grows on it. On the second day, then? Not even on this: for on it the firmament was made between the waters above and beneath, and was called "Heaven," in which firmament the stars were made on the fourth day. There is no question then, that if the angels are included in the works of God during these six days, they are that light which was called "Day," and whose unity Scripture signalizes by calling that day not the"first day," but "one day" . . . . For when God said, "Let there be light, and there was light, the creation of the angels, then certainly they were partakers of the eternal light which is the unchangeable Wisdom of God, by which all things were made, and whom we call the only-begotten Son of God.[46]

Although in the writings of St. Augustine, the equation of

light and angels must be considered as part of a wider tradition of Neo-Platonic and anti-Manichaean speculation, many of these overtones disappeared in the teachings of his successors in the Latin West. Thus, in a twelfth century guide to Biblical study for laymen, the problem is presented in this manner.

Student: When were the angels made?

Teacher: When it says "Let there be light."[47]

St. Augustine's explanation of the Creation of the Angels as taking place on the second half of the first day of creation was adopted by the Latin West as Basil's theory of the prior creation of the angels was by the Greek East.[48] Augustine's contribution was to find evidence of this creation within the text of Genesis, and it is the Augustinian tradition of the angelic creation which is given in the mosaics at Monreale and in the other European monuments mentioned previously. The Byzantine notion of the Creation of the Angels, especially in the elaborated version of the Pseudo-Denis, can also be related to various monuments such as the Baptistery at Florence, but this is not the tradition exemplified at Monreale, which must be related to Western Biblical traditions. The Octateuch tradition of Biblical illustration, as exemplified by the Smyrna Octateuch, must be related to the continuity of some very early Hellenistic type of personification in the Greek world.

Evidence for the connections between the Italian

versions of the Creation and the Sicilian ones is found in the similarity of the depiction of the division of the firmament in the Perugia Bible (See Plate IIA) and the Palatine Chapel (See Plate IIB). The schematic representation in the Bible is simpler than that in the mosaic, but the resemblance is strong. This Bible and the Sicilian Chapel both date from the second quarter of the twelfth century.

The representation at Monreale of the work of the third day, the gathering of the waters, and appearance of dry land (See Plate IIIB) is similar to the rendition of the labor in the Berlin ivory, where the third scene in the series occurs, and to the one in Salerno ivory (See Plate VIIA), except that in the ivory carvings the Creator is accompanied by two angels.

The gesture of the Creator at Monreale in placing the luminous bodies in the skies, the work of the fourth day (See Plate VIIIB), is similar to the gesture of the Creator in the Berlin ivory, except that the latter is using both hands, a gesture found in certain other European Bibles, as for example in the Genesis initial of the late twelfth century Pontigny Bible.

Similarly, the arrangement om the fifth day of creation--the creation of the fish and fowl--in the Salerno ivory carvings is close to that at Monreale. (See Plate VIIB) The parallel scene from the Smyrna Octateuch points up the divergence between the Eastern and Western traditions since

the Creator is lacking, and the newly created birds are placed in a lush setting of trees. (See Plate VIIIA)

The creation of Adam is paired with the creation of the animals in the Sicilian mosaics (See Plate IXB). The scene is the inspiration of Adam, rather than the shaping of Adam sometimes shown in Biblical cycles. The Berlin ivory contains an arrangement very similar to that at Monreale. The Smyrna Octateuch contains two scenes of the Creation of Adam which are nearly identical. In the first, Adam is stretched flat on the ground, and in the second he is shown in a slightly raised position with his arm across his chest. The two scenes are taken by Hessling to represent respectively, the formation of the body and soul of Adam. The first scene, the formation of the body of Adam, is included here for purposes of comparison as it is in a superior state of presefvation to the second one. (See Plate IXA) The action of the Creator is represented by rays of light descending from the heavens as in the other illustrations of the Creation in this manuscript.

The Creator at rest on the seventh day is the next subject represented at Monreale. (See Plate IXB) Demus emphasizes the resemblance of the Creator to the Byzantine type of Pantocrator,[49] but this does not explain the significance of the motif in the Sicilian cycles. This representation of the Creator resting on the seventh day does not occur in the Smyrna Octateuch illustrations nor does Demus

give examples of its inclusion in other Byzantine Biblical illustrations. A depiction of the Creator resting on the seventh day is found in the Genesis initial of the Lambeth Bible, and in the Genesis illustrations of the English Psalter in Munich.[49]

The meaning of this composition derives from a tradition of interpreting the days of Creation which was begun by St. Augustine. He connected the six days of Creation with the six ages of man on earth, and the rest of the Creator on the seventh day with the rest of the saints and the blessed in Paradise.[51] The allegorical interpretation of the days of Creation is not mentioned by St. John of Damascus in his discussion of the rest of the Creator. He merely links the celebration of the Sabbath by the Hebrews with the day of rest of the Creator.[52]

In his treatise defending the beliefs of the Christians against the attack of the Manichaeans, St. Augustine summarizes his interpretation of the connection between the ages of man and the days of creation:

> In the creation God finished His works in six days, and rested on the seventh. The history of the world contains six periods marked by the dealings of God with men. The first period is from Adam to Noah; the second, from Noah to Abraham; the third from Abraham to David; the fourth from the captivity to the advent of lowliness in our Lord Jesus Christ; the sixth is now in progress, and will end in the coming of the exalted Saviour to judgment. What answers to the seventh day is the rest of the saints,--not in this life, but in another, where the rich man saw Lazarus at rest while he was tormented in hell; where there is no evening because there is no decay.[53]

The Interpretation of St. Augustine serves to increase the significance accorded to the rest of the Creation as recorded in Genesis. The schematic view of the history of the world, symbolized by the seven days of Creation, was popular in the twelfth century. Diagrams linking the days of the Creation and the Ages of man appear in the Liber Floridus of Lambert of St. Omer, and the Hortus Deliciarum of Herrade of Landsberg also contains reference to this symbolism.[54]

Thus, the inclusion of the days of Creation one by one and the concluding of the series with the image of the resting Creator appear in the Monreale mosaics as an important part of the scheme of the history of the world. Furthermore, the divisions proposed by St. Augustine and linked by him to the days of Creation, are also used in the arrangement of the rest of the mosaics of the Old Testament. The image of the resting Creator as signifying the rest of the saints in Heaven also has a relation to the organization of the decoration of the church which contains one hundred and sixty-two mosaics of saints, from both the Latin and the Greek calendars.[55]

The presentation of the days of Creation in the mosaics of Monreale find their closest iconographic prototypes in Italian medieval art, and the clearest explanation for the significance of the scenes is found in the Western Biblical traditions deriving from St. Augustine. Neither the organization nor the significance of this part of the mosaic cycle can be derived from Byzantium.

Footnotes (Chapter II)

[1]Edward Garrison, "Note on the Iconography of Creation and of the Fall of Man in Eleventh and Twelfth Century Rome," Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting, Vol. IV, No 2 (1961), p. 204.

[2]Demus, Mosaics of Norman Sicily, pp. 250-56.

[3]Ibid., pp. 252-53.

[4]Ibid., p. 253; n. 34, p. 332.

[5]Kitzinger, Mosaics of Monreale, n. 87, p. 129.

[6]Demus, op. cit., p. 251; n. 21, p. 331.

[7]Garrison, "Note on the Iconography of Creation," Studies, Vol. IV, No 2, p. 201.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Desiderius ruled as abbot 1958-1086.

[10]Edward Garrison, "Contributions to the History of Twelfth Century Umbro-Roman Painting," Studies, Vol. II, No. 1 (Spring, 1955), p. 33.

[11]Garrison, "Contributions," Studies, No. 4 (Autumn, 1956), pp. 184-86.

[12]Garrison, "Note on the Iconography of Creation," Studies, p. 201.

[13]Demus, op. cit., p. 252.

[14]Ibid., p. 272.

[15]Ibid., pp. 280-81.

[16]Paolo D'Ancona, La Miniature Italienne du X^{e} au XVI^{e} Siècle (Paris et Bruxelles: G. Van Oest, editor, 1924), Plate III.

[17]Ambrogio Amelli, Miniature Sacre e Profane dell'anno 1023 illustranti l'Enciclopedia Medioevale di Rabano Mauro (Tipo-Litografia di Monte Cassino, 1896), p. vii, Plate IV, Lib. I, Cap. IV.

[18]Demus, op. cit., Plates 26b-27b.

[19]Ibid., p. 253.

[20]Kurt Weitzmann, "Observations on the Cotton Genesis Fragments," Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), pp. 130-31.

[21]Garrison, "Note on the Iconography of Creation," Studies, p. 208.

[22]John R. Martin, "The Dead Christ on the Cross in Byzantine Art," Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend Jr., p. 193.

[23]St. John of Damascus, "The Orthodox Faith," Bk. 4, ch. 16, pp. 371-72.

[24]André Grabar, L'Iconoclasme Byzantin: Dossier Archéologique (Paris: Collège de France, 1957), pp. 247-48, fig. 162.

[25]Oscar von Gebhardt, The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (London; Asher and Co., 1883), p. II, Plate II (fol. Ib).

[26]Ibid., Plate III (fol. 6a).

[27]Ibid., pp. 5-10.

[28]The style and coloring in this manuscript conform to the characteristics of south Italian eleventh century manuscripts as described by Myrtilla Avery in "Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai and of the Life of Aesop in the Pierpont Morgan Library," Art Bulletin, XXIII (1941), pp. 109-10.

[29]Fritz Saxl, Lectures (London: the Warburg Institute, 1957), Vol. I, p. 236 and pp. 234-41 passim.

[30]Avery, op. cit., fig. 26.

[31]George H. Crichton, Romanesque Sculpture in Italy (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954). For Modena reliefs, see p. 5, Plate 2; for St. Zeno reliefs, p. 31 and Plate 17.

[32]Garrison, "Contributions," Studies, No. 4, pp. 184-85.

[33]Garrison, "Note on the Iconography of Creation," Studies, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 207.

[34]Ibid., p. 208.

[35]Amelli, Miniature Sacre e Profane, Plate LXII.

[36]Phillippe Lauer, Les Enluminures Romanes des Manuscripts de la Bibliotèque Nationale (Paris, Editions de la Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1927), pl. VIII., p. 42.

[37]Die Bamberger Apolalypse (Wiesbaden, 1958), Plate 8.

[38]Emile Bertaux, L'Art dans l'Italie Meridionale (Paris, 1904), pp. 296-97, fig. 114; see also Anthony, Romanesque Frescoes, p. 95.

[39]Ernst Kitzinger, Early Medieval Art in the British Museum (London: The British Museum, 1940), p. 42.

[40]Charles R. Dodwell, The Canterbury School of Illumination (Cambridge University Press, 1954), frontispiece.

[41]St. Basil, "Hexaemeron," Letters and Select Works, Vol. VIII of A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 2nd series, eds. Phillip Schaff and Henry Wace (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1895), Homily II, pp. 58-68.

[42]Robbins, The Hexaemeral Literature, p. 40.

[43]St. Basil, op. cit., Homily I section 5, p. 54.

[44]Ibid., Homily II, section 5, p. 65.

[45]St. John of Damascus, op. cit., Bk. II, ch. 3, p. 208.

[46]St. Augustine, The City of God, trans. Marcus Dods (New York, The Modern Library, 1950), Bk. XI, ch. 9, p. 354.

[47]Yves Lefèvre, L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires, Vol. 180 of Bibliotèque des Ecoles Français d'Athenes et de Rome (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1954); "Elucidarium," Bk II, 27, p. 366.

[48]Rev. Edward J. Montano, The Sin of the Angels, No. 89 of Catholic University of America Studies in Sacred Theology, 2nd series, pp. 15-18, 47. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1955)

[49]Demus, op. cit., p. 254.

[50]For Lambeth Bible see Dodwell, Canterbury School of Illumination, frontispiece; and for English Psalter in Munich, see Buchtal, Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Plate 148a, b.

[51]Robbins, op. cit., p. 72.

[52]St John of Damascus, op. cit., Bk. 4, ch. 23, pp. 389-393.

[53]St Augustine, "Reply to Faustus the Manichaean," The Writings Against the Manichaeans and Against the Donatists, Vol. IV, 1st series, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ed. Phillip Schaff (Buffalo, The Christian Literature Co., 1887), Bk. XII, ch. 7, p. 185.

[54]Saxl, Lectures, pp. 243, 244, 247.

[55]Demus, op. cit., p. 321.

CHAPTER III

In the mosaics dealing with the history of the human race from Adam to Jacob, the connection of Monreale with Italian medieval art is evident not only in the episodes selected for presentation but also in their placement within the church. The extent of the cycle of eleventh century frescoes in S. Angelo in Formis is close to that at Monreale, containing key events from the lives of Adam, Cain, Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.[1] Also similar to Monreale is the series, dated to the second half of the twelfth century, in the Benedictine Abbey church of S. Pietro near Ferentillo which contains events from the lives of Adam, Cain, Abel, Noah, Abraham, and Isaac.[2]

The assumption that the mosaics of the lives of the patriarchs in Monreale are of Byzantine origin would seem to be based on their close resemblance to certain of the miniatures in the Octateuchs. While the style of the mosaics is undeniably Byzantine, and the close iconographic resemblance of a few of the mosaics with miniatures in the Octateuch cycle is significant, it should be remembered that the Octateuch cycle as a whole bears very little resemblance to the arrangement at Monreale. The Smyrna Octateuch contains one hundred and eleven framed miniatures dealing with the

history of the world from the beginning of Creation to Jacob's struggle with the angel, while Monreale has forty-seven scenes dealing with the same subject matter. Furthermore, one Octateuch miniature often has two or three separate episodes enclosed within its frame, so that the entire text of the Bible seems to be presented in pictorial form rendering the text superfluous.

The connection of the mosaics illustrating the lives of the Patriarchs at Monreale with Byzantine Biblical traditions is in terms of iconographic details and arrangements, but the connection of the same scenes with the traditions of Western Biblical exegesis and illustration have a deeper significance. The episodes selected for representation at Monreale are those with special importance in the Christian philosophy of history as conceived by St. Augustine and elaborated by his followers. The fusion of Byzantine style and Western traditions at Monreale has lead to an exaggeration of the importance of the Byzantine element in the decorations.

An interesting parallel to the selection of events presented at Monreale is found in two full page illustrations from a twelfth century manuscript of St. Augustine's City of God, illuminated in the monastery of Bosau near Zeitz between 1168 and 1180 which is now in the library of Pforta (Bibliotek Der KGL. Landes-shule: MS Lat A. 10).[3] One of the pages shows the history of the Old Testament in terms of

the City of God, or the body of the elect (See Plate XV), and the other page illustrates the history of the City of Man, or those destined to suffer eternal punishment with the devil. (See Plate XVI) The synopsis of history presented at Monreale contains episodes relating to both the City of God and to the City of Man.

Besides the cycles of frescoes mentioned previously, the Salerno ivories and the reliefs on the Cathedral of Modena aid in establishing that the selection of subjects in the Monreale mosaics follows the tradition of Italian medieval art.

The series of events from the life of Adam at Monreale includes two representations of Adam in Paradise. (See Plate X) The first scene shows God leading Adam into Paradise, an event which was considered as symbolic of the relation of Christ to the Church. Isidore says:

> God therefore took man and placed him in Paradise. God took on flesh and was made the head of the church, to till and care for it, that is to fulfill the will of the Father toward all the peoples of the Church.[4]

One of the clearest iconographic parallels between the Sicilian mosaics and the Octateuch cycle is in the representation of Adam resting in Paradise, (See Plate XA) even though the Octateuch scene is so damaged that it is difficult to tell whether it shows Adam holding fruit as it does at Monreale. The symbolism is not altogether apparent at Monreale, but it would appear that the scene was intended

to serve as a comparison for the composition which faces it across the nave, that of Eve being tempted by the serpent. (See Plate XIIIB)

The placement of the Creation of Eve on the west wall of the Cathedral of Monreale can be related to the common symbolic interpretation of this event by the Fathers of the Church. The basic comparison is between the Creation of Eve and the crucifixion of Christ. Augustine says:

> As a wife was made for Adam from his side while he slept, the church becomes the property of her dying Saviour, by the sacrament of the blood which flowed from His side after His death.[5]

Isidore takes this same comparison and elaborates upon it:

> Adam slept and woman was made from the side of his body. Christ was opened on the cross, the side punctured by a lance, and the sacraments flowed forth in blood from which the Church was shaped.[6]

The position of this scene on the west wall of the church is significant because of the traditional association on the west end of a church with the Crucifixion.

The representation of Eve rising out of the side of Adam at Monreale is similar to the composition in the Berlin Ivory, and to the one in the Salerno ivory (See Plate XIIA), although the latter contains a more elaborate rendition of Paradise in the background.[7] In the Smyrna Octateuch, on the other hand, the Creation of Eve appears crowded into the right hand corner of a composition which also shows Adam naming the animals (See Plate XIIIA), a combining of the two events as recorded in Genesis 2:18-22.

