THREE ILLUMINATED CHRYSOBULLS OF ANDRONIKOS II?

No scholar is so deft as Irmgard Hutter at coaxing from illuminated manuscripts the messages of their production, purposes, and peregrinations. Thus this article honors her by endeavoring to coax from a manuscript its relationship to the exceptional illumination that prefaces its text. The manuscript is a twelfth-century Gospel lectionary[1]. It entered the British Library as Additional MS 37006 in 1905 along with ten other Greek codices collected by John Samuel Dawes, chaplain in Corfu[2]. It retains 295 parchment folios of 30×22 cm. Its modest headbands with pink, blue and green palmettes on grounds of thinly gilded magenta; its long, straggly major initials drawn in magenta, generally without imagery but once in the form of a fish; the ghost of powdery gold on its magenta rubrics and minor initials; and its double columns of dark brown minuscule liberally interspersed with enlarged majuscule forms (Fig. 1) all point to a date near the middle of the twelfth century. Readily legible and fully notated in magenta for reading, it is a competent if not a distinguished representative of the vast corps of Gospel lectionaries produced for use throughout the Byzantine empire in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. Its text is without individuality: the Menologion singles out only the most standard feasts of Christ, the Baptist, and the apostles, and though its placement of the Passion Gospels and Good Friday Hours at the end of the Menologion is unusual, it is not unique[3], and it elicited no

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[1] V. Foskolou, *Αναζητώντας την εικόνα του Ελκομένου της Μονεμβασίας. Το χαμένο παλλάδιο της πόλης και η επίδρασή του στα υστεροβυζαντινά μνημεία του νότιου ελλαδικού χώρου*, in *Σύμεικτα* 24 (2001), pp. 229-255: 245, English summary 256 as *Tracing the Monemvasia Icon of Christ Helkomenos. The City's Lost Palladium and Its Influence on the Late Byzantine Monuments of Southern Greece*; T. Masuda, *A Lectionary of the Emperor Andronicus II Paleologus*, in *Byzantium. Identity, Image, Influence. Abstracts of the XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Copenhagen 1991, p. 1015 (not available to me); *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCC-MDCCCCV*, London 1907, pp. 276-279.

[2] *Catalogue of Additions* cit., p. 276.

[3] The same order is seen for instance in the eleventh-century lectionary, Sinai MS. 217.

comment from later users. Thus the volume offers no evidence of the site for which it was made. Despite its generality – indeed, perhaps because of it – the book saw long, steady use, as attested by annotations in brown ink by several post-Byzantine hands that corrected errors or amplified the cross-references to lections already written in full for other dates. A much faded notice on the final verso records the death in 1519/1520 of the servant of God, Kyr Antimos, son of the priest Kyr Petrios. If the notice went on to indicate where Lord Antimos had lived or died, that information has vanished with the end of the inscription.

My attention was drawn to the book by its prefatory illumination (Fig. 2), a full-page miniature on the verso of an otherwise blank leaf appended at the opening of the manuscript. The leaf's lower edge, 6 mm short of the bottom of the book, was trimmed at some point, cutting several millimeters from the bottom of the miniature. The miniature itself is severely abraded. It occupies a golden field of 26 × 20 cm, significantly larger than the text block on the folio it faces, and a tight fit within the book's contours. Its gilded field is bisected by an immense cross that rises from a richly shadowed gray hill, its arms reaching nearly to the sides of the miniature, its title bar flat against the thin red line of the upper frame. To the right, beneath the cross's left arm, stands Christ, facing the cross in stark profile. His feet are still, his bound hands droop before his body, his shoulders are bent, and his head is bowed. His luminous, sky-blue robe is softly modeled with both lighter and darker tones of the same hue. It was an expensive pigment, perhaps prompting an effort at some point to scrape it from the page, for its abrasions look deliberate rather than haphazard. The blue folds were volumetric and softly bunched, and together with the contour of the body, which was full-hipped, tapering to narrow ankles and large, soft feet, they suggest a date in the last two decades of the thirteenth century, within what Demus called the Palaiologan Renaissance style. The page is a good century younger than the book to which it now belongs, and shows no sign of having been composed to accord with its mise-en-page.

