

**ADAM AND EVE
IN THE WESTERN AND BYZANTINE ART
OF THE MIDDLE AGES**

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Vasiliki V. Mavroska**

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To
our Mum

PREFACE

The pictorial art of the Church, as a spiritual product of the Christian civilisation, has continually received great influences from its ecclesiastical tradition and it was defined by its formal aesthetical standards and its iconographic preferences. A more nuanced reading of the parallels can be attained by placing the images in their visual context, which would allow a better appreciation of the meanings within.

The biblical story of Adam and Eve, which is the theme of the following thesis, reflects the differentiation between the Eastern and the Western understanding of the events of the history of the holy *Oikonomia*, a point, which is the major ground for the development of the relative pictorial motifs. The protoplasts are the protagonists from their creation and life in paradise, the fall and expulsion until their resurrection through Christ. Their story is visualised in a number of scenes and episodes, having thus their original sin and resurrection for specific reasons centralised.

This doctoral thesis attempts to collect as many parallels of the scenes is possible, trying to collate the Eastern with the Western visual approach in a deductive way, in order to reach our constructive conclusions and make available the combination of the art, theology and liturgy in the scenes of Adam and Eve in *Genesis* and in *Anastasis*. The reading we tried to perform was based upon the specific iconographical elements, which were worth to be commented. Our aim was to detect the direct bond between the production of art and the relevant patristic and apocryphal writings or even the theological theories, by quoting texts from the ecclesiastical literature, as well as the liturgical praxis.

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INTRODUCTION

According to the patristic hermeneutics, man has been created by God, without being asked, meaning his freedom is not a simple freedom of choice and an independent way of living. It is actual the natural power that man has in order to accept his created limits, his nature, and his possibility to achieve the *likeness* of God, always energetically dependent upon the grace of God¹.

The one, who acts through the theophanies in the name of the Holy Trinity in the Old Testament and simultaneously reveals God, is the unfleshed Logos of God. He is the one who incarnates himself in the period of the New Testament and through his entrance in the created world the theosis of people obtained a potential energy and a positive possibility².

The beginning of the story of the holy *Oikonomia* is the creation of the world, whose part is the creation of the human beings. Adam and Eve³, the

¹. Lialiou, 2008, pp. 27- 9.

². The creation is based on the revelation of God, meaning a theophany. See about the theophanies in Israel and in the Church Matsoukas, 1992, pp. 58-65, and about the action of Logos *ibid.*, pp. 67- 74. Also see Matsoukas, 1997, pp. 118- 27.

³. Adam comes from the Jewish "*Adama*", which is interpreted as earth (Kazhdan P. A, Talbot A., Gregory E. T., 1991, p. 18, *ΘΗΕ, Ἀδάμ*, 1962, pp. 369- 70, Kittel, 1953, pp. 141- 2). The etymology of the name *ADAM* also includes the initial of the four quarters of the earth; *Ανατολή, Δύση, Ἄρκτος, Μεσημβρία*, Demus, vol. 1, 1984, p. 259. For the word *Adam* see in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 1997, pp. 18- 9 and for Eve *ibid.*, pp. 407- 8. Also see comments on the anthology of the *Genesis* story based on Jewish, Christian and Muslim readings as presented on a book review, Castelli, 1999, p. 262 and Stone, 2000, p. 206). Earth is the material that God has used in order to create the first human being, Adam. That is probably why the word Adam has also the meanings of man and human being. The same interpretation has the "*Adam's sons*" (*υἱοὶ Ἀδάμ*) and often is used instead of the word man (See "*Ἀδάμ*" in *Λεξικό Βιβλικῆς Θεολογίας*, 1980, p. 30. In some occasion it is used the words "*sons of men*" in the Greek translation (*Υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων*), which in the Jewish text is similar to the "*sons of Adam*". See *Gen* 11, 5, *Iob* 25, 6, *Ps* 8, 5, *Prou* 8, 31, *Ps* 43, 3, *Regn III* 8, 39, *Ps* 32, 13, *Ier* 39, 19). Moreover, in the Gnostic tradition the name *Adam* is the true, perfect man, the first *Aeon* of light. That idea comes from the Apocryphal of John where Adam is not connected totally with earth, but with light and the heavenly nature of man (Giversen, 1963, p. 69). According to the

protoplasts, and their life in and out of paradise, especially their original sin, were constantly principal topics in the theological thought, the patristic exegesis, the literature and art. The present doctoral thesis is written in order to enlighten the individual pictorial features of the *Genesis* scenes, where the protoplasts take part in, as well as the scene of the *Resurrection*.

The story of Adam and Eve directly explains the grounds of the compulsory Redemption through the incarnated Logos of God. The moral responsibility of the protoplasts and the theme of obedience and disobedience, the human choices in other words, were essential especially for the western theological way of thinking. On the contrary, according to the eastern patristic writings, the fall was just an event, though a significant one, within the mystery of the history of the holy *Oikonomia*, meaning that the incarnation of the fleshless Logos was not an obligatory event, but it was already planned in God's mind already from the first day of creation¹. Thus, it will be demonstrated that the widespread depictions of the Old Testament cycle², and particularly the story of creation, is an attribute of the Early Christian and Western medieval church imagery, but not a Byzantine feature.

The extant illuminated scripture manuscripts³ before the 9th c. are limited in single books, such as the Gospels or the Pentateuch, but not the complete Bible. The early examples have drawings spread between the text, at the top or at the bottom of the pages. Gradually from the 9th c. a full- page

text, Adam was created good and fair. Yet, he maintained neither his communion with God nor his stay in the perfect Garden of Eden. Loss of grace, vanity (Barrett, 1962, p. 13), corruption (*Rom* 8, 20) and death (*Rom* 6, 23. cf. Barrett, 1962, pp. 8- 9) were the results of the fall. Significantly, Adam is the first who has broken God's will, somebody else had to provide to the human nature a new dimension. That was Christ, who came to redeem the fall and to deify man (A complete analysis of the first and second Adam there is in the Appendix).

¹. For the different approach of the Eastern and Western tradition about the original sin see Matsoukas, 1992, pp. 202- 16, Matsoukas, 1997, pp. 214- 6.

². A discription of the typology and the iconography of the protoplasts on a whole see *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1968, pp. 42- 57. It is interesting to see the instructions of Dionysios of Fournia (monk and iconographer in Mount Athos, 1670- 1746) of the way that the scenes should be illustrated by the Orthodox hagiographers (Dionysios of Fournia, 2007, pp. 86- 8).

³. For the history and the production of manuscripts see Diringier, 1955, pp. 24ff. For the importance for the miniatures of the 12th c. see Garrison, 1952, pp. 1- 34.

miniature system is advanced¹, such as the Tournon Bibles, whose *Genesis* frontispieces we examine in detail in each chapter. In other frontispieces, such as in Arsenal Old Testament, the pictorial translation of the word Pantocrator is a significant point. The meaning of Pantocrator is signified not only by his depiction as the Creator, but also by the focus on his role as the Creator of Cosmos, of all the living things, as the Giver of the covenant to man and as the Judge².

From the 12th onwards an extreme boost of the illuminated manuscripts of creation occurred in Northern Europe³. That production demonstrates the extensive interest on the creation theories, which either represent the *old* theological attitude or the *new* one. The actual goal of the humankind is the redemption, in which the Church plays an essential role. In the western society of the Middle Ages the account of *Genesis* was in some way engaged with the authority of the Church and its responsibility for salvation. That determination of the power of the Church penetrated in the faith of the believers also through the religious art. Therefore, the art of the creation scenes gives the grounds for its stylistic options, based on the theological thought⁴.

The traditional theology was impugned from the 12th c. onwards by the theologians and philosophers. They supported that the *old* theological thinking was only empirical or simply blind faith and it was combined with the monopoly of the Church over the society⁵. Moreover, the creation was the main

¹. Kessler, 1971, p. 143. For the beginning of book illumination see Nordenfalk, 1992.

². Weiss, 1998, p. 156. For the iconography of *Pantocrator*, its pictorial background and its development in Byzantine art see Capizzi, 1964, passim.

³. Particularly, the 11th c. there are only 7 manuscripts with miniatures of the creation, on the 12th c. there are almost 61 and 233 on the 13th c. Cf. Rudolph, 1999, p. 29.

⁴. Rudolph, 1999, p. 4.

⁵. At the beginning of the 12th c. the financial development in the West brought the requirement for more education and social progress. Simultaneously a struggle started to take place concerning the philosophical concerns and the role of *logica* in the theology. Indivisible relationship with the logic in thought has the classical culture, meaning the learning of the Aristotelian and the platonic philosophy. The *new* theology, represented mostly by French scholastic philosophers/ theologians, with Peter Abelard (1079- 1142) as the most important figure, focused on the classical literature and the platonic thoughts on cosmology. The representatives of the *old* theological attitude, Bernard of Clairvaux, a French abbot, mystic of the Cistercian monastery of Cîteaux and a powerful clerical politician (1090- 1153) and William of Champeaux, French philosopher and theologian and maybe the worst enemy of

point of the *new* theological thinking and its focus was not basically on the humankind, but on the creation of the world as a whole. The interference however of the platonic theory on Christian creation, according to the *old* schools threatened the mystery of the Triune God and the role of each person in the creation process. Consequently, the redemption and its requirements should be alike before and after the incarnation of Logos¹.

The creation imagery of the medieval production was influenced by the above- mentioned way of thinking. The lines of the two theological tendencies of the late Middle Ages are met especially on the miniatures of the manuscripts. The increase of the interest for the creation, gave an impetus to the *Priestly* account of *Genesis*, while the *Yawist* one remained in the same levels of production².

Aberland (ca. 1070- 1122), resisted with every means of their power and canonically with the Council of Soissons (1121). See Rudolph, 1999, pp. 3- 23. At the period of the 12th c. there was also a controversy between the Jewish and the Christian exegesis on the Old Testament. The Augustinian theology, which supported the tolerance of the Jews within the Christian society, it started to be abandoned and an anti- Judaism school was developed, especially in the Franciscan and Dominican theologians of the 13th c. (Cf. Timmer, 1989, pp. 309- 21). Those trends might have influenced the art of the *Genesis*, a common book in both the Christian and the Jewish belief, which was variously interpreted.

¹. Details of the influences of the *new* theology from the classical philosophy see Rudolph, 1999, pp. 23- 9.

². The *Priestly* account is the description of the *hexameron*, the six days of the creation in detail. On the other hand, the *Yawist* account stands for the explanation of the presence of evil, whose source is the human free will. Rudolph, 1999, p. 24. For instance, the initial of the *Genesis* in a Bible from Salzburg (Stiftsbibliothek, St. Peter, MS A. XII. 18, fol. 6^r, 1150), whose first episode is the fall of the Lucifer (Rudolph, 1999, p. 32, pl. 3), according the *Yawist* account. On the other hand, the initial of the book of Augustine's *City of God* (Heiligenkreutz, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 24, fol. 96^r, second half of the 12th c.) represents the figurative interpretation of the creation (Rudolph, 1999, p. 32, pl. 5). Conceivably, the following examples are characteristic of the *Priestly* description are the lavish initials of the Pontigny Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8823, fol. 1^r, end of the 12th c.) and the Souvigny Bible (Moulins, MS 1, fol. 4^v, end of the 12th c.), Rudolph, 1999, pp. 32- 6, pl. 7 and 8 respectively. During that period there was an expansion of the decorative picture of the *Genesis* initials. It was widespread in many ateliers of the 12th onwards, such as the *Alexander* atelier, the *Blanche*, the *Soissons* or the *Du Prat* etc, to adorn the initials of the Vulgate, where the scenes varied according to the artists and their influence from the current theological tendencies (Cf. Branner, 1999, pp. 29- 30 (The *Alexander* atelier), pp. 30- 1 (The *Blanche* atelier), pp. 77- 8 (The

Adam and Eve take part in the scene of Christ's *Descent into Hades*, which is considered from the Orthodox Church to be the actual scene of the Resurrection, the *Anastasis*¹. Briefly, the Orthodox art has adopted *the Descent into Hades*, as the Resurrection scene, since that keeps pace with the theological approach that the victory over death is not only individualized in Christ, but also the saving of the world. Thus, it is strongly stated the salvation of the protoplasts and on them, the redemption of the whole human nation². It is also named "*Harrowing of Hell*", a term which originates on the Medieval England³.

We tried to combine the participation of the protoplasts on the Genesis cycle and on the Anastasis scene, pictorial norms perfectly based on the espousal of the soteriological promise of God. Thus, our doctoral thesis is comprised of two parts: the *Genesis* and the *Anastasis (Descent into Hades)*, as well as an *Appendix*, which is titled the *Visual language on the protoplasts' story*, the *Bibliography* and the *Catalogue of the Illustrations* used.

Specifically, the first chapter of *Part A, Theology of creation*, is a succinct presentation of the theological aspects on each verse of the *Genesis* account. We, without overlooking on the Eastern Church Fathers, mostly focus on st. Augustine theological thoughts, since his way of thinking has totally influenced the following western theologians and consequently the artistic expressions. On the second chapter, they are examined *The origins of the scenes of creation*, which are mostly based on the apocryphal tradition, commenting on particular points of the *Books of Adam and Eve* and even on the old English poem *Genesis B*. On the third chapter, the *Iconographic Genesis recensions*, a general analysis is made on the main artistic examples we use on

Soissons atelier), pp. 78- 80 (The *Du Prat atelier*), pp. 80ff (other smaller ateliers). The most fashionable approach was the initial *I*, the first letter of the *In principio*, without having however later on any link to the *Genesis* text (Rudolph, 1999, p. 32).

¹. "*Ἀνάστασις*" is the Greek word for the Resurrection, Ross, 1996, pp. 10- 11, Kazhdan, P. A., Talbot, A., Gregory, E. T., 1991, p. 19, *ΘHE*, 1963, pp. 590- 634. For the *Descent into Hades* see *ΘHE, Κάθοδος*, 1962, pp. 436- 42. However, the Resurrection, especially in the western Christian art, is depicted by illustrating Christ coming out of His tomb Künstle, 1928, pp. 500- 11, *Reallexikon zur deutschen kunstgeschichte*, 1937, pp. 1230- 40, Ross, 1996, pp. 215- 6. Sheingorn, 1982, pp. 112- 4. For the Western artistic approach see in modern theology *The Resurrection*, 1997, passim.

². Ryan, 1997, pp. 17- 9, O' Collons, 2004, p. 12, Schulz, 1959, pp. 1- 22. Analysis on the basic problem that can occurred with the iconography of the Resurrection as Christ triumph over his grave, holding a flag see Paliouras, 1978, pp. 384- 97.

³. See "*Harrowing of Hell*" in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 1997, pp. 509- 11.

the thesis, such as the Cotton Genesis family, the Carolingian Bibles, the English parallels, Junius 11, the Sicilian monuments, the Byzantine Octateuchs etc. A significant point of this chapter is the evaluation of the origin of the Cotton Genesis, which remains still an open question.

On the fourth chapter the theoretical concept of creation acquires a visible shape, examining in detail the stylistic grounds on the extant illustrations from the period of the catacombs and the early Christian sarcophagi until the end of the 13th c. The adoption of the specific period until the 13th c. is situated on the fact that after the Schism (1054) the artistic performance was unfolded in a differentiated approach, either primarily based on the western theological ideas, as it was mentioned above, or echoing an amalgamation of the western and Byzantine iconographical elements. Apparently, we can extract striking conclusions about the aesthetical preferences of the two Churches. The use of any pictorial example of the 14th c. onwards does not pertain to the purposes of our thesis, since it is probably affiliated with the influence of the Renaissance style. Furthermore, the eastern liturgical act was developed until the specific period; consequently, we can use the relevant texts. Hence, we discourse all the scenes and their episodes of *Genesis* on which Adam and Eve are taking part in, trying to introduce a more nuanced reading. Our repertoire has not undergone a minute description, since our thesis is not a catalogue. We describe what we consider essential for the theological or the aesthetical adequate argumentation. The extent of the account of each scene depends on the frequency of their pictorial presentation as well as on the relevant patristic exegesis. The scenes that we examine are the *Creator*, as having a major role on our subject, *Adam's creation* (and its three phases *forming*, *animation* and *enlivenment*), *Adam's introduction into paradise*, the *Naming of the animals*, *Eve's creation*, the *Introduction of Adam and Eve into paradise* and their *admonition*, the *Original sin* (and the three relevant episodes of the *temptation*, the *fall* and the *covering with fig leaves*), the *Punishment* (and specifically the episodes of the *Hiding from the presence of God or the Calling*, the *Denial of the Blame*, the *Punishment of the protoplasts and the curse to the serpent, their Clothing*), the *Expulsion* and the *Labours*.

The subject of the *Part B* of our thesis is the *Anastasis*, the main scene of the Resurrection for the Orthodox Church and in other words *the Descent into Hades*, the secondary episode of the Resurrection in the western artistic performance. It must be stressed that we mostly allude to the western pictorial tradition of the scene, even on the examples of the *Mount of Hell*. That attitude is adopted due to the fact that the *Anastasis* is so repeatedly met in the Eastern Church and it has been exhaustively studied. We would like to focus on the western examples in connection with the eastern, in order to emphasise in our

final opinion about the occurrence of the protoplasts in the scene and their exterior. We briefly mention the *theological definition of the Anastasis, the origin of the scene* and its *liturgical definition* according to the Orthodox Church, since it plays maybe the most significant role of the Orthodox theology and the ecclesiastical life. We close the second Part with the forth chapter the actual *Iconographic analysis of the scene*.

On the *Appendix, Visual language on the protoplasts' story*, we conflate the participation of Adam and Eve on several pictorial accounts in such a way, in order to perform a specific task, which we try to detect. The task of the Christian pictures is not only to convey the Christian dogma, but simultaneously to serve as an ocular estimation of the various sections of the Christian society. There are a great number of meanings that are expressed by the variety of the iconographic motifs as well as the techniques, which are used. Christian art has applied for centuries the same pictorial modes, in order the images to be identifiable and the Christians to feel at ease. Nonetheless, it does not hesitate to import artistic innovations in order specific social or historical (apart from the theological) meanings to be provided to the public¹.

The term *visual language* can be defined as the "*pictorial approximation of verbal content and style*"². The Latin verb *illustrare* also means *light up*³ and in a sense it can be interpreted as the means of explaining, in the Christian art, either the text or the doctrines in an aesthetic way. As the scholars notice, the visual assist of the illustrations in the reading of the literature cannot be overlooked⁴. Every section of Christian art is linked with the patristic literature and in a general way the ecclesiastical tradition, wherein there are the doctrines, the liturgical act, the habits and the social circumstances. The various aspects can be more obvious when on a monument a number of artists have worked in different decades, meaning that it uncovers a

¹. Alexander, 1993, p. 1 (in the following pages of the article, until p. 44, the writer unfolds a plenty of examples, where the illustrations become the devices for the display of social values. Even though Alexander examines the medieval art, his results are significant also for the eastern Christian art, apart from the fact that the Western art had a more anthropological approach than the Eastern.

². Ohlgren, *Visual language*, 1972, p. 253.

³. See the word *illustrare* in Niermeyer, 1976, p. 510, Koumanoudi, 1958, p. 371. Comments see Ohlgren, *Visual language*, 1972, p. 253.

⁴. Such as Ohlgren, *The illustrations*, 1972, pp. 199- 201.

series of opinions. Thus, in Christian art there is an interaction between the word and the picture.

The purpose of our *Appendix* is to cite a number of thoughts, setting them within the frames of our thesis, in order some exceptional reflections to be itemized. In particular we examine the extension of the *Adamic typology* in Christian art, the *Impacts of the liturgical act on the Genesis cycle*, the *Impact of the social and historical circumstances on the Genesis cycle*, the *Image and likeness in art* and the *Body- gestural language*. Each chapter speaks volumes for specific aesthetical standards of the scenes and the fact that art is the mirror of the dogma and the liturgical act, but simultaneously of the every- day life of the Church.

It is worthy of remark that the studies around the creation of Adam and Eve from previous researchers were devoted to the presentation of a number of examples and their detailed iconographical analysis. We cite the studies of Sigrid Esche, *Adam und Eva- Sündenfall und Erlösung*, ed.: L. Schwann, Düsseldorf 1957, of Johannes von Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi- Darstellungen der sechs Schöpfungstage und naturwissenschaftliches Weltbild im Mittelalter*, ed.: Klett- Cotta, Stuttgart 1979 and in a more general frame that of Hans Martin von Erffa, *Ikonomie der Genesis- Die christlichen Bildthemen aus dem alten Testament und ihre Quellen I*, ed.: Deutscher Kunstverlag, München 1989. About the scenes of the Anastasis of the Early Christian and the Byzantine era the book of Anna D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis- The making of an Image*, ed.: Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey 1986 is until now one of the most completed studies of the subject. On the book of Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonomie der christlichen Kunst 3, Die Auferstehung und Erhöhung Christi*, ed.: Gütersloher Gerd Mohn, Gütersloh 1971 we found the examples we need for discussing the western pictorial attitude towards the scene of the *Descent into Hades*.

Our aim is not to be confined on the collection of the examples in which Adam and Eve are occurred. Obviously, we gather as many paradigms as we need, in order to focus on our actual goal; to detect, wherever it is feasible, the historical, theological and liturgical¹ background of the eastern and western iconographical elements of the scenes. In addition to *Genesis* cycle we quote the *Anastasis* scene, Christ's descent into Hades. We analyse a number of parallels, not having as a direct aim to cite all of them, but to reach our

¹. For the connection between the liturgy and the aesthetic see *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, 1998, pp. 263- 79. For the link between art, architecture and liturgical act, according to the Siena Cathedral see Van der Ploeg, 1993, pp. 1- 33.

conclusions about the role of the protoplasts, in such a way that they differentiate their task in the Western and Byzantine theology.

The spirit of criticism of the secondary bibliography, that is likely the reader to discern in some cases, is based on our attempt to enlighten certain pictorial patterns in the light of theology, which can perform in favour of the history of Christian art and it is much to be learned from that constructive collaboration.

Consequently, we do try to determine, as precisely as it is admissible and achievable, in what respects the various influences on the development of the illustration of the protoplasts operate. It is fascinating for an art historian his attempt to specify those iconographical features that are possible derived from the theological thought of each period or from the liturgical act of the Church.

PART A: *Genesis*

A. Theological definition of creation

We will briefly try to develop the main theological points, in order the pictorial expression of creation to be better approachable and understandable¹.

The theology does not refer to creation² as being created from nothing. *Nihil ex nihilo fit* does not mean that *nothing comes from nothing*, but *out of the non- existing (ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος)*. That term (ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος) is used in order to be stressed the connection of the existing and the non- existing, the created and the un- created, the substance and the energies. That notion indicates the fact that the created reality has not been brought into existence having the same substance with God, but through the uncreated energy of God³.

¹. During the 12th c. onwards the development of the liturgical act achieves its apogee, both in the Western and Eastern Church. It is commonly accepted, as far as the Roman Catholics, that the modern liturgical act did not exist in the Middle Ages (The liturgical calendar, the mass and the canonical hours consists of the texts and hymns used in the medieval Church up to the middle of the 20th c., Petersen, 2007, p. 103. As far as the main forms of the historical development of the Western liturgical act see Harper, 1991, pp. 11- 152, Senn, 1997, pp. 45- 9 and pp. 489ff, Vogel, 1986, passim and about the Roman Mass see Young, 1967, pp. 13- 43. See about the shape of the liturgy since the early Christian years Dix, 1954, passim, Jungmann, 1925, passim, Steuart, 1953, pp. 132ff. Cf. Daniélou, 1951, passim. For the structure of the breviary and the liturgy of the hours of the contemporary liturgical act see Campell, 1995, esp. pp. 6ff and pp. 30ff).

². For the iconology on the world creation see Zahlten, 1979, pp. 207- 10.

³. See in details the theology of the creation ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, Matsoukas, 1992, pp. 144- 52. The creation out of the non- existing is also found in the Orthodox liturgical texts, such as on the 30th January, the feast of the st. Basil, st. Gregory the theologian and st. John Chrysostom, Matin, Theotokion of 3rd Ode, "Ὁ πάντα ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ὄντα ποιήσας, καὶ φύσιν δοῦς ἐκάστῳ τῶν γενομένων", ("He who brought all things from non-being into being and gave each of them its nature..."). Cf. about the distinction between the created and the uncreated in st. Gregory of Nyssa, Xionis, 1999, pp. 30- 55.

Cf. a western theological perspective Dello, 2005, pp. 279- 303. For the Christian doctrine of creation on st. Augustine and its relationship with the Neoplatonic or Plotinian ideas

The Holy Scripture describes with vivid accounts the world's dependence on the Creator, which is a lively relationship¹. Especially, Apostle Paul described the notion of the relationship between the Creator and the created by writing "God... who gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things that do not exist"². That phrase actually inputs the creation within the frames of the holy *Oikonomia*, having as a supreme goal the redemption.

The human being does not have a physical relationship with God (same substance), but they can understand God through his energies³ and

see Crouse, 1989, pp. 229- 34. Cf. O'Connell, 1968, esp. pp. 1- 17. Analysis on the Genesis verses according to Hebrew exegesis see Jacob, 1974, pp. 12- 33.

¹. The *Ps* 103 (104) gives the perfect example of a characteristic description of the creator: "You stretch out the heavens like a tent, you set the beams of your chambers on the water (2- 3)... How manifold are your works! In wisdom you have made them all; the earth is full of your creatures (24)... These all look to you to give them their food in due season; when you give to them, they gather it up; when you open your hand, they are filled with good things (27- 28)... When you send forth your spirit, they are created; and you renew the face of the ground" (30)". K. Ware makes a comparison of this psalm with the office of Vesper. As man came into life, he opened his eyes and he faced the beauty of the world (*Gen* 1, 31, where it is mentioned that "And there was evening and there was morning the sixth day"), the Church through the vesper demolishes the darkness by the coming of the new Adam, totally connected with the Eucharist. Ware, 1971, pp. 157- 8. That comparison derives from the fact that *Ps* 103 (104) is being heard in the Vesper, as well as there are other hymns, which have as a subject the first light; indicatively, "O joyful light of the holy glory of the immortal Father, the heavenly, holy, blessed Jesus Christ. Now that we have reached the setting of the sun and behold the evening light, we sing to God: Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. It is fitting at all times to praise you with cheerful voices. O Son of God, the Giver of Life" (www.goarch.org/en/chapel/liturgical_texts/vespers), "Φῶς ἰλαρὸν ἀγίας δόξης, ἀθανάτου Πατρὸς, οὐρανόυ, ἀγίου, μάκαρος, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλίου δύσιν, ἰδόντες φῶς ἐσπερινόν, ὑμνοῦμεν Πατέρα, Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, Θεόν. Ἄξιόν σε ἐν πᾶσι καιροῖς ὑμνεῖσθαι φωναῖς αἰσίους, Υἱὲ Θεοῦ, ζωὴν ὁ διδούς" (*MIKRON IERATIKON*, p. 21). Some remarks on the Homilies on creation of Narsai, who was influenced by Theodoros of Mopsuestia see Jansma, 1970, pp. 209- 31. The relationship between God and man, as being examined by the modern protestant theology, with F. D. E. Schleiermacher (1768- 1834) and his influential impact on the dialectical theology of K. Barth (1886– 1968), see Songeregger, 1991, pp. 185- 203. Cf. Nimmo, 2007, pp. 24- 44.

². *Rom* 4: 17.

³. See st. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Hominis Opificio*, PG 44, 124A- 185D and in st. Basil, *Adversus Eunomium*, lib. IV, PG 29, 680A, "Εἰς τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ μείζον καὶ διάφορον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν", ("The cause of the created is the most important and it

simultaneously they do not deal with the possibility of annihilation, because they are endowed with the grace of God¹. That grace provides man the opportunity to be God *by grace*.

According to the *Genesis* description "*God said, Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness*" (1, 26)². The *in our image* creation

differentiates in the substance"). Cf. the theology of st. Gregory of Nyssa about the energies of God Xionis, 1999, pp. 166- 28. That arises another point of the theological discussion about creation, which is the time distance. In order to put it into a logical base, we use temporal words. So, the time space between the unbegotten God and the begotten creation can be described as the creation was made *after* God. Origen (end of 2nd c.) supported that the Creator co- exists with the creation. Going further he wrote that God for being powered (he uses the word *Παντοκράτωρ*, meaning the *All- sovereign*) needs to have constantly present his creation; "*Εἰ οὐκ ἔστι δημιουργὸς ἄνευ δημιουργημάτων, ἢ ποιητὴς ἄνευ ποιημάτων, οὐδὲ παντοκράτωρ ἄνευ τῶν κρατουμένων*", ("*There is no creator without creatures, or poet without poems, or all- sovereign without people under him*"), Origen, *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν*, 1, 10, PG 11, 138D- 139B. See about this work, which actually is the first book of systematic theology, Quasten, vol. 2, 1964, pp. 57- 62. Yet that view would imply a platonic origin, if Origen did not support the difference between the non- existing and the existing. At that point G. Florovsky interpreted Origen theology in a wrong way, without identifying the Origen's view on the distinction of creator and creation. See Florovsky, 1962, pp. 50- 3. Cf. the ratiocination of Matsoukas, 1992, pp. 154- 8, where he differentiates himself with Florovsky's opinion.

¹. St. Athanasius on his work against Arianism wrote *Adversus Arianos*, 1, 20, PG 26, 53A, "*Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα οἷά ἐστι τὰ γενητά, οὐδὲν ὅμοιον κατ' οὐσίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸν πεποιητότα· ἀλλ' ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ ἐστι χάριτι καὶ βουλήσει αὐτοῦ τῷ Λόγῳ γενόμενα, ὥστε πάλιν δύνασθαι καὶ παύεσθαι ποτε, εἰ θελήσειεν ὁ ποιήσας· ταύτης γὰρ ἐστὶ φύσεως τὰ γενητά*", ("*The born have not the same substance with the Creator; yet they were made having the grace and the will of Logos of God, in order to be capable again and never to be ceased, if the creator wants to; that is the nature of the created*"). Analysis of st. Athanasius theology, see Dragas 2005, pp. 37- 40, Matsoukas, 2001, pp. 31- 41. Cf. a totally different perspective we meet on the comparison between man and animals and the origin of Adam, such as in Ardrey, 1971, *passim*.

². Cf. some Orthodox liturgical indications, such as on the divine Liturgy of st. John Chrysostom, Prayer of the Trisagion "... Ὁ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγὼν τὰ σύμπαντα· ὁ κτίσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν καὶ παντί σου χαρίσματι κατακοσμήσας", ("*... Out of the non- existing you brought the universe into being; The one, who created man according to your image and likeness, adorning him with every gift of your grace*"), *TRIODION* (about the *Triodion* see in *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, 1972, p. 79), Holy Saturday morning, Encomium "Ὁ χειρὶ σου πλάσας τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τῆς γῆς,

refers to the entire human kind, as a unified existence, soul and body¹, while the *likeness* concerns the tendency of the human beings to be developed in a way straight to God. They have the grace, and accordingly their development, in order to meet the whole existence of God, is a matter of receptivity².

Moreover, the two human characteristics of the *image* and *likeness* have another dimension. Man has the domination of the rest of the creation, since the

δι' αὐτοῦ τῇ φύσει γέγονας ἄνθρωπος", ("Your hand has formed Adam from the earth, and through him man was made"), *SMALL EUCHOLOGION*, Service of the dead, 3rd Stasis, "Ὁ πάλαι μὲν, ἐκ μὴ ὄντων πλάσας με καὶ εἰκὼν σου θεία τιμήσας, παραβάσει ἐντολῆς δὲ πάλιν με ἐπιστρέψας, εἰς γῆν ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθην εἰς τὸ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἐπανάγαγε, τὸ ἀρχαῖον κάλλος ἀναμορφώσασθαι", ("You did fashion me out of nothingness, and with your divine image honoured me; but because of the transgression of the commandments you did return me again to the earth where I was taken from; lead me back to be refashioned according to the ancient beauty of your likeness").

¹. Partially in the theology of the Early Church, for example in Irenaeus, it is mentioned that the *image* is the body of the human kind, while the *likeness* is the gift of the Holy Spirit (*Adv. haer.* V, 6, 1). Cf. Ronanidou, 1992, pp. 129- 52, Daniélou, 1973, pp. 398- 9. Also cf. Phan, 1985, pp. 117- 29. The history of the notion of *image* see Curtis, 1984, passim. Cf. the discussion on Irenaeus' use of *νήπιος* (*infant*) for the first man in paradise in Steenberg, 2004, pp. 1- 22. For the *De hominis opificio* of st. Gregory of Nyssa and his anthropological disquisition about the action of the intelligible mind within the physical body see Wessel, 2009, pp. 24- 46.

The Gnostic pattern of the initial creation of the psyche apart from the material body, as presented in the *Secret Book of John* and comments on the Gnostic story of creation see Littikhuizen, 2000, pp. 140- 51. For the influence of Gnosticism on the Rabbinic legends on Adam and in particular on the myth that the group of the angels, who supported Satan, opposed on Adam's creation see Altmann, 1944- 45, esp. pp. 371- 7.

Characteristically in the Orthodox funeral service (*MIKRON EUCHOLOGION*, p. 207), it is mentioned in an hymn that, "Θρηνῶ καὶ ὀδύρομαι, ὅταν ἐννοήσω τὸν θάνατον, καὶ ἴδω ἐν τοῖς τάφοις κειμένην τὴν κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ, πλασθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ὡραιότητα, ἄμορφον, ἄδοξον, μὴ ἔχουσιν εἶδος", ("Weep and with tears lament when with understanding I think on death and see how in the graves there sleeps the beauty which once for us was fashioned in the image of God, but now is shapeless, ignoble and bare of all the graces" (www.goarch.org/en/chapel/liturgical_texts/funeralservice).