The presentation of Eve to Adam, also placed on the west wall, is depicted as a type of marriage ceremony reflecting the view of St. Augustine that marriages existed before the Fall of Man.[8] St. Paul's comparison of the union of Christ with the Church to that of the marriage of Adam and Eve was accepted and amplified by Augustine and Isidore giving this scene a symbolic dimension.[9]

The Monreale mosaics have two scenes relating to the Fall, the first showing Adam and Eve eating the fruit (See Plate XIIIB), and the second showing them being chastized by God. (See Plate XIVB) The Berlin Ivory has a similar sequence of episodes.

The scene of the Expulsion from Paradise at Monreale (Plate XIVB) conforms to the depiction of the event in the Salerno ivories and the Berlin ivories by showing the angel as the agent of God, and by having Eve precede Adam. (See Plate XIIB) The representation of the gate of Paradise guarded by a cherubim which appears at Monreale has a parallel in the scene of the Expulsion in the Pantheon Bible (Vat. Lat. 12958), a Roman Bible dated to the early part of the second quarter of the twelfth century.[10]

Thus, although the rendition of the Expulsion at Monreale is similar to the version in the Octateuch of Smyrna (See Plate XIVA), the elements used in the Sicilian composition also belong to the Italian mode of representing the event.

The sequence of events following the Expulsion at Monreale has a close parallel in the Salerno ivories and the reliefs on the Cathedral of Modena. The Labours of Adam and Eve in the Sicilian mosaics (See Plate XVIIB) differ from the Italian tradition as expressed at Salerno and Modena by showing Eve spinning instead of working in the fields with Adam.[11] (See Plate XIIB) The composition used at Monreale has parallels with the scene of this subject appearing in the mosaics of the Baptistery of Florence.

The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel at Monreale (See Plate XVIIB) follows the type of representation used in the Salerno ivories (See Plate XVIIA) except for the addition of an altar between the two brothers. The Salerno Cycle continues with the Murder of Abel and God's reprimand to Cain, the sequence used at Monreale. (See Plate XVIII)

The reliefs on the Cathedral of Modena, dated to 1106, have a series of four episodes from the lives of Cain and Abel which closely parallels the Monreale version. The Murder of Abel is accomplished with a club, as at Monreale, and the figure of God in the reprimand of Cain resembles the one appearing in the Sicilian mosaic except that he holds a scroll inscribed with the Curse of Cain. The most unusual feature of this group of carvings is the conclusion of the Murder of Cain by Lamech as the last episode preceding the story of the Flood.[12] This is the sequence present at Monreale, where Cain's death is followed by God's instruction

to Noah to construct the ark. (See Plate XIX)[13]

Only one of the scenes relating to the story of Cain and Abel in the Smyrna Octateuch bears a strong resemblance to the sequence at Monreale, that of Lamech shooting his arrow toward a man hidden by a tree. (See Plate XIXA) This episode is placed between two others not depicted in the Sicilian cycle: the city constructed by Cain's descendants on the left and Lamech with his wives on the right.

The two pages illustrating the manuscript of the City of God from Bosau are divided into sections representing the Ages of Man as they were described by St. Augustine. In the page depicting the City of God, the upper left hand section deals with the first age, that from Abraham to Noah. (See Plate XV) The foreground is occupied by Adam hoeing a field while to the right Abel offers his Sacrifice of a Lamb. The other figures shown are that of the Arch-angel Michael, and Seth and Enoch.[14]

The corresponding section of the page showing the City of Man has an inscription listing the members of this first age as Lucifer, Cain, Lamech, and Enoch. (See Plate XVI) The foreground is occupied by the figure of Lamech who is beating the youth who instructed him to shoot into the thicket where Cain was hiding. Enoch, the descendant of Cain, is building a city in the background.[15]

The feature of these illustrations which is of most interest with respect to the Monreale mosaics is the

prominence given to Lamech's murder of Cain. The appearance of a similar scene at Monreale was considered by Demus to be a clear indication of Byzantine influence, as the scene is not common in western medieval art, but appears in the Octateuch cycles.[16] The explanation of Lamech's significance in the scheme of Christian history, and hence his prominence in the Bosau manuscript and the reason for his depiction at Monreale is to be found in the traditional explanations in the Western Biblical tradition, in which it formed a point of emphasis in the early history of the human race.

The special importance attached to the story of Cain and Abel in the Middle Ages grew out of its being considered as the prototype for the conduct of humanity after the Fall. St. Augustine related the two sons of Adam to the two divisions of the human race:

> Cain was the first-born, and he belonged to the City of Men: after him was born Abel, who belonged to the City of God.[17]

Although possessing significance in themselves, the acts of their lives were felt to have more general implications. For example, Isidore of Seville compares the sacrifice offered by Cain to the earthly sacrifices of the Old Testament, while Abel's sacrifice of the Lamb symbolizes the faith of the New Testament.[18]

The most persistent equation is that of Cain with the Jews, and of Abel with Christ. This interpretation applies to both the murder of Abel and to God's reprimand of

Cain. The first incident is thus interpreted by St. Augustine:

> Abel, the younger brother, is killed by the elder brother; Christ, the head of the younger people, is killed by the elder people of the Jews. Abel dies in the field; Christ dies on Calvary.[19]

One of the unusual aspects of the series of episodes in Monreale is the presence of a small figure personifying the blood of Abel in the scene where God is reprimanding Cain. (See Plate XVIIIA) The inscription on the mosaics reads: "The blood of your brother is crying to me from the ground," indicating that this is not the curse of Cain, but the accusation of Cain. The choice of this particular part of the story for representation and the dramatization of the incident by the inclusion of the personification of Abel can be related to the interpretation placed on this episode by the Fathers. As Cain was held to be responsible for Abel, the Jews were held responsible for Christ. The interpretation proposed by St. Augustine in his essay, Against Faustus the Manichaean, was included by Isidore of Seville in his explanation of the event:

> Then God says to Cain, "What has thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to me from the ground." So the voice of God in the Holy Scriptures accuses the Jews. For the blood of Christ has a loud voice on the earth, when the responsive Amen of those who believe in him comes from all nations. This is the voice of Christ's blood, because the clear voice of the faithful redeemed by His blood is the voice of the blood itself.[20]

The scene of Lamech killing Cain presented at Monreale is placed just before the scene of Noah being ordered to build the ark. The inclusion of the episode is related to the

position Lamech held in the generations of the human race, for being in the seventh generation from Cain he was among those who perished in the Flood. St. Augustine finds it appropriate that Lamech was a murderer, so that the City of Man was begun by a murderer, Cain, and ends temporarily with a murderer, Lamech.[21] The legend that Cain was the man Lamech murdered was added to the tradition by later exegetes. Rabanus Maurus is given as the source of the explanation included in the Glossa Ordinaria:

> Lamech lived a long time in blindness and had a boy as a leader and guide for the way. Trained as a hunter, he aimed his arrow as the boy directed and by chance killed Cain hidden among the shrubs.[22]

Lamech's killing of a man was held by Alcuin to be symbolic of the decadent condition of the human race.

> The sin of Lamech (whose name means lowliness) signifies the downcast state of the human race which the sin of Adam brought to ruin, unable to rise either through the law, or the circumcision, or its own good conduct up to the time when Christ coming into the world after seventy-seven generations . . . wiped out the sin by shedding his blood.[23]

Lamech's presence at Monreale is justified by the conclusion it makes to the story of Cain, and also by showing the condition of mankind prior to the Flood. Noah was descended from Seth, the third son of Adam, who was considered by St. Augustine to belong to the body of the Elect.

Footnotes (Chapter III)

[1]Janine Wettstein, Sant' Angelo en Formis (Genève: Librarie E. Droz, 1960), pp. 36-39.

[2]Anthony, Romanesque Frescoes, pp. 77-8.

[3]Alexandre De Laborde, Les Manuscrits à Peintures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin (Paris: Edouard Rahir, Librarie, 1909), pp. 218-21.

[4]Isidore of Seville, "Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum," Vol. 83 in Patrologia Cursus Completus, ed. J. P. Migne, col. 217. Tulit igitur Deus hominem, et posuit eum in paradiso. Assumpsit Deus carnem, et factus est captu Ecclesiae, ut operaretur et custodiret illum, id est, voluntate Patris ex omnibus gentibus Ecclesiam impleret.

[5]St. Augustine, Reply to Faustus the Manichaean, op. cit., Bk. XII, Ch. 7, p. 185.

[6]Isidore of Seville, op. cit. Dormit Adam, et fit illi mulier de latere. Patitur Christus in cruce, pungitur latus lancea, et profluunt sacarmenta sanguinis, ex quibus formetu Ecclesia.

[7]The representation of Paradise in the Salerno carvings is very close to a composition appearing in the Monte Cassino Rabanus Maurus (See Plate XXVIIB) where it is the illustration placed before a chapter describing the historical and symbolic meaning of Paradise, book twelve, chapter three of De Universo. The scene in the manuscript is well laid out, being completely symmetrical, and contains what would seem to be a window in the center of the composition, all of which suggest that this is taken from a tradition of monumental art. The tree prominently placed in the center of this composition is the Tree of Life which was a symbol of Christ, and the cross.

[8]St. Augustine, City of God, Bk. XIV, Ch. 10, p. 456, and Bk. XIV, Ch. 21, pp. 468-69.

[9]St. Augustine, Reply to Faustus the Manichaean, Bk. XII, Ch. 8, p. 186; and Isidore, op. cit., cols. 217 and 218.

[10]Garrison, "Note on the Iconography of Creation," Studies, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1961), p. 201; reproduced by Garrison in Studies, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 37, fig. 21. He considers this Bible to be stylistically related to manuscripts

produced in Monte Cassino during the time of Desiderius. This stylistic connection is made more significant by the similarities between the iconography of the creation page of the Bible and the Sicilian mosaic cycles. The depiction of Adam and Eve after the expulsion is very close to the scene in the Cappella Palatina (See Demus, op. cit., Plate 29A). She is shown seated with her head resting on one hand, sorrowing while Adam works the soil.

[11]Georg Vitzthum von Echstadt and W. F. Volbach, Die Malerei und Plastic des Mittelalters in Italien (Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische verlags gesellschaft Athenaion, 1924), Plate IV.

[12]Crichton, Romanesque Sculpture in Italy, p. 5, Plate 2.

[13]Vitzthum, op. cit., Plate IV.

[14]Laborde, op. cit., p. 223.

[15]Ibid., p. 224.

[16]Demus, op. cit., p. 253.

[17]St. Augustine, City of God, Bk. XV, Ch. I, pp. 478-79.

[18]Isidore of Seville, op. cit., col. 223.

[19]St. Augustine, Reply to Faustus, Bk. XII, Ch. IX, p. 186.

[20]Ibid., Bk. XII, Ch. 10, pp. 186-87. See also Isidore of Seville, op. cit., colls. 224 and 225.

[21]St. Augustine, City of God, Bk. XV, Ch. XXI, p. 509.

[22]Walafridi Strabi, Glossa Ordinaria, Vol. CXIII of Patrologia Cursus Completus, ed. J. P. Migne, col. 101. Aiunt Hebraei-Lamech dui vivendo caliginem oculorum incurrisse, et adolescentem ducem et rectorem itineris habuisse. Exeréens ergo venationem sagittam direxit quo adolescens indicavit, easuque Cain inter fruteta latentem interfecit.

[23]Ibid. Peccatum Lamech (qui interpretatur humiliatus) significat dejectionem humane generis quod praevaricante Adam corruit, nec per legem, vel per circumcisionem, nec per suam justitiam sugere potuit, donec post septuagenta septem generationes secundum Lucam Christus in mundum veniens, effusione sanguinis peccatum delevit.

CHAPTER IV

The importance of Noah as an historical and symbolic figure is reflected in the extensive space devoted to events from his life in the mosaics of Monreale. The selection of episodes depicted at Monreale has a parallel in the frescoes of Sant' Angelo in Formis as well as in the Salerno ivories. The Salerno carvings contain a representation of Noah being commanded to build the Ark followed by one of Noah supervising its construction (See Plate XXA); the sequence appears at Monreale. (See Plates XIXB and XXB) The depiction of the construction of the Ark in the two versions shows strong similarities, both containing five workmen who are arranged in a different manner in the mosaic composition because of the shape of the available space. This scene is placed on the eastern end of the south wall at Monreale giving the story of the construction of the ark a prominent position in the church.[1]

The next episode shown at Monreale, that of Adam and his son helping the animals into the Ark, does not occur in the Salerno carvings where it is replaced by the depiction of God blessing Noah and his family who are already in the Ark. (See Plates XXIIB, XXIIIA) The next composition in the Salerno series shows Noah reaching out toward the dove

returning with an olive branch in its beak. Another bird is shown perched on the roof above him. (See Plate XXIIB) A similar, although much cruder,composition occurs in the Monte Cassino manuscript of Rabanus Maurus. (See Plate XXIIA) Noah, with his sons on the right and his wife and daugters-in-law on his left, reaches out toward the returning dove. A black bird is perched on the top of the Ark, and the similarity between this composition and the Salerno one makes it likely that the second bird depicted there is the raven mentioned in the Biblical narrative. Judging from its description by Wettstein, the fresco of the Flood in Sant' Angelo in Formis would seem to resemble its counterpart in the Salerno ivory, although he does not mention the presence of the raven.[2] In the Monreale version, Noah leans out to receive the dove, while the raven is definitely shown resting on a floating corpse.

Although several of the scenes relating to the Flood in the Octateuch of Smryna are in poor condition, it can still be determined that they are not the iconographic prototype of the Monreale mosaics. The first scene, that of Noah being ordered to build the Ark, shows Noah listening to the word of God and gesturing toward his three sons. (See Plate XXIA) The sons of Noah are omitted from the Monreale version of the scene. An aspect of the mosaics of the Flood at Monreale, cited by Demus as being evidence of Byzantine influence, is the motif of the raven floating on a corpse,

presumably because it occurs in one of the Octateuch miniatures.[3] (See Plate XXIB) However, this motif has a long history in Western art and exegesis which rules out the conclusion that its presence at Monreale is a sign of direct Byzantine influence.

The Western tradition can be traced as far back as the fourth century. St. Augustine discusses the problem of where the raven went after it left the Ark and failed to return, and decides that the raven must have settled on a corpse. Since the dove would have been unwilling to do this, it returned to the Ark.[4] St Augustine also finds symbolic implications in the actions of these two birds:

> That the raven sent out after forty days did not return, being either prevented by the water or attracted by some floating carcass; as men defiled by impure desire, and therefore eager for things outside in the world, are either baptized, or are led astray into the company of those to whom, as they are outside the ark, that is, outside the Church, baptism is destructive . . . . When again sent forth after seven days, denoting the sevenfold operation of the Spirit, the dove brought back a fruitful olive branch; as some even who are baptized outside of the Church, if not destitute of the fatness of charity, may come back after all, as it were in the evening, and be brought back into the one communion by the mouth of the dove in the kiss of peace.[5]

This interpretation of the dove and the raven is also referred to by Prudentius in his Dittochaeon, where he describes a series of scenes which are thought to have been in an Early Christian church. The composition of the Flood contains a dove returning to the Ark with an olive branch in her beak.

> For the raven being possessed with voracity had stayed among the loathsome bodies, but the dove brings home the joyful news of the gift of peace.[6]

Isidore of Seville follows the lead of St. Augustine, and links the raven settled on a corpse with the destructiveness of Baptism outside of the Church.[7]

The passage quoted from St. Augustine describing the significance of the dove and the raven also contains references to other symbolic meanings attached to the Flood. Although St. Augustine does not deny that Noah's salvation by the Ark was an historical fact, he is sure that its implications are more general.

> For what right-minded man will contend that books so religiously preserved during thousands of years, and transmitted by so orderly a succession, were written without an object, or that only the bare historical facts are to be considered when we read them?[8]

The Ark itself is considered as having reference to both the life of Christ and the sacraments of the Church: the wood used in constructing the Ark being taken as an allusion to the Cross, and the water in which the Ark floated being taken as an allusion to Baptism. The implications of the connection of the Ark and the Crucifixion make the Ark:

> . . . a figure of the city of God sojourning in this world; that is to say, of the Church, which is rescued by the wood on which hung the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus.[9]

The implications of the Flood itself are connected with both the Baptism and the Resurrection.

> That the flood came seven days after Noah entered the Ark; as we are baptized in the hope of the future rest, which was denoted by the seventh day. That all flesh on the face of the earth, outside the Ark was destroyed by the flood, as beyond the communion of the Church, though the water of baptism is the same, it is efficacious only for destruction and not for salvation.[10]

The animals shown entering and leaving the Ark in the mosaics at Monreale include goats, a horse, a lion, and a cow, making reference to the inclusion of the clean and unclean types of animals in the Ark. (See Plate XXIIIA,B) This mixture of animals in the Ark was connected with Peter's vision of the animals recorded in Acts 10:10-16. Both of these incidents were interpreted as being symbolic of the mixture of peoples in the Church.[11] St. Augustine considers this implication of the Ark of Noah to be self-evident.