Christ's sigla, IC XC, are written in red on the cross arm; above them, in the golden field, red majuscules read: [ЄΛΚΟ]ΜЄΝΟC ЄΠΙΗ CT(AΥ)POΥ: «Christ drawn to the Cross». The label, ὁ ἑλκόμενος (or ἐρχόμενος) ἐπὶ σταυροῦ, was given in Byzantine art to two episodes of the Passion, one showing soldiers pulling Christ toward Golgotha, the other showing him standing with meek submission before the erect cross[4]. The

[4] On the first scene, see especially A. KATSELAKE, *Ὁ Χριστὸς Ἑλκόμενος ἐπὶ σταυ-*

second of the two attained the status of an independent iconic theme, only sporadically attested in Middle Byzantine art but widespread in the thirteenth century, when it became especially fertile in mural painting, sometimes separating from the Passion narrative to form an image in its own right[5], at other times metastasizing within the narrative to generate multiple moments at the foot of the cross[6]. In post-Byzantine painting it was condensed to a single-figure *Andachtsbild* of Jesus alone[7], but such condensation was rare in Byzantium[8], where the submissive Christ was usually accompanied by one or more soldiers and Pharisees, whose gestures summon him to ascend the cross. These figures were surely present in the famous panel painting of the Helkomenos that was requisitioned by the emperor Isaak II Angelos (1185-1195) from the church of the Helkomenos in Monemvasia and taken to Constantinople, for John Apokaukos wrote a poetic description citing the soldiers and Jews[9]. They appear also in the example of the theme most nearly comparable to the London miniature, the illumination on f. 214 in Iviron 5 on Mount

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ροῦ. Εἰκονογραφία καὶ τυπολογία τῆς παράστασης στὴ βυζαντινὴ τέχνη (4ος αἰ.-15ος αἰ.), in *Δελτίον τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, ser. IV, 19 (1996-1997), pp. 167-200, English summary on 200 as *The Way to Calvary. The Iconographic Development of the Representation of Christ Elkomenos in Byzantine Painting (4th cent.-1453)*. On the second scene see especially FOSKOLOU, *Αναζητώντας την εικόνα του Ελκομένου* cit., pp. 229-255.

[5] As it does in particular at St. Theodore, Kaphiona in the Mani (1264-1271), FOSKOLOU, *Αναζητώντας την εικόνα του Ελκομένου* cit., fig. 2, where it is on the north wall directly beneath the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.

[6] See especially A. DERBES, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy. Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant*, New York 1996, pp. 113-157: 142-145; A.W. CARR, *The Royal Purple Mantle of El Greco's Espolio*, in *Festschrift in Honor of Bonnie Wheeler*, ed. by C.H. CHICKERING [*et al.*], New York 2009, forthcoming.

[7] See especially C. BALTOYIANNE, *The Place of Domenicos Theotocopoulos in Sixteenth-Century Cretan Painting and the Icon of Christ from Patmos*, in *El Greco of Crete. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Irakleion, Crete, 1-5 September 1990*, ed. by N. HADJINICOLAOU, Iraklion 1995, pp. 75-96.

[8] This is the case in the version in Kaphiona, cited in note 5 above, though the inscription «ἀνάβηθι» that accompanies it must be assumed to have emanated from these figures. The most suggestive example, because it is also the very earliest surviving instance of the Helkomenos, is the tiny enamel of the eleventh or early twelfth century on the book cover in Siena, that shows the figure of Christ fully labeled but entirely alone: *L'Oro di Siena. Il Tesoro di Santa Maria della Scala*, a cura di L. BELLOSI, Milano 1996, pp. 90-103, pl. p. 93, #31, entry by M. BONFIOLI.

[9] FOSKOLOU, *Αναζητώντας την εικόνα του Ελκομένου* cit., pp. 230-231 with earlier bibliography, especially Ch. KALLIGAS, *Byzantine Monemvasia: The Sources*, Monemvasia 1990, pp. 69-70; N. BEES, *Ὁ Ἑλκόμενος Χριστὸς τῆς Μονεμβασίας μετὰ παρεκβάσεων περὶ τῆς αὐτόθι Παναγίας τῆς Χρυσαφιτίσσας*, in *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 10 (1932-1934), pp. 199-262.

Athos[10]. This, too, belongs to the early Palaiologan decades; exceptional among the manuscript's miniatures in being full-page, it resembles Add. 37006 in showing Christ alone to one side of a huge cross. But here a Pharisee and soldiers balance him on the other side.

In the London miniature, too, the figure of Christ was not alone. A single, haloed figure occupied the area beneath the cross' right arm. Barely discernable, it is far more heavily abraded than the Christ and easily overlooked. It can nonetheless be seen to have stood on a red cushion; it wore a black tunic heavily hemmed with gold and jewels, and it supported on its raised left hand the red-lined end of an ample loros. It represented an emperor. His name – written in red like Christ's – can still be deciphered above the right arm of the cross: ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟC ЄN ΧΡΙCΤΩ ΤΩ ΘЄΩ… ΒΑCΙΛЄΥC… Further words followed, probably including the family names customary in the protocols of the Palaiologan rulers. At the date implied by the style of the figure of Christ, the Byzantine emperor was in fact Andronikos II (1282-1328).