². That receptivity derives from the fact that the relation of God and man is a relation of participation. The whole world is able to participate and to be God by grace. See Matsoukas, 1997, pp. 197- 9. Also see comments on the theology about the creation according to the *image* and *likeness* of God, Filiotis- Vlachavas, 2003, pp. 122- 40.

physical environment itself participates in man's route to God¹. Undoubtedly the nature seems to be a way or the barrier to the communication of man with God. Through the fall the whole creation undergoes the consequences. Due to the incarnation of Logos of God the humanity is restored and simultaneously the entire world is renewed².

In the West, the theology of the creation was developed in a more scholastic way, which defers from the Greek Fathers. St. Ambrose of Milan preached often on the *Genesis* text and those texts with commentaries are his works on creation, with influences from Philo's allegories³. St. Ambrose writings were the base of st. Augustine's theology (354- 430). His apologetic or exegetic works on the interpretation of *Genesis* has influenced the early and late medieval western theologians in their exegetical works⁴. By reading Augustine's texts it can be comprehend that his theory was advanced from his early to his later works in that way that some differences to the eastern Fathers can be noticed⁵.

St. Augustine deals with the *Genesis* text as history and as prophesy at the same time. At that period the Manicheans supported that the words *in our image, and our likeness* resulted only in the belief that God has a human body. St. Augustine gave (by his two books on *Genesis against the Manicheans*) to the text a historical interpretation, by citing New Testaments anthropomorphic examples and by pointing out that the Scriptures must be understood spiritually⁶. However, historical events, as Genesis, have a beginning, a middle

¹. Gen 1, 26, "... And let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over the wild animals of the earth and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth". Also see, Ware, 1971, pp. 155- 6.

². Ware, 1971, p. 159. In the celebration of Epiphania we heard on the Service of the Great Holy Water, 2nd Stihiron Idiomelon, "Σήμερον τῶν ὑδάτων, ἀγιάζεται ἡ φύσις", ("Today through the water, the whole nature becomes holy").

³. His work *De Paradiso* is believed to have been read by st. Augustine, since the same methods in some points can be detected. St. Ambrose does not consider as a original exegete on creation, because he used Greek commentaries, however with unity and adjustment to the needs and questions of his own area. Burns, 2001, pp. 71- 2. For the theology of Philo on man's creation cf. Tobin, 1983, pp. 56- 101, Wilson, 1957, pp. 421- 3.

⁴. For example we cite Venerable Bede (673- 735) and his commentaries on *Genesis*. See Kelly, 2001, pp. 189- 96.

⁵. See St. Augustine *on Genesis*, 1991, pp. 16- 8, where it is mentioned that he did not use a typical systematic terminology.

⁶. Such as Mt 5, 34- 35, Lk 11, 20, Eph 6, 16. See the text on the first book of *De Genesi contra Manichaeos (DGnM)* 1. 17. 27. St. Augustine also manifested the extraordinary

and an end and that is how he treats the text on his writings¹. For st. Augustine the *image* and *likeness* describe the eternal spiritual man, which is straight connected with the power of man to control the earth, a characteristic not originated from the physical power, but from the spiritual one². Those two terms are completely analyzed by him as being inseparable in *Genesis* text and he persists on the idea that the image refers to the mind of man³. Only *to our image* was not sufficient to show the fact that man "*Is not like God in the manner of one participating in some likeness, but that this image is itself the likeness, in which all things participate which are said to be like*"⁴.

He also presented the prophetic character of *Genesis*⁵, by combining the six days of creation with the six days of the history and the six stages within the life of the human beings⁶. Then the seventh day God rested himself and st.

link between the Old and the New Testament and that the Jewish tradition is the tradition, which transformed into the spirit of Christianity. That acknowledge was transmitted in the contemporary art of the period, such as in Sant Maria Maggiore. The specific analysis see Miles 1993, pp. 162- 70.

¹. See introductory comments Saint Augustine *on Genesis*, 1991, pp. 27- 31. Such as in *DGnM* 2. 2. 3, "*According to history events are narrated; according to prophecy future things are foretold*".

². "*Let them know, nonetheless, that the spiritual believers in the Catholic teaching do not believe that God is limited by a bodily shape. When man is said to have been made to the image of God, these words refer to the interior man, where reason and intellect reside. From these man also has power over the fish of the sea... not by reason of the body, but by reason of the intellect which we have and they do not have*", *DGnM* 1. 17. 28. Cf. Bonner, 1993, pp. 75- 7. Also see Horsley, 1976, pp. 269- 88, where the notions of spiritual and physical dimensions according to Apostle Paul are discussed.

³. For example that can be read *On the Literal Interpretation of Genesis, De Genesi ad Litteram (DGnI)* 16, 60, "*Though the other things in man are beautiful in their own order, man has them in common with the cattle, and for that reason they should be lightly valued in man*".

⁴. *DGnI* 16, 58. The explanation of the two terms also involves the fact that they are referring to the Holy Trinity and not only to the Father, and at the same time st. Augustine explain the difference between the likeness of the human beings and of the Son. See *DGnI* 16, 57, 16, 60- 61.

⁵. See comments Saint Augustine *on Genesis*, 1991, pp. 24- 6.

⁶. The first age is "*For every man, when he is first born and comes into the light, passes through the first age, infancy. This age extends from Adam to Noah over ten generations*", the second age is the "*Childhood, begins with the time of Noah and this age extends up to Abraham over another ten generations*", the third age "*Begins from Abraham and... that is like adolescence*", in the fourth age "*Came the kingdom of David. This age is like the age of youth*",

Augustine connected it with the rest of Jesus Christ on the Last Supper, after having done a perfect work on the earth¹. That figurative way of interpreting *Genesis* characterizes also his other works.

"Then the Lord formed man from the dust of the ground"²; forming of man from the mud, that according to st. Augustine can set up questions about the quality of that mud. St. Augustine claims that there was a body before the sin; it did not however subject to corruption, even though the material was worthless³.

the fifth age "Extends up to the coming of our Lord... the decline from youth toward old age, not yet old age, but no longer youth" and the sixth age "Came with the preaching of the gospel by our Lord, Jesus Christ... There begins the sixth, in which the old age of the old man appears", *DGnM* 1. 23. 35- 40.

¹. "For such men perform works that are very good. After such works one should hope for rest on the seventh day, which has no evening... so that it has special regard for the prediction of what is to come", *DGnM* 1. 23. 41.

². *Gen* 2, 7. Cf. indicatively orthodox liturgical texts: *TRIODION*, Sunday of Quinquagesima, Vesper, 1st Stihiron prosomion, "Ὁ πλάστης μου Κύριος, χούν ἐκ τῆς γῆς προσλαβὼν με, ζωηρῶ φυσήματι, ψυχώσας ἐζώωσε καὶ ἐτίμησεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἄρχοντα, ὀρατῶν ἀπάντων καὶ Ἀγγέλοις ὁμοδίατον. Σατὰν δ' ὁ δόλιος, ὀργάνῳ τῷ ὄφει χρησάμενος, ἐν βρώσει ἐδελέασε καὶ Θεοῦ τῆς δόξης ἐχώρισε καὶ τῷ κατωτάτῳ θανάτῳ παραδέδωκεν εἰς γῆν. Ἄλλ' ὡς Δεσπότης καὶ εὐσπλαχνος, πάλιν ἀνακαλέσαι", ("My Creator the Lord, took for me dust from the ground, blew strongly to give me my soul and he honoured me by being the master of the earth, upper from everything can be seen and having the same fast with the angels. Satan, by using the snake as a weapon, he tempted me with food and he separated me from God and he gave me in death. Yet, the Lord as merciful, he called me again"), *TRIODION*, Sunday of Quinquagesima, Matins, 5th Ode, 3rd Troparion, "Ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐπλάσθη χειρὶ Θεοῦ, αὐθις δ' ἐπιστρέφειν πρὸς τὴν γῆν", ("From the earth he was created with the hand of God, and he returns to the earth"), *MENAION* (about Menaio see in *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, 1972, p. 79) of December, 11th December, Feast of the Holy Forefathers, Matins, 2nd Odes, 2nd Troparion, "Ἀδὰμ τὸν πρῶτον τιμήσωμεν, χειρὶ τετιμημένον τοῦ κτίσαντος, καὶ πάντων ἡμῶν Προπάτορα, ἤδη γεγνημένον καὶ ἐν σκηναίς, ταῖς ἐπουρανίαις, μετὰ πάντων ἐκλεκτῶν ἀναπαυόμενον" ("Adam, our Forefather, the first we honour, he was made by the hand of the Creator and he is already saved and he is resting on the sky among the selected ones"),

³. *DGnM* 2. 7. 8, "Why is it strange that the Almighty Maker could make the body that was made from some sort of mud of the earth so that before sin it afflicted man with no trouble or need and wasted away from no corruption?". Cf. Solignac, 1993, pp. 101- 27.

"And breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and the man became a living being"¹ is the text that informs us that man consists of two elements, soul and body. Both of those elements are created; the body belongs to the corporal world, while the soul is a part of the created, conceivable world, waiting for the resurrection of the body². According to the patristic tradition the body and the soul are an organic union, the *ὅλος ἄνθρωπος* (*entire man*), a term that st. Dionysius Areopagita borrowed from the platonic philosophy³. Yet, the body does not include the soul, but on the opposite; it is described that the soul comprises the body as the fire encloses the glowing metal. The soul thus is the vivid and energetic place, where the elements of the human hypostasis harmonically coexist⁴. Relatively, that finds a visual display within the rules of Christian iconography on the halo, which represents the holiness (actually of the soul) of the person, surrounds the heads of Virgin Mary and of the saints⁵.

That is the crucial point on st. Augustine's theory on creation⁶. Especially his books against Manicheans offer the best approach of the suggestion that the soul felt into the mortal body after had sinned- that is represented by the tunics of skin the protoplasts wore after the original sin. So the whole man continuously fights to regain the lost paradise⁷. St. Augustine suggested that "*If up to a point there was only the body, we should understand that the soul was at this point joined to the body. Perhaps the soul had been already made, but was still as if in the mouth of God, that is, in his truth and*

¹. Gen 2, 7.

². St. Maximus the Confessor, *Opusculum de Anima*, PG 91, 356AC.

³. St. Dionysius Areopagita, *Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, IX, PG 3, 565BC.

⁴. St. John Damascene, *Expositio Fidei I*, 13, PG 94, 853A (Kotter, 1973, p. 39, ver. 39- 41), "*Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ συνδέεται τῷ σώματι ὅλη ὅλω καὶ ἐκ μέρους μέρει καὶ οὐ περιέχεται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' περιέχει αὐτὸ ὡσπερ πῦρ σίδηρον καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ οὐσα τὰς οἰκειᾶς ἐνεργείας ἐνεργεῖ*", ("*The soul is totally connected to the body and it is not contained on it, but the soul is comprised of the body as a flaming metal and of its own energies it acts*"). Cf. Matsoukas, 1997, pp. 223- 8.

⁵. We refer here only to human beings, who managed to reach the stage of holiness. We do not mention Jesus, since he is God and man at the same time and he is often depicted with the glory over him (mandorla). The halo cannot be illustrated over unholy persons or Satan himself.

⁶. St. Augustine's theory on the soul can be seen also as exegetical, with a philosophical concept. See discussion O' Daly, 1993, pp. 92- 9. Cf. O' Connell, 1968, pp. 31- 45.

⁷. Saint Augustine *on Genesis*, 1991, p. 38. Cf. Burns, 1989, pp. 219- 22.

wisdom"¹ or in another passage, he spoke about "The breathed the breath of life into the mud he had formed so that the breathing forth signifies God's activity by which he made the soul in man by the spirit of his power" (DGnM 2. 8. 10), speculating the opinion that God made the human soul at the very moment of Adam's embodiment². Furthermore, he mentioned that God made the soul and it was not a part of God's soul, which became man's soul. If it was that case, as the Manicheans believed, then "The nature of God is mutable"³. On his late book *De Natura et Origine Animae* he deals with the matters of the origin of the soul, but in a more rhetoric and philosophical way⁴. We briefly referred to it, since the st. Augustine's hypothesis about the immortality⁵, which man received through God's breathing, has influenced several iconographical elements of the scenes of *Genesis*⁶.

"So out of the ground the Lord God formed every animal of the field and every bird of the air and brought them to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called every living creature, that was its name"⁷, a passage demonstrating the superiority of man towards the animals, in mind and soul⁸. However western Church Fathers, such as st. Ambrose, refer to that passage as being a hint for Adam to realise the necessity of the two sexes, male and female, in the earth⁹. On the passage "So God created humankind in his

¹. DGnM 2. 8. 10. The scholars believe that hypothesis, based on Origen's work *Περί Ἀρχῶν* I, IV, 4, PG 11, 155- 156. See speculation Saint Augustine *on Genesis*, 1991, p. 104, note 43. Moreover, st. Augustine interpreted allegorically the *Gen* 1, 30 ("Everything that has the breath of life, I have given every green plant for food") as being "An invisible creature like the soul" (DGnM 2. 3. 4) before the sin. Generally, it can be said that st. Augustine does not concerned a lot about the pre or the non- existence of the soul and at the same time he does not discriminate Adam's soul with the souls of the other human beings. See O' Daly, 1993, pp. 185- 6. However, scholars believe that Augustine started his thinking from Platon's theory about the pre- existed ideas, but he developed it in a Christian way. See Preus, 1985, pp. 27- 30, 56- 7.

². Saint Augustine *on Genesis*, 1991, pp. 104- 5, note 45.

³. DGnM 2. 8. 11, where passages are cited from the Old (*Ps* 32 (33), 15, *Zech* 12. 1) and the New Testament (*1 Cor* 2, 11) regarding the fact that the human soul it was made as well as the human body. Also see comments on DNOA, Preus, 1985, pp. 52- 3.

⁴. Preus, 1985, pp. 2- 3.

⁵. See O' Daly, 1993, pp. 97- 8.

⁶. Al- Hamdani, 1978, p. 17.

⁷. *Gen* 1, 19.

⁸. DGnM 2. 11. 16.

⁹. St. Ambrose, *De Paradiso* (DP) 11. 49- 50, "Following these observations, he would become aware that association with a woman was a necessity for his lot". That is connected

image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them"¹ there is also a problematic ratiocination. St. Augustine² wondered himself in "What sense we should understand the union of male and female before sin, as well as the blessing that said, "Increase and multiply, and generate and fill the earth (Gen 1, 28)"³. The only way to comprehend the text, according to st. Augustine, is spiritually, since its definition was transformed with the original sin, meaning the carnal way of conceiving, which was established after the expulsion. Furthermore, st. Augustine mentioned a typology of Adam as Christ and Eve as the Church, and that is why their creation of male and female belongs to the sixth age, meaning the period of the coming of Christ⁴.

"And the Lord God planted a Garden in Eden, in the east" (Gen 2, 8). That particular verb, *planted*, is used in order the origin of paradise to be clearly described; the Creator built it and it was not the result of human labours. Thus, it acts as a prefiguration of Theotokos, since she was virgin, exactly as the uncultivated from human hands soil of the paradise⁵. Furthermore, in Christian literature it is pointed out that the rivers of paradise were four, but in the Church there is only one river, Christ himself, but from his source four streamlets are derived and those are the four evangelists and their gospels⁶.

with the fact that Eve was "built", like a house, since "A household comprising man and wife, seems to point toward a state of perfection".

¹. Gen 1, 27.

². The scholars comment that st. Augustine's opinion about the role of the woman does not keep pace with other contemporary ideas (See *DGnM* 2. 11. 15. Also secondary bibliography, Saint Augustine *on Genesis*, 1991, p. 112, note 75) or, to put it into theological frames, with the Christian way of thinking towards women.

³. *DGnM* 1. 19. 30.

⁴. *DGnM* 1. 23. 40.

⁵. St. John Chrysostom, *De mutatione nominum*, 3, PG 51, 129, 16, "... ἵνα μάθῃς, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνων χειρῶν ἔργον ἦν ὁ παράδεισος· παρθένος γὰρ ἦν ἡ γῆ, καὶ οὔτε ἄροτρον δεξαμένη ἦν... ἀπὸ ἐπιταγῆς μόνο ἐβλάστησε τὰ δέντρα ἐκεῖνα. Διὰ τοῦτο Ἐδὲμ αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσεν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ παρθένος γῆ· αὕτη ἡ παρθένος ἐκείνης τῆς Παρθένου τύπος ἦν", ("... in order to know that paradise was not made by human hands; its earth is virgin and it was not cultivated by a plough... and the trees were vegetated there by command. That is why it is called Eden, since the earth is virgin; and it was the prefiguration of the Virgin Mary").

⁶. Hippolytus, *Commentarium in Daniele 1* in Marcel, 2000, pp. 44- 5 (XVIII, 4- 8, 31th), "Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ Ἐδὲμ ποταμὸς ἀεννάων ὑδάτων ἀπορρέει καὶ τέσσαρες ποταμοὶ ἐξερχόμενοι ἐξ αὐτοῦ ποτίζουσιν πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γῆν, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ

Man was placed in the garden of Eden "and there he put the man whom he had formed" (Gen 2, 8). In the ecclesiastical literature there is a discussion concerning the theological analysis of paradise. Specifically, there are followers of the allegorical¹ or the literal² interpretation of the earthly paradise. However the most of the eastern and western Church Fathers are in favour of the double interpretation³. The significance of the double approach of paradise initiates on

δείκνυται ποταμὸς γὰρ ὁ Χριστός· διὰ τὸ τετραμερὲς σωτήριον εὐαγγέλιον πάντα ἐκφυλάττει καὶ εἰς πάντα πρόσεστιν". Iconographically speaking, the motif of the one river, symbolizing however the paradise or the new Jerusalem, is met for example on the conch of Santa Maria Maggiore, where a river runs along the bottom margin of the conch. See Barclay Lloyd, 2002, pp. 37- 8.

¹. Origen, *In Genesim*, PG 12, 100A, "Ὅταν ἀναγινώσκοντες ἀναβαίνωμεν ἀπὸ τῶν μύθων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ γράμμα ἐκδοχῆς, ζητῶμεν τίνα τὰ ξύλα ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνα, ἃ ὁ Θεὸς γεωργεῖ· λέγομεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔνι αἰσθητὰ ξύλα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ", ("Whenever in our reading we rise from the myths and the literal interpretation, we ask what are those trees that God cultivates. We say that there are no trees in that place which can be perceived by the senses"). St. Ambrose on his work *De Paradiso* deals with the notion of paradise spiritually ("Paradise has a certain vital force which receives and multiplies seeds in which each and every virtue is planted", DP 1. 6) and he has framed it as the "Land of fertility", DP 3. 12- 18.

Besides, even if the symbolic interpretation of paradise is accepted, the consequences of the fall are totally alike with any literal analysis. See the text of Michael Glycas in Bekker 1836, p. 86 (10), "ὅτι ὁ νοητὸς ὄφις τὸν ψυχικὸν αὐτοῖς προυξένησε θάνατον".

². Epiphanius of Salamis, *Epistola ad Jaonem Episcopum Jerosolymorum*, PG 43, 386AD.

³. St. Basil, *De Paradiso, Oratio III*, PG 30, 68CD, "Ὅτῳ καὶ τὸν παράδεισον νοοῦμεν μὲν καὶ σωματικῶς, ἀλληγοροῦμεν δὲ καὶ πνευματικῶς", ("On the one hand we understand paradise in a corporeal sense, but on the other hand we allegorize it in a spiritual sense"). Moreover, often in the works of st. Basil there are references to the allegorical meaning of Paradise for the life of the Christians. See for example St. Basil, *De jejunio, Homilia I*, PG 31, 168, "Ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐνηστεύσαμεν, ἐξεπέσομεν τοῦ Παραδείσου· νηστεύσωμεν τοίνυν, ἵνα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανέλθωμεν", ("Since we had not fasted, we lost paradise; we must to fast again, in order to enter paradise again"). St. Augustine as well writes, "There are three nearly general opinions concerning this matter. One is the opinion of those who want paradise to be understood only corporeally. Another is the opinion of those who understand paradise only spiritually. The third is the opinion of those who accept paradise in both senses, sometimes corporeally, but at other times spiritually", *De Genesi ad litteram* 8. 1 in Laga, C., Steel, C., 1990, p. 189 (section 64, 42- 45), "παράδεισος οὗτος, ὁ χειρὶ Θεοῦ φυτευθεῖς... καὶ τίνα τὰ ξύλα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, εἴτε θεωρούμενα εἴτε νοούμενα".

the fact that the paradisaical situation has a specific goal; the glorification of the entire world, apprehensible and mental. In other words, the paradise denotes the tangible and the conceivable reality, which cannot act abstracted from the Kingdom of God¹.

Despite the various patristic expositions, all the writers agree on the fact that paradise, either a figurative or a genuine situation, has been given from God, not only as a typological element, but also as the truth², since it is the typology of the *Ecclēsia*³. Paradise was meant to be a holy place, the place for moral people- and that is the reason for being decorated with natural beauty, since that refers to justification and holiness-, as well as the Church is the system of the saints⁴. Nevertheless, it is clarified that paradise itself is unable to be a charismatic and a compelling state without abiding by Gods' rules⁵. The original sin, and consequently every kind of sin, is not stated as an offence

For the symbolic interpretation of the utopia of paradise on the Hebrew literature see Stordalen, 2000, pp. 466- 1.

¹. Matsoukas, 1992, p. 540.

². See the text of st. Ephraem Syrus in Phrantzoles, 1998, p. 238 (11), "Οὐ γὰρ ὁ παράδεισος ἐδόθη εἰς τύπον, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀληθείαν".

³. Hippolytus, *Commentarium in Danielelem 1* in Marcel, 2000, pp. 40- 1 (XVIII, 19- 21, 30^{va}), "Ὅτι δὲ ὁ παράδεισος ἐν Ἐδέμ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ φυτευθεὶς εἰς τύπον καὶ εἰκόνα ἐγένετο τῆς ἐκκλησίας, σαφέστατά ἐστιν ἐπιγνώσαι τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς", st. John Chrysostom, *De caeco nato, 1*, [Sp], PG 59, 544, "Κήπος γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς κεκλεισμένος καὶ παράδεισος ἡ Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος· παράδεισον δὲ λέγω οὐ κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐκείνον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἐκείνου ἀνώτερον. Ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἐβασίλευσεν ὄφις, ἐνταῦθα δὲ βασιλεύει ὁ Χριστός".

⁴. Hippolytus, *Commentarium in Danielelem 1* in Marcel, 2000, pp. 42- 3 (XVIII, 7- 13, 30^{vb}), "παράδεισος κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐφυτεύετο, ξύλοις ὡραίοις καὶ καρποῖς παντοδαποῖς κεκοσμημένος, ὥστε ἔστι νοῆσαι τὸ σύστημα τῶν δικαίων τόπον εἶναι ἅγιον, ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐφυτεύετο... Τί οὖν ἐστιν ἐκκλησία; Σύστημα ἁγίων ἐν ἀληθείᾳ πολιτευομένων".

⁵. In that case there is not a difference between paradise and manure, as st. John Chrysostom, *De caeco nato, 2*, [Sp], PG 59, 544 mentions, "Οὔτε γὰρ παράδεισός ἐστι θαυμαστός, εἰ μὴ ἔχη Θεοῦ ἐντολήν τηρουμένην... Τί βέλτιον; τί κρεῖττον; παράδεισος, ἢ κοπρία; Ἀλλ' ὅμως τὸν Ἀδὰμ διὰ τὴν παράβασιν παράδεισος οὐκ ὠφέλησεν· τὸν Ἰὼβ δὲ διὰ τὴν ὑπομονὴν κοπρία οὐκ ἔβλαψεν· ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἐν παραδείσῳ κατασχύνεται διὰ τὴν παρακοήν, Ἰὼβ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς κοπρίας στεφανοῦται διὰ τὴν ὑπομονήν".

towards God, but principally as the negative reaction of man to the reconciliation with his Creator. In fact, it was a direct refusal to God's offering, his universe to be administrated by man. Yet, the protoplasts under a sense of arrogance rejected the amicable natural environment of paradise. That distortedness is the authentic sources of the environmental attitude of nowadays and that is the reason, which the Christian thought demonstrates its concern towards the problems¹.

In the middle of paradise there was the tree of life, which is actually the relationship of man with the life-giver God and the tree of knowledge of good and evil, the temptation of an immediate way of equality with God. Therefore, man is placed between obedience, meaning life, and disobedience, as knowledge of good and evil, which is death².

Additionally, the two trees of paradise are also figurative norms of two elements of the forthcoming Church, law and speech. That concept derives from the fact that through the law the awareness of the sin is occurred and through the verbal expression an absolution is given³. Thence, as Adam tasted the forbidden fruit and he was expelled from paradise, similarly whoever does not guard the words of the Holy Spirit, he turns out to be detached from the body of the Church⁴.

"So the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man and he slept; then he took one of his ribs and closed up its place with flesh. And the rib that the

¹. Bartholomew, 2008, pp. 98- 100.

². Matsoukas, 1997, p. 203. Comments on st. Ambrose's theory about the allegorical interpretation of the two trees (the tree of life is the divine wisdom, the tree of knowledge stands for the corporeal pleasures) see Burns, 2001, pp. 86- 8. Analysis on the meanings of the trees, see White, 1991, pp. 118- 20. Cf. Niero, 2001, p. 267, that the cross of Christ was made from the tree of knowledge.

³. See Hippolytus, *Commentarium in Danielelem 1* in Marcel, 2000, pp. 44- 5 (XVIII, 10- 14, 31th), "*τῷ παραδείσῳ ξύλον ἐδείκνυτο γνώσεως καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς, ὡς νῦν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ νόμος καὶ λόγος ὡς δύο ξύλα πεφυτευμένα δείκνυνται. «διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις» γίνεται «τῆς ἀμαρτίας», διὰ δὲ τοῦ λόγου ζωὴ καὶ ἄφεσις δίδεται τῶν παραπτωμάτων*".

⁴. See Hippolytus, *Commentarium in Danielelem 1* in Marcel, 2000, pp. 44- 5 (XVIII, 14- 20, 31^{va}), "*Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἀδὰμ παρακούσας Θεοῦ καὶ γευσάμενος ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς γνώσεως ἐκβλητός ἐγένετο τοῦ παραδείσου, ἐκ γῆς ληφθεὶς καὶ εἰς γῆν πάλιν ἀναλυθεὶς. Ὁμοίως [πάλιν ὁ πε]πιστευ[κῶς] καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς μὴ [φυλά]ξας γυμνοῦται τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἐκβλητός γενόμενος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, μηκέτι λαβὼν, ἀλλὰ γενόμε[νος γῆ εἰς τὸν] παλαιὸν αὐτοῦ ἄνθρωπον ἀν[ελθ]εῖν ὀφεί[λει]*".

Lord God had taken from the man he made into a woman and brought her to the man"¹, implying the union of man and woman in an inseparable, equal way². Furthermore, she was created from Adam, in order to be demonstrated that both of them have identical nature and that they can be one³.

Despite the blessing of the physical bond of man and woman and its legislation as a mystery of the Church already from the creation, "*Then the man said. "This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; this one shall be called Woman, for out of Man this one was taken. Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh"*"⁴, marriage in the paradisaical situation was not ontologically necessary. Matsoukas elucidates that the Church Fathers by that aspect pointed out the fact that within paradise there was an evolutionary route towards *likeness*, without the occurrence of death. Apparently, the increase of humanity was possible inside

¹. Gen 2, 21- 22.

². St. Augustine claims that apart from that obvious interpretation of God's act, there is also something hidden, "*a figurative expression*", "*mysteries and sacraments, whether they are to be interpreted and understood in this manner as our weak intelligence is trying to interpret or in some other better way which is still in accord with sound faith*" (DGnM 2. 12. 17). Scholars support that Augustine is one of the few Christian writers, who described with such dark colours the fall, see Bonner, 1993, pp. 84- 5.

Analysis on Eve and their role according to Ap. Paul see Krauter, 2008, pp. 1- 17. Comments on the dealing of the creation of the feminine *Epinoia*, the helper that the demiourge gave to Adam, according to the Gnostic thought see Littikhuizen, 2000, pp. 151- 5. Also cf. Flasch, 2004, pp.17ff.

Cf. in the Orthodox liturgical act *SMALL EUCHOLOGION*, Service of marriage, Wish (the English transl. see (www.goarch.org/en/chapel/liturgical_texts/wedding), "*Αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν, Δέσποτα, ὁ ἀρχὴ πλάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον θέμενος αὐτὸν ὡς βασιλέα τῆς κτίσεως καὶ εἰπών: «Οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ποιήσωμιν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτόν» καὶ λαβὼν μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἐπλασας γυναῖκα, ἣν ἰδὼν Ἄδὰμ εἶπε· «Τοῦτο νῦν ὀστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σάρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου»", ("Do You Yourself now, o Master, Who in the beginning created man, and appointed him as the king of creation, and said, "It is not good for man to be alone upon the earth; let us make a helpmate for him" then, taking one of his ribs, made woman, whom when Adam saw, he said "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh, for she was taken out of her man"), "Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ πλάσας ἐκ χοῦς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ ἀνοικοδομήσας γυναῖκα", ("Holy God, Who fashioned man from the dust, and from his rib fashioned woman").*

³. St. Ambrose, DP 10. 48, "*There was one source for the propagation of the human race... God willed it that human nature be established as one*".

⁴. Gen 2. 22- 23.

the ontological openness to the eschatological character of the paradisaical life¹. Hence, marriage, as a carnal situation, became the first antidote to the fall and death². Yet, the Augustinian aspect of the existence of marital affinity in paradise without however any pleasure has influenced the following scholastic western writers, such as Thomas Aquinas³.

It is not aligned to the theological thought any connection may be brought up among the original sin and sexuality⁴. Yet, it is supported that St. Augustine referred to *libido*, as a constitutive element of the marital union in paradise and consequently, he regarded sexual concupiscence as a penalty for the original sin, which apparently is transmitted to next generations through copulation. Allegedly, that reflects a conformity to Manichaeism, whose characteristic belief is that matter is the malevolent notion⁵.

The patristic aspect of the legislation of marriage after the fall is reinforced by an extant piece of art from the early Christian period. Specifically, it cannot be accidental that the illustration of a wedding jewel (4th c.) is the original sin. It is noteworthy that Eve wears a number of jewellery on

¹. Matsoukas, 1992, pp. 495- 6 and p. 541.

². St. Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG 27, 240, 44, "ἡ δὲ παράβασις τῆς ἐντολῆς τὸν γάμον εἰσήγαγεν διὰ τὸ ἀνομήσαι τὸν Ἀδάμ", ("the violation of the commandment brought forward marriage, for Adam to be in order again"), St. John Chrysostom, *De Virginitate*, PG 48, 544, "Ὅπου γὰρ θάνατος, ἐκεῖ γάμος", ("Wherever there is death, there is always marriage"), *idem*, *In Genesim*, PG 53, 153, 7, "Πρὸ γὰρ τῆς παρακοῆς ἀγγελικὸν ἐμιμοῦντο βίον, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ συνουσίας λόγος... ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐπεισηλθε διὰ ῥαθυμίας ἢ παρακοῆς... ἐπεισηλθε δὲ λοιπὸν ὁ τῆς συνουσίας νόμος", ("Before the disobedience they imitate the angelic life, and there were no reason for sexual intercourse... but since the violation came from leisureliness... came the law of the sexual intercourse"), St. John of Damascus, *Expositio Fidei* 4, 24, PG 94, 1208A, "ὥστε διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐκτριβῆναι καὶ ἀναλωθῆναι τὸ γένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου ὁ γάμος ἐπινενόηται, ὡς ἂν διὰ τῆς παιδοποιίας τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων διασώζηται", ("In order not the human nation to be distorted from death, marriage was invented, through the child-bearing the human nation to be saved"). On the Jewish and Christian reflections of the notion of the garden of Eden and their exegesis see Anderson G., 1989, pp. 121- 48.

³. St. Ambrose, *DP* 2, PL 14, 295C, St. Augustine, *DGNM* 2. 13. 18- 19, *De civitate Dei*, PL 41, 434. Cf. Rebillard, 2000, p. 66, Matsoukas, 1997, p. 542, note 196. Comments on the doctrine of Creation of Thomas Aquinas see Surin, 1981, pp. 401- 22. Cf. Bonhoeffer, 1958, *passim* and comments on the natural theology Ballor, 2006, pp. 1- 22.

⁴. Matsoukas, 1997, p. 209. Cf. Stratton, 1995, pp. 102- 8.

⁵. Cf. the particular ratiocination Van Oort, 1989, pp. 382- 86.

her hair, neck and hands, which define her as the bride¹. On the one hand, the clarification that could be given is based on the previous patristic exegesis on marriage; even to the early Christians the mystery of marriage was totally associated with the original sin, a belief that entered the art. On the other hand, a direct influence from a Jewish legend can be added, which describes the service of the wedding of the first couple. The introduction of Eve to Adam was made after God has dressed Eve as a bride and he prepared valuable presents, while angels were singing around them².

The text "*And the man and his wife were both naked, and were not ashamed*"³, indicates chastity and cleanness of the human soul⁴, virtues which derive from Christ⁵ and can be lost through sin.

The *Genesis* text "*And the Lord God commanded the man, You may freely eat of every tree of the garden; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die*"⁶, is related with the energies and the grace of God in human kind, which include the right of freedom. By the freedom of choice, man had the right to choose the constant communication with God and a continuous fight and obedience for being God by grace or the immediate purchase of the immortality⁷. Using that freedom, the protoplasts decided to follow the serpent's (devil) advice, meaning the abandonment of the paradise (happy life)⁸.

