

**BYZANTINE ART AND THE WEST:  
THE LEGACY OF O. DEMUS**

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Today I shall discuss a work which, in Byzantine scholarship, ranks among the most important that have come out of recent decades. Twenty years ago, in 1970, Professor Otto Demus of Vienna published a book from which I have stolen the title of my lecture, *Byzantine Art and the West*. This book, which contains the Wrightsman Lectures he delivered in New York some years earlier, is a seminal work. I will try, briefly, to outline some of its ideas and state its position within scholarship.

Already in the last century, there were scholars who claimed that the culture and arts of the East Christian Empire had exerted a long-lasting and decisive influence upon the West in the course of the Middle Ages. There were clues, they insisted, which pointed to there having been a Byzantine *dominance* in the art of the West for a considerable period. But at that time, at a stage which we may call the pre-scientific phase in the study of cultural history, the thesis of such a perpetual Eastern inspiration carried scarcely more conviction than other dogmas bred by the loose and quasi-empirical methods then in vogue. So little was known of the cultural products of the Eastern Empire at the time, and so vast were the *lacunae* concerning the forces and circumstances that conditioned them, that the claims about their role as decisive sources for the West might seem exaggerated and downright false. Students of the development of Western art in the Middle Ages would therefore pay little or no attention to the ideas there proclaimed. Thus the Byzantine paradigm as sketched by pioneering figures such as Charles Diehl, Louis Bréhier or Gabriel Millet, all great connoisseurs of Greek Medieval art, had very little impact on the general thinking concerning our medieval past.

In the years between the two great wars, Otto Demus, together with colleagues from many nations, worked to fill the gaps that were still open in the vague and spindly overview of the Byzantine question offered by the generation of scholars before him. I can give no full account of his work here, only mention a few of its stages. In an unbelievable effort, he carried through pioneering investigations on a long series of monuments of Byzantine or pseudo-Byzantine art and craftsmanship in the Mediterranean. Among his early works are his study on the mosaics at Daphni and Hosios Loukas in Greece (published in 1931), and his first observations on the mosaics in St. Mark's in Venice (1935). He returned to St. Mark's forty years later with a team from the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Centre in the

United States to make a thorough examination of it, and the ensuing publication, which appeared as four volumes in 1986, ranks as the largest and most magnificent publication on mosaics ever printed. Equally important is the extensive study he wrote on the great Normanno-Byzantine mosaics in Sicily (1949). Further, he has written brilliant surveys of special phenomena or incidents within the Byzantine development. To mention only two of these, there are his classic *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (1948) and a pioneering study on the evolution of Late Byzantine, Paleologean art (1958). Demus' field does not restrict itself to the art of mosaic and frescoes. In a series of important studies he has dealt with problems in Byzantine and Byzantinising sculpture, one of these is contained in the book entitled *The Church of San Marco in Venice, History, Architecture, Sculpture* (1960). This dynamic and searching scholar has wrestled several times with his colleagues over points of academic discord, yet his style, even in the hottest debate, is fair.

Now back to the book he published in 1970. The thirty years of research that preceded it were uncommonly fruitful ones in our field. I have outlined his own contribution to that research, and it must be stressed that he worked shoulder-to-shoulder with a host of other determined researchers of whom many came from prestigious milieus of Byzantine studies in Greece. The work produced remarkable results. Thus the pre-war period saw a dramatic break-through in the establishment of systematic exploration of Constantinople, which had long remained a virtual *terra incognita* as to its output in painting and mosaics. In addition, scholars roamed the former Byzantine provinces in the East, and published crucial material from such outlying places as Cappadocia and Mount Sinai. The treasures of Armenia were also put on the map. After 1945, research coincided with the repair and restoration of Byzantine or Byzantinizing monuments everywhere, on the shores of the Mediterranean, in the Balkans, and in Russia. These activities brought forth a vast amount of new information and prompted a reevaluation of many of the prevailing theories concerning the spirit and character of Byzantine art. Demus drew on all these results when he restated the claims of a lasting and decisive impact on Europe from the Byzantine East during the Medieval period. He could speak with the new assurance and authority instilled by the exploration of an enormous number of monuments both in the East and in the West.