The extremely abraded condition of the imperial figure invites one to dismiss it as a later addition, applied to the gold surface of the miniature and so more subject to wear than the cross and Christ, which were painted on ungilded areas of reserved parchment. Yet figures in richly gilded court attire were characteristically painted in this way on top of their miniatures' golden grounds, and though the area of the face seems to have been reserved in the two attested miniatures of Andronikos II – the illuminated chrysobulls in the Byzantine Museum in Athens and the Morgan Library in New York[11] – one need look no farther than the Lincoln College Typikon (Oxford, Lincoln College, gr. 35) to see that the faces of such figures were usually painted on the gold[12]. The colors, proportions, and gesture of the figure accord with what is known of Andronikos' iconography, and the pigments are those in the rest of the miniature. Thus it seems probable that the figure belonged to the initial composition.

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[10] P. HUBER, *Athos: Leben, Glaube, Kunst*, Zürich 1969, fig. 142.

[11] See below, nn. 23 and 35.

[12] I. HUTTER, *Die Geschichte des Lincoln College Typikons*, in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 45 (1995), pp. 79-114, with earlier bibliography. Even fine color reproductions like those in *The City of Mystras*, exhibition catalogue, Archaeological Site and Museum of Mystras, August 2001-January 2002, Athens 2001, figs. 159, 160, 169, are unable to show the gold that twinkles through cracks and tiny abrasions in the figures' faces, showing that they were painted on the gold. I thank Martin Kauffmann and the staff of the Bodleian Library for the opportunity to study the manuscript.

Nonetheless, the imperial figure is a surprise here, in terms both of the theme of Christ Helkomenos and of the conventions of imperial portraiture. The theme of Christ Helkomenos, as noted earlier, was rarely condensed to the single figure of Christ. It existed largely as a scene, a dialectical composition contrasting Christ's meek submission with the deadliness of his executioners, most conspicuously the Pharisees. The Pharisees were precisely the figures in the story of Jesus' condemnation and death who could never be assimilated to the rulers of Rome. Both Pilate and Herod were given Roman identities, but not the scribes and Pharisees. To have an emperor take their place is hard to accept. Nor is it easy to believe that an official portrait in a public service book would have been employed to evoke an affective parallel between Jesus' Passion and the personal pain of an emperor condemned to rule in intractable times. In neither respect does the miniature conform to expectation.

A very different reading of the image was proposed in 1991 by T. Masuda, who suggested that the manuscript may have been an imperial gift to the church of the Helkomenos in Monemvasia[13]. Andronikos' steady support for Monemvasia is clearly documented in the sequence of chrysobulls granted to its church and commune between 1284 and 1316[14]. Despite the requisitioning of its famous icon, the community of Monemvasia remained deeply wedded to the theme of the Helkomenos. This was the name of its Episcopal church; the theme flickered through its mythology[15]; and – as Vasiliki Foskolou has shown – it appeared notably often in the mural painting of its region. Sharon Gerstel has suggested that the theme may have served as a kind of marker, demonstrating constituency in the area of Monemvasia's authority[16]. Condensed to Christ alone, it could very plausibly have figured as the icon of Monemvasia's commune or see.

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[13] MASUDA, *A Lectionary of the Emperor Andronicus II* cit., p. 1015.

[14] KALLIGAS, *Byzantine Monemvasia* cit., pp. 101-115 on privileges extended to the city; pp. 216-239 on the privileges extended to the church, including her spirited defense of the authenticity of Athens, National Library 1462; pp. 264-266 for a list of documents associated or promulgated by Andronikos II; F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453. 4. Teil. Regesten von 1282-1341*, München-Berlin 1960, p. 6, #2102; pp. 33-36, #2232-38; pp. 67-68, # 2383.

[15] See BEES, *Ὁ Ἑλκόμενος Χριστὸς τῆς Μονεμβασίας* cit., pp. 207-208 on the legend of an icon known as the «Ρχομενοῦ» that led the people of the Morea to safety on the island of Monemvasia when the Morea was flooded with unbelievers.

[16] S. GERSTEL, *Setting the Boundaries in the Late Byzantine Peloponnesos*, lecture in the symposium, *Morea: The Land and its People in the Aftermath of the Crusades*, Dumbarton Oaks, 3 May 2009.