¹. Esche, 1957, p. 19, fig. VII.

². Ginzberg, 1995, p. 36.

³. *Gen 2, 25*.

⁴. St. Ambrose, *DP 13. 63*, St. Augustine, *DGnM 2. 13. 19*.

⁵. *2 Cor 11, 2- 3*.

⁶. *Gen 2, 16- 17*. The particular words of the Creator are the image of the forthcoming Fast. Cf. St. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim*, PG 53, 23, 41, "*Τὸ δὲ λέγειν, τόδε φάγε, καὶ τόδε μὴ φάγης, νηστείας ἤν εἰκὼν*".

⁷. Dragas 2005, pp. 86- 8, Matsoukas, 1997, pp. 203- 4.

⁸. "*The serpent in paradise was certainly not brought into being without the will of God. In the figure of the serpent we see the devil. That the devil existed even in paradise we are informed by the Prophet Ezechiel (Ezech 28, 13)*", writes St. Ambrose, *DP 2, 9- 10*. Additionally in *DP 12, 54* Ambrose gives apart from the historical explanation about the serpent (the devil), an allegorical one; the serpent stands for the bodily pleasure. St. Augustine even though he concludes that the serpent was the devil (*DGnM 2. 14. 20*), he also supports that Paradise is an incorporeal reality, where Satan does not belong, since he had fallen already from that reality. That implies that he approached Eve spiritually.

The consequences of the fall, mainly death, was the inspiration not only for pictorial artistic accounts, but also for written rendering, such as a part of the poem of Aurelius

It is noteworthy st. Augustine's paradox as far as the free will of humanity is concerned and his predestination to death. Adam had been created with freedom; that freedom differentiates from the one that the fallen man has. The latter always tends to evil, while the true freedom is the submission to God's will. So Adam's free will was pre- decided to lean to temptation, because for following God's commandment there was no need of using his freedom. To put it in other words, if we accept st. Augustine's opinion, Adam was not really free and the only one, who can freely act the good, is God himself. However, that leads us to a dogmatic misunderstanding, since God is by his own nature good and holy. He notices that man is accurately free, when he performs in agreement with his original character, meaning without any division from God¹.

Furthermore, by the original sin man's natural will (*θέλημα φυσικόν*) was adulterated and he obtained a gnostic will (*θέλημα γνωμικόν*). In other words, the gnostic will allows the entrance of the sin. On the paradisaical environment no delusion had the opportunity to invade. Apparently, the will is a feature of the nature, whilst the opinion is an element of the free person, the person who can judge what is wrong and right. The opinion of man is the consequence of the fall and it has two marginal routes: the one to the soteriological path and the other towards the nihilism, meaning destruction. The gnostic will is the tragedy and the characteristic of the human existence, who is obliged to be tried, to overcome all the gnostic alterity, to realise the lost and finally to find its way to its original nature². The fall of man and his expulsion from paradise was the result of the denial of the original beauty, which is actual the disability to communicate with the Triune God³.

A thought- provoking point on the history of the original sin is the overemphasised role of Eve as the actual temptress towards Adam, though the genuine text of the Septuagint quotes that after having Eve eaten, "*she also*

Prodentius Clemens (Spain, 348- ca. 413) about the *Origin Sin "Hamartigenia"*. He mostly deals with the story of Abel and Cain, but as a satanic outcome of the original sin. An analysis see Malamud, 2002, pp. 329- 60.

¹. From that theory st. Augustine excludes Virgin Mary, whom he considers to be a special case, see Rist, 1993, pp. 183- 5 and 190.

². The controversy during the Monothelism brought up the discussion about the natural and the gnostic will on man. Cf. Matsoukas, 1992, pp. 334- 49. Boojamra, 1976, pp. 24- 5. Cf. the understanding of fate and free will in Eusebius of Caesarea in Chesnut, 1993, pp. 13- 30.

³. Stamoulis, 2004, pp. 160- 2.

*gave some to her husband, who was with her and he ate*¹. Apparently, the text does not mention anything about her power over Adam and her feminine way of seducing him. Thus, the paraphrase of the interpretation of the event, as Eve deviously deceived him does not seem so tied to the original text. There are researchers, who support the suggestion that Adam was present at the dialogue between Eve and the serpent and obviously was aware of the possible consequences².

Fall means disobedience and forgetfulness of God³. It is a result of human pride¹ and willingness of obtaining more power than God, they desire to

¹. Gen 3, 6. On the New Testament it is also mentioned that "Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor" (1 Tim 2, 14).

². Cf. Higgins, 1976, pp. 639- 47. The particular theme was not unknown to the Church Fathers and philosophers.

³. St. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim, Homily IZ*, PG 53, 143, "Πόσον τῆς ἀμαρτίας ταύτης καὶ τῆς παρακοῆς τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ μὴ τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος λήθη παραδῶς τὸ γεγενημένον". Cf. Louth, 1996, pp. 63- 74, where a short analysis on the notion of man as microcosm and the cosmic dimension of the fall in apposition to the Gnostic and Origenistic cosmology.

Cf. the Orthodox liturgical texts *TRIODION*, Friday of the Quinquagesima week, Matins, 6th Ode, 4th troparion, "Πικρῶς τρυγήσας ὁ Πρωτόπλαστος, ἐν Παραδείσῳ πάλαι, βρώσιν παράλογον, ἀπερρίφθη καὶ κατὰκριτος, τῆς τρυφῆς ἐξεβλήθη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ξύλον, ἥλοις προσπαγεῖς", ("The gather- grapes of the protoplast in paradise was illogical, and he was rejected and judged, and he was expelled, but through the wood, the sun will rise again"), Sunday of Quinquagesima, Vesper, 4th stihiron prosomion, "Ἀδὰμ ἐξωστράμισται παρακοῆ Παράδεισου, καὶ τρυφῆς ἐκβέβληται, γυναικὸς τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἀπατώμενος, καὶ γυμνὸς κἀθηται, τοῦ χωρίου οἴμοι! ἐναντίον ὀδυρόμενος. Διὸ σπουδάσωμεν, πάντες, τὸν καιρὸν ὑποδέξασθαι, νηστείας ὑπακούοντες, εὐαγγελικῶν παραδόσεων", ("Adam was banished from paradise through disobedience and cast out from delight, beguiled by the words of a woman. Naked he sat opposite the place, lamenting 'Woe is me!' Therefore let us all make haste to accept the season of the Fast and obey the traditions of the Gospel"), Sunday of Quinquagesima, Matins, 7th Ode, 1st troparion, "Ὄφεις ὁ δόλιος ποτὲ τὴν τιμὴν μου φθονήσας ἐψιθύρησε δόλον τῆς Εὕας ἐν τοῖς ὠσίν· ἐξ ἧς ἐγὼ πλανηθεὶς ἐξωρίσθην τοῦ χοροῦ τῆς ζωῆς", ("The snake the deceitful was envy of my honour and he whispered to Eve's ears; from her I was deceived and I lost the dance of the life"), Sunday of Quinquagesima, Matins, 1st Stihiro idiomelon of Triodion, "Ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἐν θρήνῳ κέκραξεν, ὅτι ὄφεις καὶ γυνή, θεϊκῆς παρρησίας με ἐξώσαν καὶ Παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς ξύλον βρώσις ἠλλοτριώσεν", ("Adam mourned with loud voice, that the snake and the woman expelled him from the holy frankness and destroyed the comfort of paradise by eating the wood"), Sunday of Quinquagesima, Matins, 3rd Stihiron idiomelon of Triodion, "Ἀδὰμ τοῦ Παραδείσου

"Open their eyes and will be like God"². The Fathers point out that the tree of knowledge is a testing for the human will, meaning a fast and self-restrained way of acting³. Even though the human beings met God, they just interrupted their relationships with him; that was not only an ethical relation, but mostly a relation of life and by the transgression a line of constant future sins⁴. That destroyed the image of man and also means a stop to the route towards God's likeness⁵, an ontological conflict, which prevented man to take the way of perfection. Apparently, the problem of the fall is not the lost of any kind of the

διώκεται, τρυφῆς μεταλαβὼν ὡς παρήκοος", ("Adam is expelled from paradise, giving away his comfort due to his disobedience"), Thursday of the second week of the Lent, Vesper, 1st apostihon idiomelon, "Μὴ νηστεύσαντες κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ Κτίσαντος ἀπὸ τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς γνώσεως οἱ Πρωτόπλαστοι τὸν ἐκ τῆς παρακοῆς θάνατον ἐκαρπώσαντο", ("By not fasting from the tree of knowledge, according to the Creator's commandment, they gained death through their disobedience"), Holy Wednesday, Troparion of Kassiani, "Ὦν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ Εὐὰ τὸ δειλινόν, κρότον τοῖς ὤσιν ἠχηθεῖσα τῷ φόβῳ ἐκρύβη", ("In the evening, Eve in paradise, heard a noise and she was hidden by fear").

¹. St. Augustine mentioned that pride is the reason of the original sin, such as see, *DGnM* 2. 15. 22. Bonner, 1993, p. 79.

². *Gen* 3, 5.

³. St. Basil, *De Jejunio, Homily 1*, PG 31, 168AB wrote "Τὸ δὲ οὐ φάγεσθε νηστείας ἐστὶ καὶ ἐγκρατείας νομοθεσία... Διὰ νηστείας ἀπολόγησαι τῷ Θεῷ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἢ ἐν παραδείσῳ διαγωγὴ νηστείας ἐστὶν εἰκὼν, οὐ μόνον καθότι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ὁμοδαίτος ὢν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, διὰ τῆς ὀλιγαρκείας τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμοίωσιν κατώρθου", ("The non-eating rule is a law of fasting and being restrained... Through fasting you apologize to God. The fast in paradise is a type, not only because by that man can eat as the angels and be frugal, but because he can act as the angels do"), st. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Beatitudinibus, Orationes VIII*, PG 44, 1229D, "Ἐπειδὴ ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ λαιμαργίας ἐκουσίως τοῦ ἐναντίου ἐνεφορήθημεν- λέγω δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου παρακοῆς ἀπογευσάμενοι", ("Because of the voluntary edacity we gain the opposite- I talk about the violation of the holy Logos").

For the tree of knowledge as being interpreted from the law of Yahweh see Clines, 1974, pp. 8- 14.

⁴. *Rom* 1, 20- 21. Cf. Dragas 2005, pp. 81- 8, Matsoukas, 1997, pp. 202- 5.

⁵. *TRIODION*, Monday of the first week of the Lent (about the *Lent* see in *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, 1972, pp. 212- 4, Vogel, 1986, pp. 309- 10), Evening Service, 2nd Ode, 6th troparion, "Ἐσπίλωσα τὸν τῆς σαρκὸς μου χιτῶνα καὶ κατερούπησα τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα, Σωτήρ, καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν", ("I spoilt the tunic of my flesh and I destroyed my creation according to the image and likeness of God"), Tuesday of the first week of the Lent, Evening Service, 2nd Ode, 8th troparion, "Κατέχωσα τῆς πρὶν εἰκόνοσ τοῦ κάλλος", ("I spoilt the previous beauty of the image").

rationality, but the lost of God's grace¹. Matsoukas notices that due to the original sin man realised his created nature (*κτίσμα*). His knowledge as the original sin has a dynamic, which is repeated constantly with the post- original sins (*μεταπατορικά άμαρτήματα*)².

That is why, according to the eastern theology, the original sin was not inherited into the next generations. Only the consequences, death and corruption, were inherited³. It is noteworthy that st. John Chrysostom instead of the term *original sin* uses expressions, such as the sin of the one, the disobedience of the one, the transgression of the one or of Adam, in order to proclaim the inheritance of the mortality and not the actual sin⁴. The eastern interpretation of the original sin states that the fall was only an interruption of the way to the likeness, which started continuing again after Christ's incarnation. The fall is of secondary significance for the human beings, whilst the most essential point is the grounds for the disobedience; the sin and transgression, meaning the wrong state of mind⁵.

The fall is not the main point of the history of the mystery of the holy *Oikonomia*, and apparently is not the centre of the history of the incarnation. To put it in another way, the incarnation of Logos did not happen due to the fall; its starting point was the distinguish between the non- existing and the created

¹. Stamoulis, 2004, pp. 163- 8.

². The post- original sins are the lost of God's glorification, the denudation of the social and interpersonal relationships, the egocentric human situation, the lost of God's *likeness*. See Matsoukas, 2002, p. 26.

³. St. John Chrysostom, *Epistolae ad Romanos*, 10, 1, PG 60, 475. Cf. the analysis of his theology Papageorgiou, 1995, pp. 361- 9. st. Cyril of Alexandria, *Epistolae ad Romanos*, PG 74, 789AB, where it is defined that Adam's sin is absolutely personal and only its consequences exist in the next generations, ("Ούτως άμαρτωλοί κατεστάθησαν οί πολλοί, ούχ ώς τῷ Άδάμ συμπαραβεβηκότες, ού γάρ ἦσαν πάποτε, άλλ' ώς τῆς ἐκείνου φύσεως ὄντες τῆς ὑπὸ νόμον πεσούσης τὸν τῆς άμαρτίας. Ὡσπερ τοίνυν ἠῤῥώστησεν ἡ ανθρώπου φύσις ἐν Άδάμ δια τῆς παρακοῆς τὴν φθορὰν εἰσέδν τε, ούτως αὐτὴν τὰ πάθη"). Cf. Romanidou, 1992, pp. 158- 61, Filiotis- Vlachavas, 2003, pp. 262- 6, 304- 26. A review (in rather short terms) of the origin of the sin and its inheretence to next generations see Geddes, 1946, pp. 248- 53.

⁴. See the terms *ἡ άμαρτία τοῦ ἐνός, ἡ παρακοῆ τοῦ ἐνός, τὸ τοῦ ἐνός παράπτωμα, ἡ παράβασις Άδάμ* on *Homily 10, On Romans*, PG 60, 474- 476. Cf. Papageorgiou, 1995, pp. 363- 4.

⁵. St. Maximus the Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* 64, PG 90, 628. Cf. Boojamra, 1976, pp. 22- 3. Cf. Matsoukas, 1992, pp. 202- 16.

world and the mercy of God to the humanity of man, in order the latter to become God *by grace*, as it was planned in the creation¹. On the contrary on the West, already from st. Augustine, the incarnation is considered to be the result of the fall; so if man had made no sin at all in paradise, then Christ would not have been incarnated². The result of that belief is the inheritance of the original sin, since it was actually against the holy justice. St. Augustine supports that all men are alike with Adam, which indicates that through Adam's sin everybody is a sinner³. He inaccurately believes that his interpretation is alike st. Chrysostom's one, especially as far as the baptism is concerned⁴. Thus, the fall is seen as the starting fact of the holy *Oikonomia* and not as just an episode, while the redemption can only come through Christ, with the deification of the image and finally the glorification⁵.

At that point we have to refer to the difference between the western and eastern theology on the interpretation of the Satan's role on the original sin. Western Fathers thought that only the protoplasts are to be blamed, while the

¹. St. Athanasius, *Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi*, 44, PG 25, 173B- 176C. Cf. Matsoukas, 2001, pp. 93- 4, Boojamra, 1976, p. 25.

². Cf. the RCatholic liturgical texts for instance in *MISSALE ROMANUM*, p. 22, "*Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens Deus: ut nos Unigeniti tui nova per carmen Nativitas liberet; quos sub peccati iugo vetusta tenet. Per eundem Dominum*", p. 85, "*Subveniat nobis, Domine, misericordia tua: ut ab imminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis, te mereamur protegente eripi, te liberante salvari*", p. 177, "*O certe necessarium Adae peccatum, quod Christi morte deletum est*".

³. St. Augustine, *Contra Julianum*, IV- VI, PL 6, 644B- 655C. Cf. Rist, 1993, pp. 190- 1, Bradshaw, 1996, pp. 33- 6.

⁴. Cf. the comparison and the analysis of the relevant texts Papageorgiou, 1995, pp. 369- 78. In the Orthodox liturgical act in *MENAION of January*, 4th of January, Matins, 9th Ode, 2nd troparion, "*Δημιουργὸς γεννηθεῖς, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, πρὸ αἰώνων, ἐτέχθη ἐπ' ἐσχάτων, ἀτρέπτως σαρκωθείς, Κόρης ἐξ ἀγνῆς Θεόπαιδος, διπλοῦς Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος θέλων, τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀναπλάσαι διὰ Βαπτίσματος*", ("*The Creator was born from his Father, he, who exists before the ages, was born to the end from the pure daughter, with two natures, God and man at the same time, in order to reform Adam through Baptism*").

Cf. the RCatholic liturgical texts indicatively in *MISSALE ROMANUM*, p. 160, "... *ut, renati fonte baptismatis, adoptionis tuae filiis aggregentur*".

⁵. Generally about that doctrine based on Augustine terminology, see Bonner, Finney, 1993, pp. 89- 90. Cf. the anthropology of Tertullian and the corrupted human nature Steenberg, 2008, pp. 107- 32.

serpent was a way to check human strength and obedience¹. On the contrary, the orthodox tradition reflects on man in paradise as the victim of Satan². That implies that God's philanthropy is inexhaustible and there has only one way and one desire; the realization of good (*ἀγαθόν*) and not the eternal punishment. The orthodox suggestion is another part of the position of the non- inherited original sin as a personal mistake, but only as a consequence. Man exercises his right for free will and he accepts or not God's intervention³.

In the light of the specific orthodox faith, the evil on the world is not a punishment after a defiance of the law. Evil is sickness and undermining of the creation⁴. The *Genesis* imagery of the first results of the sin, after Eve and Adam have eaten the forbidden fruit (*Gen 3, 1- 6*), is that the protoplasts immediately realized their nakedness (*"The eyes of both were opened, and they*

¹. St. Ambrose argues that the forbidden fruit, was made by God and it cannot be more powerful than him, in order to send the protoplasts to death. The only answer to this problem is that *"Disobedience was the cause of death, and for that very reason, not God, but man himself, was the agent of his own death"*, *DP 7. 35*. Scholars notice that st. Ambrose started his description of the world from the naming of the animals, Eve's creation and the blessing of humanity. He gives a symbolic interpretation, based on Philo's thoughts, to Adam as the mind, to Eve as the sense, to the animals as the violent passions and the birds as the vain thoughts. Consequently, he concluded that God induced the humans to sin, because he gave them the passion, which makes them unable to judge. Cf. Burns, 2001, pp. 80- 2 (*DP, XI, 51- 2, XI, 53*). That theory probably derives from the free will of man, while st. Augustine in his theory excludes devil at all and he thinks of man as being free only in order to act badly. St. Augustine, *Die civitate Dei 14. 13- 15*, PL 41, 420- 24. Cf. Saint Augustine, *The City of God*, 1966, passim.

². St. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim*, PG 53, 80, 4, *"Τούτο γὰρ ὁ ἀπατεὼν διάβολος αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε διὰ τοῦ ὄψεως"*, idem, *In epistulam i ad Corinthios*, PG 61, 207, 39, *"ἡ παρακοή καὶ ἡ πρὸς δαίμονα φίλια ποιεῖ με ἀκάθαρτον"*. Cf. Romanidou, 1992, pp. 153- 4.

³. Matsoukas, 1992, pp. 207- 14.

⁴. St. Maximus the Confessor, *Thalassium Prologue*, PG 90, 257D, mentions that the evil has no *ontological existence*, but it is the distortion of the natural route of things toward God. Cf. Boojamra, 1976, p. 24. St. Dionysios Areopagita, *De divinis nominibus*, 4, 2- 31 PG 3, 732BC, *"Πάντων καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἔσται τὸ ἀγαθόν... Διὸ οὔτε ὑπόστασιν ἔχει τὸ κακόν, ἀλλὰ παρῦπστασιν"*, (*"The beginning and the end of everything, even of the evil is the goodness; Evil has no hypostasis, but only a non- existence"*), meaning that evil is a corruption of the good and honest. See the thesis on Satan, Matsoukas, 1999, pp. 105- 11.

knew that they were naked", Gen 3, 7)¹, which was something to be ashamed of. They covered themselves with fig leaves². St. Ambrose writes on that subject that Adam uses first the fruit and then the leaves. That derives from the Scriptures and the passages about the trees; "*The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, generosity, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control*" (Gal 5, 22)³, meaning that the fruit is synonym for purity, while man, who eats the fruit has no more faith to God; he is a sinner¹.

¹. On Gen 3, 6 is mentioned that "*The woman saw that the tree was good for food*", while later the opening of their eyes is mentioned after the eating of the fruit. St. Augustine supposed that the latter reference means the opening of the cunning and not the corporal eyes (DGnM 2. 15. 23).

². St. John Chrysostom (*In Genesim 5*, PG 53, 131A- 133D) describes the original sin of the protoplasts as having lost the holy glory and having experienced of the human nakedness ("*Μετὰ τὴν τούτου βρώσιν καὶ τῆς ἄνωθεν ἐγυμνώθησαν δόξης, καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς γυμνώσεως πείραν ἔλαβον*"). To that nakedness refers as a shame ("*Αἰσχύνῃ ἀπάτω περιέλαβεν*"). St. Gregory the Theologian mentions the cover of any blame and shame with the fig- leaves (*Carmina Moralia*, PG 37, 589A, "*Φύλλα συκῆς μ', ὡς πρόσθεν Ἀδὰμ Εὐάν τε, καλύπτου*"), ("*The fig leaves covered everything, as Adam and Eve*"). St. Augustine also interprets as "*A certain itching, if this is correctly said in the case of incorporeal things, which the mind suffers in wondrous ways from the desire and pleasure of lying*" (DGnM 2. 15. 23). Cf. Messana, 1982, pp. 325- 32. See about the Greek Fathers theology on nudity Harl, 1966, pp. 486- 95.

Cf. in the orthodox liturgical texts *TRIODION*, Service of the Great Canon, 1st Ode, 3rd troparion, "*Τὸν πρωτόπλαστον Ἀδὰμ τῇ παραβάσει παραζηλώσας ἔγων ἐμαντὸν γυμνωθέντα Θεοῦ*", 4th troparion: "*τί ὠμοιώθης τῇ πρώτῃ Εὐᾷ; Εἶδες γὰρ κακῶς καὶ ἐτρώθης πικρῶς*", ("*Having rivaled the first-created Adam by my transgression, I realize that I am stripped naked of God*", "*Why are you like the first Eve? For you have wickedly looked and been bitterly wounded*"), Sunday of Quinquagesima, Vesper, 2nd stihiron prosomion, "*Στολὴν θεοῦφαντον, ἀπεξεδύθην ὁ τάλας, σοῦ τὸ θεῖον πρόσταγμα παρακούσας Κύριε, συμβουλία ἐχθροῦ· καὶ συκῆς φύλλα δὲ καὶ τοὺς δερματίνους νῦν χιτῶνας περιβέβλημαι*", ("*Wretch that I am, I have cast off the robe woven by God, disobeying your divine command, Lord, at the counsel of the enemy, and I am clothed now in fig leaves and in garments of skin*").

³. Moreover, "*Anyone who tends a fig tree will eat its fruits*" (Prov 27, 18), meaning that only the master can eat the fruits of that tree, "*Make peace with me and come out to me; then everyone of you will eat from your own vine and your own fig tree*" (Isa 36, 16), "*They shall all sit under their own vines and under their own fig trees, and no one shall make them afraid*" (Mic 4, 4), implying that under the leaves everybody can feel safe and that is why Adam

Due to the philanthropy of Logos², he replaced the leaves with garments of skins (*Gen* 3, 21). Early Christian writers, such as Origen and Didymus the Blind, collate the garments with the actual human bodies³. Precisely, that aspect ploughs into the reality of man's creation, since by all means echoes an imaginative condition of the creation⁴. That dimension completes the view that the protoplasts obtained their bodily image after the fall⁵. The synonymy among the bodies and the skin garments has undergone differentiations on the Church Fathers. The interpretation of those leather tunics was symbolic, since they

and Eve used them to cover themselves, "*On that day, says the Lord of hosts, you shall invite each other to come under your vine and fig tree*" (*Zech* 3, 10).

¹. St. Ambrose, *PD* 13. 64.

². St. John Chrysostom, *Im Genesim*, 3, PG 53, 152, "... Δεσπότου φιλανθρωπίας υπόθεσις ἦν, καὶ ἕκαστος τιμωρίας εἶδος ἀγαθότητος γέμει πολλῆς".

³. Origen, *Selecta in Genesim*, PG 12, 101A, "*Πάλιν τε, φυγόντα τὸ οὕτως ἀτοπον, λέγειν τοὺς δερμάτινους χιτῶνας οὐκ ἄλλους εἶναι ἢ τὰ σώματα πιθανόν μὲν*", ("*Again it is possible that the leather tunics cannot be others from the bodies*"), Didymus the Blind, *In Genesim* in Nautin, P., Doutreleau, L., 1976, p. 250 (codex p. 106, line 18), "*τὸ σῶμα δέρμα καλεῖται... σαφὲς γὰρ καὶ ἀριδηλότατον δεῖγμα τοῦ τοὺς δερματίνους χιτῶνας εἶναι τὸ σῶμα*", ("*The body is called leather... apparently, it is obvious that the sample of the leather tunics is the body*").

Due to his benefaction man, though he lost the paradise, he regained it and he was dressed in the salvation garments, in order to relief himself from the sin and pain ("*... exterminasti ex paradiso, et iterum revocasti; exuisti nos foliis ficulneis, indecoro illo regumento et circumdedisti pallio pretioso... Non si posthac a te vocetur Adam, erubescet, neque conscientia coarguente, sub luco paradisi lateens prae pudore se obvelabit... induit enim me pallio salutary, et tunica laetitiae circumdedit me...*", *EUCHOLOGICUM*, pp. 286- 7).

⁴. Nor should it be forgotten that Eve was created as the bond of Adams' bonds and as a flesh of his flesh (see in the *Panarion* of st. Epiphanius in Holl, 1922, 1933, p. 505 (15), "*οὐπω δὲ χιτῶνες δερμάτινοι, οὐπω τὸ παρὰ σοῦ ψεῦσμα ἀλληγορούμενον ὑπῆρχεν. Ὅστοῦν τοίνυν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν μου, δῆλον ὅτι τὰ σώματα ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀσώματος ὁ Ἀδάμ καὶ ἡ Εὐά*"), as well as that the original sin was a logical outcome of carnal will and volition (st. Athanasius, *Liber de definitionibus* [Sp], PG 28, 540 "*Θέλημα δὲ σαρκικὸν ἢ παρακοὴ τοῦ θείου νόμου*").

⁵. Origen, *Scholia in Lucam*, PG 17, 369A, "*Ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς ἐν τῇ Γενέσει γέγραπται, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γέγονεν. Ὑστερον δὲ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ παρακοὴν ἀνέλαβε καὶ εἰκόνα χοϊκῆν*".

were the starting point for the promise for the renewal of the world¹. Additionally, after the original sin the human's nature became passive and prone to passion. So, the protoplasts accepted the tunics, as a means to cope with their nakedness and plainness and simultaneously to accept, through God's assistance, the lack of the original, spiritual beauty².

The harmonic union of the intelligible and the sensory world within the human ontology was planned to be the base for the illumination toward the *likeness*. Yet, the original sin acted as a check on that route, which could be continued by the incarnation of Logos and hereupon the process of *metanoia* of the human beings³.

Additionally, the nakedness of the protoplasts became a subject for comments. Though Adam is ashamed to meet God, due to his nudity, the Creator cannot be visually disturbed by the body, which he actually created according to *his image and likeness*. That points out the fact of the corporal beauty of human beings⁴.

After the original sin was committed, the *Genesis* text (3, 8- 22) describes the meeting of the forefathers with God and their punishment. "*They heard the sound of the Lord God... and the man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God*"⁵. God, even from the very beginning of the history of the holy *Oikonomia*, verifies his constant alertness, since he is the authentic source of virtue and charity⁶. Albeit God's ability to know where the protoplasts were and what they have committed, he called them to account, due to his generosity and the fact that he wanted to establish the confession and repentance⁷. The pride and the lie of the protoplasts are obvious by their accusation of one another and of the serpent. Apart from that, at that passage

¹. Matsoukas, 1992, pp. 206- 7.

². St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*, PG 46, 148A- 149A.

³. That *metanoia* could be achieved after the struggle between man and devil, in such a way that the love for the divine to be first and foremost, surely being an element of the post-baptismal life. A discussion referring to st. Gregory the theologian and his possible reference to the anti-demonic incantations (PG 37, 1397- 1406) see Kalleres, 2007, pp. 157- 88.

⁴. See St. Augustine on *Genesis*, 1991, pp. 137- 8.

⁵. *Gen* 3, 8.

⁶. See the text Didymus the Blind, *In Genesim* in Nautin, P., Doutreleau, L., 1976, p. 210 (codex page 90, ver. 1), "*Πηγή αγαθότητος ύπαρχων ό Θεός και μετά τὰ σφάλματα πάλιν ήμᾶς καλεί*".

⁷. Contrarily, on the Gnostic tradition, God by asking Adam where he was, he simply acknowledges his ignorance as well as his absence of foresight, since he did not predict the move of the serpent. See the analysis Magne, 1993, p. 60.

there are already words of salvation and God's mercy is obvious ("*Where are you?*" *Gen 3, 9*), since he called the protoplasts with pity¹. St. Augustine on his *Commentaries on John* associates Christ's question to Lazarus' sisters *where have you laid him (John 9, 34)* to God's calling for Adam *where are you (Gen 3, 9)* and mentions that God's willingness to see the sinners demonstrates his mercifulness and caring for his people.

Hence God declaims the punishments first to the serpent. Its main punishment is to crawl on its belly on the ground (*Gen 3, 14*)², while the passage "*He will strike your head, and you will strike his heel*" (*Gen 3, 15*) refers to Christ, who will defeat evil³. As iconographical element that can be seen on the scenes of the Crucifixion and Anastasis, where a snake lays under his Cross or his feet.

The punishment to Eve (*Gen 3, 16*), "*In pain you shall bring forth children*", can be understood as a state of mortality and not as a penalty⁴, while the "*Yet your desire shall be for your husband and he shall rule over you*" is connected, according to Augustine's explanation, with her disobedience to God's commandment that brings a "*good habit*", the obedience to her husband⁵. Generally other Fathers took Eve's punishment allegorically explain it as a reference to the mystery of Christ and his Church⁶.

The punishment of Adam has to do with the physical work until his death; "*Cursed is the ground because of you; in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life; thorns and thistles it shall bring forth for you... By the sweat of your face you shall eat bread until you return to the ground*"⁷. St. Augustine

¹. See St. Ambrose, *DP 14. 70*.

². St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Opera* in Alexander, 1962, p. 300 (6), "τὸ γὰρ ἐρπυστικὸν θηρίον ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει καὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ συρόμενος βρῶμα ποιεῖται τὴν γῆν οὐδὲν τῶν οὐρανίων σιτούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ πατουμένῳ συρόμενος πρὸς τὸ πατοῦν αἰεὶ βλέπει..."

³. Matsoukas (1997, pp. 207, note 58) supports that this statement was considered by the ecclesiastical tradition to be the first Gospel (*Πρωτοεναγγέλιον*), meaning the first promise, which was given by God to his people.

⁴. *DGnM 2. 19. 29*. By the fact that Eve will give birth to their children "*The man named his wife Eve*" (*Gen 3, 20*); *Eve* in Hebrew resembles to the word *living* (*DGnM 2. 21. 31*).

⁵. *DGnM 2. 19. 29*.

⁶. St. Ambrose, *DP 14. 72*. Cf. Burns, 2001, p. 85.

⁷. *Gen 3, 17- 19*. Cf. for example St. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim, 4*, PG 56, 533, "Τί γὰρ ἔπραττεν ὁ Ἀδάμ ἔξω τοῦ παραδείσου καθήμενος; Ἦν σκάπτων, μετὰ κλαθμοῦ

analyzes that passage by saying that there are two groups of men; the one who deals with the fields and the other who does not cultivate the earth. The latter one "After this life he will have either the fire of purgation or eternal punishment", is the statement that was the inspiration of western theologians of the doctrine of purgation¹.

The Jewish literature and especially on a book of the ancient Jewish biblical exegesis, the *Book of Biblical Antiquities (Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, 1st c.)*, an interesting conjunction is attempted. The text, using poetic means, delates Adam's sin with the existence of thorns and thistles on the earth. It refers to a story, in which a bramble talks and associates the thorns and thistles with the hidden truth that re-emerged in the world with Moses². Hayward moves his ratiocination onwards and he relativises the particular text with the thorn- crown of Christ. Thus, Adam's curse was totally recanted through the thorns of his passion³.

Finally, "The Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from which he was taken"⁴. As it can be noticed, the writer does not uses words, such as "exclude" or "reject", in order to give a sense of hope for the future restoration of the human nature⁵, since the movement to the *theosis* is open and dynamic. "He drove out the man; and at the east of the Garden of Eden he placed the cherubim and a sword laming and turning to guard the way to the tree of life"⁶. By saying *He* it is understood that Logos himself showed

ἐργαζόμενος, μετὰ στεναγμοῦ, ἰδρωτί περιώρεόμενος ἀχθοφορῶν... καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἐδέμ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀναπετάζων, τὴν κάραν τε κινῶν ἔνθεν κάκειθεν".

¹. *DGnM* 2. 20. 30, see St. Augustine *on Genesis*, 1991, 126, note 136. Cf. some notes for the labours of Adam and their work Wyatt, 1988, pp. 117- 22.