> For the nations have already so filled the Church, and are comprehended in the framework of its unity, the clean and the unclean together, until the appointed end, that this one very manifest fulfillment leaves no doubt how we should interpret even those others which are somewhat more obscure . . . .[12]

Following the exodus from the Ark in the mosaics of Monreale is a composition which contains both the Covenant of the Rainbow and Noah's Sacrifice. (See Plate XXIIIB) These two incidents are also placed within one composition in the Sant' Angelo frescoes.[13] Although the Salerno ivory differs from Monreale in having the scenes of the Sacrifice and the Covenant in two separate compositions (See Plate XXIVA,B), the three scenes immediately following show a clear correspondence with the cycle at Monreale.

The scenes show Noah preparing wine, the discovery of the drunken Noah by his sons, and the construction of the tower of Babel. (See Plate XXIVB and Plate XXVIB) The representation of Noah preparing wine at Monreale lacks the

"genre" details present in the Salerno composition having only the figure of Noah pressing the juice from grapes on a vine. (See Plate XXVIA) The juxtaposition of the son of Noah who revealed his father's nakedness with the two sons who are walking backward to cover their sleeping father without looking upon him is similar in the ivory carving and in the mosaic composition, although both sons seem to be holding the covering in the mosaic, while the arrangement is less clear in the Salerno composition.

Demus cites the episode of the Drunkenness of Noah as a sign of Byzantine influence; according to him, it was rarely depicted in the West but occurs in the Octateuch cycle.[14] The miniature from the Octateuch of Smyrna singles out the two most important scenes from the story (See Plate XXVA); Noah and his servants are shown preparing the wine, and the drunken Noah is being covered by his sons. This is merely straight forward illustration.

More relevant to the cycle at Monreale is the one event selected to illustrate the second age of the city of God in the manuscript from Bosau. In a semi-circular composition, the sleeping figure of Noah is being covered by his two sons who are obviously trying to avoid seeing their father's nakedness.[15] (See Plate XV) This single scene has little significance apart from its less than obvious symbolism.

The significance accorded to the event of Noah's

drunkenness grows out of an analogy made between Noah and Christ. For Christ describes himself in John 15:1 as "the true vine," and the connection between Christ's sacrifice and the Eucharist was found to apply by analogy to Noah's preparation of wine and also to his discovery by his son. St. Augustine summarizes the incident thus:

> We find in Genesis in regard to the sacrament that Noah prefigured it and represented a type of the Lord's passion. He drank wine, became intoxicated, was uncovered in his tent, and lay laked with limbs exposed, and the nakedness of the father was pointed out by his second son, but covered by his eldest and youngest sons. . . . It is sufficient to understand this one fact, that Noah, signifying a type of the Truth to come, drank not water, but wine, and thus represented an image of the Lord's passion.[16]

Not only Noah's drinking of wine, but the reactions of the sons are found to be symbolically significant. The eldest son, Shem, "of whom Christ was born in the flesh," means "named," and the youngest son, Japeth, signifies "enlargement," or "the spread" of Christianity.[17] Ham, whose name means "hot" is equated with heretics, either the Jews or the Gentiles. The distinction between the oldest and youngest sons who showed respect for their father, and Ham who revealed his nakedness has implications in terms of the history of the Church.

> Shem and Japeth, that is to say, the circumcision and the uncircumcision, or, as the apostle otherwise calls them, the Jews and the Greeks, but called and justified, having somehow discovered the nakedness of their father (which signifies the Saviour's passion), and took a garment and laid it upon their backs, and entered backwards and covered their father's nakedness, without their seeing what their reverence hid. For we both

> honor the passion of Christ as accomplished for us, and we hate the crime of the Jews who crucified Him. The garment signifies the sacrament, their backs the memory of things past; for the church celebrated the passion of Christ as already accomplished, and no longer to be looked forward to, now that Japeth already dwells in the habitations of Shem, and their wicked brother between them.[18]

The scene following the Drunkenness of Noah at Monreale is that of the construction of the Tower of Babel. (See Plate XXVIA) The composition at Monreale bears a resemblance to the one in the Salerno ivories (See Plate XXVIB) but also to one in the Rabanus Maurus manuscripts. This composition (See Plate XXVIIA),although crude, demonstrates the ties of the Sicilian mosaic with an Italian tradition of Biblical illustration.

The two compositions in the Smyrna Octateuch relating to the Tower of Babel are quite different from the one in the Sicilian mosaic cycle. The first shows the gathering of materials used in the construction of the tower, and the second the ruined tower and the dispersal of the peoples following the confusion of the tongues. (See Plate XXVB)

In the manuscript of the City of God from Bosau, the illustration for the second age of the city of man, is the tower of Babel.[19] (See Plate XVI) St. Augustine connects the construction of the Tower of Babel with the descendants of Ham, the middle son of Noah. Nimrod, the grandson of Cush, who was the son of Ham, is given the responsibility for the plan, although the narrative of Genesis is vague on this

point. In order to connect Nimrod with the city of man, St. Augustine takes the verse "He was a mighty hunter before the Lord" and construes it to mean "hunter against the Lord." Working from this revised translation, he proceeds:

> And what is meant by the term hunter, but deceiver, oppressor, and destroyer of the animals of the earth: He and his people, therefore erected this tower against the Lord and so gave expression to their impious pride; and justly was their wicked intention punished by God, even though it was unsuccessful. But what was the nature of the punishment? As the tongue is the instrument of domination, in it pride was punished; so that man, who would not understand God when He issued His commands, should be misunderstood when he himself gave orders. Thus was that conspiracy disbanded, for each man retired from those he could not understand, and associated with those whose speech was intelligible.[20]

The Bible describes this tower as being built by the "sons of men" and St. Augustine interprets this phrase as meaning "that society which lived in a merely human way, and which we call the earthly city."[21] The Tower of Babel was thus the manifestation of the city of man in the seventy-two generations between Noah and Abraham, and linked with Ham the wicked son of Noah. By way of contrast, the continuity of the City of God was maintained by the descendants of Noah's first son, Shem. These people,descended from Heber, were hence called the Hebrews and continued to speak the original language of the world as a sign of their status as the chosen people. It is from this group that Abraham was descended, and his life is the next important episode in the tracing of Christ's ancestors in the flesh.[22]

Footnotes (Chapter IV)

[1]Demus, Mosaics of Norman Sicily, p. 122.

[2]Wettstein, Sant' Angelo in Formis, p. 38.

[3]Demus, op. cit., p. 254.

[4]St. Augustine, "Quaestionum in Heptateuchum," Vol. XXXIV in Patrologia Cursus Completus, ed. J. P. Migne, col. 551.

[5]St. Augustine, Reply to Faustus, Bk. XII, Ch. 20, pp. 189-90.

[6]Prudentius, Dittochaeon (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), Vol. I, p. 349.

[7]Isidore of Seville, op. cit., col. 233.

[8]St. Augustine, City of God, Bk. XV, Ch. 27, p. 517.

[9]Ibid., Ch. 26, p. 516.

[10]St. Augustine, Reply to Faustus, Bk. XII, Ch. 17, p. 189.

[11]Isidore of Seville, op. cit., col. 231.

[12]St. Augustine, City of God, Bk. XII, Ch. 27, p. 519.

[13]Wettstein, op. cit., p. 38.

[14]Demus, op. cit., p. 253.

[15]Laborde, op. cit., p. 223.

[16]St. Augustine, "Christian Instruction," Writings of St. Augustine (New York: CIMA Publishing Co., 1947), Vol. IV, Ch. 45, p. 215.

[17]St. Augustine, City of God, Bk. XVI, Ch. 2, p. 522.

[18]Ibid., Bk. XVI, Ch. 2, pp. 522-23.

[19]Laborde, op. cit., p. 224.

[20]St. Augustine, City of God, Bk. XVI, Ch. 4, pp. 526-28.

[21] *Ibid*, Bk. XVI, Ch. 5, p. 528.

[22] *Ibid*., Bk. XVI, Ch. 11, pp. 534-35.

CHAPTER V

The episodes from the life of Abraham presented in the mosaics of Monreale are those related to the fulfillment of God's promise that Abraham would be the father of a great nation. The two compositions showing Abraham's reception of the angels in the Monreale cycle closely resemble those in the Octateuch of Smyrna (See Plate XXVIIIA and B), the principal change being in the reversal of the position of Abraham so that in the mosaic he appears to be coming from the tent where Sarah is standing, a more logical arrangement than that presented in the Octateuch.

The Hospitality of Abraham in the frescoes of Sant' Angelo in Formis appears to be similar to the second composition at Monreale.[1] The promise made to Abraham was felt to have a deep significance by St. Augustine.

> "Abrham shall become a great and numerous nation, and all the nations of the earthy shall be blessed in him." And here these two things are promised with the utmost brevity and fulness, the nation of Israel according to the flesh, and all nations according to the faith.[2]

The order to Abraham to sacrifice Isaac and the Sacrifice itself comprise the remainder of the episodes from the life of Abraham in the Monreale mosaics. (See Plate XXIXB) The first scene, God asking Abraham to

sacrifice Isaac, does not have an exact parallel in either the Salerno series or the Sant' Angelo frescoes, but the second scene at Monreale is a more elaborate version of the standard composition. The two servants on the left of the composition and the donkey are added to the normal arrangement of the sacrifice. A close parallel to the Monreale composition is found in the Sant' Angelo frescoes, where the scene contains:

> Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac who is kneeling on an altar in a landscape of trees and hills. The knife raised, he stares at the angel who is descending from the sky to suspend the sacrifice. Below, on the left, the lamb which will be offered in place of Isaac, has its horns caught in a thorn bush.[3]

These elements listed are those present in the composition at Monreale, although the arrangement of the items is different in the mosaic. The Octateuch version of the story of the Sacrifice of Isaac contains many details not present in the Monreale version. (See Plate XXIXA) The scene of the Sacrifice itself is the closest to the version at Monreale except that the ram is tied to a tree, rather than being caught in a bush, and Isaac is placed on the ground rather than on top of the altar. The two servants and the donkey appear in the Octateuch cycle in a way similar to the Monreale mosaic, except that in the Sicilian scene the servants seem to be gesturing toward the Sacrifice, although they are not looking in that direction.

All of the details in the Monreale mosaic are listed

as being of allegorical significance in this twelfth century commentary from the Abbey of St. Victor:

> Abraham: God the Father; Isaac: Christ; the mountain: Divine Love; the two youths: the unbelieving Jews and Gentiles; the Donkey: the folly of the unbelieving on both sides; the altar, firewood, and thornbush: the destructive cross; Isaac: the divinity (of Christ); the ram: the humanity (of Christ); the fire: the difficulties of the passion.[4]

In Monreale, the two scenes relating to the Sacrifice of Isaac are placed directly across the nave from the compositions showing the Hospitality of Abraham providing an intensification of the contrast between the affirmation of the Covenant at Mamre and its seeming negation with the order to sacrifice Isaac. The identification of Isaac with Christ, and of Abraham with God the Father, arises from both the miraculous circumstances surrounding the birth of Isaac and Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son. St. Augustine comments on the implications of the life of Abraham:

> In order, then that the children of promise may be the seed of Abraham, they are called in Isaac, that is, gathered together in Christ by the call of grace. Therefore, the father, holding fast from the first the promise which behoved to be fulfilled through his son whom God had ordered him to slay, did not doubt that he whom he once thought it hopeless he should ever receive would be restored to him when he had offered him up. . . . In whose similitude by Him of whom the apostle says, "He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all? And on this account Isaac also himself carried to the place of sacrifice the wood on which he was to be offered up, just as the Lord himself carried His own cross. Finally, since Isaac was not to be slain, after his father was forbidden to smite him, who was that ram by the offering of which the sacrifice was completed with typical blood:

> For when Abraham saw him, he was caught by the horns in a thicket. What then did he represent, but Jesus, who, before He was offered up, was crowned with thorns by the Jews?

The Sacrifice of Isaac as shown in the manuscript of the City of God from Bozau conforms to the general type of composition, the ram is shown caught in the thorn bush while on the right Abraham with his hand raised is stopped from sacrificing his son by the angel. The depiction of the ram as caught in the thorn bush, a detail which does not occur in the Octateuch version, would seem to owe its inclusion to the importance of the thorn-bush in the symbolic interpretation of the ram as Christ. Even more visually symbolic, and more characteristically Western, is the fact that Isaac is shown on the altar at Monreale, Salerno, and Bozau, while the Octateuch version places the victim on the ground. The allusion to the New Testament sacrifice and to the Eucharist is emphasized by the arrangement of the composition.

Two episodes from the life of Lot are placed on the west wall of Monreale between the two parts of the story of Abraham. These episodes are concerned with the destruction of Sodom; the first shows the visit of the angels to his home and his protection of them from the townspeople,[6] and the second, the flight of Lot and the destruction of Sodom. (See Plate XXXB) This composition of the destruction of Sodom bears a strong resemblance to a miniature in the

Octateuch of Smyrna. (See Plate XXXA) The main elements in the two scenes are the same, the city being destroyed on the right, the wife of Lot being turned into a pillar of salt in the center, and Lot and his daughters fleeing on the left. The Monreale composition is more clearly composed than that in the Octateuch lacking such details as the inclusion of the head of Abraham and of the angel guiding Lot.

The clue to the significance of the inclusion of these episodes in the cycle of Monreale is found in their placement on the west wall of the church where it was the Italian custom to place a depiction of the Last Judgment, a tradition exemplified in the church of Sant' Angelo in Formis.[7] Enlarging upon his explanation of the destruction of Sodom as "the conflagration which prefigured the future judgment,"[8] St. Augustine finds a significance in the various details of the story.

> Lot was delivered out of Sodom, and a fiery rain from heaven turned into ashes the whole region of the impious city, where custom had made sodomy as prevalent as laws have elsewhere made other kinds of wickedness. But this punishment of theirs was a specimen of the divine judgment to come. For what is meant by the angels forbidding those who were delivered to look back, but that we are not to look back in heart to the old life which, being regenerated through grace, we have put off, if we think to escape the last judgment? Lot's wife, indeed, when she looked back, remained, and, being turned into salt furnished to believing men a condiment by which to savour somewhat the warning to be drawn from that example.[9]

This explanation of St. Augustine's appears to have been popular since Isidore of Seville quotes this entire passage

in his comments on the significance of the destruction of Sodom.[10]

The two episodes from the story of Rebecca and Eliezer which follow the Sacrifice of Isaac in the Monreale mosaics are cited by Demus as being the unique instance of the depiction of this subject in Italian medieval art.[11]

The compositions at Monreale (See Plate XXXI) are similar to only two of the six miniatures devoted to this subject in the Octateuch of Smyrna, and the resemblance lies mainly in the elements of the composition, not in their arrangement.[12] One of the interesting differences is the prominence played by the family of Rebecca in the Octateuch cycle as contrasted with their absence in the Monreale version of the story. This isolation of Rebecca from her family is connected with the interpretation placed upon her reaction to the servant of Abraham.

The injunction of Abraham to his servant about choosing a wife for Isaac was considered by St. Augustine to be very significant.

> Now when a servant was sent to Mesopotamia by his father to fetch her, and when Abraham said to that servant, "Put thy hand under my thigh, and I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of heavens, and the Lord of the earth, that thou should not take a wife unto my son Isaac of the daughters of the Canaanites," what else was pointed out by this, but that the Lord God of heaven, and the Lord of the earth, was to come in the flesh which was to be derived from that thigh? Are these small takens of the foretold truth which we see fulfilled in Christ?[13]

The first scene at Monreale shows Rebecca giving

water to the camels of the servant of Abraham. In the Allegoria in Vestus Testamentum from the Abbey of St. Victor this explanation is offered for the significance of this event:

> The servant of Abraham represents the apostles released from original and actual sin by grace. Rebecca, led from her people by the servant is the type of the Church converted by the proclamation of the apostles. The spring from which Rebecca draws water, is the eloquence of knowledge from which at that time her people were trying to control their thirst.[14]

The second scene at Monreale is that of the return of Rebecca with the servant, an event interpreted by Isidore of Seville in terms of the equation of Isaac with Christ.

> And in the way, following the servant Rebecca came to Isaac. Following the word of the prophet, the Church came to Christ.[15]

The last Section of the Old Testament mosaics deals with three aspects of the life of Jacob: his being blessed in place of Esau, his vision of the angels ascending and descending the ladder, and his struggle with the angel which concludes with his being named Israel. A parallel to the first episode depicted at Monreale is found in the frescoes of Sant' Angelo in Formis where Wettstein interprets the last composition in that church dealing with the lives of the Patriarchs as being the Benediction of Jacob by Isaac.[16] The arrangement used at Monreale serves to heighten the drama of the story, for Esau, who was sent out to hunt by Isaac, returns with his kill and appears as a witness to his brother's reception of the blessing. (See XXXIIB)

The miniature in the Octateuch of Smyrna (See Plate XXXIIA) contains the same incidents as those depicted at Monreale, but the similarities in the compositions are not sufficiently close to consider the Octateuch version as the prototype for the version at Monreale.