The manuscript in turn, given its mid-twelfth-century date, can hardly have been made as a gift from Andronikos. But it offers evidence of having been remade at a time plausibly within his reign. Five times in the book – at folios 128-129, 146-149, 151, 174-176, and 208-222 – pages have been cut out and replaced. The stubs of the excised leaves remain in place, and the severed leaves may have been available to the scribe who replaced them, for the new folios fill in the missing texts precisely; at no point does the recopied text either cease before the bottom of the last page or run over onto the ensuing one. The new pages must have replaced soiled or smudged ones; they do not modify the book's organization or content. The new scribe seems to have aligned not only the mise-en-page, but the script of his pages with the original ones: though his ink is darker, often genuinely black, his letter forms echo those of the initial hand, with their frequent enlarged majuscules (Fig. 1, right leaf). As he settled into his work, however, the new scribe reverted to his own habits. The cadence of his rounded strokes became more self-conscious and artful, the tails of his letters flowed more fluently into the margins, and the enlarged letter forms became both more frequent and more select. He eliminated many of the more idiosyncratic ligatures of the earlier scribe, retained his archaic conventions like the angular breathings and omega-like eta-nu, and played with conscious emphasis upon the pure, plump arcs of round epsilons, rhos, omegas, and zetas. These emendations expose his script as an early Palaiologan retrospective minuscule. He must have been working at much the time that the miniature with Christ Helkomenos and the emperor was painted. Miniature and recopied pages could thus have been introduced together to spruce up a serviceable but far from freshly minted volume. Enlisting old books to serve as gifts was no novelty, as indicated by the well-worn Paris, BNF, Coislin gr. 200, given by Andronikos' father at the synod of Lyon in 1274[17].

Reading the prefatory miniature of Additional 37006 in this way nonetheless raises two problems, one of imperial portraiture, the other of codicology. The first concerns the imagery of the ruler and the divine. Emperors were regularly portrayed in the presence of Christ, of the Mother of God, or of saints, especially the Taxiarch Michael and the major warriors. Only more rarely were they paired in public portraits with noted icons of these figures. The examples I know survive above all

[17] A.W. Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150-1250. The Study of a Provincial Tradition*, Chicago 1987, pp. 274-275, cat. 93.

on coins, beginning with the late Macedonian rulers: Romanos III Argyros with what Philip Grierson suggests may be the title icon of his church of the Mother of God Peribleptos[18]; Constantine IX, Theodora, and Michael VI with the Mother of God Blachernitissa[19]; Andronikos I and the Nicaean rulers with Christ Chalkites[20]; and Michael VIII with the Mother of God Hagiosoritissa[21]. The icon of the Feast of Orthodoxy would in time show the empress Theodora and the young Michael III in the presence of the Hodegetria[22]. Striking in all of these cases is the overtly Constantinopolitan character of the icon in question: each example serves to bind the ruler to the holy powers of the empire's capital city. They do not associate the rulers with the icons of provincial cities. Andronikos II himself, as if to underscore this rule, had himself portrayed not with Christ Helkomenos but with Christ *tout court* on the chrysobull granted in 1301 to Monemvasia itself[23]. Associating the emperor with the holy patron of a provincial site once again surprises expectation.

The new Palaiologan dynasty may, however, have reshaped the expectations of imperial portraiture. Unlike the Komnenoi, many of whose known portraits were demonstrations of loyalty by aristocrats bound by their political ambitions to the capital[24], the portraits of the Palaiologoi appear on the hard-fought boundaries of their realm, where

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[18] Ph. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection*, 3: *Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717-1081*, 2: *Basil I to Nicephorus III (867-1081)*, Washington, D.C. 1973, p. 713 n.11.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 747, pl. LIX, 8.a.1; p. 747, pl. 8.a.5; p. 753, pl. LXII, AR 3; p. 758, pl. LXII, AR 3; D.R. SEAR, *Byzantine Coins and Their Values*, London 1987, p. 356, no. 1834.

[20] M.F. HENDY, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection*, 4: *Alexius I to Michael VIII, 1081-1261*, I-II, Washington, D.C. 1999, I, pp. 479-480.

[21] P. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection*, 5: *Michael VIII to Constantine XI, 1285-1453*, I-II, Washington, D.C. 1999, I, p. 76; this image was used also by Constantine Asen (Tich): see HENDY, *Catalogue* cit., I, p. 647.

[22] *Byzantium, Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 23 March-4 July 2004, ed. by H.C. EVANS, New York 2004, pp. 154-155, cat. 78, entry by A.W. CARR.

[23] *Το Βυζάντιο ως οικουμένη*, exhibition catalogue, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, October 2001-January 2002, Athens 2001, pp. 144-146, cat. 53, entry by M. EVANGELATOU, with earlier bibliography.