His synthesis seems to demonstrate that there *was* an almost uninterrupted flow of Byzantine influence westwards, but that this influx had had its periods of flow as well as its ebbs. A fluctuating, not to say bouncing, curve appears, that seems to denote the level of intensity in the West in its desire for Byzantine cultural goods. A major question therefore which emerges from his study is *why* this fluctuation of interest occurred. What forces actually motivated the West in its search for Byzantine prototypes? Was there a *constant urge*, released regularly at intervals? Or were there continually *changing needs*, from one epoch to another, that led to the

taking-over of Byzantine matter? Demus' book also provides clues towards the answers to these questions, which embrace fascinating ideological perspectives. More than to the many suggestive details it is to these larger perspectives I want to direct my comments today.

First, however, a note on methodology. Demus, as a practical researcher with a keen eye for the technical aspects of art, lists and discusses several different mechanisms that were crucial in the transmission of Byzantine artistic influence into Western territory. One of these consists of the export, into Western churches, courts and treasuries, of Byzantine *art objects* of all kinds. Among these, particularly relevant for the diffusion of Byzantine style were the *illuminated manuscripts* coming from innumerable scriptoria of high quality in the Eastern territory. Such manuscripts were often subjected to close imitation by Western hands, and contributed vastly to the dissemination of Eastern styles. Demus also includes among the decisive carriers the *pattern books* used by artists (Fig. 1), the traffic in which must have been considerable. But he rightly points out that impulses having the greatest force of penetration occurred only when Byzantine *artists* were called in to execute projects of decoration for Western patrons. Some of the highpoints of the long relationship between East and West were produced in places where this particular prerequisite was found. In two places, both studied by Demus, such immigration of Greek artists is especially well documented, namely in Venice and Sicily. The great merchant city of Venice and the brilliant court of the Norman rulers in Sicily both became ports of entry for a particularly strong influx of Byzantine forms and ideas into Western Europe.

What, then, were the principal reasons for this readiness of the West to adopt Byzantine patterns of art and culture? Demus mentions a series of such reasons, and notes that some may be classified as eternal or everlasting, and some as temporary but recurring. By studying them more closely, we gain a deeper insight into the forces of diffusion which were active in this long process, one of the longest, incidentally, to which Europe has ever been subjected. The theme is so vast that my comments will have to be summary.

I find it refreshing to start with the motivations that sprang from the more practical and technical considerations. There can be no doubt that Byzantine cultural goods were desired in the West because of their supreme craftsmanship and for the intricate artistic techniques with which they were manufactured. In the production of luxury goods, such as textiles, glass, ivory and goldsmith's works, and above all works in enamel, the Byzantines could draw on Greek and Roman traditions of crafts that remained unbroken despite the catastrophes of Late Antiquity. Similar crafts, but carried out in a rudimentary, coarse way, were found in the overrun, semi-barbarized territories in the West, where, therefore, the Byzantine objects were looked upon as miraculously wellwrought and a delight to the eye, as they in fact are (Fig. 2). The treasury of St. Mark's in Venice became a storehouse of Byzantine *preziosa* after the sack and plun-

der of Constantinople in 1204, and illustrates more eloquently than anything else what people from the less developed West longed for, and imported as much of as lay within their means - the goods produced by the competent Greek workshops.