². The text was incorrectly ascribed to Philo and only in its Latin version survives nowadays. Harrington, 1976, pp. 274- 7 (37, 7). See the connections and the typology that is developed on the book Hayward, 1994, pp. 501- 9.

³. Hayward, 1994, pp. 509- 11.

⁴. *Gen* 3, 22- 23.

⁵. *DGnM* 2. 22. 34.

⁶. *Gen* 3, 24. Cf. the text of st. Gregory the theologian in Boulenger 1908, (chapter 70, section 2, line 5), "ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐδέξατο ταύτην (τὴν πρώτην νομοθεσίαν) καὶ διεσώσατο καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ τῆς γνώσεως οὐκ ἐβλάβη καὶ τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν παρελθὼν, εὖ οἶδα, τοῦ παραδείσου τετύχηκεν", St. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim*, 2, PG 53, 152, "Ἡ ῥαθυμία αὐτοῖς, ἦν ἤδη περὶ τὴν δοθείσαν ἐντολὴν ἐπεδείξαντο, αἴτιον γέγονε τοῦ μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀσφαλείας ἀποτειχισθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὴν εἴσοδον. Ἐννόησον γάρ μοι ὅτι οὐδὲ τῇ ἀπέναντι τοῦ παραδείσου οἰκήσει ἠρκέσθη ὁ φιλάνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἔταξε τὰς δυνάμεις

them the way out of paradise, though the majority of the iconographic parallels of the scene depict an angel. By and large, on the particular scene there is also the depiction of the door(s) of paradise, which, apart from its literal usage, acts in a metaphorical approach. According to Christ's words, he is *the door*¹, behind which the *treasures of the knowledge and wisdom are hidden*².

The sword flaming stands for the feeling of mistrust between God and man and also relates the text of the creation with the fourth chapter of *Genesis*, which is about the murder of Abel from his brother Cain³. Yet, they were not expelled from the upper sky, the heaven, but from paradise, the garden of Eden on the east⁴, meaning that the fall does not exclude them from salvation. Additionally, it is the temporal punishment, in order man to try to purify himself and to try to regain the opportunity to reach the tree of knowledge⁵, because man's *image* is in fact the dynamic way of achieving *likeness*, of becoming by virtue (*κατά χάριν*) the son of God⁶.

ταύτας τὰ Χερουβίμ, καὶ τὴν φλογίνην ὀμφαίαν τὴν στρεφομένην φυλάσσειν τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκεῖσε εἰσάγουσαν".

¹. J 10, 9, "I am the gate".

². St. John Damascene, *Sacra parallela*, PG 95, 1112B.

³. White, 1991, p. 145.

Cf. in *Ritus Ambrosianus, EUCHOLOGICUM*, p. 971, "*Discutite paradisi macheram flammis obicibus fluctuantem. Pateat redeuntibus floribus ruris ingressus. Recipient imaginem deitatis olim perditam livore serpentis*".

⁴. See st. Epiphanius, *Panarion* in Holl, 1922, p. 473 (12- 13), "*μηδὲ ὁ Ἄδὰμ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐξεβλήθη, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐν Ἐδέμ πεφυτευμένον παραδείσου*".

⁵. *DGnM* 2. 23. 35.

⁶. The route of human life towards God is connected with the holy *Oikonomia*, since the mercy of God is being expressed through the incarnation of Logos; that means there is no individuality in that route. It can only be seen through holy *Oikonomia*. See st. Athanasius, *Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi*, 11- 13, PG 25, 113C- 120C. Comments see Matsoukas, 2001, pp. 82- 4.

B. The origins of the scenes of creation

The research on the paintings in the early pre-Constantinian catacombs has demonstrated that only a few subjects derive from the Old Testament¹ and scenes with Adam and Eve are included, though are mainly illustrated in sarcophagus and in the Dura Baptistery between 232 and 250 A.D. Those scenes are repeated in the catacombs iconographical cycles in a more often level than scenes from the New Testament. Different explanations have been given for that occurrence², which can be epitomized as the concern for the eternal life after death and the catechism of the new members that is connected to Jewish³ and pagan⁴ influences. Iconographically speaking, the choice of the models, that were used, can be based, up to an extent, to previous artistic stereotypes, to which were given a Christian reinterpretation.

Moreover, the influence of the apocalyptic tradition in the early Christian art is nowadays recognized⁵. The transitional period of the first three

¹. Those depictions include scenes with Jonah, Daniel, Susanna, Noah, Prophet Helias, the three men in the furnace, Moses striking the rock and Abraham's sacrifice. Th. Klauser makes an comparison between the frequency in the depicted subjects from the Old and the New Testament. See Klauser, 1961, pp. 133- 6.

². The question that arises is which models were illustrated by any kind of influence and which- if any- were new inspirations. Klauser, 1961, p. 141, supports that undoubtedly the New Testament models are new creations. However that cannot surely be stated, since, as mentioned above, the early Christian painters probably in the majority of the scenes had been influenced technically by previous models. Goodenough, 1962, pp. 124- 5, gives certain examples, such as in Via Latina, where the almost destroyed panel with the person with an open book and scroll can be recognized as Moses, as well as Christ.

³. Indicatively see Bargebuhr, 1991, pp. 27- 31. Cf. White, L. M., 1990, p. 937.

⁴. For the influences of mythological motifs see Weitzmann, 1960, pp. 43- 68 (the same article was republished Weitzmann, 1981, esp. pp. 45- 68), Weitzmann, 1951, *passim*. For the pagan tradition and Christianity see Bargebuhr, 1991, pp. 19- 26.

⁵. Scholars support that the relation between the pagan and the Jewish art with the early catacombs art is apparent, emphasising the fact that those models were borrowed after the

centuries gives examples of the *apocalyptic literature*, which is a phase between the pre- Christian understanding and the patristic interpretation of the Holy Scripture. However, apocalypticism is not a fantastic image of the future, but an allegorical expression of visions or events, often having an eschatological meaning, based on the salvation of the past. In addition, the symbolic character of the apocalyptic texts approached the sense of consolation and the hope that the Christians needed. That necessity is obvious in the artistic expression of the early Christian art, which is, to a certain degree, symbolic¹. That is why the apocalyptic texts can be considered as one essential influence on the genesis of the Christian pictorial images².

The illustrations of Adam and Eve were very possibly framed by apocryphal and apocalyptic texts³ and their main purpose was to represent the vivid belief of the eternal life and the future resurrection.

The first chapters of *Genesis* and the life of the protoplasts in and out of paradise have inspired various literary sources, Jewish, Christian and totally legendary, in such a degree that we can talk about the *Books of Adam and Eve*⁴.

The life of Adam and Eve, in various versions and titles¹, emerges questions about its origin, the dates and the influences the manuscripts have

christians had the need to express their faith to the eternal life, but at the same time to honour their dead by symbols for the hope of the future. See Goodenough, 1962, pp. 137- 41, Goodenough, 1942- 43, pp. 403- 17. The question is how, generally the Christian thought and specifically the primitive Christian art, was influenced by the apocalyptic atmosphere of that period and how that influence turned to receive pagan and Jewish iconographical elements. Cf. in general the origins from the Hellenic background Aivalov, 1961, passim.

¹. The art in that period uses symbols, in order to express in a condensed way, seldom with narrative means, the Christian teaching. At that particularly point, early Christian art differentiates its models from the narration that Jewish illustrations have, such as in Dura Europos and from wherever are influenced from, they have a symbolic meaning. See Buser, 1980, p. 6, Klauser, 1961, pp. 136- 7. Cf. Dalton, 1925, p. 226, where it is mentioned that the catacombs art does not belong to Christian art, but more to a narrative expression with Hellenistic scenes covered with the Christian teaching. Goodenough, 1962, p. 139, points out that the Christianity was developed in a world with lots of symbols, coming especially from the Greco- Roman world, so it was impossible not to be influenced.

². See Buser, 1980, pp. 7- 15.

³. It is also believed that the scene of Moses striking the rock has apocalyptic basis. See Buser, 1980, pp. 12- 13.

⁴. Stone, 1992, pp. 1- 5. Also see De Jonge, M., Tromp, J., 1997, passim.

been accepted. The most famous are those manuscripts in Greek and in Latin. The first, according to recent surveys, is argued to be the oldest available version, while the latter is depended on the Greek text and it is considered to be closer to the Armenian and Georgian texts².

Usually the Greek version of *The life of Adam and Eve* is peculiarly named *The Apocalypse of Moses* (or *The Apocalypse of Adam*)³. In general the scholars agree that the Greek version was the source for the other translations. Yet, it is still incoherent the basis of the Greek text; whether its model was a Semitic original or not. Scholars argue that hitherto the documentation in favour of a Semitic archetype is not enough for a secure conclusion, since there

¹. Apart from the Greek and the Latin versions, there are Armenian, Slavonic and Georgian ones. Also there are the Ethiopic *Book of conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* (6th- 7th c.) and the *Book of the cave of Treasures* from Syria (a bit later than the previous), which actually belong to the above-mentioned group and have a great number of "*Recensions in other oriental languages*", Murdoch, 1973, p. 39. Also see about the traditions of the early Armenian literature Stone, 2006, pp. 89- 122. See analysis of the secondary literature for Adam and Eve and all the versions of the text up to the medieval works in Stone, 1992, pp. 84- 123.

². De Jonge, 2003, pp. 182- 4, where the recently found of a new manuscript and the new elements are discussed and the outcome is that the belief that the Greek text dates from the 1st c. is not any more persuading. Others support that the Greek and Latin versions come from a period between the 1st and the 3rd c. See Murdoch, 1973, p. 39. The Greek version of the *Life of Adam and Eve* contains twenty- six manuscripts between the 11th and the 17th c. A list of those manuscripts with bibliographical details see, Tromp, 2005, pp. 17- 27. The Latin version *Vita Adae* was published in 1878 from W. Meyer. Reference to the MSS Meyer used and the text itself see Mozley, 1965, pp. 121- 49.

It seems to us significant to quote the Genesis programme of the church of Alt' Amar (915- 921), which iconographical details cannot be surely identified as influences only from the Byzantine, or the Western art or even as the visual echo of the Armenian apocryphal tradition. Since there have no direct parallels we cite here the entirely programme of the church, which concludes the scenes of the Creation of Adam, his introduction into the garden of Eden, the Creation of Eve, the naming of the animals, the punishment and the expulsion of the protoplasts. See the relevant bibliography Thierry, 1983, pp. 289- 329 (with photographs and sketches), Outtier, 1984, pp. 589- 92, Mathews, 1982, pp. 245- 57.

³. Tischendorf, 1856, pp. 1- 23. A critical edition of the text see, Tromp, 2005, pp. 122- 77.

are a number of Christian elements both in Greek and in Latin versions¹. Moreover the variations of the text and the examination of the interrelationships of the manuscripts need to be directly linked with secondary literature, in order some genealogical concurrence to be done². Others support that the work demonstrates a relationship with exegetical traditions as well as with apocalyptic sources and they suggest the effects more of the Jewish apocalyptic traditions rather than of Christian or Gnostic background³.

Of primary interest in Adams' legends is the role of the angels⁴ and the interpretation that have been given to them. The Archangel Michael gives the revelation to Adam and Eve in *The Apoc. Adam*, a mode that is also found in the Jewish literature⁵, while in *The Life of Adam and Eve*, due to God's promise for resurrection, archangels bury Adam outside of paradise⁶. Those points are connected with the angels' role at the Nativity⁷.

¹. Stone, 1992, pp. 42- 6, Sparks, 1984, pp. 141- 3 (the english translation that is used here comes from the Latin versions of the text, as having been edited by Meyer in 1878). The whole problematic that was developed from Tischendorf up to recent argumendation see in detail, Tromp, 2005, pp. 3- 16. Yet, there are aspects in favour of the rabbinic origin of the text, probably having been written from a Jew in Greek. Cf. Agouridis, 2004, pp. 168- 70, Sharpe, 1973, pp. 35- 46 (it is implicitly stated throughout the text).

². Tromp, 2005, pp. 67- 105.

³. The absence of gnostic *topoi* strengthens the suggestion that it represents a primitive period at the development of gnostic theology. Perkins, 1977, pp. 382- 4. An analysis on Gnostic artistic understanding see Finney, 1993, pp. 68- 88.

⁴. We will see that in certain illustrations of the exodus of the protoplasts from paradise an angel lead them outside of the Garden, even though the text of *Genesis* mentions that God has led them ("... *Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden, to till the ground from which he was taken. He drove out the man; and at the east of the garden of Eden he placed the cherubim, and a sword flaming and turning to guard the way to the tree of life*", Gen 3. 23- 24).

⁵. Perkins, 1977, p. 386. Cf. The role of the archangel Michael is also underscored on the scene of the creation as well on the redemption of Adam in the apocryphal literature, such as on the text of Bartholomew in "*Questions of Bartholomew*" in (English transl.) Elliot, 1999, pp. 656- 7 (9 and 23- 24) and in (French transl.) Kaestli, 1993, p. 99 and p. 103.

⁶. De Jonge, 2003, p. 185.

⁷. *Lk* 1. 26- 38.

Moreover, other elements, such as the typology of the first and the second Adam (Adam- Christ) and the first and the second Eve (Eve- Virgin Mary)¹, Seth's visit in paradise, in order to receive the seeds of the tree from which the Cross would be made, Adam's fasting by the river Jordan, where later Christ was baptized, encourages the suggestion of a parallelism with the New Testament and presupposes the connection with Christian sources². Specifically, Adam, in his attempt to return to paradise, fasts by the banks of a still river, which oddly is not one of the rivers of Eden, but Jordan, patently acting as an emphatic point of the adamic typology³. Occasionally, the history

¹. See chapter about Anastasis below, where the whole theology and typology of those connections are being discussed. Furthermore, in the *Apoc. Adam* Eve sees Adam to be enthroned among angels, a *typos* of the enthroned second- Adam, Christ after his resurrection ("Ἐκειτο οὖν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐλυπεῖτο ὁ Σῆθ σφόδρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Καὶ λέγει κύριος ὁ Θεός· ὁ Ἀδάμ, τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; Εἰ ἐφύλαξας τὴν ἐντολὴν μου, οὐκ ἂν ἔχαιρον οἱ κατάγοντές σε εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον. Πλὴν οὖν λέγω σοι ὅτι τὴν χαρὰν αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψω εἰς χαρὰν, καὶ ἐπιστρέψας καθίσω σε εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν σου ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τοῦ ἀπατήσαντός σε· ἐκεῖνος δὲ βληθήσεται εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ὅπως ἦ καθήμενος ἐπάνω αὐτό", *Apoc. Mosis* 39, Tischendorf, 1856, p. 21).

². Murdoch, 1973, pp. 47- 50.

³. Murdoch, 2000, pp. 39- 40, Ginzberg, 1995, pp. 45- 8. The reference to the river is met on the additions of the Greek text of *The life of Adam and Eve* (Tromp, 2005, XXIX, 277, p. 157). Moreover, it is mentioned that Adam's illness could have been minimized, if Seth had brought the oil from paradise (Tromp, 2005, IX, 71- 72, pp. 130- 1). However, the oil of mercy could not be given since Adam was going to pass away in three (or according to other recensions, in five) days (Tromp, 2005, XII, 97- 102, pp. 134- 5). Likewise, the Latin text refers the completion of five thousand five hundred years until the coming of Christ and the resurrection of the dead (Sparks, 1984, XLII, 1- 3, P. 158). Analogically, on the New Testament apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and in particular on its second part, the *Descensus ad Inferos* (meaning the *Descent of Hell of Jesus Christ*), there is a direct association with *The Life of Adam and Eve*. Adam, being on Hades, expresses his will to his son Seth to narrate to the other forefathers and to the prophets the incident when he was sent to paradise to ask for the oil of mercy. His story continues, mentioning that the angel of God declares the passing of five thousands years until the coming of the Son of God, who intends to anoint he himself Adam and to resurrect him and to baptise him with the water of the Holy Spirit, in order to erase every kind of disease or pain (the Greek text and its translation in modern Greek see Bozinis, 2005, III (XIX), 1, pp. 192- 195. Comments see Murdoch, 2000, pp. 44- 5). Iconographically that connotation is also expressed by the protoplasts standing on a stone, a pictorial pattern, which alludes to the Baptism of Christ (Murdoch, 2000, p. 39).

of the Holy Rood is a part of the expanded accounts of the apocryphal text, where it is reported that Seth puts the seeds of the tree in the mouth of the dead Adam- in other versions Seth describes the Saviour, as being a child or even in the scene of *Pietà*- that utterly declared the promise for redemption¹. By all means, the texts with those minute descriptions about the Holy Rood conceivably unfold a literal connection between the facts of the Old and the New Testament². Yet, the flood can be considered *typos* of the Last Judgment as well as can be combined with Gnostic and Jewish exegetical traditions³.

Generally, it can be said that only from the parallels it cannot be determined the origin of these books. However, the influence of Christian sources can be suggested, if for example we combine of *The Books of Adam* with the interpretations of Christian literature of the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd c. The main point is how the Christian writers approach the apocryphal text and how they deal with the idea of a merciful God, instead of a punitive God of the Jewish belief⁴.

Besides, it is interesting to discuss the context of the Armenian apocryphal literature, concerning Adam and Eve⁵. It is noteworthy to mention the existence of an Armenian document, named *Adam, Eve and the Incarnation*, which uniquely combines the agreement between the protoplasts and Satan with Christ's Incarnation, action, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension⁶; for instance, Adam said to Satan "*Until the unbegotten is born and*

¹. Murdoch, 2000, pp. 36ff.

². The association of the Wood of Knowledge ("ξύλον τῆς γνώσεως") and the Wood of the Cross ("ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ") is noticeable on the *Descensus ad Inferos*, where it is mentioned that whatever it was accomplished by Satan through the ξύλον τῆς γνώσεως, it was lost by the ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ (Bozinis, 2005, VII (XXIII), pp. 204- 5).

Cf. in the RCatholic liturgical act for example in *MISSALE ROMANUM*, p. 166, "... *De parentis protoplasti fraude Factor condolens, Quando pomi noxialis in necem morsu ruit...*".

³. Perkins, 1977, pp. 387- 9.

⁴. De Jonge, 2003, pp. 186- 7.

⁵. Stone (1996, *passim*), in his survey has published a number of an unpublished apocryphal Armenian manuscripts, dealing with Adam, Eve and their lives.

⁶. Two of the manuscripts are in the Matenadaran in Erevan, no 5913 and 5571 and another one is in the National Library in Paris, Arm. 306. Probably it is the only apocryphal text that deals with the holy *Oikonomia* in such an obvious way, combining the fall with Christ's

*the undying dies, all my seed will be your servants"*¹ and finally "*The unborn is born and the undying dies, while "Those who do not confess Christ God become captives of Satan and are punished in Hell"*².

Furthermore in the period of the 2nd and 3rd c. there was a need of emphasizing the role of the Old Testament and its completion in the New Testament in order to form an apology against the Jews³; the promise to Adam for redemption in the future is one of the main points, which led some scholars to support the Christian identity of the apocryphal books of Adam and Eve⁴. Characteristically one of the most important theologians of the 2nd c., Irenaeus of Lyon⁵ used the *recapitulation* (*ἀνακεφαλαίωσις*), a term linked with the

Nativity and Crucifixion. See comments, Stone, 1996, pp. 8- 19 (comments), pp. 19- 79 (the text in *notrgic* script and in English transl., as well as a critical edition is available).

¹. See the critical edition (from three manuscripts) and the translation in Stone, 1996, pp. 52- 53 (*M5913*, 35).

². Stone, 1996, pp. 78- 9 (*M5913*, 64- 65).

³. For example, in the first apologetic text, *The dialogue with Trypho*, from Justin (2nd c.), it is explained that the mosaic law is temporary and can only be seen with the New Testament's viewpoint. See Quasten, vol. 1, 1955, pp. 202- 4. The same period, Irenaeus wrote "*Apostles teach us that the two Testaments were obtained by one and the same God for the benefit of men. Nor was it pointless, in vain, or by chance, that the first Testament was given first. But God, making those to whom it was given stoop to his service for their own good, showed them a type (typos) of heavenly things*" (*Adversus haereses* IV, 32- 2). See Daniélou, 1973, pp. 168- 70. Also, Theophilus of Antioch (2nd c.) pointed out that the New Testament is as inspired as the Old Testament and he used, more than other Greek Apologists, the two texts. See Quasten, vol. 1, 1955, pp. 236- 42. Tertullian (end of 2nd c.) mentioned in his works, for example in *Adversus Judaeos* (*Against the Jews*), that the Old Testament has to be interpreted spiritually and with only in connection with the New Testament. See Quasten, vol. 2, 1964, pp. 268- 9.

⁴. De Jonge, 2003, pp. 92- 187. It is also suggested an interaction between the apocrypha of the Old and the New Testament. Specifically, a relationship between the Adam's books and the *Protevangelium of James* (2nd c.), (see the text in Greek, Tischendorf, 1853, pp. 1- 49, the text in English transl. and comments, Elliot, 1999, pp. 48- 67). See the whole speculation, Murdoch, 1973, pp. 46- 51. General information about the *Protevangelium of James*, see Quasten, vol. 1, 1955, pp. 118- 22.

⁵. Historical and theological information about Irenaeus, see Quasten, vol. 1, 1955, pp. 287- 313.

salvation¹. Irenaeus by that word explained the connection of the two Testaments and especially the role of the recovery of Adam by one of his descendant, Jesus Christ². Besides, at that period, the mode of first and second Adam as well as the first and second Eve strengthens the association of the Old and the New Testament³. In that frame the Christian origin of the apocryphal *Books of Adam* can be suggested.

That Christian influence can be detected in the later versions of the Latin and the old English poem *Genesis B* in the 8th and the 9th c. That poem derives from the history of the fall of man and especially *The Vision of Eve* is connected with the Last Judgment⁴. We can identify the starting and the final point of man's exile on earth in those two themes, the original sin and the Last Judgment. That combination was easy enough to be done at the early Christian

¹. That term derived from Apostle Paul words, "As a plan for his fullness of time, to gather up all things in him" ("*Ανακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ*"), *Ep* 1, 10. He interpreted the term as everything is renewed and reorganized in the incarnate Son of God, since by Adam's sin the world needed to be recapitulated. See Quasten, vol. 1, 1955, pp. 295- 7.

². Irenaeus through his recapitulation made comparisons between the first and second Adam, in order to prove Christ's triumph (such as: "Christ is seen as head of the new race, as Adam had been head of the old", (*Adv. haer.* V, 14, 2), "Therefore it was necessary that the Lord, coming to the lost sheep, and making recapitulation... should save that very man who had been made according to his own image and likeness, that is, Adam" (*Adv. haer.* III, 23, 1), "If therefore the first Adam had had a man for his father, and had been born of the seed of a man, there would be justification for saying that the second Adam was begotten by Joseph. But if the first Adam was indeed taken from the earth and moulded by the Word of God, then it was necessary that that same Word, when he made recapitulation of Adam in himself, should have a likeness of the same manner of birth" (*Adv. haer.* III, 18, 7). See a detailed interpretation, Daniélou, 1973, pp. 172- 83. The same documentation about the non- earthly Father of the first and the second Adam used Tertullian in his works *De carni Christi* and *De resurrectione carnis*. See Quasten, vol. 2, 1964, pp. 282- 4. Origen having as a starting point Apostle Paul phase, develops a typology of Adam and being influenced by Hippolytus, connects the Old and the New Testament, Daniélou, 1973, pp. 276- 80, 470- 1.

³. See about the connection between Eve and Virgin Mary in Irenaeus, Quasten, vol. 1, 1955, pp. 297- 9 and the Mariology of Tertullian, using the same model, see Quasten, vol. 2, 1964, pp. 329- 30.

⁴. The throne of God and the angels are motifs of the scene of the Last Judgment, which are also used to describe Eve's vision, after she ate from the Tree of Knowledge. Vickey, 1969, pp. 86- 7, Evans, 1963, pp. 1- 16 and 113- 23 for its background.

times, since the Christians were familiar with the New Testament and its combination with the Old, as well as with the apocalyptic literature¹.

¹. Vickey, 1969, pp. 90- 1. In that context, the idea of Christ the Judge is linked with Christ the King, who in art is applied as Christ in Majesty. Even though Christ the Judge is a part of Christ the King, in *Genesis B* it is implied the idea of the judgment already from the protoplasts' exile from paradise and it is probably more understandable from the Christians due to its eschatological elements (see Vickey, 1969, pp. 94- 6)

C. Iconographic *Genesis* recensions

The *Cotton Genesis family*¹: One of the most famous Christian manuscript is the Cotton Genesis (London, British Museum, Cod. Cotton Ortho, B. VI, c. late 5th c.). It can be characterised as the older and the most extensive extant illustrated Genesis, being comprised of 221 folios. Though having undergone a fire on 1731², the attentive reconstruction of Weitzmann and Kessler gave to the research the opportunity to study the remnants and open a discussion concerning its analysis³. However, by all means, there are open topics⁴. In particular, the reconstruction of the manuscript of Cotton Genesis and the comments on it by Weitzmann and Kessler are of multiple significance, though requires a critical review as far as its origin is concerned. Weitzmann, after the expedition of Yale University at the synagogue of Dura- Europos and the revelation of the frescoes there, suggested that it should be examined the possibility of the painting of Cotton Genesis from artists belonging in the Jewish Diaspora⁵. Yet, later he suggests that the correspondence of the stylistic elements of Cotton Genesis with manuscripts coming from Alexandria or Antioch, such as the Milan Iliad (Ambrosiana, cod. F. 205 inf.) and other

¹. Voss, 1962, pp. 62- 80.

². All the history of the manuscript since its possession from Sir R. Cotton see Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Cotton*, 1986, pp. 3- 7.

³. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Cotton*, 1986, pp. 8- 18.

⁴. Lowden, 2002, pp. 13- 6, Weitzmann, *Studies*, 1971, pp. 45- 9, Bonner, 1962- 63, pp. 22- 6, Diringer, 1955, pp. 87- 8.

⁵. Weitzmann, 1952- 53, pp. 116ff. That suggestion was followed by other scholars, see Kessler, 1966, pp. 82- 3. For the influences of the Jewish tradition on Christian art see Kogman- Appel, 2002, pp. 61- 96, Nordstrom, 1955- 56- 57, esp. pp. 487- 91. Cf. Gutmann, 1993, pp. 179- 216 about the Jewish art. A succinct reference to the Judaism after the destruction of the Second Temple and the Jews of Diaspora see Claman, 2000, pp. 23- 4.

examples of the early Christian period¹. Schubert reaches the conclusion of the Antiochean origin of the Cotton Genesis recension, where there was a rich Hellenic tradition in connection with the Jewish element. That deduction derives from a ratiocination concerning the existence of the three phases of Adam's creation². The late antique art of Alexandria is poorly documented. Alexandria enjoyed in late antiquity the position of a stronghold of Hellenistic conservatism, a position translated by Christianity into a stronghold of orthodoxy. Egypt, outside of the Delta, was by contrast strongly anti-Hellenistic, and subject to violent espousal of heresies such as the Monophysite as an expression of Upper Egypt's native opposition to the Greek culture of Alexandria, of which the orthodoxy of the Council of Chalcedon was viewed as a function³.

The above- mentioned theories offered oppositions, albeit without compelling confirmations⁴. Lowden raised a discussion about how usual it was for the Christian world to produce manuscripts, illuminated or not, that contain only the *Genesis* alone. The Cotton and the Vienna Genesis are the two examples that, though different, they share no parallel as far as their type is concerned. Meaning that in Late Antiquity the apologists frequently responded to theological issues based on Creation, as it is also found in Jewish and pagan traditions. Later, it is more requisite the reproduction of the manuscripts with compilations of *Books* from the Old or the New Testament⁵. Yet, Lowden moves among the manuscripts using terms of textual content, but not based on the iconography. His results affect our analysis only up to the point that he argues that the Cotton and the Vienna Genesis embraces an indirect link with the West rather than the East⁶.

Nor should it be forgotten the iconographical resemblance of the Cotton Genesis with the mosaics of San Marco and their theological origin to the Augustinian aspect of the creation of the body and the soul. It was reasonable

¹. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Cotton*, 1986, pp. 30- 4. Al- Hamdani, 1978, p. 14, Kötzsche- Breitenbruch, 1976, pp. 33- 4, Voss, 1962, pp. 61- 2, Weitzmann, 1947, pp. 193- 4. Also earlier researchers, such as Morey, 1929, pp. 5- 11. Cf. Büchsel, 1991, p. 59.

². Schubert U., 1975, pp. 1- 10.

³. Morey, 1952, p. 197.

⁴. Lowden, 2002, p. 15.

⁵. Cf. the whole ratiocination Lowden, *Cotton Genesis*, 1992, pp. 40- 53.

⁶. Lowden, *Cotton Genesis*, 1992, esp. p. 42.

for an artist in the West to have followed a western theological way of patristic thinking than an artist in the East. Apparently, Büchsel convincingly supports that the iconography of Cotton Genesis and consequently the other members of the Cotton family, such as San Marco, are under the influence of the Augustinian theological perspective on Genesis¹. The obstacle of accepting that it is a western manuscript due to the Greek language is overcome due to the fact that Greek was an international language. Thus, the flowing suggestion of West as being the origin of the Cotton Genesis manuscript seems plausible and rather adequate.

Another member of that family is the Millstatt Genesis (Klagenfurt, Rudolfinum Museum, late 12th c.), which is comprised of approximately 90 drawings, which are inserted into an Austrian poem². It is considered to be a poetic paraphrase of the Bible, written in Salzburg or Carinthia between 1180 and 1200, while the pictures were added on it approximately twenty years later³. The archetype of the paintings is probably a *Genesis Book*; it is believed to be a manuscript of the Cotton Genesis recension, due to the resemblances that it bears with them⁴.

The dome of the narthex of San Marco (Venice, 13th c., *fig. 1*)⁵ with the Genesis illustrations belongs to the Cotton Genesis pictorial tradition. G. Moro firstly restored the mosaics in the second quarter of the 19th c. The Creation was constructed probably under the influence of a liturgical aspect, which is related to the services from the Sunday of the Forefathers until the fourth Sunday of the Easter Fast. The illustrations were displayed in three round frames; the inner ring has five scenes, the middle eight and the outer eleven and it⁶. It is believed that the prototype of the mosaics was an illuminated manuscript of the type of

¹. Büchsel, 1991, pp. 59- 61.

². That poem according to K. Weitzmann includes the *Book of Exodus*, without any extant paintings or any free place of those, Weitzmann, *Illumination*, 1980, p. 121.

³. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 23, Dane, 1978, p. 26.

⁴. Similarities can be identified in iconographical elements of the scenes of the hospitality of Abraham and the sacrifice of Isaac. Details see Weitzmann, *Illumination*, 1980, p. 122. Weitzmann's conclusion about the membership of Millstatt Genesis and not from a byzantine Octateuch is also supported from other scholars, see Voss, 1962, pp. 52- 80.

⁵. In general see about the iconography of San Marco in Nierro, 1996, *passim*.

⁶. Niero, 2001, p. 248, Demus, Vol. 2, 1984, p. 76. In general about the mosaics of San Marco see Polacco, 2001, pp. 190- 245 and in early bibliography Tikkanen, 1889, pp. 14- 102.

the Cotton Genesis, though it is also recognised the artistic freedom on the assortment of the scenes, the arrangement of the figures and their stances¹.

Furthermore, the manuscript of Hortus Deliciarum (Strasbourg, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 1168- 78), belonged to the Herrad of Landsberg (the Abbess of Hohenbourg in Alsace from 1167 till 1195, now lost, but there are trustworthy copies). The scholars recognise on it the influences of the Millstatt Genesis and it is linked with the narthex of San Marco and in general terms with the Sicilian mosaics (12th c.)².

The Berlin ivory (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 11th c.) is a great monument, since it seems to combine the tradition of the Cotton Genesis family and the new trends of the Italian painting of the 11th c. Moreover, it is a witness of the influence of abbot Desiderius of Montecassino (1058- 87), whose support to the arts brought out pieces of art under the combination of stylistic sources³. A parallel of it, the Salerno *paliotto* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, ca. 1084) share a number of similar iconographic patterns and according to Kessler it undoubtedly belongs to the Cotton Genesis recension⁴.

Despite the fact that the Cotton Genesis does not bear any comparison with the one of the earliest extant manuscripts, the Vienna Genesis (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex vindobonensis theol. gr. 31, ca. first third (?) of the 6th c.)⁵, there is a juxtaposition between them¹. The twenty- four

¹. Chatzidaki, 1994, p. 250, fig. 146- 149, Demus, 1955, p. 348. For the similarities and the differentiations between the two monuments (Cotton manuscript and San Marco) see Demus, 1988, pp. 162ff and Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Cotton*, 1986, pp. 18- 20.

². More details see on Kitzinger, 2003, p. 1070, Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 25, Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Cotton*, 1986, pp. 20- 1, Green, 1955, pp. 340ff.

³. Kessler, 1966, p. 76, fig. 1- 2.

⁴. Kessler, 1966, pp. 85- 6. Moreover, he explains the differentiations that are occurred to those Italian examples towards the other members, as the result of the Christianization of the previous earlier models, which had Jewish stylistic motifs (p. 84). Cf. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Cotton*, 1986, pp. 22- 3 refer to the monument as a part of the secondary group of Cotton Genesis family.