[24] On Komnenian imperial portraiture see P. MAGDALINO - R.S. NELSON, *The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century*, in *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), pp. 123-183; L. HADERMANN-MISGUICH, *Kurbinovo. Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XII^e siècle*, I-II, Brussels 1975, I, pp. 267-275; II, figs. 2, 138-140, 146.

reconquest was tenuous and the imperial presence difficult to sustain. The portraits literally stake out a foothold and proclaim possession. Thus Titos Papamastorakis has identified the external wall paintings on the church of the Mavriotissa near Kastoria on the Via Egnatia as a portrait of Michael VIII produced in the wake of the battle of Pelagonia in 1259, asserting his genealogical bond to imperial authority through Alexios I and thus his legitimate claim to local power[25]. Beneath the imperial figures are the warrior saints grafted into the bloodlines of the Komnenoi, but to one side of them is the icon of the church, the Mother of God Mavriotissa. The walls of her church offer the bulwark on which Michael's claim to possession is placed. A second portrait survives tenuously at a point yet farther west on the Via Egnatia, in the narthex of the Virgin's church at Apollonia in Albania[26]. Rather than the power of a genealogical past, Michael now asserts the power of a genealogically secure future, portraying himself together with his wife, his son and co-emperor Andronikos II, and plausibly Andronikos' son and newly named co-emperor Michael IX. Assuredly painted in the brief span between Michael's victory over the Angevins at Berat in 1281 and his death in 1282, the portrait once again proclaims his possession of reclaimed land. The family gathers in the presence of the Mother of God; any epithets she might have borne are gone, but as she holds the image of the church, she is presumably, like the Mavriotissa, the holy patron of the place and a bulwark of their power there.

Images like these served as the imperial chrysobulls did to codify and consolidate the rulers' authority over the reclaimed territory. In the case of Apollonia, the analogy is concretized quite literally, for the text of a chrysobull was inscribed on the wall above the portrait figures, surrounding the upper body of the figure of Mary and her church. The monumentalizing of chrysobulls – in essence turning them into monuments – was not unique. On the one hand, one sees their texts incorporated into the mural adornment of churches. Thus, the corner chamber

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[25] T. PAPAMASTORAKIS, *Ένα εικαστικό εγκώμιο του Μιχαήλ Η΄ Παλαιολόγου· οι εξωτερικές τοιχογραφίες στο καθολικό της Μονής της Μαυριώτισσας στην Καστοριά*, in *Δελτίον τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, ser. IV, 15 (1989-1990), pp. 221-240, English summary 239-240 as *A Visual Encomium of Michael VIII Palaeologos: The Exterior Wall-paintings of the Mavriotissa at Kastoria*.

[26] H. BUSCHHAUSEN - H. BUSCHHAUSEN, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien. Byzantiner, Normannen und Serben im Kampf um die Via Egnatia*, Wien 1976 (Byzantina Vindobonensia, 8), pp. 17-18, 143-182.

beside the narthex of the Hodegetria church at Mistra displays in its vault four hands that radiate from the center, each holding a descending scroll inscribed with the text of a chrysobull of Andronikos II[27]. Issued in 1312, 1318, 1320, and 1322, they itemize the monastery's villages, fields, mills, trees, and water, listing the revenues due from them and thereby demarcating boundaries, differentiating imperial from Episcopal and Latin-held lands. The territorial claims detailed in the frescoed chrysobulls were iterated in inscriptions in the relevant villages, and Sharon Gerstel has suggested that such overt marking of authority and its boundaries may be the most fundamental way in which the Frankish presence affected Byzantine visual culture[28].

As chrysobulls were incorporated into monumental imagery, in turn, so monumental imagery was incorporated into chrysobulls. This is seen in Andronikos' novel promulgation of chrysobulls adorned with imperial portraits. As the frescoes gave the chrysobulls the durable emplacement of solid monuments, so the portraits gave their contingent verbiage the visible force of personal witness[29]. Only two illuminated chrysobulls survive from Andronikos himself[30], a number so small that scholars initially doubted their authenticity[31], and none is known from earlier rulers, though the Buschhausens have argued vigorously for an illuminated original behind the portrait-*cum*-chrysobull of his father in Apollonia[32]. Best known is the one issued in 1301 for Monemvasia, now inv. 3570, T 80 in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens[33], which opens with a 27×23 cm miniature displaying the emperor standing full-face at

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[27] DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden* cit., pp. 58-59, #2341 (reproduced in G. MILLET, *Les monuments byzantines de Mistra: matériaux pour l'étude de l'architecture et de la peinture en Grèce aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles*, Paris 1910, pl. XIV-XV); p. 82, #2438 (MILLET, *Mistra*, pl. XVIII); p. 94, #2485 (MILLET, *Mistra*, pl. XIX-XX); pp. 120-121, #2633 (MILLET, *Mistra*, pl. XVI, XVIII).