Also, Venice is one of the places where one can best study the effects of the need for *mosaic technology* that forced the West again and again to call in Greek specialists. Countless times this quest for aid to renew and improve the faltering, Western tradition of mosaic occurred, with whole groups of Greek artisans leaving their homeland and bringing their own glass materials and other trade secrets with them to the West. I have myself studied a work executed by such Greek mosaicists in Rome, several centuries before St. Mark's was built and decorated for the first time (Fig. 3). The mosaic in Rome was that done for Pope John VII about the year AD 705 and stood in the old basilica of St. Peter's. Several fragments of it are preserved, and these reflect a sophisticated technique with a splendid manipulation of glass and stone cubes. I also believe that it was the desire for art of the highest possible technical quality that led the people at Gotland, the wealthy island off the Swedish shore of the Baltic, to hire Russo-Byzantine painters to decorate some of their churches with frescoes (Fig. 4). This instance, which is also recorded by Demus, is the North-Westernmost example of Byzantine penetration to be found in Europe. The technique is an excellent, if slightly provincial version of the craft of wall painting as it was practiced in Constantinople.

Aided, as I have stressed, not least by the research in depth pursued by Demus himself, we are at present capable also of judging to what degree Byzantinism was spread westwards by another basic impulse, that which is engendered by *political ambitions*. As was shown long ago, aspirations of a political kind were subtly built into Byzantine art by its rulers. Through its many layers of religious symbolism this art also expressed the idea that the prince was God's vicar on earth, and the visual splendour of Byzantine churches thus promotes and celebrates the temporal powers. Again, we must limit our choice to a few cases. The pageantry of rulership developed by the Byzantine emperors found its most fervent imitators among the European princes and church dignitaries. The catalogue of instances of such imitations is a very long one, and ranges from Byzantine court procedures reflected in the courts of Charlemagne and his contemporary, Pope Leo in Rome, to those of the later Ottonian kings of Germany. It reaches, finally, a high point at the court of the Norman kings of Sicily, who actually vied with the Byzantine emperor for the control of the Mediterranean. In the twelfth century, the Sicilian kingdom saw some of the most magnificent Byzantine monuments ever erected in the West, the most stupendous and most authentic being the central church of the Martorana at Palermo, with its domed interior and its correct display of the full pictorial program of Middle Byzantine church building (Fig. 5). The portraits of the church's patrons are also preserved here, a rarity, as in most churches of this kind in the East such portraits have been erased. The

lay patron, the king's chief admiral, here kneels in adoration of the Virgin, while in another panel the Norman king Roger II is crowned by the Saviour (Fig. 6). Such donor pictures, which polarize the idea and content of large religious compositions, hold the key to an understanding of why Byzantine imagery became so popular with the Western rulers.

Venice, a city closely linked to Constantinople by trade and treaty, also had good political reasons to emulate Byzantine splendour in its state apparatus. The very form of its largest church, in which all the great ceremonies of state occurred, is drawn from Constantinople and mirrors the enormous Early Christian church of the Apostles. The interior of St. Mark's, with its series of domes glittering in mosaic, manifests the will of the Venetians to express their state ideology through an apparatus analogous to that of their Eastern neighbour and trading partner. With this will went the necessity of procuring the specialists that could uphold this similarity. Down to the threshold of the fifteenth century the Venetians continued to import, at regular intervals, such Byzantine specialists. Such was the urge to implant the purest form of Byzantine style into Venice, that even native, Italian artists of that city were spurred on to an unsurpassed imitation of it. They rendered it with an authenticity which in some cases makes it almost impossible to distinguish their work from that of the foreign specialists (Fig. 7).

Turning now to the most obvious sphere of interconnection between the two cultural worlds, the West and Byzantium, we come to the question of *religious imagery*. It takes no great intuition to discover that for the Christian West access to the source of image-making that lay in Byzantium was a matter of the highest importance. In the East the pace of the production of new picture-types was at times feverish, under the stress of procuring new illustrations for a perpetually developing and highly complex liturgy. Up to now, not many attempts have been made to trace the causes for this exceptional, never-ceasing flow of visual thinking that went on within Byzantium. It is, however, thought-provoking that it seems to have had its most fertile periods in epochs that were marked not only by religious conflicts but by political ones as well. Thus, in addition to the very active period of picture-breeding that took place in the ninth and tenth centuries, just after the end of that large religious upheaval, Iconoclasm, one finds an exceedingly rich production of new images in the seventh century, as well as in the eleventh and the thirteenth. Through all the channels that were open for such import the West sought to profit by this image-making and poured into its own church art the spoils of a continuous act of imitation. In this way an enormous amount of iconographic matter was brought out of Byzantium for use by the Western church. I have above enumerated some of the means by which this gallery of Byzantine image types was passed on. Now let us look briefly at the outcome of this transplant.