⁵. For its origin (Syrian- Antiochean or Syrian- Palestinian) and its transport to the West, as well as other details see Walther, F. I., Wolf, N., 2001, pp. 60- 1, Weitzmann, *Studies*, 1971, pp. 51- 3, Friedman M., 1989, pp. 64- 77. A description of the manuscript see Buberl, 1937, pp. 1- 88.

leaves (out of the original ninety- six) of the Vienna Genesis encompass a wide range of iconographical sources² and it is probably categorized into the same group as *the Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*³. Schubert also suggested the influence of the rabbinic tradition in iconographical details of the miniatures, such as the hand of God, which emerges from the sky or the personification of Sophia, the divine wisdom⁴. It is also suggested that the Vienna Bible did not become the foretype for the following manuscripts, notwithstanding that there are even ivory middle Byzantine parallels, which were inspired by the Vienna norm⁵. Extraordinarily, the manuscript makes an exceptional combination among the text and the miniatures, which are characterised by the luxuriant imageries⁶.

The *Carolingian Bibles*: The Carolingian Bibles were products of the *renovation* that took place on the kingdom of Franks, during the kingship of Charlemagne (742- 814) onwards. Apart from the political propaganda on the authenticity of the revived empire, which occurred that period from several pieces of art, the bibles were mostly a way of demonstrating the Redemption through Christ⁷. The members of that family bear resemblance to each other in their main outline, whilst a more detailed examination of the three of them (Bamberg Bible, *fig. 2*, Grandval Bible, *fig. 3*, and Vivian Bible, *fig. 4*) result to the conclusion that there were reconstructions of the prototype or the prototypes

¹. A succinct reference to the construction features of the Cotton and the Vienna Genesis see Lowden, 2002, pp. 16- 8, Kötzsche- Breitenbruch, 1976, pp. 32- 3.

². Fingernagel (editor), 2004, p. 41, where Christian illustrations (in Basilicas, as well as sarcophagi) and Jewish literature are mentioned. Cf. Clausberg, 1984, pp. 5ff, Voss, 1962, pp. 60- 1, Diringer, 1955, pp. 88- 94, Beyschlag, 1942, pp. esp. 63- 127.

³. Walther, F. I., Wolf, N., 2001, p. 60. Also see Morey, 1929, p. 12, where it is stated that it is unquestionably to the same Anatolian school, which produced the miniatures of the Gospel Book of Rossano (second half of the 6th c.). Yet, scholars mention that the possibility of another pedigree, such as Constantinople, should be taken under consideration. See the discussion Lowden, 2002, pp. 18- 21.

⁴. Schubert K., 1983, pp. 1- 2.

⁵. Fingernagel (editor), 2004, pp. 41- 2.

⁶. See details Fingernagel (editor), 2004, pp. 44- 5.

⁷. Calkins, 1983, pp. 93- 4. For the historical situation and the interest of the King about the artistic production see Angold, 2003, pp. 214- 24.

of the artists in Tour¹. The fourth member, the Bible that is kept in the Benedictine Abbey of San Paolo Fuori Le Mura (*fig. 5*), has a Touronian background, with also stylistic variations².

It is general recognised the relationship between the Carolingian Genesis frontispieces and the Cotton Genesis family³. There are speculations that the illustrations of the Grandval and the Vivian Bible illustrations reveal a manuscript for Pope Leo the Great (at around the 5th c.)⁴. That hypothesis has influenced the scholars understanding of the Carolingian illuminated scripts and maybe general the early Christian manuscripts productivity, since a Roman archetype with the Cotton Genesis family and the Carolingian Bibles can be, up to an extent, combined⁵; in particular, the Bamberg Genesis (Staatliche Bibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 1 (A.I. 5), fol. 7^v, between 834 and 843) and the Grandval Bible (London, British Museum, Add. MS 10546, fol. 5^v, between 834 and 843). The Grandval Bible, one of the earliest Touronian Bibles, is a combined work with influences from both of the Cotton Genesis and the frescos of the San Paolo fuori le mura, where two new scenes are added: the introduction of Adam and Eve in paradise and Lord's admonition, scenes totally connected with the role of the Church in the salvation of people and the rejection of the predestination⁶. Moreover, on that family they also belong the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1, fol. 10^v, 846)⁷ and the Bible

¹. Walther, F. I., Wolf, N., 2001, p. 97, Calkins, 1983, p. 95 and pp. 102- 3, Kessler, 1971, p. 146, Beckwith, 1964, pp. 52ff.

². Gaehde 1971, pp. 356.

³. It is believed that the Carolingian Bibles also are members of the Cotton Genesis recension, having however a few stylistic innovations, Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Cotton*, 1986, p. 22, Kessler, 1971, pp. 152- 60 and Kessler, 1965, pp. 26- 8.

⁴. Walther, F. I., Wolf, N., 2001, p. 97, Köhler, 1963, fig. 10ab. For the Vivian and the Grandval Bibles in general see Browning, 2006, pp. 106- 22 and pp. 128- 34 respectively.

⁵. Kessler, 1971, p. 143, Kessler, 1965, pp. 8- 10.

⁶. Rudolph, 1999, pp. 30- 1, Mütterich F., Gaehde J., 1976, pp. 73- 4, Fillitz, 1990, pp. 139- 140.

⁷. Walther, F. I., Wolf, N., 2001, p. 97. General information about the scriptorium in Tours Hellmann, 2000, pp. 22ff.

of San Paolo fuori le mura (Rome, fol. 7^v, ca. 870)¹, which was made for Charles the Bald², having possibly a Touronian model³. It is also suggested that there maybe is a lost Touronian Bible, which used as a prototype of the San Paolo Fuori de Mura Bible⁴.

The *Hildesheim bronze doors* (ca. 1007- 1015, *fig. 6*) was ordered by bishop Bernward (ca. 960- 20 November 1022)⁵ and they are famous for the display (sixteen panels) of scenes from the Old Testament, as pre- figurations of episodes of the New Testament, expressing the meaning of the fall and the redemption of the human beings through the incarnation of the Logos of God⁶. Yet, it is emphasised that the way of demonstrating the particular scenes is mainly an approach to the belief of the catastrophic process of the abandonment of God⁷. The design of the doors is a mixture of Early Christian art and the pictorial forms of Carolingian and Ottonian examples. Specifically, the principal prototype was a Touronian bible, probably from the same scriptorium as the other Carolingian bibles of the 9th c. More particularly in Hildesheim of the 11th c. it was presented a Touronian copy of the Holy Scripture, as verified from the text of Bernward Bible⁸. Also Kessler mentions the relevance of the Hildesheim doors to the members of the Cotton Genesis recension, even independent⁹. According to later studies, despite that relationship to the bible

¹. Walther, F. I., Wolf, N., 2001, p. 103, Kessler, 1971, p. 143. Cf. about the Bible in general in Browning, 2006, pp. 180- 98.

². Compendiously, see the discussion about the principal of the Bible- whether he was Charles the Bald or Charles III- and the final conclusion on Charles the Bald, according to the iconographical links with his scriptorium, see Walther, F. I., Wolf, N., 2001, p. 103.

³. Kessler, 1971, p. 146.

⁴. Gaehde, 1971, pp. 356- 60.

⁵. For the personality, as well as the theology of Bernhard of Clairvaux see Elm (editor), 1994, pp. 5- 374.

⁶. Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, p. 19, fig. 1. Cf. Mohnhaupt, 2000, pp. 74- 87.

⁷. Mohnhaupt, 2000, p. 75. For the vertical typology that is developed and the inner symbolical system of the scenes see *ibid.*, pp. 76- 8.

⁸. That Bible echoed an excellent Touronian model. Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, pp. 21- 2. Cf. Tschan, 1951, pp. 246- 70, where it is cited his ratiocination on the artistic influences that the artists of the doors received.

⁹. Kessler, 1965, pp. 27- 8.

production in Tours and the common features, there are a number of iconographical differences. The direct typology that is developed between the juxtaposition of Old and New Testament scenes refers to the cypress doors of the basilica in Rome, Santa Sabina (ca. after 432)¹ and the undecorated bronze doors in the Palatine Chapel of Charlemagne in Aachen (1009)².

The *Junius 11, or Caedmon*³ *Genesis*, (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, first quarter of the 11th c.) is a sizeable compilation of biblical text in the form of a poem in the local dialect (2936 lines). It comprises of the *Genesis*, *Daniel*, *Christ and Satan*. As far as the *Genesis* is concerned, it contains two parts; *Genesis A* (late 7th or early 8th c.), an Anglo- Saxon verse paraphrase of the Bible, though following closely the biblical text, and *Genesis B* (ca. 9th c.), a piece of an older Saxon edition of a poem for the story of *Genesis*. It principally focuses on the battle and the fall of the angels, as well as the temptation and the fall of the human beings⁴. It may be not accidental that it was written a period after the controversy on the role of the predestination or the free will on the fall, which took place on the mid 9th c., and echoes the non- importance of the free will on man's life⁵. Those depictions characterise the manuscript as the a typical

¹. Kötzsche- Breitenbruch, 1976, pp. 22- 3, Delbrueck, 1952, pp. 139- 45. Despite the fact that the programme does not include any scene with Adam and Eve, it is interesting to see the analogies among the scenes. A whole problematic was raised on the ornamentation of the doors (eighteen panels have survived) and especially the most famous scene, the Crucifixion, which is considered one of the first depictions of the scene.

². Even undecorated, probably Bernward was inspired by the doors structure, since Charlemagne revitalized the large- scale doors, which was of earlier Roman design.

³. For the miraculous way that Caedmon went ahead with the composition of poems inspired from the biblical text and the attribution to those poems divine origin see Kauffmann, 2003, p. 37.

⁴. Blum, 1976, pp. 211- 3, Ohlgren, *The illustrations*, 1972, pp. 201- 2. Also cf. Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, pp. 25- 6, Lowden, *Cotton Genesis*, 1992, pp. 42- 4. The *Junius 11* manuscript might have copied from another manuscript, probably from a Benedictine scribe, who thoughtfully left enough margins for later illustrations- 54 in number. Ohlgren, *Visual language*, 1972, pp. 256- 7. The discussion of the prototype of Junius 11 and the iconographical forms that may or may not have followed see Blum, 1976, pp. 214- 21. Cf. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Cotton*, 1986, pp. 24- 5.

⁵. Kauffmann, 2003, pp. 38- 9.

early example of creation with figurative elements about the redemption¹. The biblical description is enlarged with various alterations, which probably encouraged the artist to create new pictorial forms, totally harmonized with the account of the poem, without following faithfully previous iconographic grounds or having any stylistic bias, yet, having an inclination more to Western rather than to Byzantine models.

Western medieval manuscripts: We quote two examples of the *Catalan Romanesque Bibles* that were produced in the Benedictine abbey of Santa Maria de Ripolli (Girona)- (Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, vat. lat. 5729, second quarter of the 11th c.), under the guidance of abbot Oliva (1008- 1046) and the Bible of Rodes (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 6, I, 11th c.)². Their influences can be traced in the Octateuch narrations or in the Roman synthetic types, but Conzalez proved that they are connected with the monastic schools of Ripolli, where the classical inheritance on cosmology were taught³. The Ripolli Bible is a mixture of Italian and Byzantine iconography and it can be an example between the tradition of the Octateuchs and the Cotton Genesis family⁴.

Besides, there are a number of Romanesque frescoes of Genesis survived (though having been transferred in a museum) from the S. Julian in the village of Bagüés (Zaragoza, North Spain, late 11th c.), which, according to Al-Hamdani, were influenced from the iconography of Cotton Genesis recensions as well as from the Carolingian pictorial forms, though they follow a more plain style⁵.

The *Eton Roundels* (figs. 7, 8) are the miniatures of a manuscript in roundels, which started with the creation and ended with the coronation of the Bride/ Church/ Virgin/ Soul and it is accompanied by Anglo- Norman text given briefly (Eton College- Windsor, MS 177, fol. 1^v- 2^r, 13th c.). The awkward point on the roundels is the way of the reading sequence and the fact that the outline is thematic and not depending on the text of the Bible. For instance, on fol. 1^v the creation of the world poses on the centre roundel, while Adam seems

¹. Blum, 1976, p. 221.

². The information comes from Conzalez, 2002, passim.

³. Conzalez, 2002, p. 35.

⁴. Conzalez, 2002, p. 38.

⁵. Al- Hamdani, 1974, pp. 169- 94.

like having been created before the birds on the left¹. Simultaneously, it is identified that there is a typological sequence between the illustrations of the Old and the New Testament, a point that can interpret the sequence that the artists decided to picture the roundels².

The *Bibles Moralisée* are illuminated biblical books containing in each page short moralisation notes and relevant illustrations, in order to succeed a densely, written and visual, focus on the moralising remarks³. The Moralized Bibles of our concern are the earliest examples from Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2554, 13th c.), the Oxford manuscript (London, Bodleian Library, MS 270b., ca. 1240) and the Toledo one (now in New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 240, 13th c.). In the atelier of the Bibles of the Oxford and the Toledo Bibles it was likely to cover two trends, more or less parallel to the styles suggested by the Vienna Bibles⁴. They were iconographically closed to the Arsenal Old Testament⁵.

The *Arsenal Old Testament* (fig. 9): The time of the stay of Louis in Acre (four years, since May of 1250) became a period with a significant production of art pieces, through which the religious symbolisms as well as the multiculturalism of the society in Acre were described⁶. The Arsenal Old Testament (Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Paris, MS 5211, middle of the 13th c.) is probably the most original illustrated miniature program of the Acre scriptorium, where a lot can be derived from, about the relations between the eastern and the western attitude in the Latin East⁷. It was made while the king of France Louis IX⁸ was in Acre, during his crusade to the Holy Land. Its

¹. Henry, 1999, pp. 170- 1.

². Henry, 1999, pp. 169- 88.

³. General information about the Bibles as well as aspects on the utterance *Moralisée* see Lowden, 2005, pp. 500- 2.

⁴. Details on the patterns of the figures see Branner, 1977, pp. 53- 4.

⁵. Weiss, 1998, pp. 117- 9.

⁶. Weiss, 1998, pp. 82- 3.

⁷. Buchthal, 1957, p. 54.

⁸. The compilation consists of twenty books and their frontispieces are adorned with full- page miniatures as well as the initials of each book are embellished with scenes and figures. The luxurious miniatures refer to the possibility of a royal owner. Buchthal, 1957, p. 54.

pictorial program reflects Louis' ideology on the role of the crusade and it exposes the fatalistic approach of the policy of the sacred war¹. The text starts with the Genesis and it ends with the Book of Ruth, all given in an abbreviated way. The illumination of the Arsenal Old Testament cannot be examined apart from the contemporary making of manuscripts and icons within the crusade community of the Latin Kingdom in the Holy Land. The illustrations conclude artistic springs from the Gothic tradition, especially as the ornamental initials is concerned, and the Byzantine patterns, in such a way that the visual language refers to the Latin, Byzantine, even Islamic elements². The *Genesis* frontispiece consists of twelve scenes and their arrangement reveals influences from western illustrations. The single ones have a Byzantine basis; the first six scenes pictured Logos standing to hold a globe, where the creation is being formed³, while there is the icon of the seated *Pantocrator*, a representation of the seventh day of creation⁴.

There are a plenty of illuminated manuscripts with the *Histoire Universelle*, most of them originating in Italy and in France (from second half of the 13th c. until the 15th c.)⁵. In our research we focus on the manuscript of

¹. Weiss, 1998, pp. 6- 7.

². As an example Weiss (1998, pp. 115- 7) quotes the resemblance of the story of Job in Arsenal Old Testament with the Oxford Moralized Bible. At the same time, he uses the correlation in the story of Joshua between the Arsenal manuscript, the Vatopedi Octateuch (Mount Athos, MS 602, 13th c.) and the Joshua Rotulus (Vatican Library, cod. Palat. gr. 431, 10th c.). The illuminations are within rectangles, roundels and lobes of different shapes, a plan taken from western patterns, such as an English Psalter (Munich, Staatbibliothek, lat. 835, 1220). Buchthal, 1957, p. 55, pl. 148a, b. However, Buchthal points out that some iconographic elements are unique and they have no parallel in any motive, western or eastern. He also mentions that more or less the Arsenal iconography is repeating in almost all of the French manuscript producing in the second quarter and the middle of the 13th c. (Buchthal, 1957, p. 56, see in detail about the western and the eastern forms pp. 56- 9). General comments on English thirteen- century manuscript art and the Anglo- French style Watson, 1976, pp. 34- 41.

³. That pattern, the Logos standing and holding the creation globe, is also met in the Moralized Bible, a manuscript probably known in the miniaturist of the Arsenal Old Testament. Buchthal, 1957, p. 56, pl. 147b.

⁴. Buchthal, 1957, p. 55, pl. 62.

⁵. The *Histoire Univerelle* is the earliest historical anthology from the creation of the world till the reign of Julius Caesar, a type of event- tracing quite fashionable in the Middle Ages, which actually was addressed to an uneducated group of people, Buchthal, 1957, p. 68.

Dijon (Bibliothèque Municipale, *fig. 10*), the earliest copy and probably belonging to the same scriptorium as the Arsenal Old Testament. Their similarity as far as the combination of the western and eastern iconographic elements is impressive, only with a trivial stylistic advance¹. The other manuscript of our interest is the London copy (British Library, MS Add. 15268, fol. 1^v, *fig. 11*), a luxurious production, depended on the Dijon copy². The copies present a combination of western and eastern iconographical elements and they probably have the same source or they are made on the same scriptorium as other parallels, as for example the Arsenal Bible. As well as there is close parallelism with Byzantine manuscripts, such as the Octateuch of Vatopedi 602 and the Gospel Paris gr. 54³.

The *Lilienfeld Bible* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, second quarter of the 13th c., *fig. 12*) follows the previous stylistic manuscript tradition, though it is incomplete. Its pictorial performance belongs to the classical Romanic style, while the artist included in short the history of the *Genesis* in the initial letter (fol. 8^v)⁴.

Byzantine manuscripts: We quote a marvellous example of the early Macedonian period, made for the Emperor Basil I, the illuminated manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 510, 879- 883, 52^v)⁵. The illustration of the oration *On Peace*⁶ we are interested in a combination of facts of the holy *Oikonomia* and, generally speaking, the miniatures serve as pictorial remarks or graphic continuation of the text⁷. The link between the text and the miniature, which is established by the inspiration

¹. Details cf. Buchthal, 1957, p. 69, pl. 82a.

². Buchthal, 1957, p. 80ff, pl. 83.

³. Buchthal, 1957, p. 69.

⁴. Yet, there are two thirteen- century manuscripts at the Lilienfeld Stiftsbibliothek, which could possibly be considered as the supplement of the Lilienfeld Bible. Fingernagel (editor), 2004, p. 106ff.

⁵. Brubaker, 1985, pp. 1, Der Nersessian, 1962, p. 197. For the codex Parisinus gr. 510 see Omont, 1886, pp. 65- 6.

⁶. PG 35, 721A- 752A.

⁷. See the comments on the chapter for visual interpretation of Genesis.

of the artists from the text itself, is also found in Psalter marginal miniatures and on the Chludov manuscript¹.

Six manuscripts of *Byzantine Octateuchs*² are known today³, as listed below; Smyrna (Evangelical School Library, cod. A. I., 12th c., now destroyed on the Turkish- Greek war on 1923)⁴, Seraglio (Constantinople, cod. 8, (?) 12th c.), Vat. gr. 746 (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, (?) 11th c.)⁵, Vat. gr. 747 (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 11th c.)⁶, Vatopedi Monastery (Mount Athos, cod. 602, 13th c.)⁷, Florence (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. 38, 13th c.- others say 11th c.). The Octateuchs contain a great number of miniatures, which though their chronology extend in a period of approximately two centuries, their iconography does not vary, since it is possible the existence of a common eleventh- century model⁸.

The *Ashburnham Pentateuch* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2334) has undergone an extensive discussion on its origin and date of product, having the latest suggestion from Verkerk, who placed its existence on the late 6th c. probably in Rome. She convincingly argued that, albeit the non-development, at least as far as after the examination of the Pentateuch and the Saint Augustine's Gospels (5th and 6th c.) are concerned, of a formal Roman

¹. Der Nersessian, 1962, pp. 226- 7. Yet, Brubaker mentions that it is likely Photius to have intervened in each stage of the illumination of the manuscript, as conducted from the link, direct or notional, between the scribe and the miniaturist (Brubaker, 1985, p. 10).

². Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, 1992, passim, Weitzmann, 1979, pp. 34-6.

³. The following information see in general Anderson J., 1982, p. 83 and in detail the main iconographical elements of the manuscripts Lassus, 1979, pp. 86- 92. Also see Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, 1976, pp. 27- 30, who mentions a fragment of an Octateuch of the 4th- 5th c. in Leiden, Paris and Leningrad.

⁴. Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, 1992, pp. 15- 21. For the Smyrna manuscript see Papadopoulos- Kerameus, 1877, p. 4.

⁵. For the Vaticanus gr. 746 see Devreesse, 1950, pp. 261- 2.

⁶. Lassus, 1979, p. 86. Yet, Anderson J. (1982, p. 83) argues that the chronology of the manuscript on the middle or the third quarter of the 13th c. Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, 1992, pp. 47- 53. For the Vaticanus gr. 747 see Devreesse, 1950, p. 263.

⁷. Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, 1992, pp. 47- 50. For the Octateuch 602 of Vatopedi see Eustratiadis, Arkadios Batopedinos, 1924, pp. 118- 9.

⁸. Anderson J., 1982, pp. 103- 4.

style, it did occur the possibility Rome, as the multicultural centre of that epoch, to perform a main role as a pilgrimage midpoint and as a scriptoria place, where a variety of styles proclaimed their co- existence¹. The extant folios number 142 out of the original 208 and eighteen miniatures out of sixty-nine².

Norman monuments: The two representatives of the Sicilian art, the cathedral of Monreale (ca. 1183) and the Chapel of the Palace in Palermo, the so- called Capella Palatina (1160- 1180), were created within a frame of amalgamation of different styles and trends. The architecture and the iconographical cycles of the Old Testament unite a number of Western, Byzantine and Moslem architectural and pictorial elements, as well as a display of liturgical and theological thoughts³. Despite the artists coming from Constantinople, the Normans wished to produce a unique, singular way of iconography, using Byzantine patterns within a Latin outline⁴, which simultaneously display an emphasis on the royal triumph⁵.

Thus, they bear resemblance to the frescoes of Sant Angelo in Formis (1072- 1087) and to the ivory pallioto at Salerno. The most likely explanation of that parallelism is the nearness to Monte Cassino, where there were Greek artists having taught the Benedictines. The aspect of the Sicilian cycles could have been Byzantine and have a great number of iconographical similarities with the Byzantine Octateuchs⁶ is not so accurate, if we consider the wide-ranging decoration of the cycle of the Old Testament was a characteristic of the Western art⁷. Moreover, the visual culture of the Normans was greatly formed

¹. Hoogland- Verkerk, 2002, pp., 119- 20, Lowden, 2002, p. 47. Cf. a discussion on the Jewish antecedents of Christian monuments Roth, 1953, pp. 34ff.

². Lowden, 2002, pp. 45- 8. Cf. Kötzsche- Breitenbruch, 1976, pp. 35- 6, where it is mentioned nineteen pictures as well as an incorrectly date (7th c.)

³. See the previous discussion about the church in Monreale, the historical circumstances and the political meaning of the church in Dittelbach, 2003, passim (esp. pp. 158- 92 see the programme of the mosaics, their iconography and style).

⁴. Angold, 2003, pp. 278- 86.

⁵. For the style and the discussion of the Byzantine influences within the art expressed by a Western dynasty see Kitzinger, 2003, pp. 1004- 54, Kinzinger, 1949, pp. 269- 71, p. 291.

⁶. Demus, 1949, pp. 252- 65.

⁷. Kitzinger, 1949, pp. 269- 70.

by the political and social grounds, such as the fact that the island was densely-populated by Arabs and Roger and his successors were quite Latinised¹.

¹. See about Roger II and Capella Palatina in Tronzo, 1997, pp. 134- 44. It is not irrelevant the fact that in his portrait within the Capella Palatina Roger II was characterized as *rex* and not *Βασιλεύς*. Ultimately, the legacy of his authority was due to the papal acceptance of his uncle, after the occupation of Sicily. Angold, 2003, pp. 271- 5.

C. Iconographic analysis on *Genesis* scenes

i. *The Creator*

Primarily, we would like to identify the word used for expressing that the Triune God was the Creator of humankind. On the *Genesis* text, such as "Let us make humankind in our image, according to our likeness" (*Gen* 1, 26), the plural indicates the three persons of God and their equality during the creation of the universe. In Christian exegesis on *Genesis*¹ the citations to God refers to him as the Triune God; On the apologetic literature of the 2nd c., for example, Irenaeus stated the *ex nihilo* creation, but at the same time he described it as a making of the Triune God². The Church Fathers tried with their works against the trinitarian heresies to notice the unity of the three- fold God throughout the history of the holy *Oikonomia*³. Of course, the references to the

¹. It is noticeable that Philo of Alexandria, the Jewish philosopher, also writes about Logos of God, is the instrument for the Creation. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 37.

². Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses, Book II*, 2, 4- 5. See Jensen, 1999, p. 534.

³. For instance St. Basil in his Hexaemeron mentions God, "Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν" ("At the beginning God created the sky and the earth"), Giet, 1968, p. 194 (*Homily 3*, 2, 56B), the Holy Spirit of God, "Καὶ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, φησὶν, ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. Καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, ἢ τὸ ἅγιον τὸ τῆς θείας καὶ μακαρίας Τριάδος" ("And the Spirit of God were on the water. And not any other spirit of God, but the Holy (Spirit) of the Holy and the Blessed Trinity"), Giet, 1968, p. 166 (2, section 6, 44A). He also makes references to the voice of God, which actually implies the incidences of the New Testament, as Christ's Baptism, where the voice of God the Father was heard from ("And God said, let there be light. With the first voice of God, the light was created", "Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, γεννηθήτω φῶς. Πρώτη φωνὴ Θεοῦ φωτὸς φύσιν ἐδημιούργησεν", *Homily 2*, section 7, p. 170, 44C- 45A). Laga, C., Steel, C., 1980, p. 50- 1 (II, 22- 30) and pp. 76- 7 (VIII, 1- 18), following the previous patristic tradition, mentions the Triune God as the light. That on purpose the writer of *Genesis* uses plural and not singular, in order to refer to the

Triune God are also related to the baptismal Creeds of the 2nd and 3rd c., as well as with the faith confession in the baptismal liturgy¹.

The Logos of God, the second person of the Holy Trinity, is actual the one who acts in the Old Testament through his theophanies and in the New Testament as the incarnated Logos of God, Christ². That ensures also the historicity of the Christological doctrine, since it reveals the connection of the fleshless Logos and the incarnated Logos, Christ, in the united body of the history of the holy *Oikonomia*³. The reference to Logos as the maker of the universe in the name of the Triune God is obvious also in the liturgical texts, where we notice the link between Adam, Logos in creation and the incarnated Logos of the New Testament⁴.

Triune God, while at the same time there are not implications of the existence of three gods, since man was able to meet God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. See D' Alverny, 1956, pp. 288- 90. For the symbolism on the Trinity and the Cross, see the analysis of the poems of the St. Ephrem the Syrian in Yousif, 1978, pp. 52- 60.

¹. We refer to the liturgical tradition of the 4th c. and specifically for example to the *Sacramentary* of Serapion (middle of the 4th c.), a representative text of the process of the formation of the liturgical praxis and it also has a connective role between that period and the earlier ecclesiastical authors. It is interesting to see the eucharistic prayers and the direct reference to the reconciliation of the three-fold God and his energies as a unity and at the same time as three persons. See the analysis, Podopoulou, 1993, pp. 366- 455.

². The Triune God definitely acts undivided and particularly Logos cannot perform any action without the Father and the Holy Spirit. See Voulgaris, 2000, pp. 135- 49 (the same article see in Voulgaris, 1997, pp. 245- 58). Cf. a critical approach on the theology of Robert Jenson (a contemporary American Lutheran theologian) as far as the freedom of the Son in Creation and the redemption see Gathercole, 2005, pp. 38- 51.

For Christian art, Logos is considered to be the architect of the world, as it is obviously seen in the miniatures of the later Middle Ages, where he is holding a compass. See for example the Vienna Bible MS 2554, fol. 1^r, and MS 1179, fol. 1^r, the Moralized Bible MS 270b, fol. 1^r, in Friedman, B. J., 1974, pp. 419- 29.

³. See Matsoukas, 1992, pp. 217- 8.

⁴. *MENAION of December, 26th December, Matins, 6th Ode, Theotokion "Ὁ πλάσας, κατ' εἰκόνα ἰδίαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, διὰ πολλὴν εὐσπλαχνίαν, ἀναπλάττει τοῦτον ἐκ σοῦ, Παρθένε, Θεομήτορος, ὀλοκλήρως αὐτὸν ἐνδυσάμενος"*("He, who fashioned man according to his own image, because of his mercy, he fashions his Son wearing the human nature, through Virgin Mary").

Apparently, in the iconography, Logos of God himself should be the depicted Creator in the scenes of Creation, always as a representative of the Triune God. Yet, that cannot be faced as a strict iconographical rule. For example, in the Byzantine or the Byzantine- influenced scenes, we often met the Pantocrator as the fleshless Logos of the Old Testament. That could be clearly explained by the fact that God had on his mind the incarnation of his Logos, thus he can be depicted as the Pantocrator already from the creation scenes. Likewise, it is compelling the fact that in the ecclesiastical tradition, and its written or artistic expression, the fleshless and the incarnated Logos, who acts in the Old and the New Testament respectively, is being understood as an inseparable union.

In the early Christian masterpieces there are a few illustrations, which caused an interesting discussion on whether they reflect the doctrine of the Triune God or not.

Specifically, there are two early- fourth- century examples one in the new Museum de l' Arles Antique (around 325, *fig. 13*) and the second in the Museum Pio Cristiano (Vatican, second quarter of the 4th c., *fig. 14*), the so-called "*Trinity sarcophagi*"¹. Our interest is the left scene (of the middle row of the Arles sarcophagus and the upper row of the Vatican sarcophagus), where it was said that the Triune God is depicted. In both sarcophagi, there are three male figures, with the usual roman clothing. Only the central man is seated on a throne, in the pose of blessing or speaking². Heimann supported that unquestionably the scene is the creation of Eve by the Holy Trinity, since it is the transformation of st. Augustine's theology into a picturesque way³. However, that interpretation raised a whole discussion based on the fact that there are not only three, but four figures taking part in the scene. In the Arles sarcophagus is the man on the right, who holds the small male figure from his shoulders, while in Vatican one is the man at the back, whose head is apparent. Even though it was said that the seated figure and the one on the left- hand part are bearded, while the man on the right- hand side is beardless⁴, Engemann

¹. The second sarcophagus is also called "*the dogmatic sarcophagus*", because of its scenes relating with the salvation. Jensen, 1999, pp. 529- 30. Markow, 1981, pp. 650- 55.

². Detailed discription of the motif see Kaiser- Minn, 1976, pp. 10- 11.

³. Heimann, *Trinitas*, 1938, pp. 43- 4.

⁴. In general the facial characteristics of the three persons of the Triune God and their differentiations or similarities could be depended on the exact date of the illustrations, meaning before or after the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea; the pre- Nicaea pictures present Logos and the Holy Spirit as younger than the Father, while the after- Nicaea models demonstrate them as

pointed out that all three men are bearded, though he categorically stated that the depiction does not refer to the Holy Trinity and there is no representation of the Holy Spirit¹. Despite Heimann did not mention at all the fourth person, some scholars tried to verify his identity. Jensen, interpreting the other three persons as the Holy Trinity², brings up the resemblance of the fourth figure with portraits of Apostle Paul of the 4th c.³. Besides, Engemann supported that maybe they are Logos and two angels⁴ and the fourth person is in general an assistant figure⁵. Yet, he continues his ratiocination, the assistance in the *Genesis* story can only be an angel and since it is more than possible the seated person to be the Father, then it is likely to be accompanied by his Logos and two bearded angels⁶. Kaiser- Minn relates the seated person with the Father, whilst on the right is his Logos and the other two figures are two royal assistants⁷. In the later bibliography it is supported by Koch, Bovini and Brandenburg that the figure may stand for an angel, a statement, which is pointed out already from all of the above- mentioned researchers as another possibility⁸.

The prospect of being a royal assistant is rather vague, since it cannot be documented by the *Genesis* text or the patristic literature. Also, it is usual in the art Logos or an angel to be depicted, an element that comes from the fact that in the Old Testament Logos is revealed through his theophanies and often, as for instance in the Abraham's hospitality, has the appearance of an angel. Moreover, as the later artistic evolution has demonstrated, the angels as retinue are almost always two; it is rare to meet an angel alone (that can be seen in the

identical. Also about the special characteristics in the *Trinity sarcophagi* see Jensen, 2005, pp. 125- 7, Jensen, 1999, pp. 531- 2.

¹. Büchsel, 1991, p. 62, Engemann, 1976, p. 161, pp. 165- 7.

². Jensen, 1999, pp. 535- 6.

³. Jensen, 1999, p. 531. That aspect was first supported by Christe (the information is taken from Kaiser- Minn, 1976, pp. 23- 4), who said that the two men around the seated Godfather are the Apostels Peter and Paul.

⁴. Engemann, 1997. 65- 9.

⁵. Büchsel, 1991, p. 62. Engemann 1976, pp. 168- 9, pointed out that on the sarcophagi of the 3rd and 4th c. there are a number of indefinable figures, which can be considered as assistants or attendants (p. 169).

⁶. Engemann 1976, p. 170.

⁷. Kaiser- Minn, 1976, pp. 20

⁸. Repertorium III, 2003, p. 23, Koch, 2000, p. 134.

miniatures of the Millstatt and in two episodes of the Grandval Genesis). Apparently, if we support the aspect of being an angel, then we have to state that the seated man is the Father, on the right Logos, and the other two persons on each side are two angels.