[28] GERSTEL, *Setting the Boundaries* cit.

[29] A. CUTLER, *Legal Iconicity: The Documentary Image, Sacred Space, and the Work of the Beholder*, lecture at Princeton University, 16 October 2008.

[30] The illuminated chrysobull A of 1301, Athens, National Library, 1462, is regarded as a forgery (see DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden* cit., pp. 35-36, #2238), though KALLIGAS (note 14 above) defends it.

[31] F. DÖLGER, *Byzantinische Diplomatik*, Ettal 1956, p. 373 n. 9; A. HEISENBERG, *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Paläologenzeit, 3: Zu den Urkunden von Monembasia*, in *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-philol. und historische Klasse*, 10. Abhandlung, München 1920, pp. 51-55.

[32] BUSCHHAUSEN - BUSCHHAUSEN, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia* cit., pp. 162-163. The text is transcribed on p. 147.

[33] See n. 23 above.

the right hand of Christ. As in Additional 37006, he is haloed, wears a black divitision with jeweled hem and red-lined loros, stands on a red cushion, and is only slightly shorter than Christ. He is identified as Ἀνδρόνικος ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ῥωμαί(ων) Κομνηνὸς Παλαιολόγος. Though the document is clearly directed to the bishop of Monemvasia, the figure of Christ is in no way particularized as the Helkomenos. Frontal and mature, he wears the standard dark blue robe and purple himation, holds a closed book in his left hand, and extends his right to receive what Spatharakis surely identifies correctly as the rolled scroll of the chrysobull itself from Andronikos[34].

Andronikos' second illuminated chrysobull, issued six years later in 1307, is now MS 398 in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, where it was magnificently studied by Paul Alexander[35]. It was promulgated on behalf of the bishop of Kanina at the western end of the Via Egnatia, not far from Apollonia where the emperor had been portrayed with his father a half a lifetime before. No less than that earlier portrait, the chrysobull with its portrait was directed to consolidating his control over land newly regained, a purpose made explicit in the stele-like shape of the portrait's lightly arched frame, resembling a boundary marker. Kanina had been taken from the Angevins in or after 1284 by Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaniotes, the general who later incorporated Andronikos' portrait in the Pammakaristos church in Constantinople[36]. At 39.5 × 24 cm, the portrait in the Morgan chrysobull is larger than that in Athens. Here it is Andronikos himself who stands at the right, identified as Ἀνδρόνικος ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῶ τῶ Θ(ε)ῶ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς κ(αὶ) αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαί(ων) Κομνηνὸς ὁ Παλαιολόγος. He wears the familiar black and gold tunic and stands on a red cushion, his left hand poised before his torso

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34 I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden 1976, p. 185.

35 P. ALEXANDER, *A Chrysobull of the Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus in Favor of the See of Kanina in Albania*, in *Byzantion* 15 (1940-1941), pp. 167-207. Most recently see N. KAVRUS-HOFFMANN, *Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America, Part IV.1: The Morgan Library and Museum*, in *Manuscripta* 52/1 (2008), pp. 65-174: 112-116, with earlier bibliography, most notably V.J. ĐJURIĆ, *Prtreti na poveljama vizantijskich srpskich vladara (Portraits des souverains byzantins et serbes sur les chrysobulles)*, in *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* (Beograd) 7/1 (1963), pp. 251-272: 270-272; DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden* cit., pp. 49-50, #2305.

36 ALEXANDER, *A Chrysobull* cit., p. 195, and C. MANGO, *The Monument and Its History*, in *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*, ed. by C. MANGO, Washington, D.C. 1978 (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 15), pp. 13, 23, figs. 115 b, c, e, f.

holding the red akakia while his right is raised and extended. He is flanked on his right by a full-length figure of the Mother of God. Clothed in purple maphorion and blue dress, her gold-clad Child enthroned on her right arm, she turns slightly toward Andronikos, her own left hand extended toward his right. She is labeled, in the same red majuscules as Andronikos, as Μή(τη)ϱ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡ Πορφυϱ(ῆ). The area at the center of the miniature where the hands of the two figures converge is badly abraded, but attentive scrutiny establishes that they were, in fact, joined, his holding the upper end and hers holding the lower end of a tubular object, surely once again the chrysobull.