The basic interpretation of the story of Jacob and Esau in western Biblical exegesis is an extension of the statement made to Rebecca that the elder son shall serve the younger. This was taken to mean that the Jews, the elder people, shall serve the Christians, the younger people.[17] The standard interpretation of the significance of Isaac sending Esau to hunt meat was made by St. Jerome whose interpretation was quoted by Isidore of Seville, and later appeared in the Glossa Ordinaria:

> Isaac was the type of God the Father, Rebecca of the Holy Spirit, Esau the older people . . . Jacob: the church and Christ. The aged Isaac: the summation of the world; the eyes shrouded in mist: the lost faith of the world, and the neglect of the gleam of reverence. As for calling the older son: taking the laws of the Jews.[18]

The sending out of Esau is considered a sign of feebleness on the part of Isaac which is corrected by Rebecca who truly knows the will of God, which is manifested in the blessing of Jacob. The second composition at Monreale which shows Jacob disguised as Esau receiving the blessing was also found to be an antetype of the life of Christ by St. Jerome.

> The garment of Esau is the faith, that is, the scriptures of the Hebrews which were first given to them and which the gentile peoples afterwards put on, the skins wrapped around his arms, the sins of each of the two peoples,

> which Christ fastened on himself; in extending his arms on the cross he bore in his own body, not his own, but the sins of others.[19]

The significance of the inclusion of numerous events from the life of Jacob in the cycle at Monreale is related to the manner in which he was both a figure of Christ and an ancestor of his in the flesh. The departure of Jacob for the country of his mother's relatives, the next scene at Monreale, was felt to have a connection with the life of Christ. (See Plate XXXIIIB) Isidore of Seville explains it thus:

> Jacob fleeing his brother's treachery left behind his father's home, or rather his kinsfolk, made his way to a distant region where he took himself a wife. Similarly Christ left behind his kinsfolk, in the flesh, that is the people of Israel and his homeland that is Jerusalem and all the regions of Judea, He departed to the gentiles taking the Church to himself in order that it be fulfilled as it says: "I will say to not my people, you are my people, and I will have pity on not pitied." (Hosea II: 23)[20]

The last two scenes in the Monreale Old Testament cycle are further confirmations of the special significance in the life of Jacob for the history of the church. As with the other symbolic interpretations of the Old Testament by Christian exegetes, the origin of the significance accorded to Jacob's Dream is taken from a passage in the New Testament, in this case from John 1:51, where Christ says to Nathaniel the Israelite:

> Truly, truly, I say to you, you will see heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man.

From this correspondence between Jacob and the Son of Man, or Christ, the Christian writers constructed a complex system of correspondences to be found in the Dream of Jacob. Again, the standard interpretation can be traced to St. Augustine, whose explanation was quoted by Isidore of Seville and appears in the Glossa Ordinaria. Isidore also elaborates on Augustine's explanation by identifying the location of the event as Bethlehem, rather than Bethel, and by equating the sleep of Jacob with the death or passion of Christ. He then quotes St. Augustine's explanation of the significance of the stone upon which Jacob rests his head.

> Who is the stone placed under Jacob's head, but Christ the head of man? And in its anointing the very name of Christ is expressed for as we all know, Christ means Anninted.[21]

The most elaborate explanation was that attached to the significance of the angels ascending and descending the ladder in the vision of Jacob.

> The angels denote the evangelists, or preachers of Christ. They ascend when they rise above the created universe to describe the supreme majesty of the divine nature of Christ as being in the beginning, God with God, by whom all things were made. They descend to tell of His being made of a woman, made under the law, that He might redeem them that are under the Law. Christ is the ladder reaching from earth to heaven, or from the carnal to the spiritual: for by His assistance the carnal ascend to the spiritual: and the spiritual may be said to descend to nourish the carnal with milk when they cannot speak to them as to spiritual but as carnal. There is thus both an ascent and a descent upon the Son of Man. For the Son of Man is above as our head, being Himself the Saviour; and He is below in His body the Church. He is the ladder for He says, "I am the way."[22]

The Dream of Jacob as it appears in the Salerno ivories is similar to the miniature of the same subject appearing in the Octateuch of Smyrna, showing the sleeping Jacob with two angels ascending and descending the ladder.[23] (See Plate XXXIIIA) This composition is also similar to the left side of the scene at Monreale with the exception of the placement of a container of oil beside the sleeping Jacob, and the appearance of God in a mandorla in the sky. The appearance of God, which is recorded in Genesis, and the container of oil, which is not mentioned specifically as the source of the oil used to anoint the stone, emphasize the sacramental nature of the event as depicted at Monreale.

Also of a sacramental nature is the last scene depicted at Monreale, Jacob wrestling with the angel. (See Plate XXXIV) There is a figure of Jacob journeying which is placed in the spandrel above the last scene, presumably to indicate the lapse of time which has occurred since the last event depicted; namely, the Vision on the Mountain. Omitted are all references to his life with Leah and Rachel and the reasons for his return to his homeland, events depicted in the Smyrna Octateuch cycle--another indication of the purely illustrative, purely narrative content of the Octateuchs' pictures. The significance of Jacob's being called Israel was commented upon by St. Augustine appears to have been accepted by later generations as Isidore summarizes it, and it appears in the Glossa Ordinaria under Isidore's name:

> As I said a little ago, Jacob was also called Israel, the name which was most prevalent among the people who descended from him. Now this name was given him by the angel who wrestled with him on the way back from Mesopotamia, and who was most evidently a type of Christ. For when Jacob overcame him, doubtless with his own consent, that the mystery might be represented, it signified Christ's passion, in which the Jews are seen overcoming Him. And yet he besought a blessing from the very angel he had overcome and so the imposition of this name was the blessing. For Israel means seeing God, which will at last be the reward of all the saints.[24]

The conclusion of the series of Old Testament mosaics at Monreale with this particular scene has puzzled the authorities who tend to dismiss it as unusual and rather peculiar. If, however, this series of mosaics is considered as the summation of the Christian view of history, the tracing of the generations of the ancestors of Christ in the flesh by showing the most symbolically significant events of their lives, the termination of the cycle at this point becomes more meaningful and assumes a real significance. As St. Augustine points out in his book for the newly converted, First Catechetical Instruction:

> . . . all things that you now see happening in the Church of God, and in the name of Christ throughout the whole world, were already foretold ages before. And even as we read them, so also do we see them; and thereby are we edified into faith. Once a flood took place over the whole earth; that sinners might be destroyed, and those who escaped in the Ark were a figure of the Church that was to be, which now floats upon the waves of the world, and is saved from sinking by the wood of the Cross of Christ. It was foretold . . . to one man, Abraham, a faithful servant of God, that from him should spring a people who should worship the one God, amid the other nations that worshipped idols; and all things that it was foretold should happen to that people came to pass even as they were foretold. Christ also, the King of all Saints and God, was

> prophesied in that people, that He should come of the seed of Abraham himself according to the flesh which he took upon Him, that all those who might be the sons of Abraham who should imitate his faith. And also it came to pass: Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, who was of that race.[25]

The conclusion of the mosaics with Jacob being named Israel can be connected with the prophecy of Jeremiah that the new Covenant, which was interpreted as the coming of Christ, will be with the house of Israel.

> Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, not like the covenant which I made with their fathers when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt . . . I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And no longer shall each man teach his neighbor and each his brother, saying "Know the Lord," for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest, says the Lord.[26]

The covenant made first with Abraham was manifested in the miraculous birth of Isaac and in the distinction made between Esau and Jacob while they were still in the womb of Rebecca, and in the miraculous events of the life of Jacob or Israel, and finally fulfilled in the birth of Christ. In a similar manner, the nave mosaics at Monreale are connected with the scenes from the life of Christ displayed in the transepts by the medallions of the genealogy of Christ taken from Matthew which are placed on the arches separating the nave and apse from the transepts.[27]

Conclusion

The assumption used by historians in analyzing the effect of Byzantine art on Western medieval art is that the adoption of Byzantine styllistic refinements implies the presence of Byzantine iconography as well. With regard to the mosaics of Old Testament scenes in the nave of the Cathedral of Monreale, this assumption cannot be substantiated. The ties of Monreale with an Italian tradition can be more easily proved in the case of the Creation cycle than in the lives of the Patriarchs because of the greater number of monuments available for comparison. The parallels, however, between the events selected for depiction at Monreale and those used in other Italian cycles connect the Sicilian mosaics with a Western tradition of Biblical imagery. The correspondence of the Sicilian cycle with the events considered important in Western Exegesis is a further proof of the Western origin of this mosaic cycle.

The scenes at Monreale which bear a striking resemblance to the Byzantine cycle of Old Testament imagery appearing in the Octateuchs such as the Smyrna copy of the twelfth century are few: Adam resting in Paradise, the Expulsion from Paradise, Lamech's shooting of Cain, the Hospitality of Abraham, and the Destruction of Sodom. But of these scenes only two, Adam resting in Paradise and the Destruction of Sodom, cannot be related to previous examples in Italian medieval art.

Considering the complex symbolism which the Western exegetes found in the text of the Bible, it would be surprising if not only the selection of scenes considered worthy of pictorial illustration, but the arrangement of details within the scenes, had not been affected by their ideas. At Monreale, the compositions have been ordered to give the clearest impression of the aspects of the Biblical narrative considered as symbolically important. This characteristic distinguishes the scenes in the mosaics from the few miniatures in the Octateuch cycle which correspond to them in general arrangement. The richness of detail at Monreale, which at first glance gives the cycle the appearance of pure narrative, can also be explained in terms of the elaboration of symbolism which Western writers had been able to extract from the narrative of the Old Testament by the twelfth century.

The description of the mosaics in the nave of Monreale as the "history" of the Old Testament must be interpreted in terms of the conception of history prevailing in the twelfth century. This conception of history, deriving from St. Augustine, consisted of two aspects: the unfolding of the history of the world in one chronological sequence from the Creation to the Last Judgment according to the Divine Plan, and the consideration of events as prefigurative, whereby the great events of the New Testament bearing on man's salvation had been alluded to in previous times, above

all in the Age of the Patriarchs. Thus, history was viewed both as a chronological narrative and as a prefiguration of events to come. It is this dualism as well as the record of these special events which is presented at Monreale.

Footnotes (Chapter V)

[1]Wettstein, Sant'Angelo en Formis, p. 38.

[2]St. Augustine, City of God, Bk. XVI, Ch. 29, p. 553.

[3]Wettstein, op. cit., p. 39. Dans un paysage d'arbres et de collines, Abraham s'apprete à sacrificier Isaac accroupi sur l'autel. Le couteau levé, il fixe l'ange qui descend du ciel pour suspendre l'holocauste. En bas à gauche, devant un monticule, le belier qui sera immole à la place d'Isaac a les cornes prisonières dans un buisson d'épines.

[4]Hugo of St. Victor, "Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum," Vol. 175 in Patroligia Cursus Completus, ed. J. P. Migne, col. 647. Abraham igitur, Deus Pater; Isaac, Christus; mons, divina charitas; duo juvenes, increduli Judei et gentiles; asinus, stultia incredulitas utrorumque; ara, ligna; vepres, exitium crucis; Isaac, divinitas; aries, humanitas; ignis, augustia passionis.

[5]St. Augustine, City of God, Bk. XVI, Ch. 32, p. 555.

[6]Demus, op. cit., Plate 104a.

[7]Anthony, Romanesque Frescoes, p. 92.

[8]St. Augustine, Reply to Faustus, Bk. XXII, Ch. 41, p. 288.

[9]St. Augustine, City of God, Bk. XVI, Ch. 30, p. 553.

[10]Isidore of Seville, op. cit., cols. 245, 246.

[11]Demus, op. cit., p. 253.

[12]Hessling, Miniatures de l'Octateuque Grèc de Smyrne, fol. 36v, 37v.

[13]St. Augustine, City of God, Bk XVI, Ch. 33, p. 556.

[14]Hugo of St. Victor, op. cit., col. 648. Puer Abrahae exprimit apostolos a culpa originali et actuali per gratiam purificatos. Rebecca per puerum de gentilitate adducta, gentium est Ecclesia, per praedicationem apostolorum conversa. Fons, de quo hausit Rebecca, facundia philosophica est, ea qua tunc temporis gentilitas sitim suam conabatur temperare.

[15]Isidore of Seville, op. cit., col. 252. Sicque secuta pueram Rebecca, venit ad Isaac. Secuta verbum propheticum Ecclesia venit ad Christum.

[16]Wettstein, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

[17]St. Augustine, City of God, Bk. XVI, Ch. 35, pp. 557-58.

[18]Glossa Ordinaria, col. 149. Isaac portat imaginem Dei Patris, Rebecca Spiritus sancti, Esau populi prioris et zabuli, Jacob Ecclesiae at Christi. Senectus Isaac, consummationem mundi; oculi caligantes periisse fidem de mundo, et religionis lumen neglectum esse, significant. Quia filius major vocatur, acceptio est legis Judaeorum.

[19]Ibid. Stola Esau est fides, id est Scripturae Hebraeorum quae illis primo datae sunt quibus populus gentilium postea indutus; pelles circumdatae brachiis ejus, peccata utriusque populi, quae Christus in extensione manum cruci secum affixit ipse enim in corpore suo, non sua, sed alien peccata portabat.

[20]Isidore of Seville, op. cit., col. 258. Jacob autem dolos fugiens fratris, relicta domo partia, vel parentibus, vadit in regionem longinquam, ut acciperet sibi uxorem.

Non aliter Christus, relictis parentibus secundum carnem, id est populo Israel, et patria, id est Jerosolyma, et omnibus regionibus Judaeae, abiit in gentes accipiens sibi inde Ecclesiam, ut impleretur quod dictum est: Vocabo plebem meam non plebem meam, et non dilectam plebem dilectam.

[21]St. Augustine, Reply to Faustus, Bk. XII, Ch. 26, p. 192. See also Isidore of Seville, op. cit., cols. 258-59.

[22]St Augustine, Reply to Faustus, Bk. XII, Ch. 26, p. 192.

[23]Walter Lowrie, Art in the Early Church (New York: Pantheon Books, 1947), p. 118a.

[24]St. Augustine, City of God, Bk. XVI, Ch. 39, p. 562. See also Isidore of Seville, op. cit. col. 266.

[25]St. Augustine, The First Catechetical Instruction, trans. Joseph P. Christopher (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Bookshop, 1946), Ch. 27, pp. 84-5.

[26]Jeremiah 31:31-34.

[27]Demus, op. cit., p. 314, Plate 60.