Should we agree with the aspect (which is going to be examined in the chapter about Eve's creation), according to which the scenes in both sarcophagi represent the raising from the dead, then a potential interpretation of the fourth person would be the humankind in its entirety. This assumption can be based on the humankind's creation according to the *image* and *likeness* of God and that is why there is an iconographical resemblance of the four persons. Furthermore, it can be, that in the scene the human being is already created and he is dressed, according to God's promise for redemption, while in the lower part of the scene the resurrected man and woman are blessed by God.

A totally different approach of the drawing of the Holy Trinity comes from the destroyed fresco of the creation in San Paolo fuori le mura. In its (baroque) copy (Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 23, 1634, Vatican) God the Father is pictured in bust within a half- circle, below from which a lamb, with a cruciform halo, stands for Logos. Lower there is a dove, as the Holy Spirit, which however was probably added later (13th c. in the restoration from Cavallini)¹.

The examination under ultra violet light of the Ashburnham Pentateuch by Narkiss has first demonstrated the existence of a second person with a halo beside the Creator, whose figure was erased and repainted. The two Creators were both *Omnipotens*, meaning *Pantocrator*, the All-mighty God and probably due to influences from the movement of the Adoptionist or Nestorianism in Spain and France during the 8th c. the one figure was removed².

Imageries of the Holy Trinity are more common in the late medieval and renaissance iconographical cycles³. That occurrence happens especially in

¹. Büchsel, 1995, p. 144, fig. 365, Büchsel, 1991, p. 71, fig. 43, Al- Hamdani, 1978, p. 16, fig. 1.

². Narkiss, 1969, pp. 45- 60. Also see Capizzi, 1964, pp. 155- 74.

³. For instance God the Father differentiates from the other two persons with his older age and his triangular halo, while the Holy Spirit is depicted as a dove or in Pentecost as rays of light. Seldom there are depiction of the Holy Trinity as a unity, totally alike, Fergusson, 1961, pp. 92- 4. Also see the Book of *Genesis* in the Bible of Robert de Bello (London, British Museum, MS Burney 3, fol. 5^v, ca. 1230- 1240), where on the left- corner roundel of the decorative initial, the Holy Trinity, resting on the seventh day, is depicted; two anthropomorphic figures and one dove. That was a rejection to those, Abelard, William of

western examples, where an anthropomorphic figure of the Triune God was often, opposite to the original eastern painting (until the Cretan School and its influences from the West), where the depictions of the Father are considered against the belief that only the second person of the Holy Trinity, who was incarnated, can be depicted as a human¹. For instance, in the *Genesis* frontispiece of the Walters Bible (Monastery of Michelbeuren, 12th c.), apart from Logos, there are on the creation scenes two more identical figures, having the same size and they wear the same halo. Those two figures gradually were replaced by the accompaniment of the angel(s)².

The depiction of Logos can be recognised such as in specific members of the Cotton family³. He is holding a cross- staff, which symbolizes Christ's passion and resurrection. Still, even in the pictures that there is a lack of the cross- nimbus or any other characteristics of Logos, we point out that Logos himself is depicted. The Christian belief of the incarnation of Logos and his anthropomorphic illustration in contrast with the Jewish one is enough for

Conches, Thierry of Chartres, who believed in the various roles of the Trinity in the creation (cf. Rudolph, 1999, p. 43. About the Chartres rosette windows (13th c.), especially No. 138 and 144, and the connection of their iconography (esp. the Creator) with the interpretation of Thierry of Chartres see Meulen, 1966, pp. 82- 100). Sometimes, as in the Bible Ms. Harley (2839- 40, fol. 310^v, 13th c.), the dove is too tiny to be identified and in other miniatures, as in Bible MS. Royal (2. AXXII, fol. 132^r, late 12th c.), there is an iconographic link, referring to the *filioque*. Cf. Henry, 1999, p. 175, 177, fig. 11, 9 and 10 respectively. Also see Heimann, 1966, pp. 46- 56.

¹. In Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 37, it is written that "*In fully harmony with the Christian theology, the illustrators represented God the Father, rather than God the Son*", a statement which is absolutely based on an incorrect theological understanding.

². Heimann, *Trinitas*, 1938, p. 45, where also mentions the example of the Creation of the Cathedral at Chartres and the appearance of a younger figure by the Creator only on the scene of the fifth day. On the following pages of the particular article (pp. 46- 50) the writer refers to some later Byzantine illustrations as well as to the Neapolitan School of the 14th c., where depictions of the Triune God have been observed.

³. M. Friedmann mentions that even though in Cotton Genesis there is a cross nimbus, other illustrations, such as in some of the Carolingian Bibles there is not. His conclusion is that maybe the model of the Cotton Genesis was Jewish, while its literary sources were not. He connects his assumption with the prototype of the unique elements of the later Canterbury psalter manuscript, Friedman M., 1991, pp. 89- 90.

concluding that when there is a depiction of the Creator, then it is probably the Logos of God¹.

The Jewish interpretation of the plural used in *Gen* 1, 26 and in other texts of the Old Testament was that refers to God the Creator and his angels². That belief was developed mostly during the 2nd c. and in such a way the Gnosticism adopted it, since it served the Gnostic dualism and several Jewish traditions about the creation of the world³. That can be explained by a trend against the Christians, who believe that the presence of the Holy Trinity is obvious in the Old Testament through the theophanies⁴. Therefore, the Church Fathers were very careful about the role of the angels on man's creation⁵. Maybe that also derives from the fact that the angels are mental, formed creatures, who serve the history of the holy *Oikonomia*, in a way that totally derived from God himself⁶. If we compare them with the material of the human beings are incorporeal, but comparing them with God are definitely corporal beings⁷. Also some references in the apocryphal literature, such as in *The*

¹. Kessler, 1971, p. 157.

². To the Jewish interpretation also refers st. Basil in his *Hexaemeron*, Giet, 1968, pp. 516- 20 (6, 205B- 208A).

³. See the theory of Philo (man's image bears resemblance with the angels, while the plural, meaning the co- creators, are the "*powers*", probably a synonym of angels) and of Jewish interpreters (such as R. Jonathan- beginning of 3rd c. and R. Yohanan- 250- 290 C.E.), in connection with Gnostic ideas (the Gnostic dualism begins with the idea of the existence of the one and only supreme being at the beginning, while the material world is a production of another inferior God, since it is the source of every malice), Fossum, 1985, pp. 202- 39.

⁴. Comments and bibliography see Friedman M., 1991, p. 82. Furthermore, in Jewish iconography often God is represented by angels, such as in the *Giving of the Torah to the Israelites* miniature in *Laud Mahzor* prayer book (Bodleian Library, MS. laud, or. 32, fol. 127^v, ca. 1290), in the previous article, fig. 9.

⁵. St. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim, Homilie VIII, 2*, PG 53, 71. It is also noteworthy even in the early text of the *Shepherd of Hermas* (PG 2, 884B- 886C) the interpretation of the angel as the appearance of Logos of God. See the comments of the scholars Moxnes, 1993, pp. 49- 56.

⁶. About the angels and their role, see Matsoukas, 1992, pp. 187- 93.

⁷. A great number of Church Fathers have dealt with that topic, such as st. John Damascene, *Die Fide Orthodoxa III, 25*, PG 94, 1345, "Ἄγγελος δέ, καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ δαίμων, πρὸς μὲν Θεὸν συγκρινόμενοι, τὸν μόνον ἀσύγκριτον, σώματα εἰσὶ πρὸς δὲ τὰ ὑλικά

Apocalypse of Moses, comment on the presence of the angels during man's creation¹, which can be suggested that was a central influence on the portrait of an angel in a pose of praying or worshipping in the scenes of the creation² and not only a decorative element. Likewise the presence of an angel in every scene of the Creation in the Millstatt Genesis (12th c., **fig. 15**) has raised a discussion about his possible interpretation as an angel or the Holy Spirit³. A significant and very interesting observation is the progress of the angel's portrait in his five- time- appearance; his clothes are plain in the first and second scene, while in Adam's animation he wears fully- decorated, liturgical clothes. On the scene of taking Adam's rib is less decorative, even without wings, whilst on the expulsion of paradise the clothing is not at all ornamental and the angel is crying. This climax can be translated as the metaphorical route from man's

σώματα, ἀσώματοι", ("The angel, of the soul, and the Satan, comparing with God, have bodies, but comparing with the corporeal bodies are bodiless"). The angels are liturgical beings (*Heb* 1, 14), members of the universal reality (see st. Dionysios Areopagita, *De Coelesti hierarchia*, 6, 1, PG 3, 200D- 201A), who are not having a physical corruption or death and they can be seen, whenever God permits (they are numerous situations where angels took part in, in the Old Testament, such as the Hospitality of Abraham *Gen* 18, 2- 15 (Thunberg, 1966, pp. 560- 70), Moses and the Burning Bush *Ex* 3, 2, *1Sam* 23:27, *Zech.* 4, 1- 5, *Isa* 37, 36 and in the New Testament, such as *Lk* 1, 11- 28, *Acts* 5, 19). For the depiction of angels in Christian art, see Peers, 1997, pp. 409- 20, S. Koukiaris, 1989, passim.

¹. "Ὅτε ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός, ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα ὑμῶν, δι' ἧς μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, δι' αὐτοῦ, δι' οὗ καὶ ἀποθνήσκωσιν, ἤγγισεν δὲ ἡ ὥρα τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν φυλασσόντων τὴν μητέρα ὑμῶν τοῦ ἀναβῆναι καὶ προσκυνῆσαι τὸν κύριον", ("When God made us, me and your mother, who is responsible for my death, he gave us all the plants of paradise, except one, from which we were not permitted to eat and due to our eating we die; the time has come that the angels, who were protected your mother are going to kneel in front of our Lord"), Tischendorf, 1856, pp. 3- 4.

². Kessler, *Tours*, 1965, p. 29. Such as in Grandval and in Vivian Bibles, where the angels are depicted in the background scenery, in three quarters and in fully frontality. The presence of those angels was interpreted by scholars as the existence of an archetype, different from the other Carolingian Bibles, in which there were two scenes of Adam's creation or just a diversification from the two scenes of the one model of those Bibles. The latter speculation can be reinforced by the two episodes of Adam's creation in San Paolo fuori le mura Bible; enlivenment and animation (Kessler, 1971, p. 147). Moreover, it can be noticed that the two angels are identical and both they look towards Adam's enlivenment.

³. Voss, 1962, pp. 52ff. Analysis on Pickering's interpretation based on the verbal semantics and pictorial syntax of the text, see Dane, 1978, pp. 23- 36.

creation, the most memorable moment of the whole creation, towards the fall¹. In other words, it can be the symbolic representation of the ancient beauty (*ἀρχαῖον κάλλος*) of humankind, which was lost with the fall, but it would come again after the resurrection.

The attendance of the scenes from angel(s) is also ascribed to the fact that in Christian iconography the angels' creation is not always delineated as a separated episode. Even though there is not a particular passage in *Genesis* that refers to their making², there are monuments with that scene³, whilst in other cases, that episode does not exist and that absence is suggested by scholars that it is replaced from angels in the other scenes⁴.

In Christian art the direct participation of the angels in Adam's creation is exceptional. According to M. Friedman⁵, there are only two later examples, both with Catalonian origin; The *Great Canterbury Psalter* (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 8846, fol. 166^r, 14th c.), where an angel performs the creation, while Logos is standing on the other side blessing and the Jewish manuscript *The Sister to the Golden Haggadah* (British Library, Or. 2884, fol. 1^v, ca. 1330- 40), where there are two angels shaping Adam, while there is no depiction of God the Creator, according to the Jewish prohibition of depicting

¹. The poses of the angel in each scene, standing, hovering, standing with fully frontality complement the decoration of the clothes. In the last two scenes J. A. Dane puts a question- mark on the gender of the angel, as it can be supposed a female depiction. Dane, 1978, pp. 31- 2.

². St. Augustine interpretation of the passage "*Let there be light*" (*Gen 1, 3*) is that it refers to the creation of the angels (*Las civitas dei, XI, 9* and *De Genesi ad Litteram, I, 5*), an analysis which others support that has influenced in a way Christian art (Friedman M., 1991, p. 87) and others find its route to Jewish literature (D' Alverny, 1956, pp. 282- 4, Friedman, 1991, p. 93, note 53).

³. For example, in an ivory plaque (South Italy, now Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 11th c.), in the mosaic of the nave in Monreale (12th c.).

⁴. D' Alverny, 1956, p. 283, Friedman M., 1991, pp. 86- 7.

⁵. See Friedman M., 1991, pp. 80- 2, fig. 1, 7. In the same article, p. 85, fig. 12, we can see Eve's forming, getting out of Adam's ribs, while Logos is being hepled by an angel, in accordance with a Jewish legend, which says that the Archangel Gabriel or Michael brought the dust to God for Adam's forming. Moreover, another Jewish myth narrates the reaction of the angels to the creation of man, because of his perfection of his body and his spiritual qualities. See Ginzberg, 1995, pp. 27- 34.

the figure of God¹. In Jewish later art there are examples, focussing on the angels' appearance instead of Logos, such as a miniature in *Sarajevo Haggadah* (National Museum of Sarajevo, fol. 2^r, a possible origin of Barcelona, 14th c.), where the presence of God is presented as beams of light coming from the sky towards Adam's head². Yet, in the Catalan tradition, such as in the Ripolli and Rodes Bibles (second quarter of the 11th c.), the Creator is not always a part of the compositions of the creation, probably due to the allegorical way that the artists used for the miniatures, which originates on the platonic theory³.

¹. The second Commandment ("*You shall not make for yourself an idol... You shall not bow down to them or worship them*" Ex 20, 4- 5) was the Jewish ban against the illustration of God (Gutmann, 1971, pp. 3- 16) and as well the base for the theology against the icons during the iconoclasm (its first phase 726- 787 and its second 813- 843, Sideris, 1979, p. 181).

². Friedman M., 1991, p. 82. fig. 8.

³. Conzalez, 2002, pp. 35ff.

ii. Adam's creation (Gen 2, 7)

The following iconographical report is divided into scenes, according to the steps of the narration on the *Genesis* text and the interpretations reported on the eastern and western ecclesiastical literature. We will examine the way those influences act directly to the depiction and the character of each composition.

The basic forms of the stylistic imagery of Adam's creation was inspired from the compositional schemes of the ancient- pagan art and especially from the mythology of man's creation from Prometheus, a divine man, with intellectual abilities, who is considered to be the creator of all the animals¹ and as well as of a wonderful man from dust and water². On the other hand, according to the Jewish legends, Adam was not created as a child, but as a complete man on his early twenties, having an oversized body and extraordinary strength as well as spiritual perfection immediately after his creation. That derives from the fact of his assignment to name the animals with maturity, in order to prove his authority over the earth³. Having that elements on mind, we can only make the assumption that the standards of Adam's depiction as a young man and not a child are influenced from the Jewish tradition where there are no narrations of Adam's childhood, since in ancient imagery Prometheus was pictured having a small figure.

The three episodes of Adam's creation bear resemblance with the three stages of the myth of man's creation, as it is depicted in sarcophagus⁴. For example, the shaping episode can be seen in a fragment of a Vatican

¹. See Kaiser- Minn, 1976, p. 33, fig. 13f, Heimann, Trinitas 1938, p. 44.

². Kerényi, 1998, p. 202, Headlam, 1934, pp. 63- 4 and p. 67. Cf. Robert, 1969, pp. 436- 449.

³. Ginzberg, 1995, pp. 31- 3.

⁴. Weitzmann, 1947, pp. 176- 8, idem, 1952- 53, pp. 115- 6. K. Weitzmann not only describes the three stages of man's creation in three different sarcophagi, but also supports that the Cotton Genesis manuscript had as an archetype an ancient mythology book or in particular a text with Prometheus myth, which has used as a model for Adam's creation. Of course he notices that the Christian artist borrowed the pictorial models from the ancient art, but they transformed in such a way that the Christian meanings to be exported. The same opinion share other scholars, such as Gerke, 1940. For the common iconographical background of the Prometheus scenes and Adam's creation see comments in Jensen, 1999, pp. 541- 2.

sarcophagus where a small clay figure stands in front of the seated Prometheus¹. Moreover the same form is applied in depictions with Aesculapius and his patients, such as in a sculpture in the British Museum in London². In the enlivenment of man in Museo Nazionale in Naples the clay model lies on the ground with his hands totally attached to his body, while Prometheus sits behind it and he touches the man's head³. The man's animation stands in another sarcophagus in Rome⁴; the goddess Athena holds the soul, which is depicted as a small bird or a butterfly upon the model's head⁵.

The *Genesis* text consists of three different phases: "*Then the Lord formed man from the dust of the ground*", which refers to the forming of Adam, "*And breathed into his nostrils the breath of life*", referring to Adam's enlivenment, and "*The man became a living being*" to Adam's animation⁶. That division and the questions or problems that derives from each stage of Adam's creation is also influenced by Augustine's theory about the existence of the soul⁷.

In Christian art there are also patterns, which perform the creation of the animals within the same frame with the creation of man, frequently due to lack of space. Such imagery is unfolded on the same page miniature on the Cotton Claudius (British Library, B. IV, fol. 4^r, second quarter of the 11th c.)⁸, likewise the two distinctive representatives of the Norman twelve- century art, Capella

¹. Weitzmann, 1947, fig. 180. That model was used also in Promentheus paintings, such as in Kestnermuseum in Hannover, in coins, in Metropolitan Museum in New York.

². See Kaiser- Minn, 1976, fig. 13- d.

³. Weitzmann noticed that the different pose of Logos in connection with Promentheus, such as the latter holds Adam with one hand, while Logos with both hands (See Weitzmann, 1947, p. 177, fig. 181).

⁴. Weitzmann, 1947, fig. 182. Parallel depiction are in coins, in Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich or in a code in Bibl. Vaticana (Cod. Vat. Cappon. 285). However in one bronze metallion from Antonius Pius can be noticed that Prometheus holds a female figure, while by Athena there is a tree and a serpent. Comments see Kaiser- Minn, 1976, pp. 34- 7.

⁵. That is actually a motif that derived almost simultanuesly with the illustration of man's creation from Prometheus and scholars believe that it came mainly from literature sources of the second half of the 4th c. BC. See Kaiser- Minn, 1976, p. 34.

⁶. Friedman, 1991, p. 81, Zahlten, 1979, pp. 197- 201.

⁷. For his understanding on the human body and soul see Miles, 1979, pp. 9- 39.

⁸. Kauffmann, 2003, fig. 42. Cf. the comments and the comparison to the Vendum manuscript (Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1, ca. 1100) Heimann, *Creation*, 1938, pp. 271.

Palatina (**fig. 17**) and the Cathedral of Monreale (**fig. 16**)¹. Yet, it seems more than possible the artists of the above- mentioned examples to have followed the *Genesis* account of God having created "*humankind* (*ἄνθρωπον*)" (1, 26- 27) together with the living creatures of the earth. Thus, Kauffmann's titles of the scene as *Adam's creation* and the *naming of the animals* do not infuse much aptness.

The following monuments are analyzed according to their iconographical features and their way in presenting Adam's creation.

Adam's forming and animation

The first stage of creation is the shaping of man and it is transferred in art as an accomplished statue of clay². An interesting problematic was developed about the fact that *Genesis* first reference on human being's creation says, "*Let us make humankind*" (1, 26). That means there is no sex indication, in order *it* to be created in the image of the Triune God, having no sexual picture. That creature was not male and any kind of gender sign emerged at the moment that both male and female were mentioned³. That vagueness makes difficult the *humankind* to be illustrated and that is why the artists avoided using that reference as a pictorial model and they focused on the second *Genesis* passage (1, 27), in which a division between male and female is done and the male's shaping is depicted⁴.

In the original manuscript of Cotton Genesis the scholars can only assume the occurrence of the three phases of man's creation. That is based on

¹. Von den Steinen, 1965, p. 30, fig. 11, Demus, 1949, p. 44, fig. 27b and p. 122, fig. 95a respectively. Comments on the remarkable resemblance between the figures of the Creator, who has totally the appearance of Pantocrator and Adam, see on the *Appendix* of the present thesis.

². The only example that Adam in the first episode is a white unshaped mass of clay is the miniature of the 92 (93) Psalm in the *Great Canterbury Psalter* from Catalonia (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8846, fol. 166^r, 14th c.), Friedman M., 1991, pp. 79- 93, esp. pp. 80- 2, fig. 1. For the western art of the 11th up to the 13th c., such as the churches of Saint- Maurice and Saint- Jean- Baptiste of Chateau- Gontier see Millon, 1998, p. 105 and Thibout, 1942, pp. 18- 21 respectively.

³. An analysis on the Jewish terms which are used on the *Genesis* original text referring either to *Adam* as a human (approximately twenty times) or to *man* (only four times), see Kawashima, 2006, pp. 46- 9.

⁴. Jolly, 1997, pp. 21- 2.

the presence of the two episodes in the mosaic of San Marco and that in Cotton Genesis family there are examples, such as the Carolingian Bibles, in which a third episode is depicted¹.

In San Marco in Venice the creation narration in the mosaic on the first small dome of the narthex is astonishing, even though it was badly restored, the lower part of Adam was changed, and some cubes are missing². The first episode of Adam's creation is Adam's forming. It lays on the second line of the mosaic in sterile, but symmetrical scenery, with the inscription *FACIAMUS HOMINEM AD IMAGINEM ET SIMILITVDINEM NOSTRAM*³. As being on the sixth day of the creation the scene is accompanied by six angels, one for each day; five on a back line and one opposite to the seated Logos. It is noteworthy that Logos has raised hands, but not in the pose of speech, since in the text there is no reference to any speaking of God. So he holds the model's right hand in a way that a constructive work is done⁴. The model is small, stative, as well as brown, as being created from the dust⁵, having likely its pedigree on the iconographic tradition of the Egyptian pharaonic art⁶.

The second episode of man's creation in San Marco is Adam's animation, which is situated after the *Blessing of the seventh day*⁷, where only the two protagonists take part in⁸, with the faces much spoiled⁹. Logos offers to

¹. Weitzmann, 1952- 53, p. 115.

². Demus, Vol. 1, 1984, p. 78.

³. Demus, Vol. 1, 1984, pp. 77- 8.

⁴. Jolly, 1997, p. 22. According to Weitzmann and Kessler, the throne finds a parallel in the throne of the *Hortus Deliciarum* Bible (fol. 17^r, 12th c., **fig. 18**), while Logos holds Adam's head, instead his hand. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 53.

⁵. A description of the mosaic and a short comparison with miniatures, see Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 52.

⁶. Niero, 2001, p. 256.

⁷. Jolly (1997, p. 24) points out that the presence of those two scenes makes them shown as the *high points of God's Creation*. It is a plain scene, with an inscription upon the episode *INSPIRAVIT IN FACIEM EIVS SPIRACULUM VITE*, Demus, Vol. 1, 1984, p. 78.

⁸. It is worth- noticed that there are no any interpolation of angels (as symbols of the day of the creation) on the composition, as in the first episode. That short illustration of Adam's animation is uniquely separated from Adam's forming, with the scene of the *Blessing of the seventh day*, even though on the *Genesis* text they are totally connected. That may be linked with P. H. Jolly's speculation, as cited before, on the fact that the sexless *humankind* could be illustrated and a male figure took that role. Also see Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 52.

⁹. Demus, Vol. 1, 1984, p. 78.

Adam an *animus*, which reminds us of the ancient mode of the *psyche*¹. In mythology, the man that Prometheus has formed was like a lifeless statue, until goddess Athena sent him a butterfly, which represents the soul². The same structure used the mosaicists in San Marco, where Adam is placed in the front position, while Logos stands in the second³. In the middle of two men, there is the soul, as a flying, undersized male figure. Niero supports the origin of the motif from the early Egyptian art, as the dark puppet on the previous episode⁴. In our opinion, he bears resemblance to Adam, especially if we observe their hair- style and their facial characteristic. Logos grasps *psyche's* right hand, since he sends her to Adam, while she embraces with her left hand Adam, as trying to become one with him. Both Cotton Genesis and San Marco compositions of Adam's creation do not suffice on one episode, but they focus on a more extensive narration, which can be understood as an influence of the augustinian theory on man's soul and its pre- existence. Furthermore, another observation on Adam's figure could be that of Niero; his androgenic characteristic before Eve's creation, which gradually fade away, probably in order to be depicted as identical to Eve as it possible could be⁵.

Adam's enlivenment and animation

On the Genesis frontispiece of the San Paolo fuori le mura Bible (fol. 8^v, ca. 870) the two episodes of Adam's creation are depicted on the upper line on the left side⁶. On the first phase, his enlivenment, there are secondary elements from the scene of forming. Adam's body lies on a hillock in a crosswise way with his hands fitting closely his body. The beardless Logos, with a halo around

¹. According to G. Fergusson in primitive Christian art, birds symbolized the soul and general the corporeal world, a symbol an ancient Egypt (unfortunately he does not give any extra explanations or bibliographic references), Fergusson, 1961, pp. 12- 3. Cf. two examples with Hermes as the soul messenger Sichtermann, 1970, pp. 110- 22.

². Kerényi, 1998, p. 202. The *psyche* was adopted to the biblical descriptions already from the 3rd c. in the synagogue of Dura- Europos, as the personification of Ezekiel's spirit, Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 53, Weitzmann, 1947, pp. 176ff, fig. 178- 9, 181- 2.

³. Comments on Logos's position in that scene in connection with the others on that mosaic, see Jolly, 1997, p. 24.

⁴. Niero, 2001, p. 256.

⁵. Niero, 2001, p. 254.

⁶. J. E. Gaehde supported that the starting episodes are those of Adam's forming and animation, while he does not mention at all the existence of Adam's enlivenment to any of the examples used, Gaehde, 1971, p. 365, fig. 1 (a comparative chart from the protoplasts scenes).

his head- in a level lower than Adam, due to lack of space- bows over Adam and he holds his left shoulder and arm. Parallels of that composition are considered to be the depictions in Grandval and Millstatt Genesis¹. The incident is framed by two trees; one tiny over the hillock and another on the right, large enough to cover the scene in width². Yet, the feet of the lying Adam overcome the tree, being in the next scene, the animation. In our opinion, that may occur in order a continuation of the phases of the same action (Adam's creation) to be demonstrated. The two participants are illustrated reversed from its parallels of Vivian and Millstatt animation; Logos does not touch Adam, but he is blessing him, while Adam seems to make steps towards Logos and his hands are in a light pose of speech.

Much later, on approximately 1195, the drawings of a poetic paraphrase of the Bible, the Millstatt Genesis (Mus. Cod. VI, 19, fol. 3^v) conclude also two episodes of man's creation, while we have already discussed the appearance of the angel in the miniatures. The enlivenment shares resemblance with the one of the San Paolo fuori le mura frontispiece, as far as the status of Adam's figure, who is lying diagonal on the ground. However he folds his arms in the front, as if he is in the position of prayer, in connection with the present angel. Moreover, Logos is standing on the left side of the scene and not kneeling, while both of them are bearded. On the next episode, the resemblance to the Cotton Genesis family is obvious. The two bearded figures are standing opposite to each other, Logos holds Adam's right hand and he also blesses him. Adam's figure does not differentiate from the model in other pictorial examples³.

Monuments with one episode:

Enlivenment

The Adam's creation in frontispiece of Grandval Bible (British Museum, London, Add. MS 10546, fol. 5^v, ca. 840) covers the two third of the length of the upper line and it is bordered by two large trees. The scene was recognized by Köhler as being man's forming⁴, since Adam is lying on the earth, from which he was created. On the contrary, Weitzmann distinguished the man's

¹. Kessler, 1971, p. 147.

². The same or similar trees there are at the end of each episode of the protoplasts in this Bible, indicating on the one hand the frame of the scenes and on the other that the action takes place in paradise.

³. Kessler, 1971, p. 147.

⁴. Köhler, 1963, pp. 199ff.

enlivenment, due to the kneeling of God upon Adam's head, as transferring his breath to Adam¹.

Besides, the presence of a smaller tree in the middle of the composition and of the angels strengthens the suggestion of an archetype with two episodes. Adam, with a stretched body is lying motionless on the ground and Logos bows totally over Adam head. The movement of Logos finds a similar form on the angel, who attends the enlivenment in Millstatt Genesis².

The pictorial forms of the first picture of the Genesis frontispiece of Bamberg Bible (Staatliche Bibliothek, MS. Bibl. I, fol. 7^v, 9th c.) are a conflation among the episodes of the enlivenment and the animation. This is probably an innovation of the artist of the Bamberg Bible, who probably has united elements taken from both the scenes³. The figures are tiny, without the personal characteristics to be distinguished. Adam is sitting on an undersized hillock and he raised his hand(s) towards Logos, who is on the right side, standing, and blessing with his right hand.

Animation

The first scene of the frontispiece of the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. lat. 1, fol. 10^v, 9th c.) is recognized as Adam's animation. Only Logos and Adam take part in the composition, while an angel in half figure and in supplication there is in the background. The two protagonists are standing opposite to each other; Logos has his right hand extended and he holds a cross nimbus. Adam's figure is long, linear and almost stative- apart from his hands, which have a kind of movement. The scene finds parallels particular in Millstatt Genesis or in San Paolo f.l.m. Bible and in a general analogy with the mosaic in San Marco, comparing only the status of the models and not the presence of the personification of the soul⁴- descriptions of these works of art have already been made.

In the Seraglio Octateuch (Constantinople, Topkapi Saray Library, cod. 8, fol. 36^v, 12th c., **fig. 19**) man's animation is demonstrated by depicted Adam seated on the ground⁵. The composition pictures Adam in the frontal place,

¹. Weitzmann, 1947, pp. 176ff, Kessler, 1971, p. 146, Kessler, *Tours*, 1965, pp. 14- 5.

². Kessler, 1971, p. 146, Schade, 1966, pp. 108- 17.

³. See the suggestion in Kessler, 1971, p. 147. He also mentions that the scene is claimed by analogy to be the enlivenment. We only can guess that the fact of the seated Adam is closer to the lying Adam of the enlivenment than the standing Adam of the animation.

⁴. Kessler, 1971, p. 147.

⁵. His position is not unknown to us, since it can be seen in earlier examples, such as the Bamberg Genesis frontispiece, however not in the animation, but in the enlivenment of man,

whilst there is a background full of hills and tiny plants and trees. His figure is extended, especially as far as his feet is concerned and he has his hands raised, in order his liveliness to be shown. The lines that were used by Painter A for expressing Adam's nakedness succeeded to articulate a three- dimension impression in a more obvious way than for instance on the figures of the expulsion (fol. 47^v)¹. His eyes look straightforward to the sky; a beam of light appears from a hand on the upper central part of the scene. That represents God himself, according to the Jewish pictorial forms. Yet, beside the hand there is a medallion with the portrait of Christ, which gives a direct implication about the Christian origin of the manuscript².

while his raised hands were probably influenced by the animation scenes in plenty of monuments, such as San Marco and in Carolingian Bibles.

¹. Anderson J., 1982, p. 88, fig. 3.

². According to Weitzmann (1952- 53, pp. 119- 20), the Jewish and the Christian elements can only be connected under the umbrella of the suggestion that the Jews of Diaspora have designed the archetype of both the Seraglio and the Vatican Octateuch 747. Also cf. Friedman M., 1991, p. 89.

iii. Adam's introduction into paradise (Gen 2, 8)

The particular incident does not indicate a frequently pictorial account, albeit the repeated iconographic depiction of paradise. In particular, in *Genesis* there is a full description of paradise (*Gen 2, 9- 14*) and its topography. The main river of the Garden is divided into four rivers- *Pishon, Gihon, Tigris* and *Euphrates*¹. Those four rivers are frequently described in Christian iconography, not only in the scenes relevant to the creation, but also they play a symbolical role in other scenes, where it is important to be connected with the prelapsarian situation². The four rivers function as the borders of paradise and they frequently have an eschatological significance³.

As far as the particular scene of the introduction of Adam is concerned, we quote the Millstatt *Genesis* and its small miniature (cod. VI, 19, fol. 8^r)

¹. Holl, 1922, p. 472 (line 16). An impressive illustration of the four rivers of paradise is that on the Homilies of Jacob Kokkinovaphou (Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1162, fol. 35a, 1125- 1150). They have the same source and through their heady running of the water they dominate on the miniature. Galavaris, 1995, fig. 144. Also cf. the examples in Maguire, E. D., Maguire, H., 2007, p. 65, fig. 58.

². Demus, Vol. 1, 1984, p. 254. It is noteworthy that the four rivers are also used as a model on the *mappae mundi*, as for example on the *Jerome* map of Palestine (London, British Library, MS 10049, fol. 64^r, 12th c.), Deluz, 2007, pp. 26, fig. 2, Harley, B. J., Woodward D. (editors), 1987, p. 328, fig. 18.30.

³. Such scenes where the four rivers of paradise have the role of the link with the New Testament and the liturgical act are the scene of the illustration of the hymn "*Ἐπὶ σοὶ χαίρει Κεχαριτωμένη πάντα ἡ κτίσις...*". That topic is an iconographical suggestion of the Cretan School (15th- 17th c.) and it was directly inspired by the particular hymn, a theomitorikon megalunarium, which later enter the text of the holy Liturgy of st. Basil. For instance we cite the earliest, according to most of the scholars, exant icon with that topic is in the Byzantine Museum of Athens (first half of the 15th c.), Acheimastou- Potamianou, 1998, p. 86- fig. 23. Also see the icon of George Klontzas, in the Museum of the Greek Institute in Venice (second half of the 16th c.), where the episodes of the life of the protoplasts in paradise on the top of the depiction are associated with all the other episodes due to the flow of the four rivers throughout the icon. See Chatzidaki, pp. 166- 72, Aliprantis, 2005, p. 28, fig. 4 (reference to the symbolism of Paradise see throughout the book).

among the text of the introduction of Adam into paradise¹. The scene is minimal, without any additional aesthetical sets. The composition is centralized and it has a harmonious balance. Adam, in the middle, has an austere figure and a steady pose, while his hands are up, in a horizontal straining pose. He is flanked by the two most important trees of the garden of Eden- Adam holds one of them with his left hand. A unique drawing of two baskets is hanging from the letters of the text above.