The identity of the Mother of God Porphyre has eluded all who studied the chrysobull. But all who have examined its text have noted that it singles out for special privileges the Episcopal church of the bishop to whom it is addressed. This was apparently not in Kanina itself, but in a village outside[37]. It was dedicated to the Mother of God, and enjoyed the revenues of an annual *panegyris* on the Feast of her Nativity on September 8, which revenues the chrysobull made provisions to safeguard. The chrysobull does not identify either the Virgin or the church more fully. But since the chrysobull was addressed to the bishop, and the Virgin Porphyre receives it from the hands of Andronikos, it is hard not to conclude that she is the patron of his Episcopal church. That her figure may in fact represent not just a name, but a named icon, is suggested by her unusual position to Andronikos' right. As he stands to the proper right of Christ, so he should also by right stand to the proper right of Mary. But Mary's posture with the Child on her right arm makes it far easier for her to receive the chrysobull with her left. It may be, thus, that the Mother of God Porphyre was a Dexiokratousa, whose distinctive posture was important enough to shape the portrait's protocol. It would seem, then, that Andronikos' portrait did here what it had not done in the chrysobull of 1301: it portrayed him in the presence of a locally notable holy icon, thus linking his own authority to the icon's established sanctity. The background to this shift in imagery surely lies in his father's mural portraits and his own monumentalized chrysobulls, both used to confirm – quite literally, to ground firmly – their authority over challenged territory. At some time before he took this step in the

[37] Lines 36-41: transcribed in ALEXANDER, *A Chrysobull* cit., p. 187. ĐURIĆ, *Prtreti na poveljama* cit., p. 258 n. 15, suggests associating the bishop's church with the Virgin's church at Apollonia.

chrysobull at Kanina, however, Andronikos must already have taken it in the miniature in Additional 37006.

Vojislav Đurić associated the incorporation of ruler portraits in chrysobulls with the heightened use by late Byzantine rulers of donor portraits in churches to visualize their power[38]. He drew upon this origin to explain the way the chrysobulls paired the ruler with locally specific patron saints. The London miniature's employment of the same pairing, but in the service of a less officially charged act of giving, might seem to challenge this genealogy. But here the second issue raised by Masuda's theory comes into play. This is codicological, drawing attention to the physical particularities of the London leaf. Its miniature is, as noted, conspicuously larger than the facing text block – indeed, far larger than would ordinarily be produced for a book of the lectionary's size. It does not in any way respond to the book for which it was presumably produced; moreover, though the 6 mm gap below its cropped lower edge certainly allows space to accommodate the bottom of the miniature, the miniature nonetheless sits awkwardly low on its page. Its cropped lower edge suggests that it was cut from another setting. A context does exist in which a miniature of much this impressive size might in fact have been placed low on a leaf of parchment that received heavy wear. At 26 × 20 cm, the image is close in size to the portrait of 27 × 23 cm on the chrysobull in Athens; the miniature on the Morgan chrysobull is steeper, but at 24 cm, only slightly wider. Both have been abraded by their exposed position at the outer end of their scroll. Both chrysobulls are composed of several sheets of parchment glued in sequence; the miniature in each case lies at the very bottom of the initial sheet, with the opening words of the document – which are inscribed at the very top of the second sheet – pasted just below the painting's lower edge. Cutting either from its document might well shear the bottom frame. It would under those circumstances look much the way the miniature in London does. This suggests that the London miniature is the severed first leaf of a chrysobull of Andronikos II. The interruption in the pigment of the cross's staff may mark the point at which the chrysobull itself, portrayed in the extended hand of the emperor, was silhouetted against the wood. It would have been the earliest and most radical of Andronikos' illuminated chrysobulls.

[38] Đurić, *Prtreti na poveljama* cit., p. 272.

This article opened seeking insight from the London manuscript about its exceptional prefatory miniature. The manuscript responded with evidence that its pages had in fact been modified at much the time the miniature was made. Thus it may be that miniature and recopied leaves should be understood as having entered the book together. But both the physical features of the miniature's scale, measurements and cropping, and its unconventional iconography portraying the ruler with the icon of a regained provincial city suggest instead that miniature and manuscript are independent entities, and that the miniature is best understood as the top portion of a chrysobull. Joining the date implied by the style of the figure of Christ and the locality suggested by its iconography, one's thoughts go to Andronikos' chrysobull of 1284 for Monemvasia[39], for Monemvasia remains the most plausible explanation for the pairing of emperor and Christ Helkomenos. The chrysobull of 1284 was promulgated on behalf not of the bishop but the commune, possibly suggesting that the Helkomenos was more firmly entrenched in the identity of the commune than of its newly elevated metropolitan see. Just when the miniature was separated from its text remains an open question. It was presumably placed for safekeeping in the London lectionary, perhaps for no stronger reason than that the lectionary was large enough to accommodate the ample painting. The chrysobull of 1284 is lost. Its text survives only in copies. That its prefatory portrait might still exist is a reminder of that haunting interval within any manuscript between word and image that Irmgard Hutter was so adroit at bridging.