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Plate I

Berlin Ivories

(Berlin, Kaiser Frederick Museum)

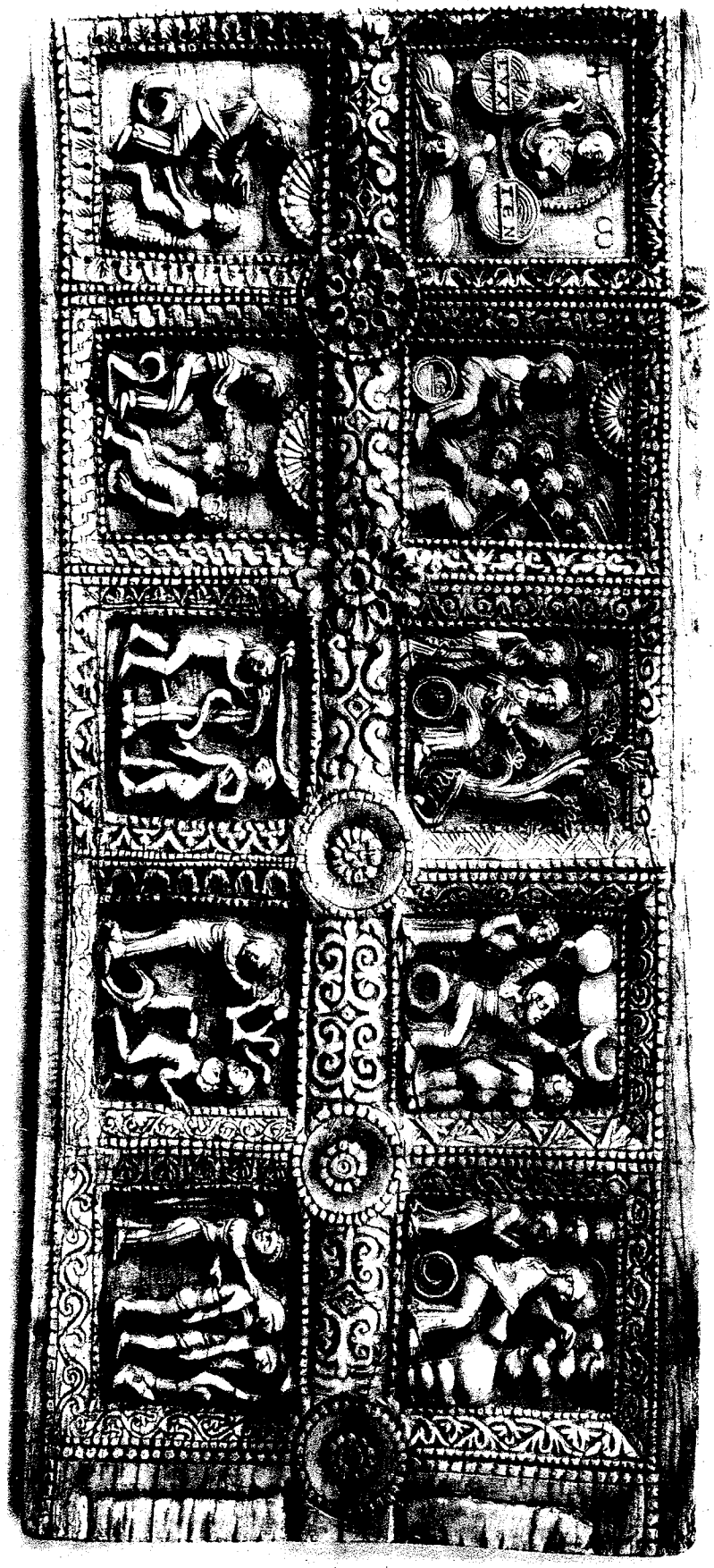
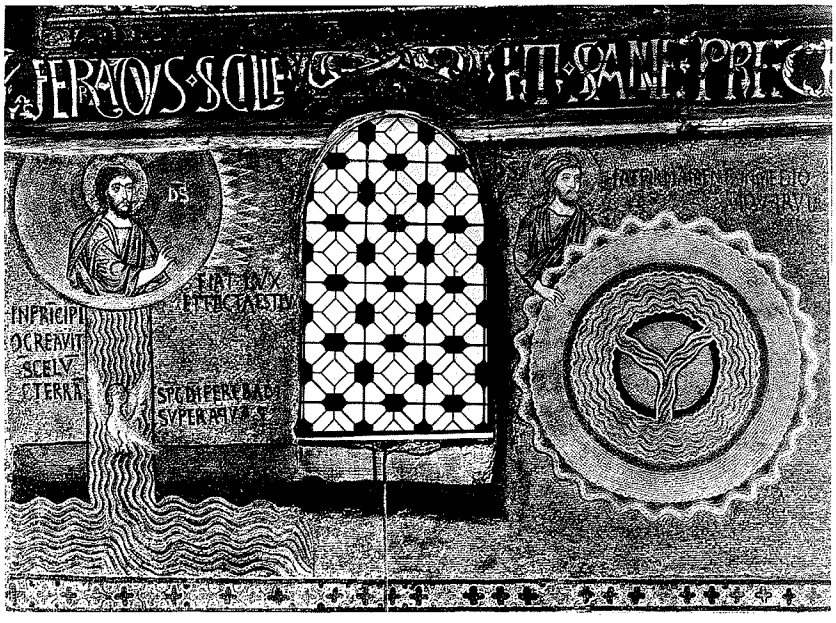


Plate II

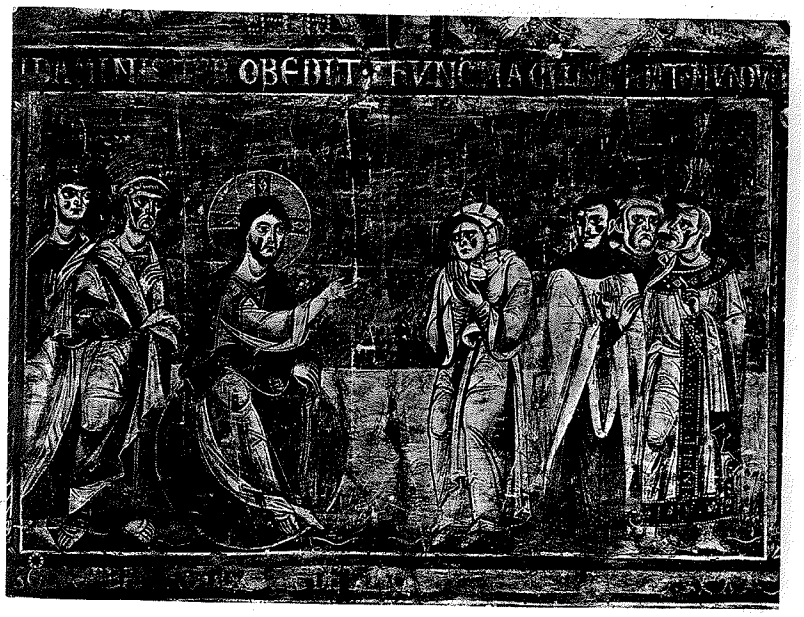
A. Perugia Bible: Creation of Firmament and Dry Land.

B. Palermo. Cappella Palatina: First two days of Creation.

A.



B.

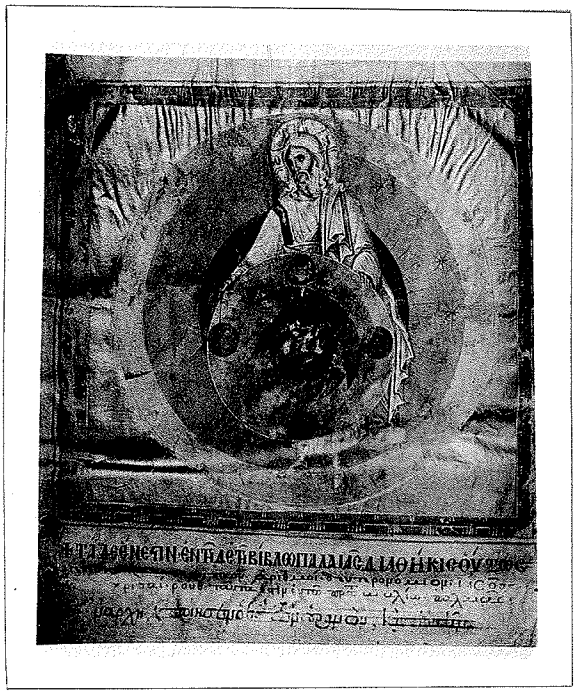


a) La Femme adultère (nef, 3e registre à droite)

A. Sant' Angelo in Formis: Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery.

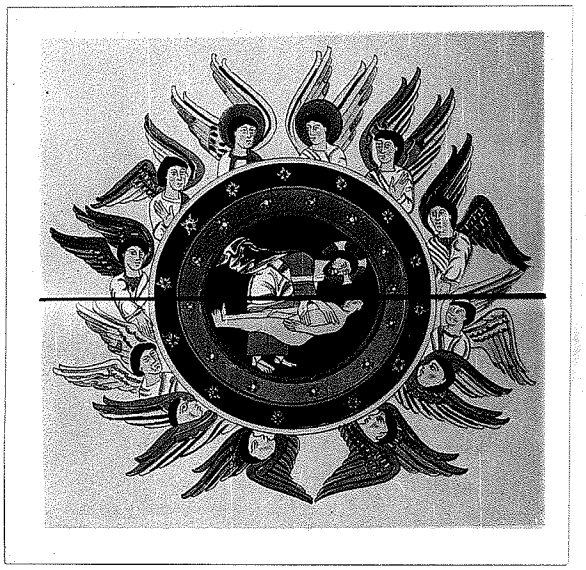
B. Monreale: Creation of the Firmament; Creation of Dry Land.

A. Monte Cassino, Rabanus Maurus, De Universo (MS 132): The Trinity.



B. The Octateuch of Smyrna, (fol. 2 r): The Ancient of Days.

Plate V

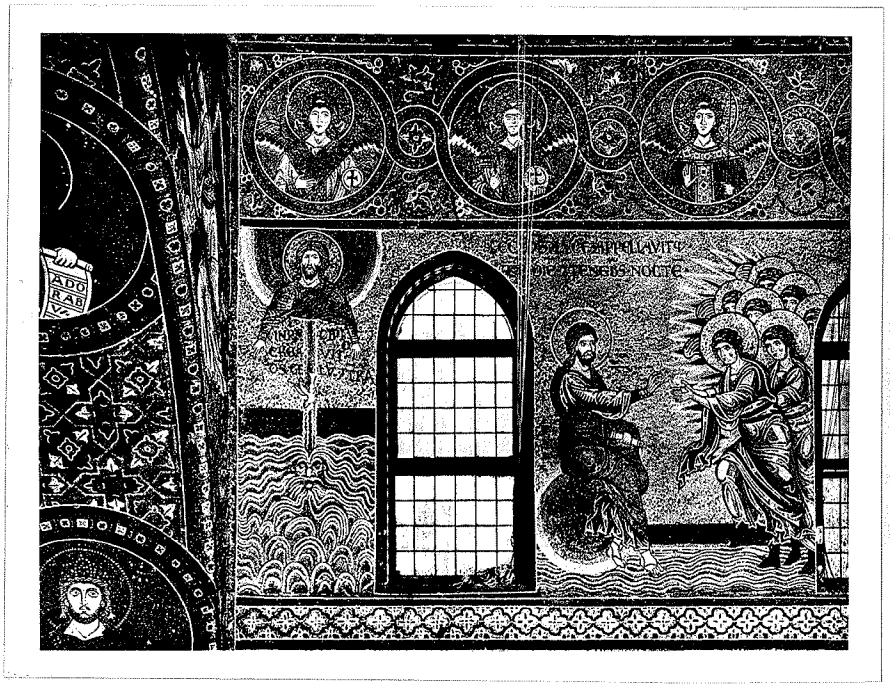


A. Monte Cassino, Rabanus Maurus, De Universo, (MS 132): The Creation of Man.

B. Salerno Ivories, Beginning of Creation; Creation of the Angels.

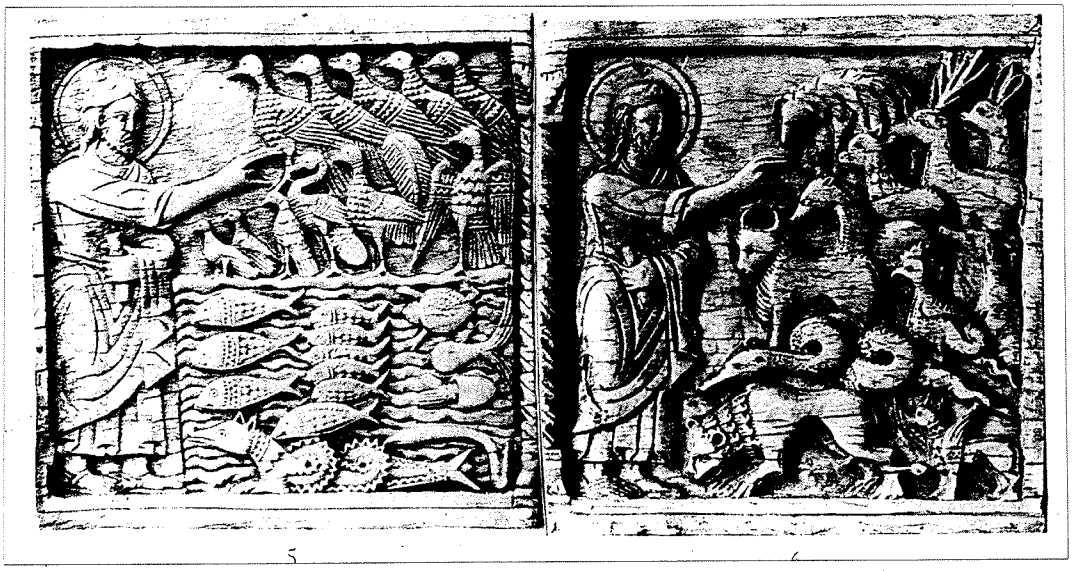
Plate VI

A. Octateuch of Smyrna (fol. 4v): Night and Day.



B. Monreale: First Day of Creation.

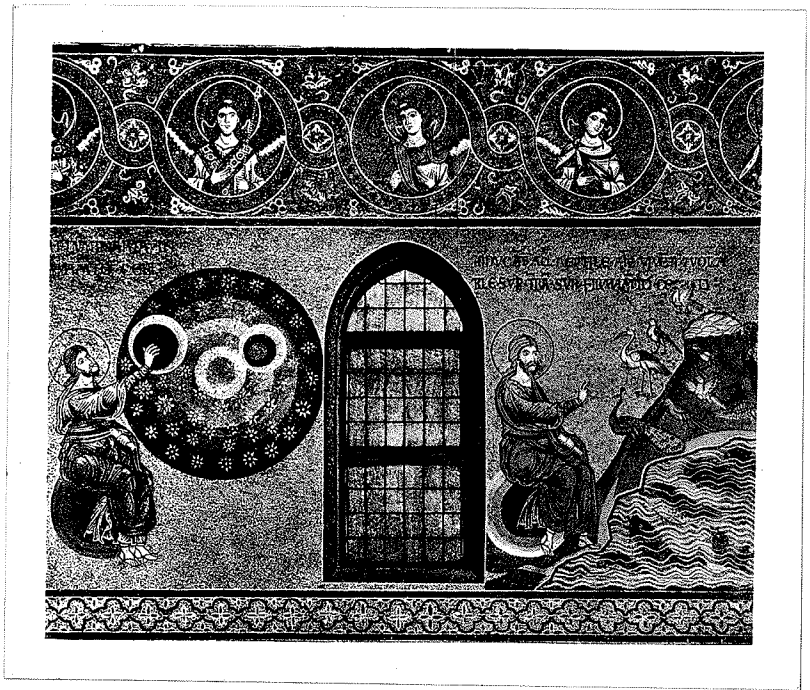
A. Salerno Ivories: Creation of Dry Land; Creation of Heavenly Bodies.



B. Salerno Ivories: Creation of Fish and Fowl; Creation of Animals.

Plate VIII

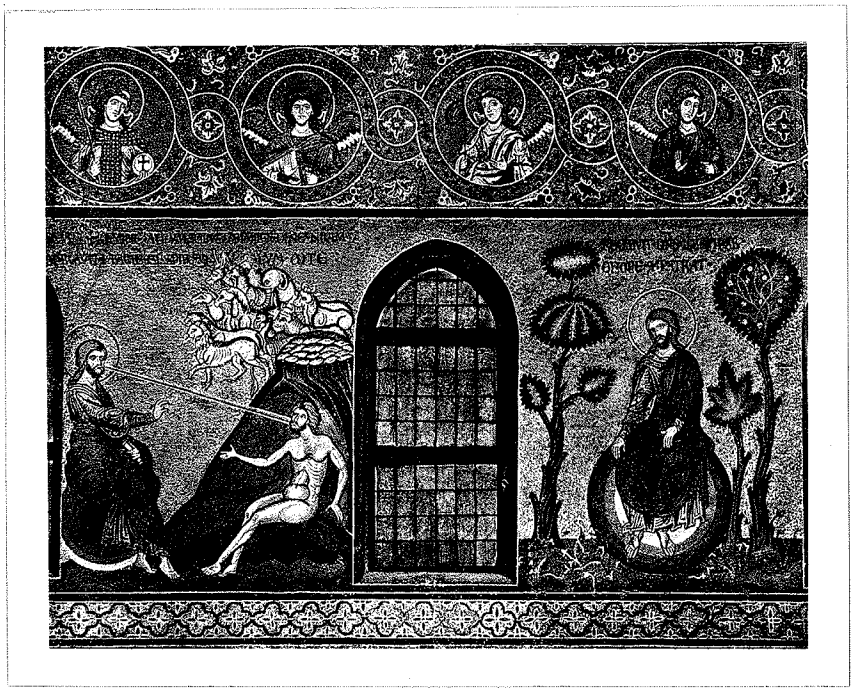
A. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 6v): Creation of Fish and Fowl.