The scene in San Marco² is located on the middle line of the mosaic and it consists of several remarkable elements. Starting from our left side, we see an architectural construction, where it is indicated with a vertical inscription that it is the gate of the Garden of Eden (*PORTA PARADISI*). Adam seems to walk through that entrance with the assistance of Logos, who raises his hand in order to demonstrate Adam his new paradisaical environment. The other one half of the composition is occupied from densely decorative parameters, which basically have an allegorical dimension. On first site there are the symbolical depiction of the four rivers of paradise, being illustrated as four male figures, which are sitting among the waters of the rivers. Their busts are naked; while the rest of their bodies are covered with dark tunics and general their raised hands display gestures of speaking³. On the background, there are the two significant trees of paradise, and iconographically that is shown by making those trees oversized, opposite to the rest of the plants, which are smaller and spread around the scene. The persistence of the artists to delineate the details is obvious not only on that scene, but on the entire mosaic of the Creation in San Marco. The preciseness on the performance of the natural environment probably presents the influences from the classical art, as well as the combination with the conservative elements of the art of the 13th c⁴.

¹. Kessler, *Tours*, 1965, fig. 11.

². On the inscription of the scene it is read *ET CITAUIT EUM IN MEDIO PARADISI LIGNUM SIENCIE BONI*, Demus, Vol. 2, 1984, p. 78.

³. Scholars support that the four figures may be originated or influenced from early Christian similar depictions, such as the mosaic of Qasr el- Lebia (Libya, 6th c.). See Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, pp. 53- 4. The ancient river gods were depicted in ancient Roman art, as well as in the early Christian art, such as in the Arian Baptistery of Ravenna (late 5th c.). Cf. Barclay Lloyd, 2002, pp. 39- 42. Yet, the particular figures cannot be easily identified as the gods of the river, since they used to be pictured standing and not lying.

⁴. Chatzidaki, p. 250.

The pictorial language of the Sicilian monuments differentiates in specific details, in such a degree that the figures seem quite dissimilar. As far as the degree of their motion is concerned in Capella Palatina (*fig. 21*), Logos and Adam afford the minimum of the gesture of moving, having more restrained emotions, whilst in Monreale (*fig. 20*) the figures move towards the right side of the scene, without approaching each other. Accordingly, it is evident that the rushing, decisive step of Logos in Monreale was meant to unfold a biblical conflation among the Old and the New Testament, since his stance is reminiscent of his posture in Anastasis¹.

On the Morgan Old Testament the presentation of the *sixth day*² is under an exceptional pictorial form; the artist includes also Adam, who is being grasped from his arm by Logos. That particular movement as well as the speaking gesture of Logos give us the impression of the combination of scenes. Therefore, it is not only the display of the sixth day of creation, but also *Adam's introduction into paradise*.

An extraordinary combination is noticed on the iconography of the Pentecost and elements that refer to the paradisaical environment³. Chavannes-Mazel realistically argued on that relation, which was developed on western examples on the late 12th c. onwards. Moreover, on the encyclopaedia *De universo* the author Rabanus Maurus (ca. 780- 856), on his etymological part to the word *paradisus* he gives as synonym the word *hortus*, meaning garden, which actually is indistinguishable to the notion of the Church⁴.

Specifically, in the middle of the Pentecost illustration it is placed the tree of life from paradise (*fig. 110ab*), as for instance on a manuscript with pericopes from Echternach (now in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 9428, f. 104v, early 12th c.) having twelve golden flowers⁵ or on a diptych of King Andreas III of Hungary (Bern, Historisches Museum, Inv. Nr. 301, 1290-1296)⁶. In other parallels, such as on a sacramentary from Mainz

¹. Demus, 1949, p. 258.

². Cockerell, 1970, p. 29.

³. The parallelism between the birth of the Church, Pentecost, and its final goal, enter paradise, was classified by the Church Fathers, as st. Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto*, PL 16, 760, "*Flume nest spiritus sanctus*".

⁴. Chavannes- Mazel, 2005, p. 130.

⁵. Chavannes- Mazel, 2005, p. 129, fig. 8.

⁶. Chavannes- Mazel, 2005, p. 133, fig. 17.

(Diözesanmuseum, MS cod. Kautzsch 4, fol. 108^v, ca. 1100)¹ and on the Benedictional of the archbishop Robert de Jumièges (Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS Y7, fol. 29v, second quarter of the 11th c.)² it is met the column of the city of Jerusalem (*Ez* 5, 5), which designates the centre of the world and has a direct reflect to the tree of life.

¹. Chavannes- Mazel, 2005, p. 132, fig. 14.

². Chavannes- Mazel, 2005, p. 132, fig. 15.

iv. Naming of the animals (Gen 1, 19)

The supremacy of man over the other creatures on earth¹, as well as his authority and freedom to identify and to establish judgments about them² are elements that can be noticed in the passage, where Adam, with God's will, is naming the animals.

Even though the scene was depicted from the years of the art in catacombs³, it does not always exist in compositions within the cycle of creation. We suppose that happens, especially on the miniatures, due to the lack of space, since apart of its significant meaning, it is not as vital as the other scenes of creation⁴.

It seems possible that the scene *naming of the animals* originates in the creation of the animals of the sea, the air and the earth on the fifth and the sixth day. For that comparison, Büchsel persuasively indicates the resemblance between an ivory with the scene of the creation of the animals of the Cathedral of Salerno (New York, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, middle of the 12th c., **fig. 22**) and an ivory with the scene of the naming in Cologne (12th c., **fig. 23**). He points out the similarities in the pose of the animals and also the existence of the almost the same animals in the two examples⁵.

The following analysis of the scene would be performed, according to the patristic explanation of the meaning of paradise; literal, allegorical or both of them at the same time.

At the category that is compatible with the literal interpretation of paradise exactly as the *Genesis* text mentions, the Creator attends the naming of the animals. Though there are not iconographical elements, which refer to any

¹. St. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim*, 9, 6, PG 53, 79, "*καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ δεσποτείας σύμβολον*", ("*Because that was the symbol of domination*").

². St. Ambrose, *DP* 11. 49, "*How can we explain this other than by saying that the untamed beasts and the birds of the air were brought to man by divine power, while man himself held power over the beasts that were tame and domesticated? The former lay within the province of God's activity. The latter were due to the diligence of man*".

³. A painting in a country catacomb in Gudia, Malta is such an example. The figure of Adam as well as of the animals and fish are presented as geometrical patterns, being far away of any sense of drawings even of the early art of catacombs. Stevenson, 1978, p. 65, fig. 36.

⁴. Muratova, 1977, pp. 367- 94 for a general presentation of the scene in medieval monuments of the 12th and the 13th c.

⁵. Büchsel, 1991, pp. 38- 9, fig. 14, 15. Cf. Muratova, 1977, pl. VI.

allegorical meaning, but only to the fact that Adam, as the master of the earth names the animals.

The Bamberg Genesis (Staatliche Library, MS. Bibl. 1, fol. 7^v, second quarter of the 9th c.), is exceptional among the other Carolingian Bibles, since it is the only one with the scene of the naming of animals¹. The scene lies on the upper first line of the frontispiece, on the right side. Christ is standing on the right opposite Adam on the left, with their hands raised, showing the animals or better speaking, each other. Between them there is a large group of animals, being illustrated in a background perspective. The only plant of the scene is a tree beside Christ, which actually seems to us that it acts as a borderline of each composition, since it is repeating in the frontispiece.

Even though the Millstatt Genesis (Klagenfurt, Rudolfinum Museum, cod VI, 19, fol. 9^f, 12th c.) belongs to the Cotton Genesis family, it is very close to the Carolingian Bibles². As in the Bamberg Genesis, on the right side Christ is standing, facing Adam, who is depicted on the left side of the scene. Both Christ and Adam have their right hand raised in the pose of speech. Adam is nude and standing. In the scene there are no plants at all and the animals around Adam are bowing their heads to him, as a way of showing their submission. In both miniatures (Bamberg and Millstatt) the animals come from various groups; birds, water- fowl, fish and earthly animals³.

The scene of San Marco in Venice (13th c.) is located in the external circle of the dome mosaic, in a horizontal narration⁴. On the left side of the viewer it is illustrated the enthroned God with a nimbus around his head and a

¹. Kessler, 1971, p. 152. Konowitz (1984, p. 485) mentions the Bamberg manuscript as a member of Cotton Genesis family.

². Kessler, *Tours*, 1965, p. 34, Kessler, 1971, p. 152, Weitzmann, *Illumination*, 1980, pp. 121- 2.

³. In San Marco, only terrestrial animals are depicted, Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., 1986, *Septuagint*, p. 54. Maybe that occurs because the painters wanted to stretch each animal's symbolism in connection with the world's creation (about the symbolism of animals and birds from the early Christian art until the Renaissance, see Fergusson, 1961, pp. 11- 27) or the participation of specific species can be irrelevant of any kind of symbolism, but it happened only due to the artists preferences. Moreover, the presence of the lions in front of every other animal is linked with the fact that the lion is the landmark of the city of Venice, since it is the symbolic illustration of St. Marco (Polacco, 2001, p. 218). The particular scene of the Millstatt is linked with that in the Bamberg, see Green, 1955, p. 343.

⁴. Comments see H. Maguire, 1987, p. 365. The viewer reads the inefficiently restored inscription *APELLAVITQVE ADAM NOMINIBUS SUIS CUNCTA ANIMANTIA*, Demus, vol. 2, 1984, p. 78.

cross staff on his left hand. He faces Adam and with his right hand he makes a gesture, implying that he orders him to name the animals. Adam, naked, stands straight¹, in a frontal position, while he faces on the opposite side from his pose. Jolly points out that Adam, for the first time since his creation, stands on the left side of the episode, as he stands in the following scenes with Eve and identifies that as a dreadful prophesy for the coming fall of the protoplasts².

Without any specific facial expression, Adam's figure is austere and stately at the same time. His right hand's movement, pointing to the animals, is similar to God's one, meaning that Adam takes the power over the animals from God³. A few plants and different kinds of animals adorn the episode⁴; however it is noticeable the presence of a lion, which lies under Adam's hand⁵. That is a sign of tameness, even of the wildest animals⁶.

¹. That means the master power over the other creatures of the earth. See st. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Hominis opificio*, 8, PG 44, 144AB.

². Jolly, 1997, p. 44.

³. It is mentioned that the scene in San Marco reflects the augustinian theology that Logos is the Lord of the world and Adam is not actually the one who names the animals, but the one who speaks, through God, the divine language; that language was lost after the fall. That means that the power of man over the animals is based on man's temperance and modesty and his virtues before the fall (Saint Augustine *on Genesis*, 1991, pp. 76- 9, chapters 18- 20). The situation of man's dominion over the world is, according to st. Ambrose, the scale of man from the corporeal to the spiritual world (Saint Ambrose, *Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, 1961, pp. 330- 2, chapter 11, 52- 53). Also see Büchsel, 1995, p. 46.

⁴. Those terrestrial animals are demonstrated in pairs, as they are in scene of their creation, Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 54.

⁵. According to H. Maguire (1987, p. 365) that element remind to us Abbot Gerasimus and his vegetarian lion, which lived peacefully with him. That lion is an example of the pre- fall situation in paradise and the calm relationship between Adam and the animals. St. John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale* 107, PG 87³, 2968A- 2969B. Besides, Origen (*In Genesim* Hom., 17) interprets the lion, as the "lion of Juda" and he makes apparent the difference between the natural and the tropical symbolism. See Büchsel, 1995, p. 206. Moreover, in general the lion can represent Christ's Resurrection; in particular the emblem of the city of Venice was the lion, because Venice is under the protection of Apostle Mark, whose evangelical sign is the lion. See Fergusson, 1961, pp. 21- 2.

⁶. Moreover, there is a whole discussion on the symbolism of the animals in the patristic texts and consequently in the Christian art. For example, according to st. Augustine (*Contra Faustum*, 6, 7) there are "filthy animals", which are the symbols of the forthcoming sin. See Büchsel, 1995, p. 206.

Furthermore, the three episodes in San Marco concerning the fauna (the creation of the earthly animals, the creation of the birds and fish and the naming of the animals from Adam) can be combined with the relevant scenes of the Oktateuch of Smyrna. That could possibly be a way of adaptation for the artists in the narthex in Venice, since the Cotton Genesis itself has a gap in that episode¹.

The analysis of these three monuments, which either belong to the Cotton Genesis family or are influenced by it, give the conclusion that the archetype of the Bamberg and Millstatt miniatures or the manuscript of the Cotton Genesis itself must have depicted Logos standing opposite to Adam and not enthroned, as in San Marco².

There are illustrations, which represent the figurative interpretation of paradise as a spiritual situation of the sinless human soul before or as an aim after the fall. Such a depiction is an incomplete floor mosaic in the nave of the north church in Huarte, north of Apamea³ (472 or 487 according to the dating of the inscription, *fig. 24*)⁴. Adam, at the central position of the scene, is recognized by a Greek inscription above his head⁵. He is placed on a backless throne and he is full-clothed with a purple tunic⁶. With his left hand he holds an open book, while his right hand is extended towards, in the gesture of speaking. His plastic facial features and his haircut refer to a very young, beardless person⁷. Around him there are petite plants and flowers, wild animals and birds and his throne is between two cypress trees with a serpent around⁸; all the

¹. For the whole problematic see Büchsel, 1995, pp. 37- 9, fig. 11- 13.

². Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 54.

³. For the importance of the city of Apamea from the 4th to the 7th c. see Wisskirchen, 2002, pp. 140- 1.

⁴. See the discussions for the dating of the inscriptions and by extension of the mosaic, Canivet M.- T., P., 1975, pp. 51- 2.

⁵. Canivet M.- T., P., 1975, p. 53. Comments and a general description of the mosaic, see Maguire, 1987, pp. 367- 8.

⁶. The purple is the colour of royalty and of the imperial dominance (Fergusson, 1961, p. 152). Consequently, even the use of this colour reinforces the connection between Adam and Christ, as the second Adam.

⁷. A complete description of the face of Adam, even of the colours of the tesserae used on his face and clothes, see Canivet M.- T., P., 1975, pp. 55- 6.

⁸. The cypress is related to death in pagan and in Christian tradition (Fergusson, 1961, p. 30). The particular tree with a serpent around it probably demonstrates the deadly consequences of the fall, as well as the soteriological intervention of Christ.

animals seem to be peaceful and calm, having each of them a particular reason to be depicted there¹.

Parallels with the composition in Huarte are considered to be two other mosaics from Syria (probably end of the 5th c.). The first is at the time being in the National Museum in Copenhagen, in the Carlsberg collection. In its iconographical elements shares resemblance with the Huarte mosaic, such as the inscription, Adam, as a dressed, beardless young man, who is seated in a throne among the two cypress trees and some animals, he wears a halo, but he does not hold a book². The other parallel is a mosaic fragment in the Hama museum, where only Adam's figure has been conserved, with his name written above his head in Greek and in Syrian. Even though he is dressed, seated in a throne- a bit more decorative than the others- we are not in the position to understand his surrounds³.

According to the Canivets the three mosaics borrow iconographical elements from the depiction of Orpheus among the animals, playing his harp. This Roman- Greek tradition can also be connected with the illustrations in catacombs, such as in St. Peter and Marcellino and in Domitilla⁴. However, Wisskirchen rejects that hypothesis. After examining four depictions with Orpheus, he ends up to the conclusion that they do not bear iconographical resemblance to the Huarte mosaic, which is closer to illustrations of the enthroned Christ between his Apostles⁵.

Moreover the three examples illustrate Adam in majesty, as being in the earthly paradise, which is something that promotes the symbolical interpretation of the compositions. However, the situation before the original sin imposes the nakedness of Adam, even though if we talk about his domination in the earth and his name with the initials of the four cardinal dimensions. Another explanation can be given by the fact that Adam stands for

¹. There are for example a winked griffon, a lion, a bear, a phoenix, an eagle etc. See the analysis of each animal and bird of the composition, Canivet M.- T., P., 1975, pp. 53- 5.

². Wisskirchen, 2002, pp. 138- 40, Maguire, 1987, p. 368, Canivet M.- T., P., 1975, pp. 56- 7.

³. The throne is elegant with two columns- which has a corinthian rythm- up to Adam's shoulders and a large pillow. Maguire, 1987, p. 368, Wisskirchen, 2002, p. 138.

⁴. Canivet M.- T., P., 1975, p. 58.

⁵. He examines the mosaics in Tarsos (middle of the 3th c.), in Adana (second half of the 3th c.), in a house in Chabba- Pilippopolis (244- 49) and in a monastery in the north Syria- now in Kestner Museum, Hannover (after 350). However, Orpheus is depicted with his head bowed, holding his harp, with his feet crossed, while Adam in the floor mosaic is enthroned, sitting frontally in the middle of the illustration. Wisskirchen, 2002, pp. 142- 5.

the new Adam, Christ, as the "ὁ τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος"¹. Besides, the Canivets writes that the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451) established the two natures of Christ in such a union, which can be seen in Huarte, as being depicted the second Adam². Yet, his book refers mostly to a teacher than a leader and apart from his being seated in a throne, he holds nothing, which could be referred to Christ. Maguire makes another more possible supposition, which refers to Adam as a spiritual concept of "*wisdom and glory*". With those virtues before the fall he managed to avoid the attacks from the wild animals, whose nature was renovated by Christ. Furthermore he compares those monuments with an early Byzantine hymn and a Syrian hymn from Ephrem, in order to reach his conclusion³.

To that explanation, we only add the suggestion of an ideal prelapsarian situation, which allows Adam to be God by grace. That theological clarification may originate not just in the throne and the animals still position, but also in his clothes, as a promise of God for salvation and in his halo of the Copenhagen mosaic. That means there is Adam, dressed with the promise of God after the original sin that he is not going to abandon the protoplasts- the translation in Christian art is their tunics. In other words, we can suppose that Adam was depicted as Christ's prefiguration.

Those thoughts could be combined with the convincing Wisskirchen's conclusion about Huarte mosaic, that Adam is not only a prefiguration, but he is depicted instead of Christ. His ratiocination is based on the relevant texts of the Old Testament, the patristic interpretation of the relation between Adam and Christ, as well as the liturgical tradition. That is combined with the fact that in Syrian and Palestinian Christian monuments the wall and the apse decoration are rare. Thus, Wisskirchen concludes that since it is inappropriate to picture Christ on the floor, Adam is replaced him, while Christ's presence is obvious within the altar with the holy Communion⁴.

The double interpretation corresponds to the early illustration of the Carrand Diptych (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, end of the 4th or the first quarter of the 5th c., *fig. 25*)⁵. Adam, naked, has a pose of sitting on the ground and he holds a fruit- tree (a number of trees are spread around the

¹. See the suggestion, Canivet M.- T., P., 1975, pp. 61- 3, where a number of Syrian literature sources are mentioned in order that proposal to be documented.

². Canivet M.- T., P., 1975, p. 65.

³. The hymn in a French translation in Lavenant, 1968, pp. 83- 4 (VI, 5- 8). Comments see Maguire, 1987, p. 372.

⁴. Wisskirchen, 2002, pp. 151- 2.

⁵. Maguire, 1987, p. 365, note 15.

sculpture)¹ at the top of the left leaf, while the four rivers at the bottom of the scene also refer to the Garden of Eden. With his left hand grabs one of the trees and his right one he makes a gesture; he extends his index and middle fingers. His figure turns to face the viewer and it is built as if he is an ancient Greek statue; even his short haircut, with embossed ornaments. On the left of the panel, but mostly under Adam, various animals of paradise are depicted; that symbolizes their submission to Adam. It is noteworthy that the serpent does not use his belly to crawl and none of the animals seems violent².

That particular pictorial form of Adam is likely to be influenced by the composition of Orpheus³. As an example we mention an ivory pyx (it is contemporary with the diptych) in the Bargello in Florence⁴. The compilation is developed in height as in the diptych and Orpheus, on the middle top of the scene, seems to sit on the landscape and to be surrounded by the same animals as Adam. Besides, Orpheus in Christian art symbolizes the Kingdom of God and the creatures, which peacefully live in there, while his songs can lead men to redemption⁵.

¹. The trees here represent the fact that the scene takes place in Paradise, while scholars refer to the fruit as a symbol of the "*Twelve fruits of the Spirit: love, joy, peace, long- suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, patience, modesty, temperance and chastity*", Fergusson, 1961, p. 31, p. 39.

². According to the patristic works the animals of paradise were living in peace and with no violence at all, before the original sin. Such as st. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim*, 9, 4, PG 53, 79, "*Καὶ ὁρῶν πλησίον αὐτοῦ γινόμενα τὰ θηρία, οὐκ ἀπεπήδησεν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ τις δεσπότης δούλους ὑποκειμένον ὀνόματα ἐπιτιθείς*", ("*When he (Adam) saw the beasts around him, he did not jump, but he gave names to them, just like the master does to his servants*"), st. Basil, *De Paradiso* 3, 7, PG 30, 68AD.

Another ivory having a similar structure, though on the top are the protoplasts committing the original sin, is the back side of the Areobindus Diptych (Paris, Louvre Museum, 9th c.). See analysis Coldschmidt, 1969, p. 77, fig. 158. It seems to us that the difference, between the ivories in Florence and in Louvre, is that the animals in the first case are peaceful, while in the second one they seem more aggressive, probably as an aesthetical interference, due to the consequences of the fall.

³. Cf. about the picture of Orpheus in Dura- Europos Stern, 1958, pp. 1- 6.

⁴. An eagle is depicted beside Adam and usually the same bird sits by Orpheus. See Konowitz, 1984, pp. 485- 6.

⁵. Clement of Alexandria, *Cohortatio ad gentes*, PG 8, 56A- 57B, "*Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκοῦσιν ὁ Θράκιος ἐκεῖνος Ὀρφεύς... προσήματι μουσικῆς... Καὶ πάντα ἄρα ταῦτα ἀγριώτατα θηρία καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λίθους ἢ οὐράνιος ψῆδὴ αὐτῇ μετεμόρφωσεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἡμέρους... Ὅρα τὸ ἄσμα τὸ καινὸν ὅσον ἴσχυσεν ἀνθρώπους ἐκ λίθων καὶ*

That description relates the scene with a literal interpretation of paradise. However, the combination with the other leaf of the diptych offers a symbolic version. On the upper part Apostle Paul sits on a simple throne between two men, who are holding books and scrolls. It is interesting the fact that his right hand has the same pose as Adam, suggesting that they are speaking; Adam points to the animals, giving names to them, Apostle Paul preaches to people¹. On the middle of the panel, Apostle Paul performs a miracle in Malta² and a serpent, which derived from the fire, covers his hand. The combination of that particular miracle with the snake is not irrelevant with the scene of Adam before the sin³. We can assume that the meaning has also to do with the tameness of the serpent, the devil, after his defeat from Christ during his descent into Hades and consequently from the Apostles with their missionary to the world. Probably the conception of those two themes in the diptych provides Christian catechism and supports didactic purposes, by the combination of Old and New Testament⁴.

It is also noteworthy to quote the fact that there are examples, where, in our opinion, the adamic typology is met in an obvious way. Specifically, Adam is depicted fully- dressed, blessing the animals, a pure allegory of Christ, as for instance two miniatures (Leningrad, Public Library Saltykov- Schedrin, MS lat. Q. v. V. n. I, fol. 69^r and 5^r, end of the 12th- beginning of the 13th c., **fig. 26ab**). Simultaneously, in a part of the gate on the Cathedral of Souzdal (13th c., **fig. 27**) the dressed, beardless, enthroned Adam is accompanied by an entirely-dressed female figure. Altogether, she is Eve, referring to Virgin Mary⁵.

ἀνθρώπους ἐκ θηρίων πεποίηκεν", ("I think that man from Thrace, Orpheus... with his music... And always all those wild beasts and all those stones, his divine music transformed them into calm human beings... See that the new song managed to make people from stones and people from animals"). Konowitz, 1984, pp. 485- 6. Cf. Huskinson, 1974, pp. 68- 97 about the meaning, the use and the discussion on Orpheus' picture in Christian art and Stern, 1974, pp. 1- 16 in the early Christian art.

¹. Maguire, 1987, pp. 365- 6.

². *Acts* 28, 1- 4. Description of the panel see, Maguire, 1987, pp. 366- 7.

³. Konowitz, 1984, p. 488.

⁴. Konowitz, 1984, p. 485.

⁵. Muratova, 1977, pl. IX and pl. VIII respectively.

v. *Eve's creation* (Gen 2, 21- 23)

In Christian iconography there are two episodes for describing Eve's creation; *Drawing Adam's rib* and *Eve's shaping*. The first episode acts as a preparatory phase of the second and both of them operate as a unit. The fact that there are monuments that both of the episodes take place and others only with one phase depicted and a more dense version of the text, it is based on the possible lack of space. Adam fell into sleep in order Eve to be taken out of his rib and to be formed. Her creation acts with a different way from Adam's. The likeness and equality that both the creations share originate on Eve's forming from exactly the same substance as Adam¹.

The early Christian sculpture has a few examples to demonstrate, to which it was given the interpretation of scenes of Eve's creation, though analysis was under discussion. Firstly, the episode of the Pronuba- sarcophagus (Vatican, Museum Pio Cristiano, beginning of the 4th c., *fig. 28*) on the upper left image there are three men and two tiny figures on the bottom; one seated and the other (the female?) on her feet². Kaiser- Minn supports that it is the raising from the dead³, whilst for the above- mentioned *Trinitati sarcophagi* (in the new Museum de l' Arles Antique and in the Museum Pio Cristiano in Vatican, second quarter of the 4th c., *fig. 29*) she supports that the scene stands for the creation of the humankind and especially Eve's creation⁴. She rejects the possibility of the scene being the raising from the dead due to the half open

¹. Some Jewish legends stress out the fact that the first reference on *Genesis* text talks for the creation of male and female. That combination permits Logos to shape Eve (the female) from Adam (the male). Eve's creation from Adam, meaning not from the ground but from his flesh, permits her, according to the explanation of the Jewish legends, to be more mature and more spiritually promoted than Adam. Ginzberg, 1995, pp. 34- 6. Cf. for the Western art Flasch, 2004, pp. 11- 6.

². Its decoration is a combination of the pagan and Christian iconographical elements. *Repertorium I*, 1967, pp. 71- 2, fig. 25, 86, Kaiser- Minn, 1981, pp. 9- 10, fig. 5, 5a.

³. Kaiser- Minn, 1981, p. 10.

⁴. See her whole problematic Kaiser- Minn, 1981, pp. 10- 31, esp. 27, fig. 6, 7, 910a. Ladner in his theoretical research about the image of man in the mediaeval pictorial formation mentions that the rendering of the *dogmatic* sarcophagus opens with the creation of man and woman by the Triune God. Ladner, 1962, p. 9, fig. 10.

eyes of Adam, which do not correspond to the ancient illustration of the dead¹. Sooner Heimann indisputably supported the subject as Eve's creation, without however a sufficient analysis². In the later bibliography in favour of that aspect is also Bovini, Brandenburg³ and lately Engemann has repeated the conclusion of Kaiser- Minn⁴.

On the other hand, Büchsel's documentation on the option that the episode is indeed the raising from the dead provides a number of acceptable iconographical points⁵. The scene can be connected more with the ancient death and the revival of the humans, than the man's creation from Prometheus. Moreover, the gesture of Logos over the head of the female statue is related to the *virga thaumaturgica* of the miracle in Cana in a sarcophagus in Museum Capitolino (**fig. 38**)⁶. That can also be identified in the synthesis of various sarcophagi in the Museum Pio Cristiano. For instance, we mention a sarcophagus (second quarter of the 4th c., **fig. 39**), where a female tiny statue lies on the ground, whereas the *virga thaumaturgica* is on her head⁷. In another one (first third of the 4th c.)⁸; a figure is lying on the ground and another one is still raised by miracle. In those sarcophagi the scene is following the episode of the fall, as a promise for resurrection after the sin. In another one (first third of the 4th c.) there are two standing figures and one lying⁹.

Additionally, it should also be mentioned in the Trinity sarcophagus the scene below of the examined picture is the adoration of the Magi, which actually reinforces the view of the above scene as the incarnation of the protoplasts. That suggestion could act within the theological frame of the

¹. Kaiser- Minn, 1981, p. 27. Comments see Büchsel, 1991, p. 63- 4.

². Heimann, *Trinitas*, 1938, pp. 42- 52.

³. Repertorium III, 2003, p. 23 (also sooner they supported the same conclusion, Repertorium I, 1967, p. 40, fig. 43).

⁴. *Konstantin der Grosse* (excibition), 2007, p. 282, fig. 2. Cf. Engemann, 1976, pp. 159ff, where, on his discussion about the four figures of the episode, he unambiguously referred to Eve's creation.

⁵. See his problematic in Büchsel, 1991, pp. 63- 8.

⁶. Büchsel, 1991, fig. 37.

⁷. Büchsel, 1991, fig. 36, Repertorium I, 1967, pp. 20- 1, fig. 23a.

⁸. Repertorium I, 1967, pp. 11- 12, fig. 12a.

⁹. Repertorium I, 1967, pp. 13- 4, fig. 14.

adamic typology, meaning Christ's birth as a presupposition of the resurrection of the dead¹.

That version is also relevant to the notion of the sarcophagus and the meaning that might the artists have wished to depict; God's promise and future resurrection is a soteriological topic that can also act as a consolation. We think that it is significant to point out Büchsel's conclusion that if we do not accept the scenes as the creation, then there is not any illustration of the episode of the *Genesis* of humankind in the early Christian art.

In the development of the scene the figure of Adam acquired a specific sleeping pose by leaning his head on his hand, even his body is turned to the viewer or not. Theologically, the position of sleep in the *Genesis* can be translated into the sleep in the arms of the Church and a prophecy for resurrection and the waking of the sleep can be the victory over death². Besides, the Greek text of *Genesis* uses two actions; *ἐπέβαλεν ὁ Θεὸς ἔκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ ὑπνωσεν* (2, 21), meaning Adam was put into a trance and also he was sleeping. The trance is a hypnotic state and it is combined with the sleep in order death to be defined as a current situation, which will be ejected through the blood of Christ³. After all, the trance is the condition of unconsciousness, which actually originates in awkward circumstances⁴ and finally death could be only the parallel of sleep¹, which drive the human beings to the resurrection².

¹. Even though Jensen writes in favour of the aspect of the depiction of the creation of Eve or of Adam, too, she concludes that the connection of the two scenes is the prefiguration of the *old* and the *new* Adam, and the incarnation of the first due to the second one. See Jensen, 2005, pp. 127- 8. Exactly an identical aspect see Guldan, 1966, pp. 22- 4.

². Cf. Büchsel, 1991, p. 54. General comments on *sleep* see st. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Hominis Opificio XIII*, PG 44, 165A- 168D.

³. St. John Damascene, *Sacra Parallela VI*, PG 95, 1433D, "*Καὶ ὡσπερ τότε ἐν ἐκστάσει ἔλαβε τὴν πλευρὰν καθεύδοντος τοῦ Ἀδάμ, οὕτω καὶ νῦν μετὰ θάνατον τὸ αἷμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ δέδωκεν, καὶ ὅπερ τότε ἐκστασις ἦν, τοῦτο νῦν θάνατος*" ("And as Adam was into a trance and (God) received his side, with the same way that through his death he gave his blood and water, as he was in trance, and that is death"). In a *kontakion* (Romanus Melodus, *Cantica* in Grosdidier de Matons, 1965, p. 204 (hymn 27, section 5, line 4) concerning the resurrection of Lazarus, it is pointed out that "*Ὑπνος ἀνθρώποις πρὸς σωτηρίαν*" ("The death of people happens for their salvation").

⁴. St. John Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG 55, 324, "*Ἐκστασις γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἀναισθησίαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν κακῶν γινομένην λέγει. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, ὅταν λέγῃ, ὅτι ἐπέβαλεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκστασιν, ἀναισθησίαν τινὰ λέγει*" ("It is said that the

Iconographically speaking, the sleeping posture is known in the ancient art from the picture of Eros³. It is also met in the portrait of Jonas, whose history is a prefiguration of the resurrection. That illustration is met in sarcophagi for example from Rome (one dates the last quarter of the 3rd c., now in the Staatliche Museen und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin, a second one in Santa Maria Antiqua around 270 and a third in Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano, end of the 3rd- beginning of the 4th c.)⁴ as well as another, where the whole story of Jonas is depicted (Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano, last decade of the 3rd c.)⁵. His pose differentiates from Eros or from Adam only on the gesture of his right hand, which lies around his head. That pictorial form is for scholars similar to the idolatrous depictions of Endymion⁶ or Dionysus, to

trance is the anaesthesia, which comes from bad situations. Thus, when it says that Adam was put into trance, that means unconsciousness").

¹. St. John Chrysostom, *Catecheses ad illuminandos 1- 8* in Wenger, 1957, p. 162 (Catechesis 3, section 18, lines 9- 11), "Ἄλλ' ὅπερ τότε ἡ ἔκστασις τοῦτο νῦν ὁ θάνατος γέγονεν ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι ὁ θάνατος οὗτος ὕπνος λοιπὸν ἐστίν", ("The trance became now death, in order you to understand that death is sleep").