ANNEMARIE WEYL CARR

39 DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden* cit., p. 6, #2102.

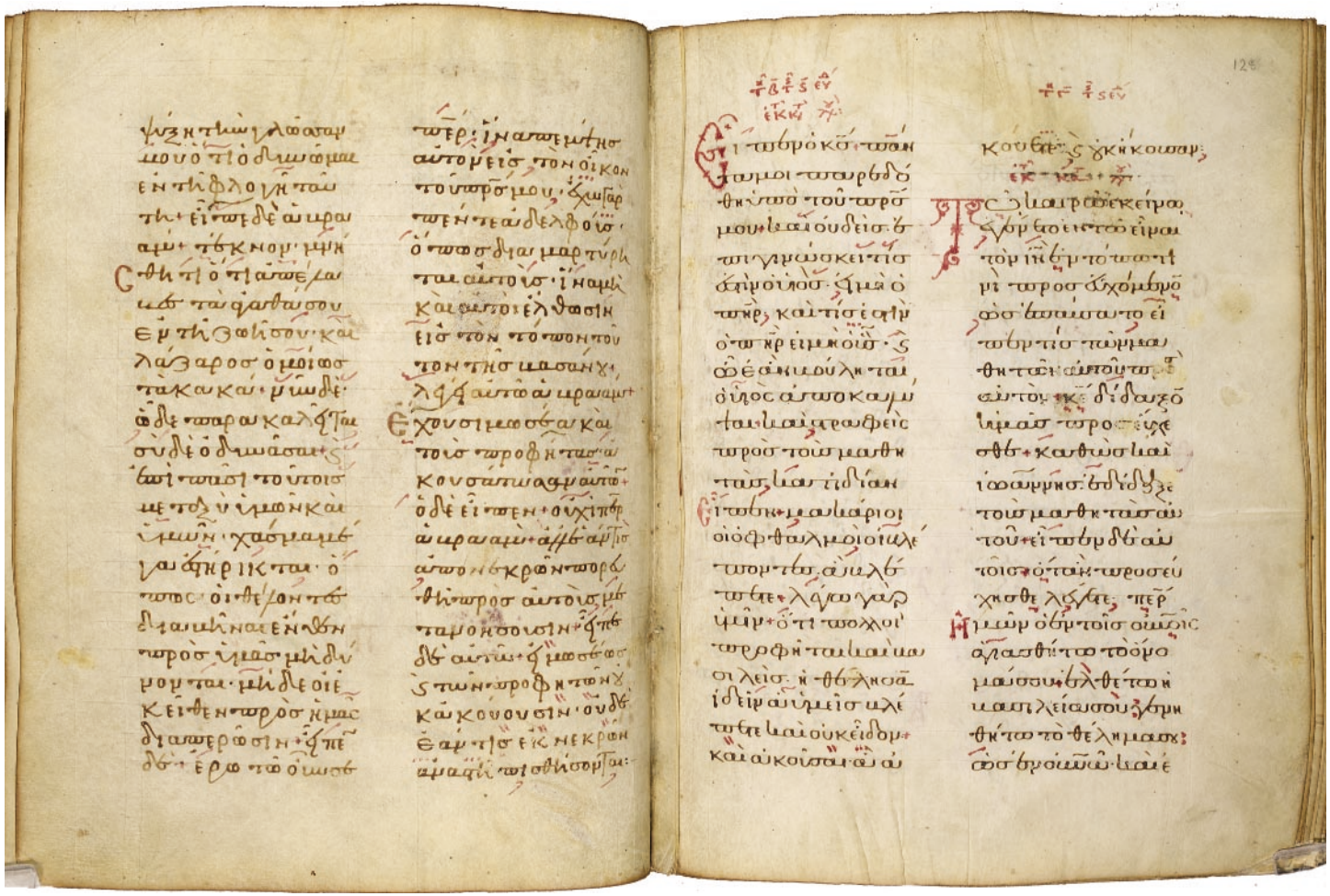

Fig. 1. London, British Library, Additional 37006, f. 127v–128r. © British Library.

Fig. 2. London, British Library, Additional 37006, f. 1, verso: Christ Helkomenos and Andronikos II. © British Library.