This theme is endless, but a selection of a few high points must suffice to illustrate it. Many of the most frequently-used categories of religious

pictures in the West were actually built on prototypes which artists lifted out of the mighty image reservoirs of Byzantium. This goes even for common themes such as the evangelists' portraits used in sacred books or in monumental church art. The type was taken over wholesale from a product evolved by Eastern iconographers on a theme they borrowed from the Philosopher figure in Greek and Roman art, and which shows the sage sitting on his chair with his writing table and his author's paraphernalia on display around him. Further, vast inspiration was drawn from Byzantine New Testament illustration and from the representations of the figure of Christ. Also, legendary stuff was eagerly copied, and many such scenes were a large success with their new public. One scene which emerged relatively late is the Death of the Virgin, or Dormition. It appeared in Byzantine art in the tenth century but took several centuries to travel to Western Europe, where it became part of the repertoire of Gothic sculpture and found its most noble expression in some of the tympana of the cathedrals in the Ile-de-France region (Fig. 8). Another large scene, partly based on texts and partly symbolical, was that of the Last Judgement. It was composed in the East, probably some time in the Early Middle Ages, and in the twelfth century a particularly monumental instance of it was executed in the church at Torcello in the lagoon at Venice. It is characterised by its systematic listing of the horrors of Hell, which are described step by step with close adherence to the texts. The type was thoroughly re-elaborated by Western iconographers who imitated some of its salient points but ignored others. A Western variant emerged as early as around A.D. 800, and seems from the very beginning to have been stamped by a much freer and more imaginative depiction of the Punishment. Thirty years ago, fragments of a Last Judgement carved in wood were published in Iceland. The work reflected, surprisingly, the original Byzantine lay-out of the scene and *not* its Western counterpart (Fig. 9). Selma Jónsdóttir of Reykjavik who published it, deduced that this strange occurrence of direct Byzantine influence on Iceland was caused by the presence there of a Byzantine work of art, a Last Judgement scene perhaps carved in ivory, of a kind of which we possess several examples (Fig. 10).

As I have pointed out, few of the imported scenes escaped remodelling, although some survived the transplant in almost unaltered form. On the other hand, there were Byzantine picture types which barely penetrated to the West and which, for some reason, had a relatively limited impact there. I should have wished to dwell longer on this theme, which is immensely revealing for the processes we discuss here. However, I will point to one particular instance, the absence in the West of the most central of all Byzantine Christ types. That is the Pantokrator type, which is the *focus* of all Eastern cupola compositions, and of which one of the most spectacular examples is to be found a short distance outside the gates of the city of Athens (Fig. 11).

The Christ Pantokrator type is, as we all know, the picture of Christ in the form of a bust and set in a *clipeus* or medallion in the centre of the

decoration of the cupola. It can be regarded as one of the most typical of all Byzantine picture forms and has an interesting genesis which lack of space prevents me from unravelling here. It was tentatively transposed to a Western setting in the large Norman churches in Sicily, where it was moved from its original cupola surroundings into the apse of basilicas. Demus was the first to point to the stupendous change that occurred when this picture was finally fully adapted to its new setting. This moment occurred in the great church at Monreale outside Palermo, in the late twelfth century, when a gifted artist - either a Byzantine or a Westerner with good Byzantine training - discovered that the curvature of the apse could be used to give the movement of Christ's hands sweeping emphasis (Fig. 12). Nevertheless, this apsidal Pantokrator was no great success and seems to have been little emulated in the Western sphere. It may have given impetus, though, to the embellishment with smaller Christ busts in decorative work on a smaller scale, such as lunettes on church facades. For apse decorations, however, the full-length Christ surrounded by other figures continued to be the form preferred by Western churchmen. When Pantokrator-like figures crop up in the stained glass of small church windows on the island of Gotland, it may be a reflection of larger compositions in the same medium (Fig. 13). But Christ busts in stained glass presumably never had the position of preeminence nor the size of the Pantokrator figure of a Byzantine church.