B. Monreale: Creation of Heavenly Bodies; Creation of Fish and Fowl.

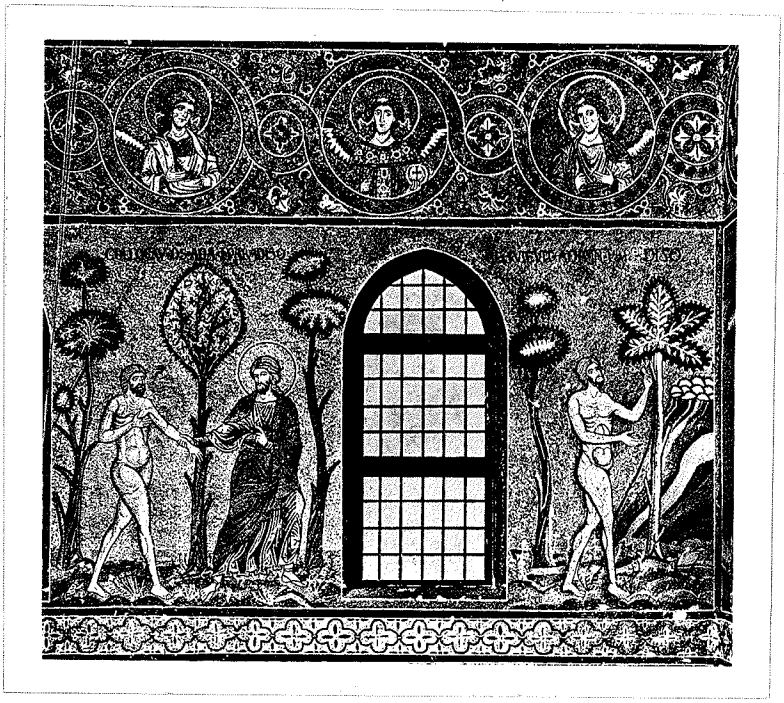
Plate IX

A. Smyrna Octateuch(fol. 8v): Creation of Body of Adam.

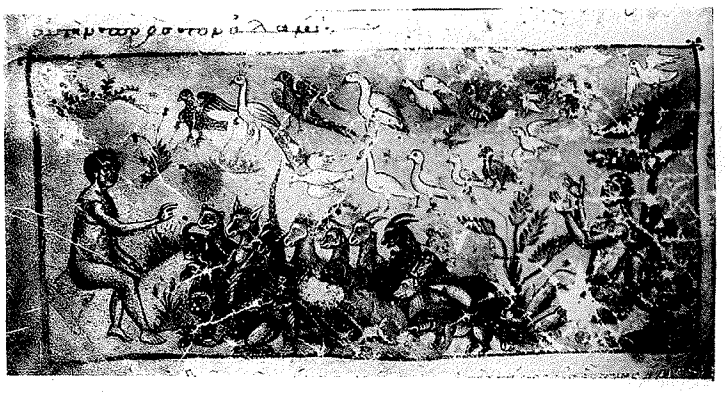


B. Monreale: Creation of Adam and Animals; Rest of Creator on Seventh Day.

A. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 11v): Adam in Paradise.



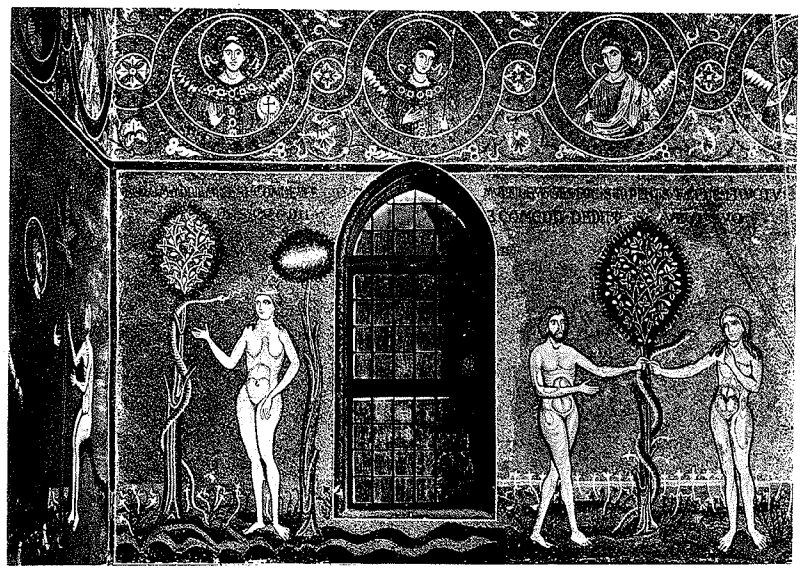
B. Monreale: Introduction of Adam into Paradise; Adam in Paradise.



A. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 12v): Adam and the Animals; Creation of Eve.

B. Monreale: Creation of Eve.

A. Monreale: Eve Introduced to Adam.



B. Monreale: Eve and the Serpent; The Fall of Man.

A. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 16r): Expulsion from Paradise.

B. Monreale: Chastisement of Adam and Eve; Expulsion from Paradise.

Plate XV

St. Augustine, The City of God (Pforta; Bibliotek der KGL Landes-schule; MS Lat. A. 10; fol. 2 v; c. 1180): Page Illustrating the City of God.

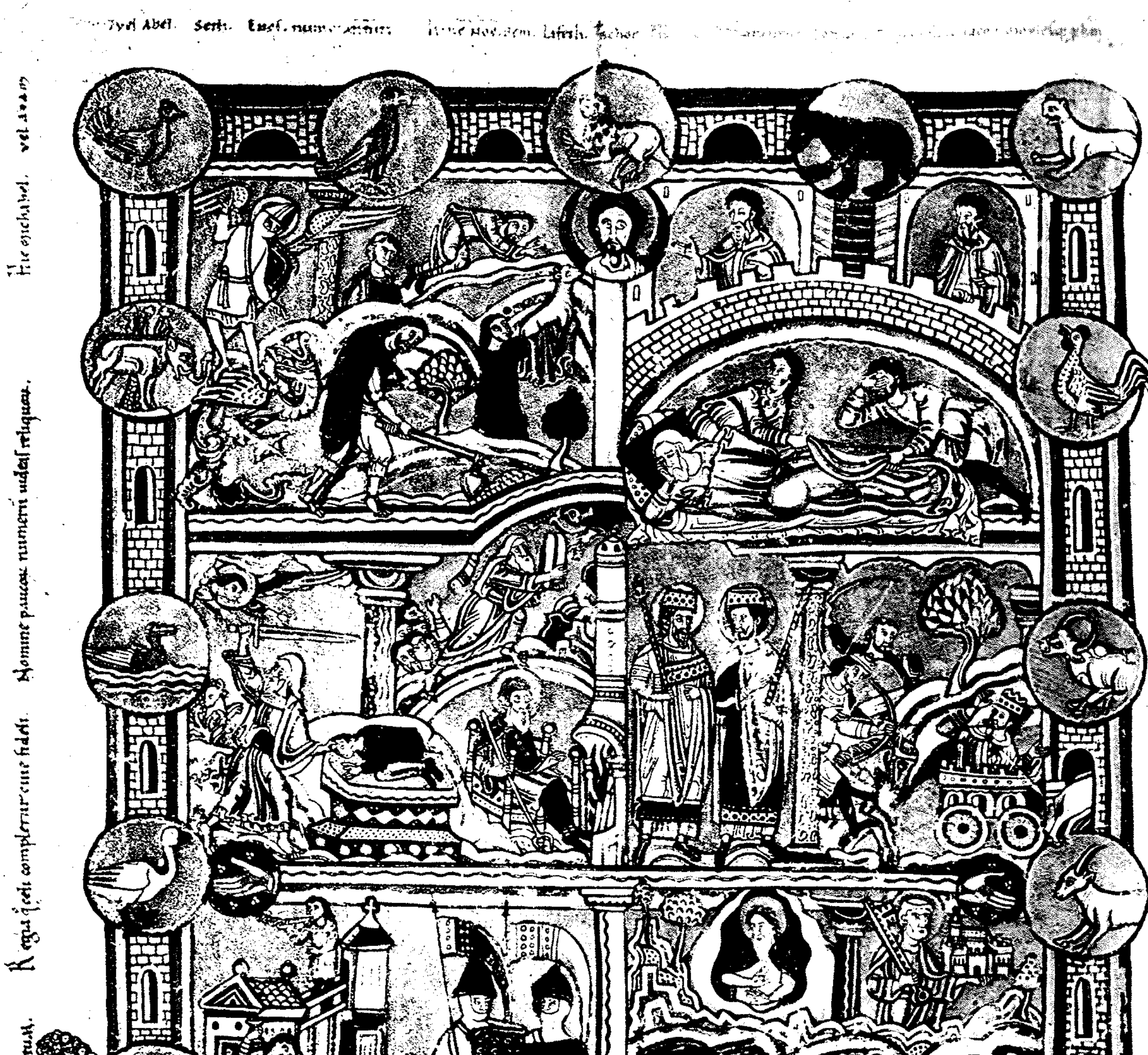
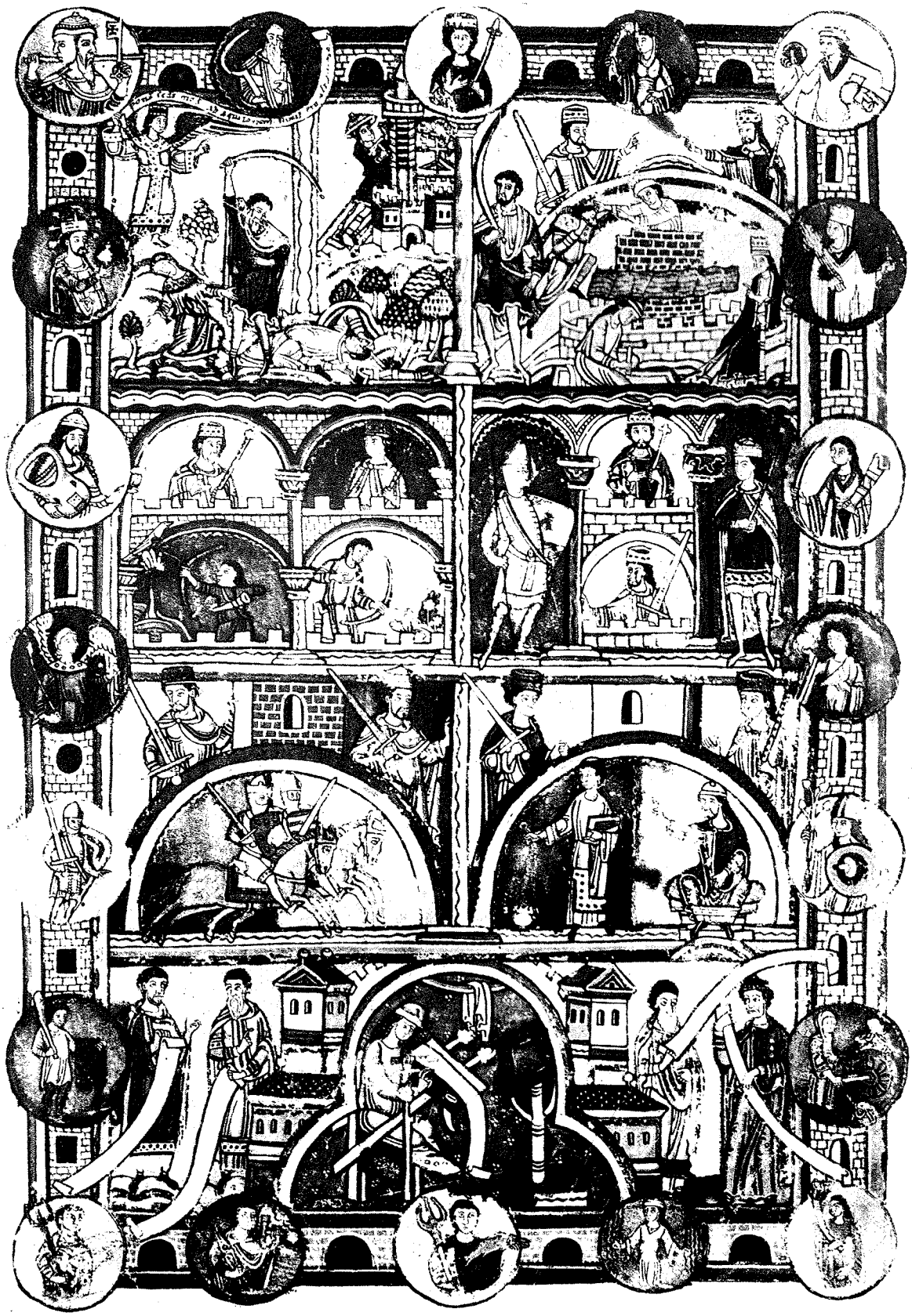

Abel.
Seth.

Plate XVI

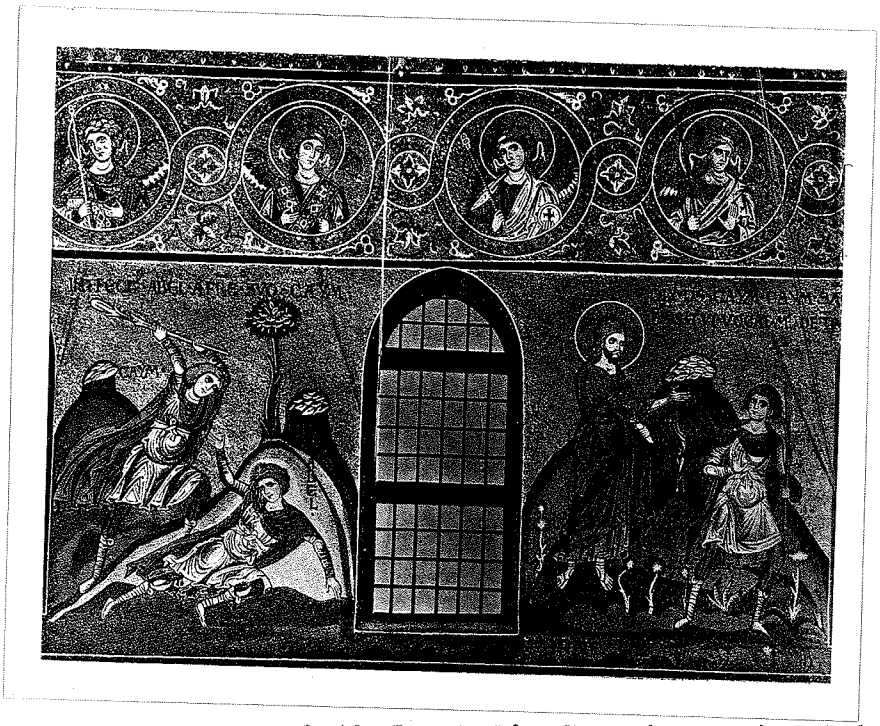
St. Augustine, The City of God (Pforta: Bibliotek der KGL Landes-schule: MS LAT. A. 10; fol. 3 v): Page Illustrating the City of Man.



A. Salerno Ivories: Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, Murder of Abel; God's Reprimand of Cain.

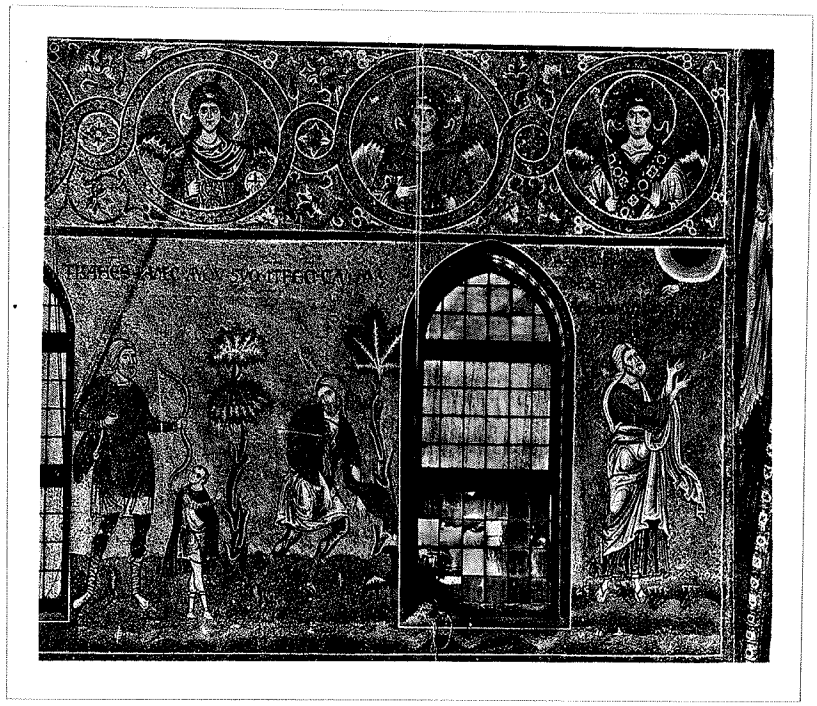
B. Monreale: Labours of Adam and Eve; Sacrifice of Cain and Abel.

Plate XVIII

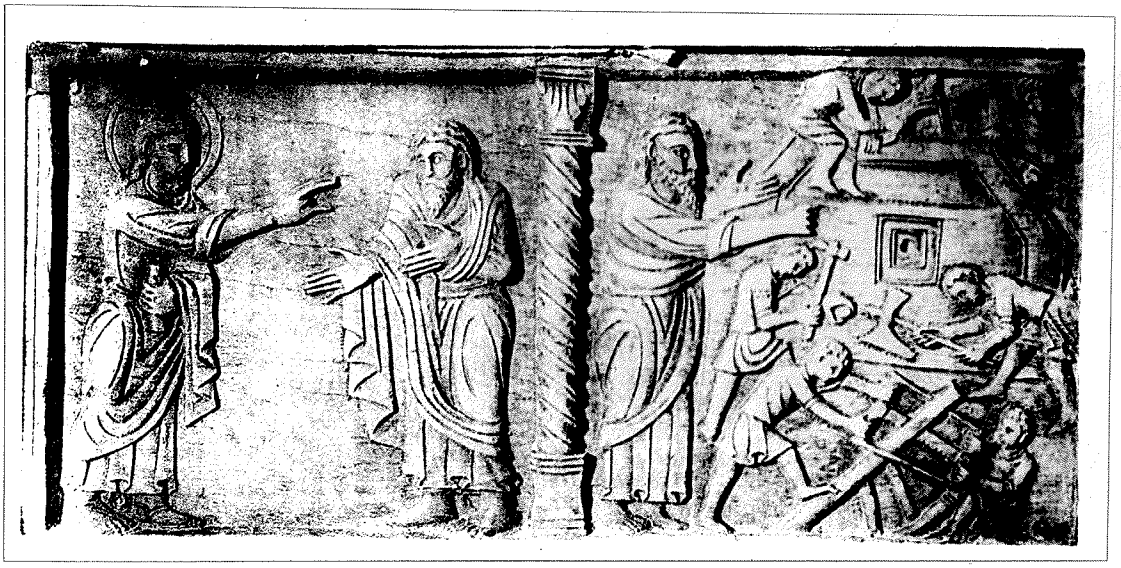


Monreale: Murder of Abel; God's Reprimand to Cain.