I have reserved some minutes for a discussion of another and final category of Byzantine influence on the West, in which basic principles of motivation were a driving force. It regards the *Byzantine style*, a cultural product as much sought after by the Western artistic milieu as the rest of the factors I have listed above. There can be no doubt that there lay in the Byzantine form an appeal that to the eyes of foreigners was equal to that of its political and religious messages, and which was closely interwoven with the latter. Demus is keenly aware of this property and points to its central function within the larger problem; in fact, the story of how the Byzantine style, or better, the Byzantine succession of styles entered Western art, is the main thread in his masterly survey. Yet, it is perhaps along this path that we may go if we want to follow up and add to the thoughts and ideas that he has here disseminated. What that particular appeal consisted in, and what needs were fulfilled that made the Byzantine form so desperately sought after, are problems worthy of consideration by able minds. I place before you a handful of reflections, triggered by Demus' observations, and hope thereby to stimulate a discussion on these crucial points.

Demus pinpoints these issues when he describes how a particularly strong wave of Byzantinism hit Europe in the seventh century AD. In the West one attempted, at that particular time, to reconstruct from its foundations a Christian art that was under pressure from, and about to be swept away by, the rich ornamental art of the new Germanic peoples. The centre, from which this effort of reconstruction was directed, was Rome, and in

the monuments of that city a succession of competent Greek artists have left their imprints. Some of their work is found in the church of S. Maria Antiqua, where part of my own research has taken place. It was the task of the popes to secure for their own churches and palaces the proper kind of embellishment and also to supply all the outlying Christian communities farther West with the stock of pictures that were the prerequisite for a correctly conducted Christian cult. As Demus shows, the crisis was partly overcome by enlisting artists who were willing to take up the long journey from Byzantium to Rome, and I have myself suggested that some of them travelled even farther. Evidence from manuscripts produced in Northern England suggests that some of these Greeks were engaged by the abbots of Anglo-Saxon monasteries to produce the right kind of art in this distant borderland of Christianity (Fig. 14). But the Anglo-Saxon examples tell us that this transport of style in fact had a very shortlived after-effect: The native artisans who picked up so many of the tricks of the trade from their Greek teachers found it impossible to retain a grip on the style and soon fell back to the crudest of imitations.

What was, then, "the right kind of art" that the churchmen of the West tried so hard to get hold of? This is a crucial question, which requires us to move somewhat further into the matter than Demus has allowed himself to do. The art that was to serve the Christian cult was one that was based on the *narrative* or *story-telling picture*. As we remember, the sacred Christian texts are made up, principally, of the events and stories from the life of Christ, his companions, and forefathers. Therefore the art of the Church came to be built up largely of pictures that illustrated these stories, episode by episode. The Old and the New Testament furnished the textual material for these pictures, and the scenes thought fit for a church were carefully chosen on a basis of what each one of them would express of the tenets and dogmas of Christian belief. Thus the scenes from His Childhood illustrated the theme of Incarnation, His Miracles attest to His Divine Power, the series of scenes illustrating His Passion would emphasize the central tenet of Resurrection. In other words, the story told by each scene was essential for the instruction that took place in the church. This story-telling aspect the art of the Christian church had inherited as a true child of Classical Antiquity. But to function, it had to possess the quality of being readable, of being understood. The signs, so to speak, which it contained, had to be recognizable if its message were not to be lost. To use a jargon that has crept in even into my own field of study, its *semiotic code* had to be clear, consistent and unequivocal.