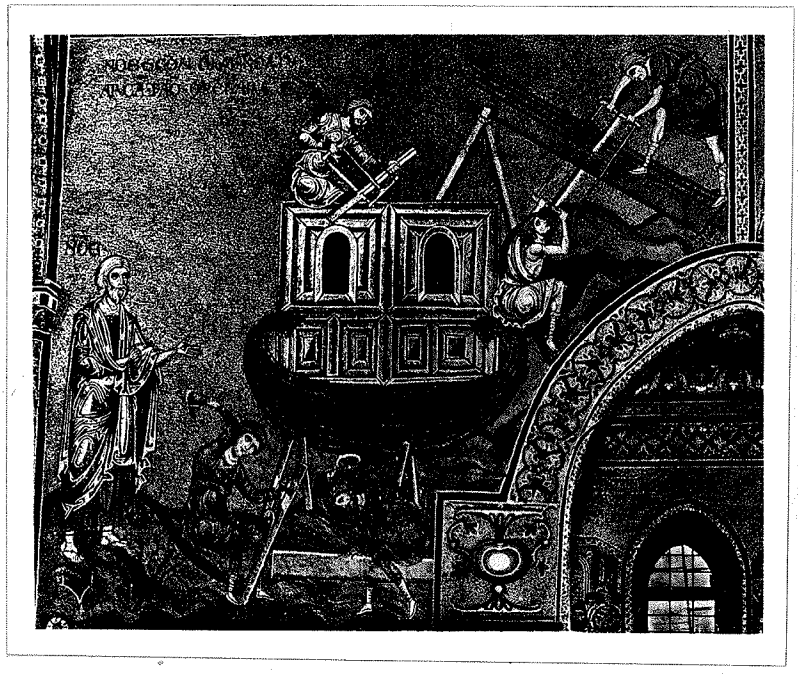
A. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 17r): Story of Lamech.



B. Monreale: Lamech Murdering Cain; Noah Ordered to Build the Ark.

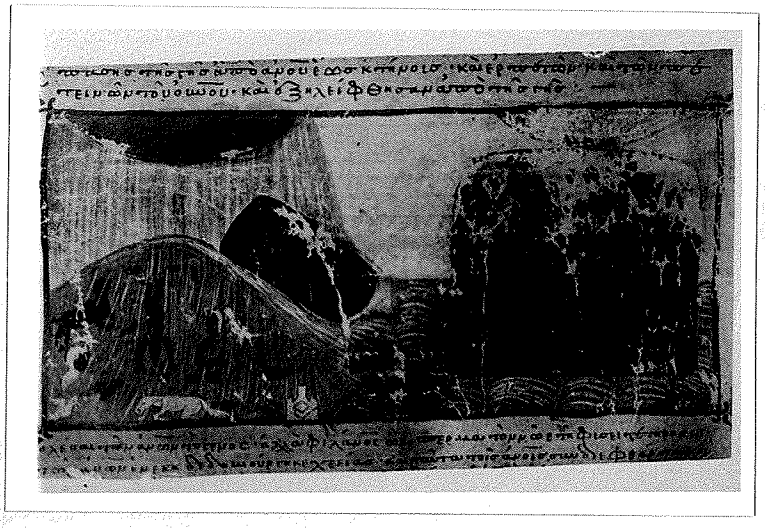


A. Salerno Ivories: Noah Ordered to Build the Ark; The Construction of the Ark.

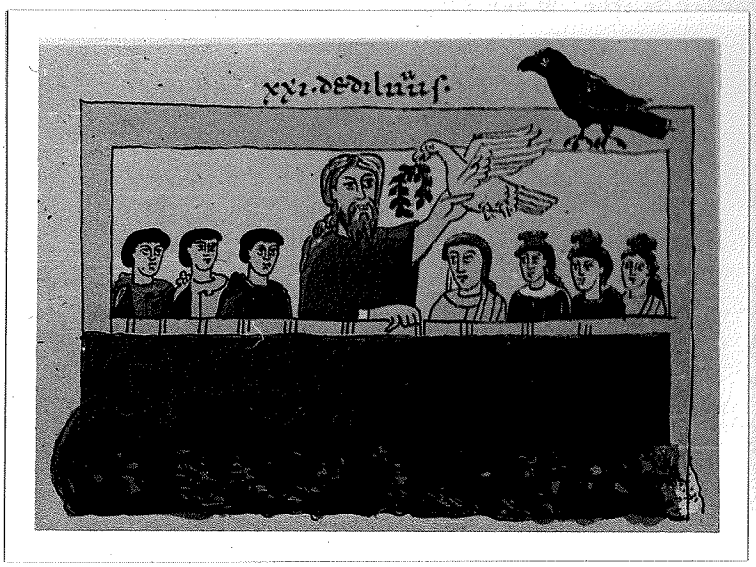


B. Monreale; The Construction of the Ark.

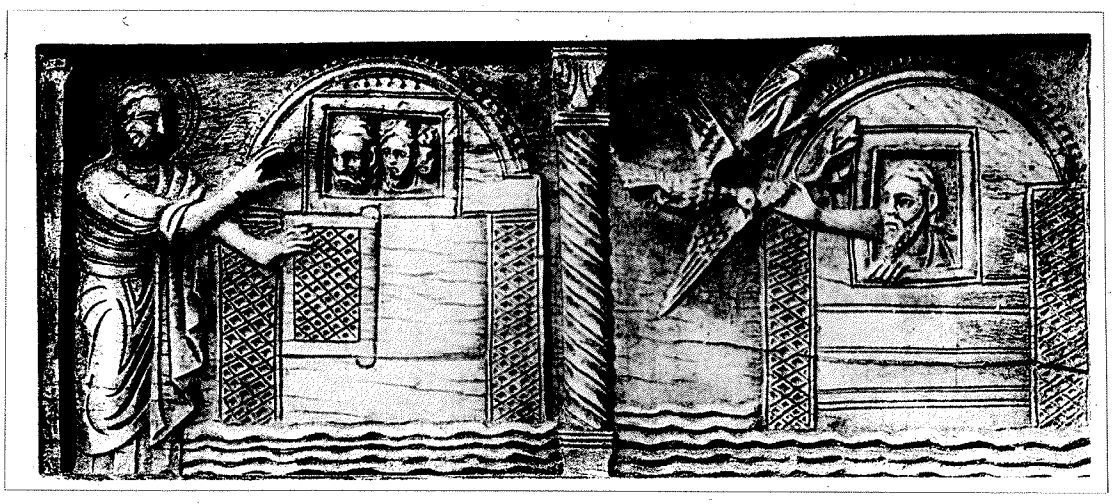
A. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 19v): Noah Ordered to Build the Ark.



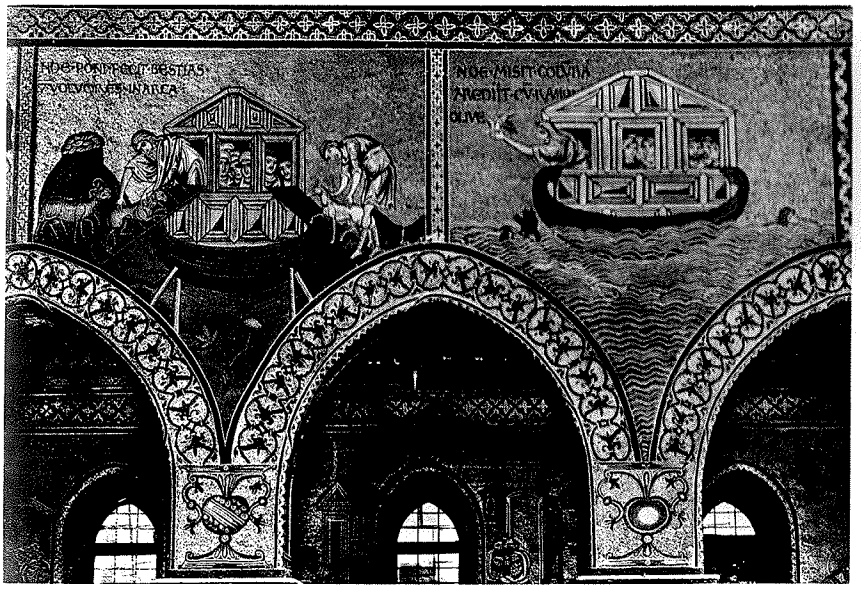
B. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 20v): The Flood.



A. Monte Cassino, Rabanus Maurus, De Universo(MS 132): The Flood.

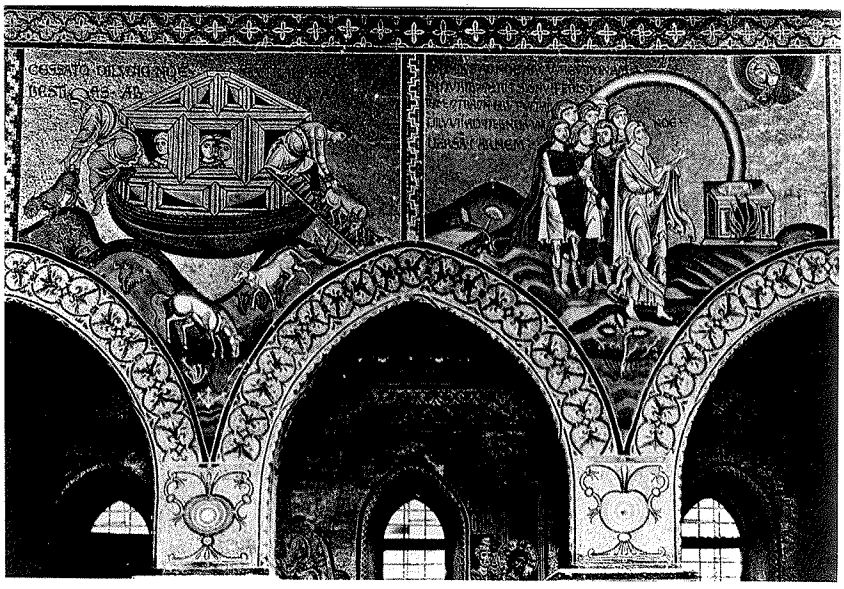


B. Salerno Ivories: Blessing of Noah; The Flood.



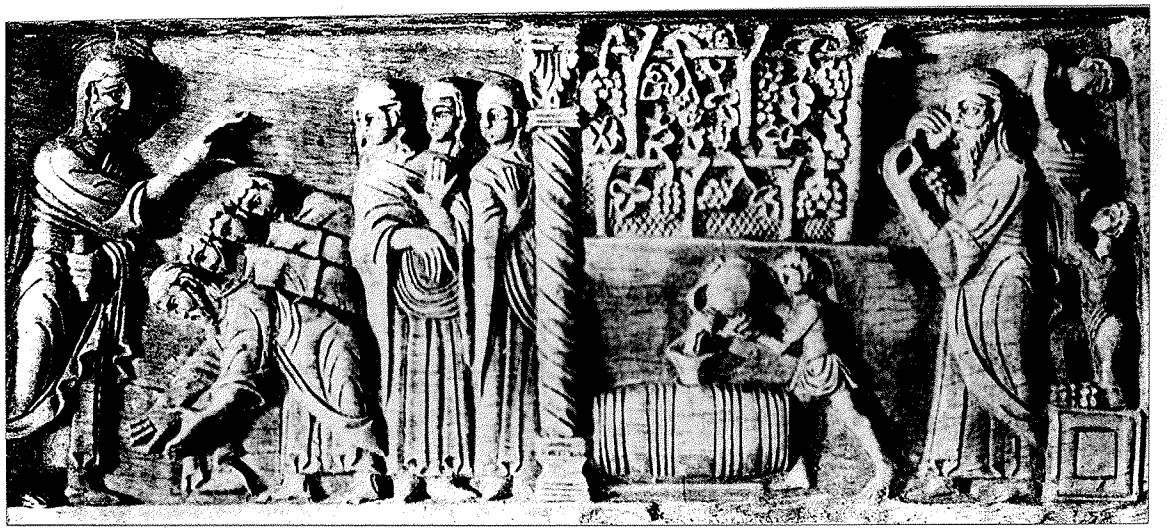
100. Monreale: The Animals Entering the Ark; the Flood.
Photo Anderson

A. Monreale: Animals Entering the Ark; The Flood.



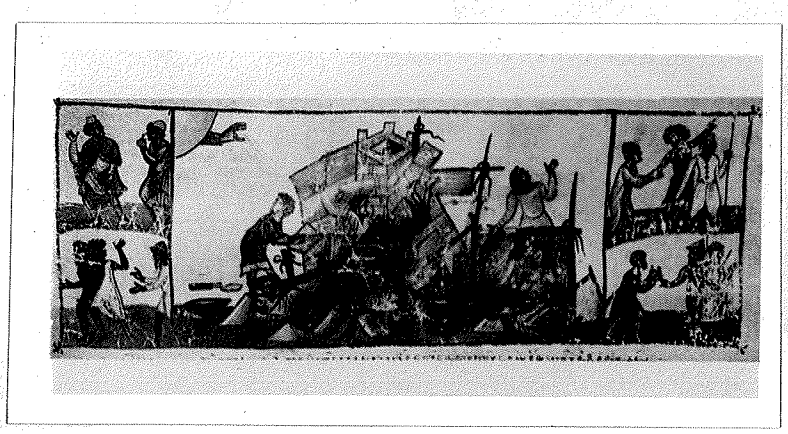
B. Monreale: Animals Leaving the Ark; The Covenant with Noah.

A. Salerno Ivories: Noah Leaving the Ark; Sacrifice of Noah.

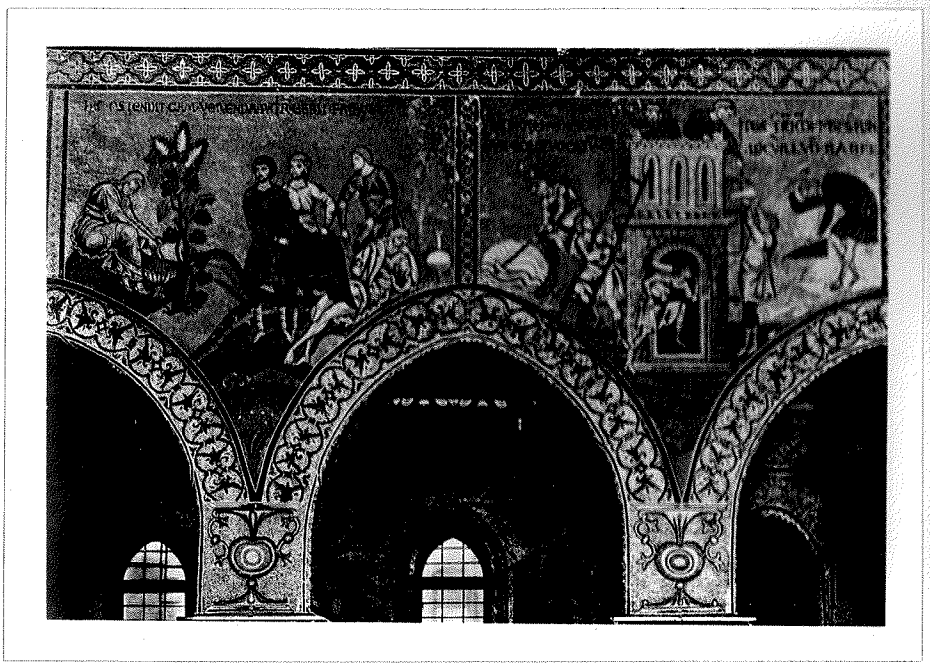


B. Salerno Ivories: Blessing of Noah; Preparation of the Wine.

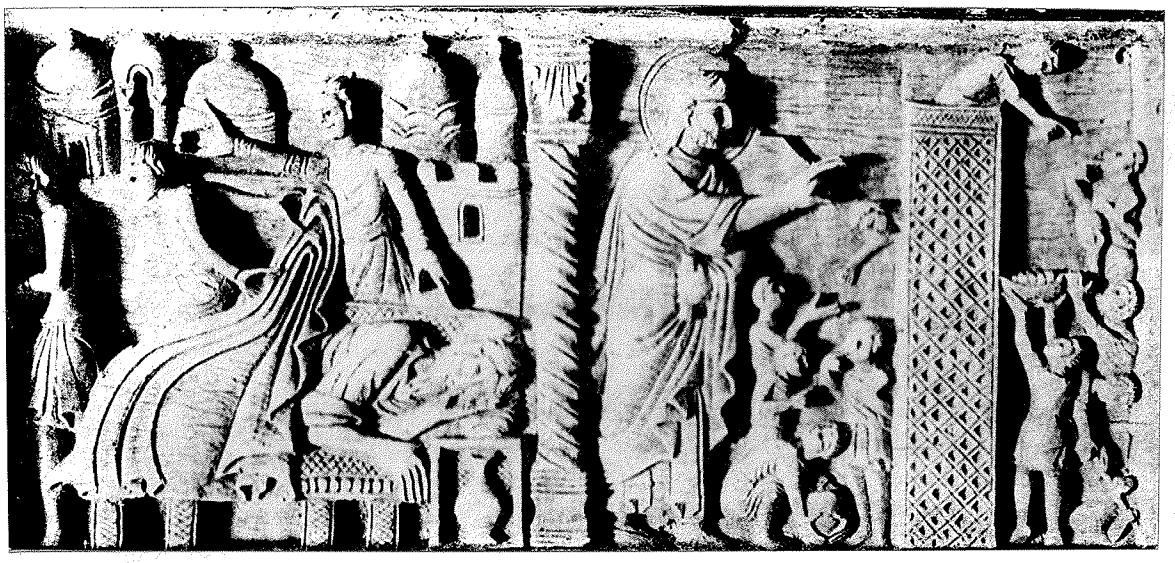
A. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 22v): Preparation of the Wine; Drunkenness of Noah.