What happened in the Early Middle Ages, before the popes of Rome called in Byzantine artists to re-establish a correct Christian art, was that the semiotic code was disintegrating in the West. I will show you a few examples of its decay, dating from the time even when the work of improving upon it was well under way. I choose an illustration from the Book of Kells, painted in that Anglo-Saxon-Irish milieu from which so much splendid church art sprang in this early period. Without any accom-



panying text or caption it would be hard indeed to recognize in these dolls the Capture of Christ in Gethsemane (Fig. 15). To choose another object coming from the same milieu, it takes long training to pick out the scene of the Three Magi in Adoration of the Christ Child in the mass of distorted and simplified figures on the so-called Franks Casket, which was made in the eighth century (Fig. 16). When representation was reduced to such simple outlines, identification of scene or figure became almost impossible, *illegibility* was threatening, and the message became lost. Byzantine art, on the other hand, with its virtuosity in shaping scenes and figures with a high degree of realism, still possessed the crucial element of semiotic congruity. This art could still be read almost as easily as the texts from which it was derived. This made it a matter of supreme urgency for the Church in the West to get access to Byzantine artistic expertise.

In fact, at the very moment when the threat of a nonfigurative, ornamental art was closing in on all sides, even the Byzantines themselves seem to have felt the necessity to make their own art more readable, persuasive, and communicative. In the art that was produced by the Byzantine artists in Rome in the early eighth century, it is possible to observe the emergence of a new dogma of visual clarity. This phenomenon, which almost certainly had its origin in Constantinople, was largely directed towards the layout of scenes, to their scenography, so to speak, and involved the adding of innumerable "signs" that were to elucidate the narrative and make the scenes cohesive, while at the same time they heightened the dramatic expression. Outstretched hands mark figures that are engaged in speech, heads are thrown into profile or turned backwards to show where the gaze of onlookers are directed, backs are bowed to show energetic movement, legs are depicted in broadly striding poses to indicate speed (Fig. 17). I would like to call these features semiotic and see them as part of an effort to increase the readability of pictures. With Otto Demus, Kurt Weitzmann, and other Byzantinists I feel that it was the classical Greek and Roman works of art preserved in Constantinople that provided the models for these improvements. Thus, these works from the seventh and eighth century, brimming with dramatic pathos, represent the very first wave of what we call the Byzantine "Hellenism".

Demus stresses that it was the same urge for a functional, readable art that brought Charlemagne, around AD 800, on a hunt for Byzantine artists. Scholarship now accepts as a fact that teams of Greeks were among the artists who brought about the famous Carolingian Renaissance. Among my last slides I bring glimpses of a few of their products, with the stupendous handling not only of figures and objects, but also of *space*. Pictorial space, the illusion of depth, was another of the instruments used to sharpen the storytelling capacity of images. It made action unfold in an uncluttered way, it placed the actors more surely on the stage, and allowed for a clearer distinction between the main character and those surrounding him (Fig. 18). In their experiments with space, Byzantine artists again and

again drew information from the works of Antiquity and again and again they passed information about this essential effect on to the West.

Personally, I think the semiotic question is a more persistent factor in the artistic East-West dialogue than is allowed for by Demus. Even after the establishment of a lasting Western tradition of Christian art in the ninth and tenth century, artists at intervals felt the pull of ornamentalisation, lapsed into the abstract, and abandoned iconographical clarity. Thus they repeatedly needed lessons from their Byzantine colleagues; and energetic popes, priors, and princes saw to it that teachers were called in who could give such lessons (Fig. 19). In the twelfth century, for example, during the very flowering of Romanesque art, ornamental and abstract trends were rampant and disturbed the clarity of messages. Therefore, the particularly strong flow of Byzantine style that spread through Western Europe in the course of that century, and held in its grip local artists from England to Spain, may again have supported the reconquest of the narrative picture. According to many, this outburst of Byzantinising efforts was just another of the after-effects of the Byzantine milieu established for political reasons by the rulers in Palermo. However, I believe that there were larger issues at stake. Christian art was again in crisis, a crisis which necessitated a new infusion of Byzantine pictorial thinking into Europe.

In prompting questions of this kind, Demus' survey is more than a handbook in Byzantine art history. It is a guide to the forces which control the processes called *cultural diffusion*, or the spreading of cultures. By following such a process as it unfolds in space and time, Demus has identified and labeled some of these forces. It is in this perspective that his grand survey acquires its extraordinary significance.

#### Postscript

Professor Otto Demus died in Vienna in November 1990 at the age of 88. His obituary and a bibliography of his works will appear in the forthcoming volume of *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*.



Fig. 1. Pattern book with sketches made from Byzantine works of art by a Western artist, Wolfenbüttel Library, Germany (after K. Weitzmann: *Zur byzantinischen Quelle des Wolfenbüttler Musterbuches*, 1965).



Fig. 2. Byzantine book cover in enamel and precious metal, Tesoro di San Marco, Venice (after S. Bettini: *Venezia e Bisanzio*, Venezia 1974).



*Fig. 3. Christ from the Entry into Jerusalem, mosaic fragment from the chapel of John VII, St. Peter's in Rome, Vatican Grottoes (photo Nordhagen).*



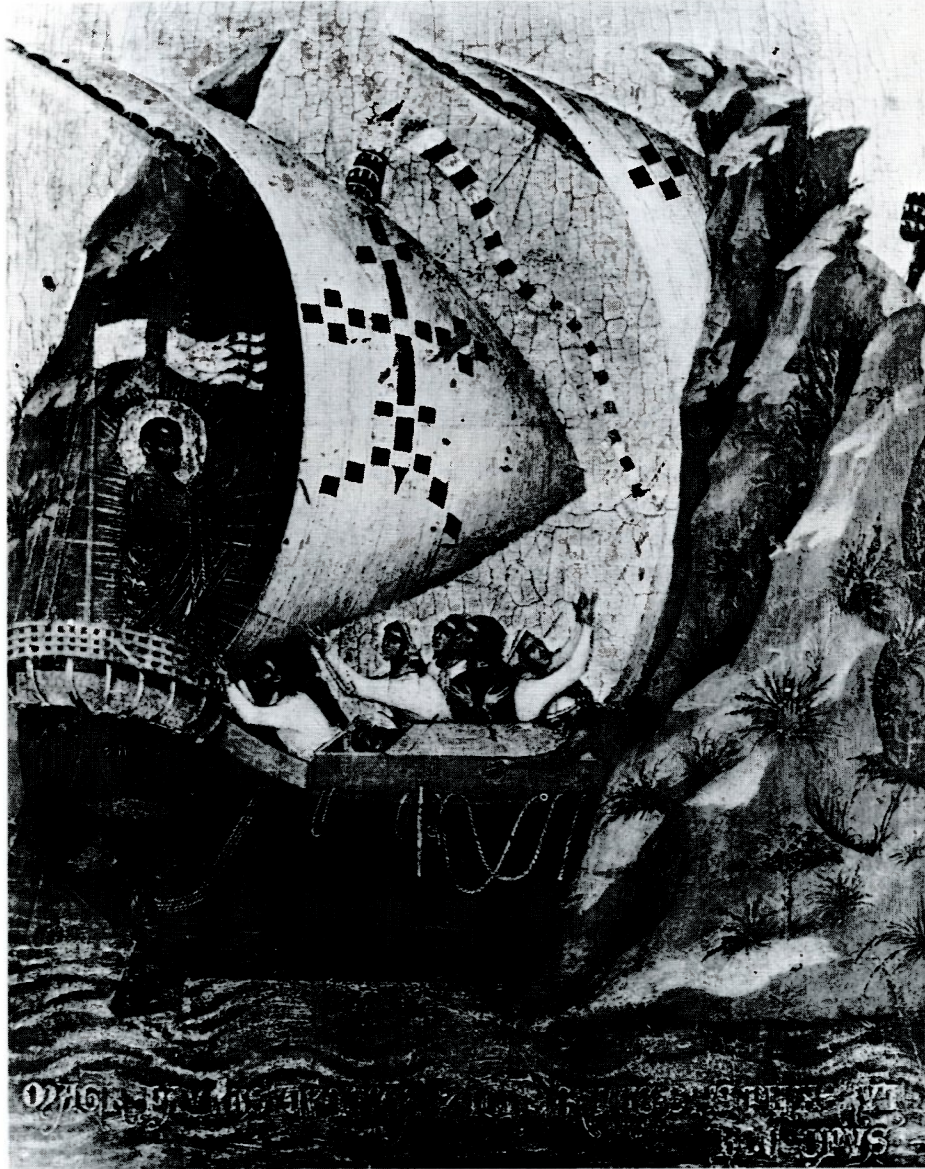
*Fig. 4. Saint, wall painting in the church at Garda, Gotland, ca. AD 1200 (photo Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm).*