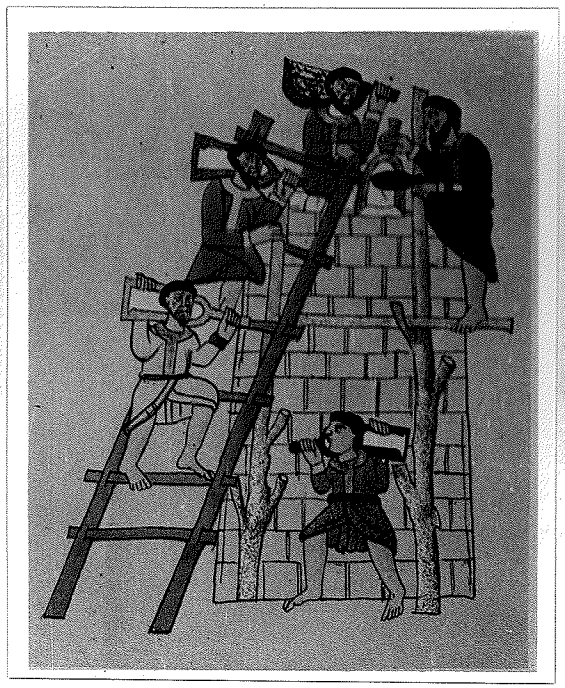
B. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 24r): Destruction of the Tower of Babel.



A. Monreale: Noah Preparing Wine; Drunkenness of Noah.



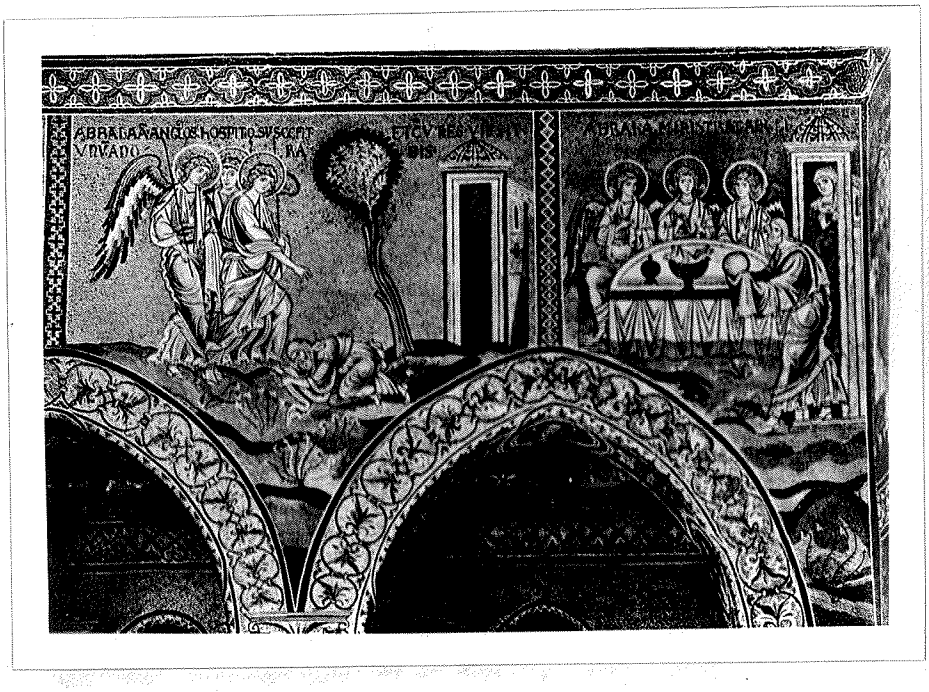
B. Salerno Ivories: The Drunken Noah Discovered by his Sons; Construction of the Tower of Babel.



A. Monte Cassino, Rabanus Maurus: Tower of Babel.

B. Monte Cassino, De Universo: Paradise.

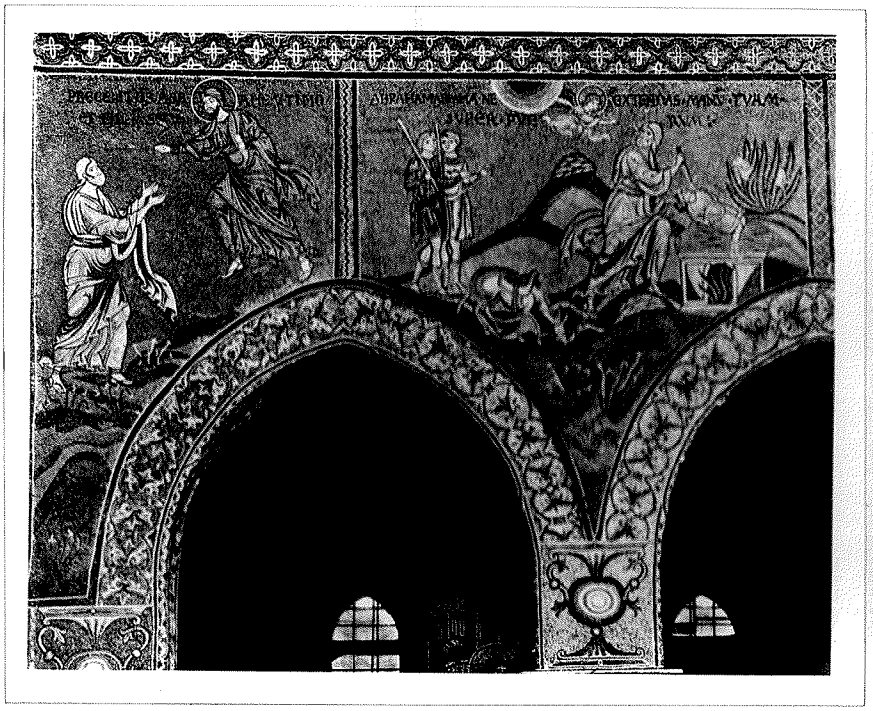
A. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 26v): Visit of the Angels to Abraham; (fol. 30r): Hospitality of Abraham.



B. Monreale: Visit of the Angels to Abraham; Hospitality of Abraham.

Plate XXIX

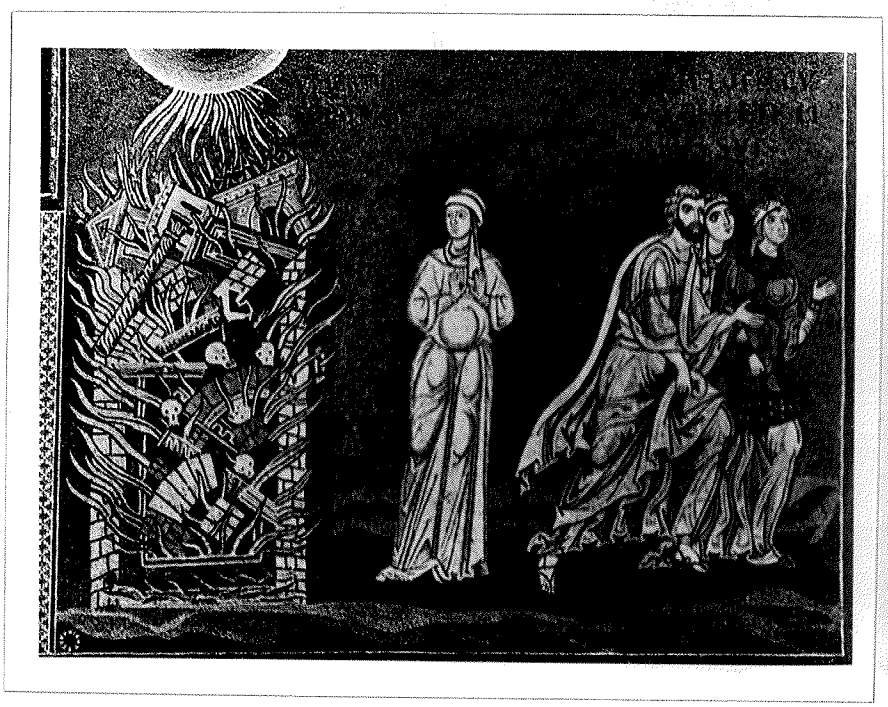
A. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 34v): Story of Abraham and Isaac; God orders Abraham to Sacrifice his Son; Abraham leaves the Servants at the Foot of the Mountain; (fol. 35r): Sacrifice of Isaac; God's Covenant with Abraham; The Descent from the Mountain.



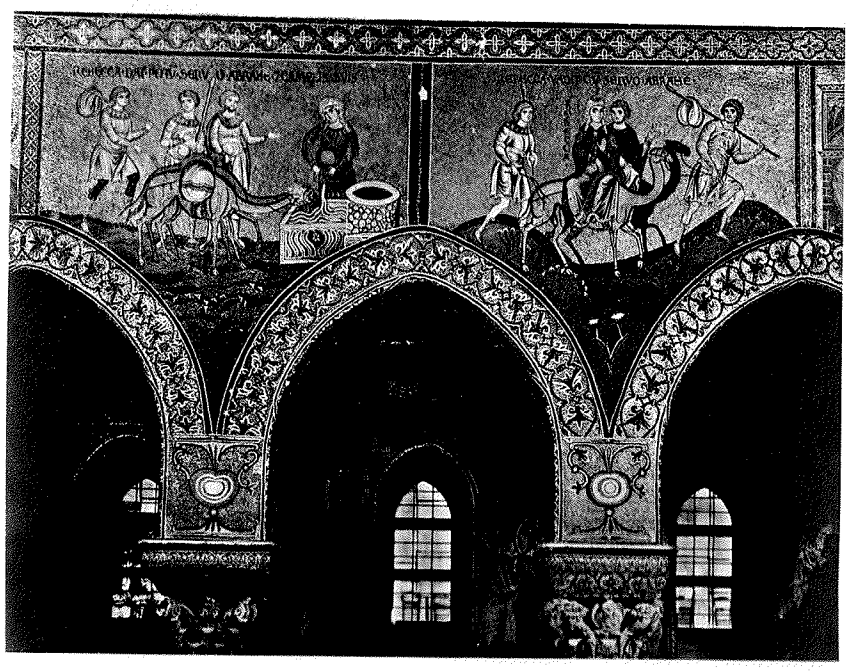
B. Monreale: Abraham ordered to Sacrifice Isaac; The Sacrifice of Isaac.

Plate XXX

A. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 32r): Destruction of Sodom.

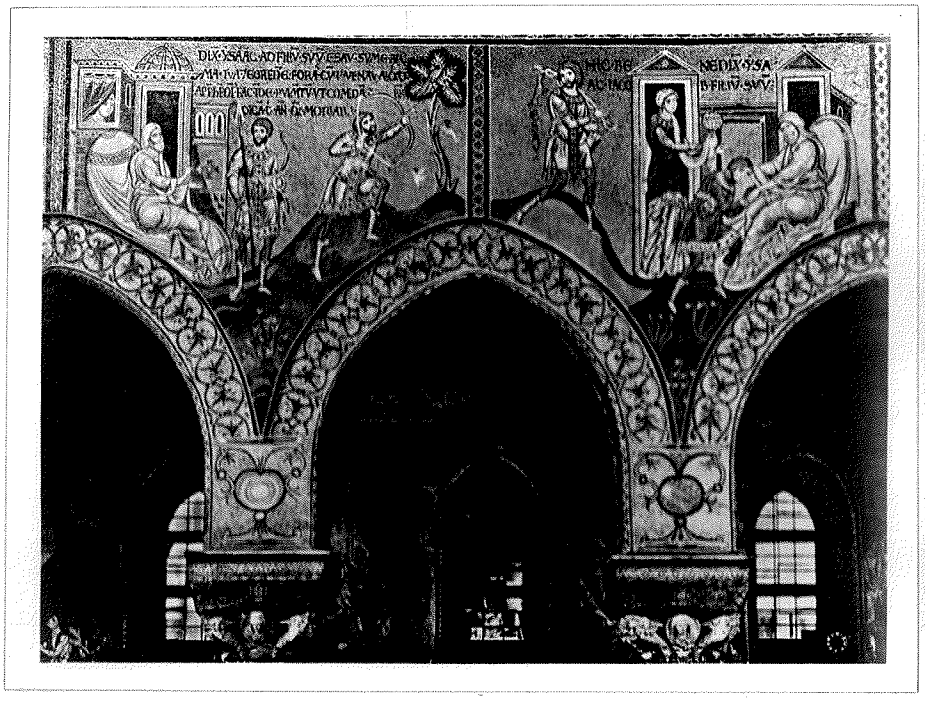


B. Monreale: Destruction of Sodom.



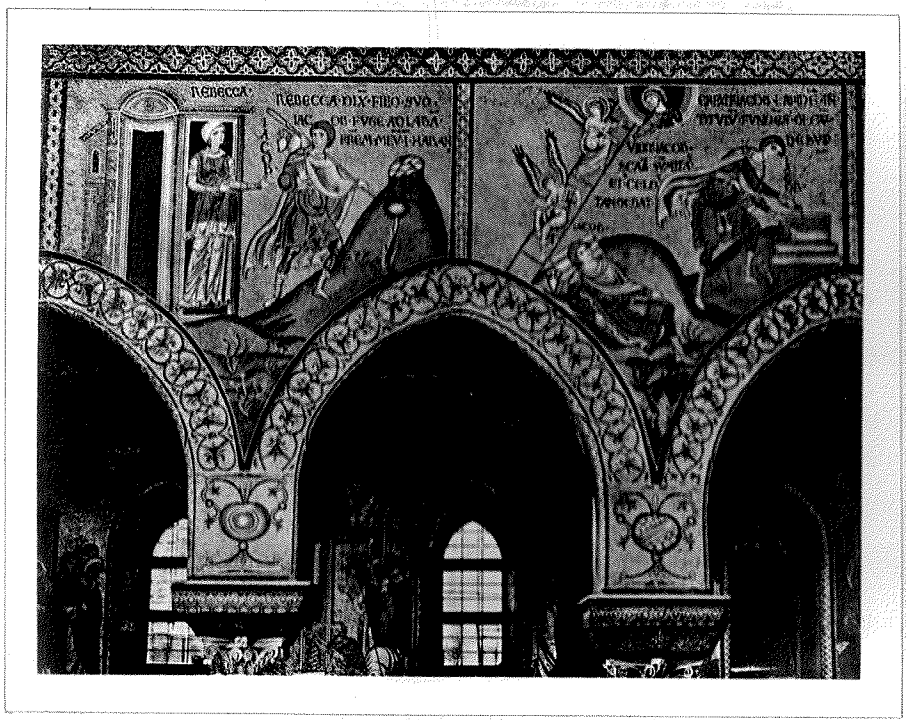
Monreale: Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well; Rebecca Returns with Eliezer.

A. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 40r): Esau sent Hunting by Isaac; Jacob Disguised as Esau Receives the Blessing.



B. Monreale: Esau sent to Hunt; Esau Hunting; The Blessing of Jacob Witnessed by Esau.

A. Octateuch of Smyrna(fol. 41v): The Vision of the Ladder; Jacob Pours Oil on the Stone.



B. Monreale: Journey of Jacob to Haran; Vision of Jacob and the Anointing of the Stone.

Plate XXXIV

Monreale: Journey of Jacob from Mesopotamia; Jacob Wrestling with the Angel.

Approved