Fig. 5. Mosaics in the cupola of the church of Martorana, Palermo (after O. Demus: *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London 1949).



Fig. 6a,b. Donor pictures, church of Martorana, Palermo (after Demus).



*Fig. 7. Scene from the legend of the translation of the body of St. Mark by Paolo Veneziano, dated to 1346 (after Bettini).*



Fig. 8a. Dormition, from the mosaics in the Martorana, Palermo (after Demus).



Fig. 8b. Dormition, relief from north Tympaneum of the façade of Notre Dame, Paris (after E. Male: *L'art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*, Paris 1963).



Fig. 9. Fragment from a representation of the Last Judgement incised on wood, from Bjarnastadahlid, Iceland, eleventh century, Historical Museum, Reykjavik (after S. Jónsdóttir: *An 11<sup>th</sup> Century Byzantine Last Judgement in Iceland*, Reykjavik 1959).



Fig. 10. Byzantine ivory with a representation of the Last Judgement, Victoria and Albert Museum (after Jónsdóttir).





Fig. 11. Christ Pantokrator, in the cupola of the church at Dafni (after J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Harmondsworth 1970).



Fig. 12. Christ Pantokrator from the apse of the cathedral at Monreale, Sicily (after Demus).



Fig. 13. Christ from a stained glass window in the church at Dalhem, Gotland, first half of the thirteenth century (photo Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm).



Fig. 14. The Scribe Ezra, illuminated page in the Codex Amiatinus, painted by a Byzantine in an Anglo-Saxon scriptorium in the late seventh century, Bibliotheca Laurenziana, Florence (after P.J. Nordhagen: Jarrow Lecture 1977, Newcastle 1978).



Fig. 15. Christ in Gethsemane, illuminated page in the Book of Kells, British Museum (after F. Henry: *Book of Kells*, London 1974).



Fig. 16. Scene from the story of Veland the Smith and the adoration of the Magi, the Franks Casket, British Museum (after D. Wilson: *Anglo-Saxon Art*, London 1984).



*Fig. 17a. Christ on the road to Calvary, fresco in S. Maria Antiqua, Rome (photo Nordhagen).*



*Fig. 17b. Christ on the road to Calvary. detail of 17a (photo Nordhagen).*



Fig. 18. The four evangelists, from a Carolingian manuscript at Aachen (after C.R. Dodwell: *Painting in Europe 800-1200*, Harmondsworth 1971).



Fig. 19a,b. Christ Emmanuel and the prophet Jeremiah, details from mosaic decoration in the Cappella Zen, St. Mark's, Venice, executed ca. 1300 by a Byzantine workshop (photo Alinari).