². St. Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, PG 27, 197D- 200A, "Πῶς νομίζετε θανάτῳ περιβαλεῖν τὴν ζωὴν; Ὑπνος γὰρ ἐστὶ ἐμοὶ τὸ παθεῖν. Ἀναγκαίως δὲ λέγει τῇ κοιμήσει τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἔπεσθαι. Ἡ δὲ κοιμήσις ἐστὶν ὁ θάνατος· ἀναγκαίως τῷ θανάτῳ ἀκολουθήσει καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις" ("How do you think that death wreathes life? It is sleep what happens to us. Necessarily after sleep comes the resurrection. The sleep is the death; unavoidably the resurrection follows death").

³. The myth of Eros (for the different kinds of variations in the story of Eros in mythology see Kerényi, 1998, pp. 29- 32), as a part of the creation of the first beings in the universe, is not totally far away of the history of Adam, as the first- born person in the earth. See Büchsel, 1991, pp. 54- 5, fig. 30 (Eros in Newby Hall).

⁴. *Konstantin der Grosse* (excibition), 2007, fig. 5 and 7, Repertorium I, 1967, p. 97, fig. 152 respectively.

⁵. Repertorium I, 1967, p. 31, fig. 35. Also see for the sarcophagus of Lemta in Bejaoui, 2002, pp. 13- 8 and frangment of a sarcophage (Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano, inv. 31496, ca. 300- 320, **fig. 30**).

⁶. Büchsel, 1991, p. 53, Goette, 1989, p. 468, fig. 20, Goodenough, 1962, p. 127- 8, Van der Meer, F., Mohrmann, C., 1959, fig. 107 with comments. The subject of death is not present on the Christian funerary art, neither on the catacombs nor on the sarcophagi, on the contrary to pagan art, where the death of Meleager or Endymion are frequently pictured, Grabar, 1968, pp. 14- 5. See the discussion also in Engemann, 1997, pp. 1- 3, fig. 1- 2.

some others there cannot be such collaterality¹. In Byzantine art the scene of Christ as *Anapeson* (**fig. 31**) expresses the sleeping position², which as principal models has the above- mentioned compositions. The *Anapeson* refers to the lion in a symbolic way according to the *Genesis* text (49, 9)³. As the lion sleeps with its eyes open, in order to wait for his enemies, with a similar way Christ, as *Anapeson*, is asleep with wide- open eyes, in order to signalize the wakefulness of the Deity and his Anastasis⁴.

A characteristic of Eve's creation in the Cotton Genesis recensions is that Logos is demonstrated to remove from Adam his rib, an act referring to the first material from which Eve was born. According to Kessler, that proves a literal devotion to the *Genesis* text⁵, a feature that is not common to all of the representatives of that episode. That motif is met in the frontispieces of the Bamberg and the Grandval Genesis. It shows Adam totally lying on a small hillock and Logos like bending over his ribs. The particular stylistic structure repeats the frequently illustrated standards from Adam's enlivenment, except of the fact that Logos is not holding his head, but his ribs. The figures of Grandval Genesis have, relatively with Bamberg Genesis, a bigger size and more crystal characteristics. Logos is perfectly alike with the one of the previous scene in the same frontispiece. Adam has the sleeping pose, while in the Vivian Genesis is stretching his tall figure horizontal upon the ground, having though an absolutely motionless way. His hands are tied over his sides, exactly as it is presented in the other examples of this recension- such as in Grandval Genesis-

¹. Konstantin der Grosse (excibition), 2007, p. 285.

². The sleeping position of *Anapeson* is also met for other holy protagonists, such as on Joseph and his dream on a miniature of a Lectionary of Monastery of Dionysiou. Cf. Eller, K., Wolf, D., 1967, fig. 57.

³. "Σκύμνος λέοντα Ἰούδα ἐκ βλαστοῦ, νιέ μου, ἀνέβης ἀναπεσῶν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων" (we quote the Greek text in order the word *anapeson* to be recognised).

⁴. St. Epiphanius, *Physiologus*, 2, PG 43, 520AC. Cf. Kalokyris, 1967, pp. 196- 7. It is also noteworthy that in the western Christian art, it is not unusual for Christ to be metaphorically depicted as a lion. For instance, we quote the Codex Aureus from the church of St. Emmeram in Regensburg (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 870) where in the first page of the Mathews Evangelium there is a lion in majesty and around the symbols of the four Evangelists. Cf. Mutherich F., Gaehde J., 1976, p. 105, fig. 36. That symbol probably derives from the fact that the lion is the king of the animals and it is known for its power and strength, St. Dionysius Areopagita, *De Coelesti hierarchia* 15, 8, PG 3, 336D.

⁵. Kessler, 1971, p. 148.

the episode of Adam's animation. In Millstatt miniature Adam apart from his stylish figure, his sleeping pose is more apparent than in the above-mentioned monuments. Logos draws the rib and he holds it with an apparent and descriptive way and the angel, who is praying, wears the liturgical clothes as in picture 3, but he does not have wings.

The Byzantine iconography was widespread during the 13th c. in the West, meaning that the influences on the medieval illustrated manuscripts were a mixture of Byzantine archetypes and Western models. The following paradigms do not deny the Byzantine iconographic lines, without, simultaneously, rejecting the contemporary western trends. That demonstrates that the artists worked without any stylistic bias and their pictorial programmes were under the religious and also the social impact of the period.

It is almost widespread in the art of the medieval miniatures the pattern of the extraction of Eve from Adam's ribs, usually depicted half-figure, but as a totally formed person. Eve is, almost always, nude and she is in the pose of praying or speaking with God. Adam is lying on the ground and he has the above-mentioned sleeping pose. The motif of the removal of the ribs was in many cases abandoned and it was replaced with the picture of the totally-formed figure of Eve in a bust, such as in Capella Palatina (**fig. 33**) and Monreale (**fig. 32**)¹. A comparatively close relationship with the Sicilian monuments is met in Spain and specifically in the Sala Capitular of the Sigena Monastery (early 13th c., **fig. 34**)². Presumably, that happens due to the emphasis of the prefiguration between Eve and the Church (*Ecclesia*), though it was already mentioned in the earlier patristic literature³. The focus on the new Church formed by the incarnated Logos of God is observable for instance in an ivory plaque from South Italy (now in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 11th c., **fig. 35**). On the top of the one side, the Crucifixion is carved and on the bottom an

¹. Kitzinger, 2003, p. 1070, fig. 5 (Capella Palatina), Von den Steinen, 1965, p. 30, fig. 8, Demus, 1950, fig. 28a and 96a respectively.

². Kitzinger, 2003, pp. 1069- 70, fig. 8.

³. We quote a characteristic text of st. John Damascene, *Sacra Parallela VI*, PG 95, 1433D, "Ὡσπερ γὰρ τότε ἔλαβε τὴν πλευρὰν ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἔπλασε τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτως ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ πλευρᾶς, καὶ ἀνέπλασε τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν" ("With the way that God took the ribs and he shaped woman, with the same way he gave his blood and water from his side and he created the Ecclesia"). Iconographically speaking, the particular female figure was argued that it could be the depiction of Eve as well as of Theotokos, under a more wide way of prefigurations. See for example the discussion Chavannes- Mazel, 2005, p. 123.

angel welcomes the *Ecclesia*, a full-length female figure with luxurious, royal clothes and ornaments on her head. On the right side another angel expels the *Synagoga*, a female statue, with plain clothing and her hand in supplication¹.

Even though the fundamental models of the murals in San Paolo fuori le mura (Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 25^r, **fig. 36**) are under the Cottonian influences and also the motives from the Byzantine Octateuchs, the creation of Eve follows latter model². Almost the same pattern can be traced in the Octateuch of the Laurentian Library (Plut. V 38, fol. 6^v), which may be one of the editions based on the San Paolo's picture³.

Apart from that early example, the particular pattern is more typical of the art since the end of the 11th c. onwards, particularly in the western manuscripts' production.

An extraordinary composition is met in the manuscript Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad of Landsberg (second half of the 12th c., **fig. 37**), bearing similar pictorial characteristics with the above-mentioned Sicilian monuments. Adam is sleeping and the viewer can discern the wound on his ribs, since the extraction of Eve has already been made. Eve is shaped to her waist, from which she was held by the standing Logos. She has her arms raised as being in supplication, as God blesses her⁴. It is interesting here to quote the scene from

¹. Cf. Kessler, 1966, p. 76, fig. 1. That motif is also met on the Gunhild Cross (England or Denmark, ca. 1075- 1150), where *Ecclesia* holds a banner and a cross, whilst *Synagoga* has her eyes closed as an allegorical element of the blindness of the Jews towards the truth of the Christianity (see Claman, 2000, p. 130, fig. 5- 1). Furthermore, we quote the Exultet Roll in Trioa (13th c.) and also in a Cilician Gospel (Erevan, MS 7644, **fig. 43**), where the two episodes, the angels with *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, are distinguished at the background of the Crucifixion. Kessler, 1966, fig. 10, Millet, 1960, p. 450.

It is noteworthy the fact that the scene of the Crucifixion is also frequently combined with other incidents that have a notional link. Indicatively, an ivory in Metz (Städtisches Museum, ca. 1000), where under the Cross the protoplasts are committing the original sin, having, especially Eve, a peculiar downward posture. See Coldschmidt, 1969, pp. 43- 4, fig. 78.

². Her pose is like a prayer to the Creator, who is depicted seated on his globe of dominance and she blesses the new-born Eve. Moreover, there is no a touching-point among the figures. See Al- Hamdani, 1978, p. 21, fig. 5a. There is also the aspect that Logos on his sphere reminds to the viewer the healing of the sleeping patient from Asklepios. Büchsel, 1991, p. 54.

³. Al- Hamdani, 1978, p. 21, fig. 5b.

⁴. Kitzinger, 2003, pp. 1070- 2, Green, 1955, pp. 343- 4, fig. 1c.

the *Hexameron* of st. Ambrose in the manuscript from St. Emmeram in Regensburg (Munich, Staatbibliothek, 12th c., *fig. 38*) the exceptional contact between God and Eve; he grasps her from her elbow¹.

The Parisian manuscript (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, ca. 1250, *fig. 39*) and the illustration in the baptistery of San Giovanni (Florence, ca. 1270- 90)², apart from a few western iconographical elements follow the byzantine pictorial forms. Logos drags Eve from her wrist, an act that recalls the identical move in the Harrowing of Hell. A parallel can be traced in the iconographic and stylistic details (even though the Morgan manuscript has more elegant figures and motives) of another illustration of *Genesis* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 20125, 13th c.); Logos is blessing the new-born Eve, who is in the pose of praying³.

Despite the plain aesthetical standards in the drawings of the Toledo Bible (first quarter of the 12th c.)⁴, there are interesting elements, such as the seated Logos on his globe and the stick that he holds towards Eve's hand. That stick reminds us the *virga thaumaturgica* and it is also an imaginable line, which ties God and Eve, in a period that it was under discussion and doubts the direct association of woman with God himself.

However, in the majority of the miniatures of the Bibles Moralisée Eve's creation is frequently depicted on the same medallion with the terrestrial animals, probably as an allegorical image of the role that all the creation plays in the union between Christ and the Church⁵. The typology between Eve and

¹. The similarities with other examples and the discussion about the origin of the masters see Kitzinger, 2003, pp. 1072- 4, fig. 6.

². Jolly, 1997, plate 10.

³. Buchthal, 1957, p. 70, pl. 150a.

⁴. The research has indicated that probably the Toledo and the Oxford Bibles were productions of the same atelier, even though they differ methodologically. According to the motives followed by the artists, the Toledo Bible must be examined as the first work, while the Oxford Bible came after; that might suggest that the Oxford manuscript was a copy. A description of the iconographic and technical elements of the Bibles and their atelier see Branner, 1977, pp. 52- 4.

⁵. It is not accidental the fact that the sixth day of creation was not completely devoted to the human beings, but also to the creation of living creatures (*Gen* 1, 24). That occurred in order an exceptional bond to exist between man and the rest of the creation. Despite the *image* and *likeness* to God of the protoplasts, their affiliation to the universe is based on their creatureness. See Bartholomew, 2008, pp. 105- 7.

Ecclesia is thoroughly visible in the Oxford Moralized Bible (Bodleian Library, MS 270b, fol. 6^r, **fig. 40**). Under the typical creation of Eve from Adam's wound is depicted the Crucifixion. Apart from the fact that the Old Testament acts as a type of the New Testament, it is outstanding that from the wound of Christ on his ribs emerges a dressed female figure, the *Ecclesia*¹.

The *Bibles Moralisée*, especially the above-mentioned Oxford manuscript was the Latin norm from the Arsenal Old Testament (Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS 5211, fol. 3^v, 13th c., **fig. 9**). At the top of the *Genesis* frontispiece, six scenes of the creation of the world are depicted. The creation of each day is pictured within a globe, whilst Logos is standing and holding the sphere on his hands. The creation of Eve is on the right of the second line, after the creation of the terrestrial animals and the birds. The omission of Adam's creation happens either due to the lack of space or the artist wanted to depict in a scene the creation both of man and woman².

The scene differentiates from the one in the Oxford Moralized Bible: Eve appears through Adam's ribs, but Adam obtains a rather odd position. He is drawn sleeping with his back to the viewer, while Eve is like rising out of his feet³. According to Buchthal, only in two more manuscripts, versions of the *Histoire Universelle*, the one in Dijon and that in London (**figs. 10, 11**), the unusual pose of Adam is observed and can only be explained by the thirteenth-century-typology on the birth of the *Ecclesia* through the wound of Christ⁴. Logos, depicted as the image of the *Pantocrator* is in half-figure; in the copy of Dijon he blesses Eve with his left hand and in the British copy he carries a scroll, whilst in both copies his right hand touches the hand of Adam.

About the analysis of the iconography and its symbolism of the *Bibles* see Christe, 1999, pp. 177- 98, esp. on Eve's creation pp. 182- 4, fig. 3, 11, while on fig. 4 Eve is illustrated to be created in a separate medallion.

¹. Weiss, 1998, p. 118, fig. 55. Yet, there are examples of the family of the *Bibles Moralisée*, such as the Toledo Bible (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M 240, fol. 8^r, 13th c.), where Blanche of Castile and her son, Louis IX, seem to be depicted, having though an allegorical reference to Christ and his Mother or his *Ecclesia*. Cf. Lowden, 2005, pp. 507- 8, fig. 3- 5.

². Weiss, 1998, pp. 155- 6.

³. Weiss, 1998, p. 118, plat. VI.

⁴. Weiss, 1998, p. 118, fig. 56, Zahlten, 1979, fig. 119.

The parallelism between the Old and the New Testament is also seen in the Eton Roundels (Windsor, Eton College, MS 177, fol. 1^v, 13th c.)¹. Eve is created on the left- down- corner roundel, who apparently has his eyes opened and the scene refers to the Crucifixion and the blood (*Ecclesia*) that came from Christ's side².

Besides, there are two extraordinary examples we would like to quote, which, to our knowledge, have no parallel. Firstly, in the narration of the Rodes Bible (11th c.), the creation of Eve is performed with a unique iconographic element; she jumps out of Adam almost dressed, having even a hair- ornament over her head³. Assumedly, the dressed Eve could be influenced by the focus of the Western Church on the original sin, its fatal consequences, but mostly that could refer to the belief of predestination and the pre- decided role of woman in the world⁴. Secondly, in a miniature from the Psalter of the Monastery of Polling (Munich, Staatbibliothek, 13th c.) two more figures, behind Logos, take place in the scene. The first one is probably an angel; he wears a halo and he is blessing. The second figure wears no nimbus and his hands are in a pose indicating his surprise⁵.

As far as the sculpture is concerned⁶, we cite the ivory plaque from South Italy (now in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 11th c., *fig. 41*), where the creation of Eve is on the second panel of the bottom row of the plaque. Logos is, as in Adam's creation nimbless, enthroned and he contacts with his hand with Eve's shoulder. Eve seems more like standing behind Adam than emerging from him. Kessler supports the fusion of the two episodes of San Marco and

¹. Henry, 1999, pp. 170- 2, fig. 2a.

². Henry makes a comparison with the Worcester manuscript (12th c.), which might acted as the pattern for the Eton roundels. Henry, 1999, p. 178.

³. See Conzalez, 2002, fig. 2.

⁴. Cf. Boojamra, 1976, pp. 25- 6. Presumably, though not so possible to occur, the ornaments of Eve are the visual rendering of the above- mentioned theological interpretation of the results of the fall.

⁵. Kirchner, 1903, p. 73, fig. 12.

⁶. A parallel from the 11th c. can be seen in the doors of the Cathedral of Augsburg (1042- 1065), where the scene takes place on the left and Logos grasps Eve from her left wrist, a gesture, which reminds us of the Harrowing of Hell. Kirchner, 1903, pp. 58- 9, fig. 6. Almost parallel, but on the right side, is the scene in the sculpture of the forefront of the Church of San Zeno in Verona (1139), Kirchner, 1903, p. 63, fig. 7.

apparently no resemblance at all with eastern parallels¹. A close parallel is the ivory *paliotto* of Salerno (*fig. 42*). Despite the similarities in a number of iconographic details, the scene of Eve's creation in the Salerno ivory takes place on the tree of knowledge, while Logos, standing and blessing, reminds us of Byzantine illustrations. Adam is sleeping horizontal on the branches of the tree and Eve, in bust, is among its leaves and fruits. Kessler, with an undocumented ratiocination, supports that the exceptional account of the scene derives *from the misunderstanding of the models*². It could be given a theological justification; the belief in the predestination of the humanity and the lack of free will.

Outstanding paradigms with both the episodes of Eve's creation are the miniature of the frontispiece in the *Genesis* of San Paolo fuori le mura and the mosaic in San Marco. For the first case, Kessler supports that it is influenced from a model of the Cotton Genesis recension³. On the first episode Adam, on the upper line on the right side, is in the usual sleeping position, but his body is turned towards the viewer; by that way it differentiates from the enlivenment. The second phase takes place on the left side of the middle line. Eve is sitting- as Adam on the enlivenment- on a rocky hillock with a tree on the top. Both she and Logos on the right have exactly the same stylistic imagery as the scene above. The only alteration can be observed on the smaller side of Eve's figure in comparison with Adam on the top.

In San Marco⁴ the particular scene has a rich décor as far as the background natural surroundings is concerned. The tree behind Adam is alike with the tree of life in Eden and it refers typologically to the future; the fall and the Cross of Christ⁵. Two other trees dissociate the two episodes from each

¹. Kessler, 1966, pp. 88- 9, fig. 2. Kaiser- Minn identifies the scene in the Berlin ivory as an example of the adjustment of iconographical elements of the resurrection of the dead of the Pronuba sarcophagus. See Kaiser- Minn, 1981, p. 83, note 62, fig. 47a, b.

². Kessler, 1966, p. 88, fig. 22. Cf. Zahlten, 1979, fig. 1.

³. Kessler, 1971, p. 148.

⁴. The inscription of the scene writes *CUM OBDORMISET TULIT VNAM DE COSTIS EIUS ET REPLEVIT CARNE*, Demus, vol. 2, 1984, p. 78.

⁵. The typology between the tree- Cross, Adam- Christ and the Eucharist see Jolly, 1997, pp. 32- 4. There is also in the scene the tree of knowledge in the colour of blue- something unique for Christian art. Jolly explicates that by quoting the scene of the creation of the (souls) humankind in the murals of San Paolo fuori le mura and its parallel in the upper church of San Francesco (Assisi, ca. 1290). Adam and Eve are surrounded by mandorlas in red

other; a common element on the miniatures¹. Firstly, on the left side Adam's figure lies on the ground. His elegant posture is a parallel of the Millstatt Genesis, with the difference that he crosses his feet, having his left foot upon the right- in Millstatt manuscript is the opposite. His left hand clasps the ground and from that point a grapevine grows. By all means, that feature is a visual juxtaposition of the adamic typology, since the grapes refer to Christ².

Logos, on the right, grasps Adam's rib and his body has a petite declination to the front. It is noteworthy that Logos is depicted in profile. That position is normally used in Christian art to ascribe iconographically the unholy, the evil, in order the viewer to be unable to meet them on the eyes. The same posture has Adam on the scene of their expulsion from paradise, namely when he is already a sinner³. Apparently, the only logical explanation on the Creator's depiction may operate as a prefiguration of the fall. The incident takes part on the left side and Logos takes the ribs from Adam's left side instead of the right, as usual. That explained by Jolly as the condemnation of Eve even before her creation: Adam and Eve symbolises the union, the marriage of Christ with the Church (*Ecclesia*)⁴. Yet, the right side was similar to the *Ecclesia*, whereas the left was parallel to the Ecclesia of the Jews, the Synagogue⁵. On

and blue respectively. The red has rays of light on it, while the blue is darker; the sun and the moon, the light and the darkness in the creation of the world. See Jolly, 1997, pp. 38- 41, fig. 17, plat. 9 respectively, Zahlten, 1979, fig. 28. On the other side, we could just cite the meaning of blue in the Middle Ages: it is the colour of Heaven, since it refers to the sky as well as it is met on the mantles of Christ and Virgin Mary. Red is the colour of blood and symbolises love and passion. Fergusson, 1961, pp. 151- 2.

¹. Maybe the presence of two instead of one tree is another allegorical point on the scene, which may be combined with the tree of knowledge (Eve) and the tree of Jesse (Virgin Mary). See Jolly, 197, pp. 35- 6, fig. 15, 16, who also supports that it can also be a combination with the trees of Virtues and Vices.

². Indicatively see st. Athanasius, *Orationes contra Arianos II*, 74, PG 26, 304BC, st. Gregory the theologian, *Apologetica II*, 6, PG 35, 493A, st. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Genesim*, PG 69, 356B, st. John Chrysostom, *De mutatione nominum*, 4, PG 51, 139.

³. Jolly, 1997, p. 32. Identical pose, as far as the fact his profile depiction is concerned, has Logos in the creation scenes in the French Bibles moralisée, Christe, 1999, p. 177, fig. 1-11.

⁴. That is a common belief in the patristic literature. For instance, Saint Augustine *on Genesis*, 1991, p. 133, chapter 24, 37. Cf. Christe, 1999, p. 177f.

⁵. Jolly, 1997, p. 32.

the second episode on the right side, the protagonists are Eve and Logos, who formed her. The arrangement of the scene is almost identical with the phase of Adam's animation of some above- mentioned examples; Eve has a restrained, austere, motionless figure and Logos holds her shoulder and her wrist. Paradoxically, Eve's creation does not consist of any kind of her animation with a soul, as Adam's does. For Jolly its explanation is placed within the whole attempt from the mosaicists of San Marco to reproduce an entirely misogynist history of *Genesis*¹.

Moreover, the Carolingian Bible or a similar source is likely, according to Kauffmann, to be the iconographical norm of the *Junius* 11 two episodes of Eve's creation². That aspect is reinforced by the amendment that is observed on the depiction of the extraction of the whole figure of Eve from Adam, as it was mostly usual on the Anglo- Saxon art, with only his ribs, as adherence to other Western traditions³.

A remarkable pictorial point is the ladder, which, though it is not quoted on the text, is depicted as a connection between the paradise and heaven. That could be clarified through st. Augustine's reference to Adam's vision of heaven or as an allusion to Jacob's dream (*Gen* 28, 17)⁴.

A couple of distinguishing examples are noteworthy to be mentioned in our examples citation. In the bronze doors in St. Michael (Hildesheim, 1015) the narration of the *Genesis* on the left part of the doors begins with Eve's

¹. Eve is subordinated to Adam, due to her weak nature and her creation from his ribs and not straight from God's *image* and *likeness*. Her suggestion is documented on the writings of st. Augustine (Cf. *DGnM II* in Saint Augustine on *Genesis*, 1991, p. 111, chapter 11, 15), Thomas Aquinas and Peter Abelard. See Jolly, pp. 34- 5 and a number of bibliography over the topic of mysogynism in Medieval West. Cf. also Kawashima, 2006, pp. 46- 57, which is a response to feminist propositions on *Genesis* text.

². About the pictorial similarities and differences with the San Paolo f.l.m. frontispiece see Kauffmann, 2003, pp. 46- 50, fig. 26.

³. For instance see the depiction of an 11th c., Anglo- Saxon manuscript, Cotton Claudius (British Library, B. IV, fol. 6^v, second quarter of the 11th c.), Kauffmann, 2003, p. 56ff, fig. 43. As well see the depiction of Eve's creation on cloth in St. Paul in Lavanttal (end of the 12th c.), Fillitz, 1990, p. 264, fig. XLV.

Cf. Aelfric's treatment on Eve and in general the Anglo- Saxon treatment in Starr, 2008, pp. 128- 156.

⁴. Kauffmann, 2003, pp. 52- 4.

creation¹. Yet, scholars in previous decades incorrectly supported that the scene represents Adam's forming and enlivenment², an assumption that does not acclimatize to the artistic depiction of the figures as well as to the social environment of the period and Bishop Bernward's attitude. The figures of Logos and Adam follow the previous tradition; Adam has a reclined position, whilst Logos is bending over him. Mohnhaupt remarkably refers to the reclining man as having no life, even though he has his eyes widely open³. The extraordinary in this picture is the figure of Eve on the right corner, who is standing alone and seems like watching her creation. A large tree lies in front of Eve and it gives the impression of a line between the two episodes. Simultaneously, on the left there is a tiny plant, which seems like being developed on the larger plant on the right, an imaginable figurative line and reference to the creation and evolution⁴. In the bronze doors of the Cathedral in Novgorod (middle of the 12th c.) is met an antique naturalism deriving from the Romanesque art. Even though the figures repeat, up to a point, the ancient Greek statues, the symbolic naturalism of the scene is obvious and parallel to the *new* theological trends of the period⁵. Yet, the beginning of an organic naturalism, with the combination of a spiritual character, is found in the sculptures of the Cathedral of Chartres (1260), where Logos creates Eve, while the sleeping Adam is on the other side; by that way there is an iconographical line among the figures of the episodes⁶.

¹. Kessler, 1965, fig. 5.

². Tschan, 1951, pp. 180- 4.

³. Mohnhaupt, 2000, p. 79.

⁴. Mohnhaupt, 2000, p. 79.

⁵. Ladner, 1962, pp. 48- 53, fig. 49.

⁶. Büchsel, 1995, p. 161, fig. 278- 80.

*vi. Introduction of Adam and Eve into paradise (Gen 2, 23- 24)-
Admonition (Gen 2, 16- 17)*

The visual account of the history of the protoplasts as a unit is initiated by *Eve's introduction* to her partner.

The particular scene is included on the extant charred fragments of the Cotton Genesis manuscript itself (London, British Library, cod. Cotton Otho B VI, fol. 3^r, **fig. 44**) and it was probably the archetype of the examples onwards, albeit only the whole figure of Logos and a part of Eve's body are now preserved¹. Almost identical the scene is presented on the Carolingian Bibles, particularly the Vivian illustration, which is closest to the archetype². The other parallels bear minor iconographical differences, such as the stances of the protagonists. For example on the Grandval frontispiece Logos does not hold Eve's shoulder, but he is on the pose of speech, while on the San Paolo f.l.m. Bible their figures are characterised by elasticity and vividness; Eve's figure is more pliable than in the other parallels and also Adam's posture is not so rigid³. A faithful parallel of the Cotton Genesis manuscript is the illustration of San Marco (**fig. 45**)⁴, whose pictorial performance does not differentiate from the analysis of the previous examples of the Carolingian frontispiece, apart from the rich vegetal setting. Despite her central position, which objectively is the authoritative one, her reserved posture, according to Jolly, refers to the inert female personality contrarily to the dynamic character⁵.

Despite the appearance of Logos according to previous pictorial forms (Logos is also holds a closed book⁶), Adam and Eve are portrayed with an innovative approach on the second frame of the Hildesheim doors; having their arms outstretched and widely open. That could be Bernward's inspiration, in order broadly their prelapsarian unity to be emphasized on the contrary to the

¹. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, pp. 54- 5, fig. 39.

². Kessler, 1971, p. 148.

³. Gaehde, 1971, p. 368.

⁴. *ET DUXIT EAM AN ADAM*, Demus, Vol. 2, 1984, p. 78.

⁵. Jolly, 1997, pp. 43- 4.

⁶. According to Tschan (1951, p. 184) the book possibly symbolizes the law- rules that the Creator is going to give to the protoplasts.

following scene and their separation¹. Besides, the non- touching of the protoplasts performs as an antithesis towards the gesture of Logos; he is contacting Eve by holding her right shoulder, a signal which probably stands for the thought that as man and woman were separated by God, they are soon going to be one again by constituting marriage². Furthermore, the almost identical shape and size of the trees of the scene provides a symmetrical character, since they act as borders of the frame, as well as the notion of the completion of the creation³.

In order to compose a more symmetrical, detailed pictorial rendering of the text, the artists of Monreale (*fig. 46*) inserted on the iconographical programme, among others, the scene of the presentation of Eve to Adam⁴. The account pinpoints innovations towards the preceding tradition; Adam expects Eve's advent seated on a hillock, while Logos brings her to Adam. He grasps her arm, whilst she is not motionless any more, but she seems to react positively to her environment.

Iconographically the scene of the *Admonition* is developed arbitrarily from the biblical text⁵, meaning that the pictorial rendition includes both the protoplasts as well as it is depicted as a following event of the introduction, despite the *Genesis* text, which develops the scene before Eve's creation. The artists, who have introduced the scene on the specific place, might have been acquainted with the apocryphal text of the *Apocalypsis Mosis*⁶.

On the north wall of room 14 on the New Basilica (on the necropolis of Cimitile, outside the town of Nola) there is an end- fourth- century illustration

¹. Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, p. 22, fig. 5, Mohnhaupt, 2000, pp. 82- 3. The description of the scene also see Tschan, 1951, pp. 184- 5.

². Mohnhaupt, 2000, p. 80.

³. Mohnhaupt, 2000, p. 80, Tschan, 1951, p. 185.

⁴. Demus, 1949, p. 246, fig. 96b.

⁵. *Gen 2, 16- 17*: "And the Lord God commanded the man, 'You may freely eat of every tree of the garden; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die'". For the symbolism of the tree of knowledge on the Hebrew literature see Stordalen, 2000, pp. 462- 5.

⁶. "Ὅτε ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός, ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν ἡμέρα ὑμῶν, δι' ἧς καὶ ἀποθνήσκω, ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν πᾶν φυτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ περὶ ἐνὸς δὲ ἐνετείλατο ἡμῖν μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, δι' οὗ καὶ ἀποθνήσκομεν", VII, 47- 50, Tromp, 2005, p. 128, Tischendorf, 1856, pp. 3- 4. See Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 36.

of the protoplasts without contemporary parallels. Both Adam and Eve are pictured on the left side, a tree almost on the middle of the scene and a male figure dressed with a long tunic on the right¹. Persuasively, Korol refers to the scene as the admonition of the protoplasts and not as an episode after the original sin, using cogent reasons and comparing the picture with other early Christian examples or later Carolingian scenes². Yet, a poem of Prudentius (after 400) refers to the protoplasts as "*Eve was then white as dove, but afterwards she was blackened by the venom of the serpent through his deceitful tempting, and with foul blots she stained the innocent Adam. Then the victorious serpent gives them coverings of fig- leaves for their nakedness*" and it seems that it plays the role of the reminiscence of the arrangement of the scenes, certainly much less systematic than on the description of Bede (6th c.)³.

The particular scene is scarcely occurred on the programmes of the Cotton Genesis family. An early example of that iconographic family is the Grandval frontispiece and a later one is the Hortus Deliciarum (second half of the 12th c.; the protoplasts' gestures are retained and timid and Logos is on the pose of speech, which on the second miniature he clutches Adam from his wrist⁴.

Despite the previous illustrative tradition the mosaicists of San Marco deposited the scene of the *admonition* together with the *introduction of Adam into paradise* and according to the biblical text, before Eve's creation. The query whether the mosaicists wanted to follow the *Genesis* passage or their intension was to display Eve's lower place towards Adam and her nature only as an object⁵, might be not answered.

The rendering of the scene on the manuscripts of the 13th c. is unfolded with a different sequence as regards the placement of the figures. The protoplasts accompanied Logos, who drives them towards the tree of knowledge, as it is seen on the Arsenal Bible (fol. 3^v), the Morgan Old Testament (fol. 1^v)⁶ and on an English Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,

¹. Korol, 1987, pp. 38- 41, fig. 5c (a sketch fig. 29 and an outline after its reconstruction fig. 30).

². Korol, 1987, pp. 52ff (esp. for the final conclusion pp. 70- 1).

³. Davis- Weyer, 1971, p. 25.

⁴. Kessler, 1971, p. 152, fig. 2 and 24 respectively, Green, 1955, p. 344.

⁵. For that rather feminist aspect see Jolly, 1997, p. 43- 4.

⁶. Weiss, 1998, p. 126, plat. VI and fig. 65 respectively.

lat. 8846m fol. 10^r, ca. 1200)¹. Nevertheless, on another English Psalter (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, lat. 835, fol. 8^v, ca. 1220)² the account of the Carolingian Bibles- Adam and Eve are standing facing the Creator- is preserved, though there is a novel element. The warning is also written on a scroll, which is finely waving around the heads of the protoplasts.

¹. Buchthal, 1957, plat. 147a.

². Buchthal, 1957, plat. 148b.

vii. The original sin (Gen 3, 1- 7)

In the third chapter of the *Genesis* text there is the description of the steps of the original sin¹, which ended up to the fall of the protoplasts and its aftermaths for all the human beings.

As far as its pictorial synthesis is concerned, in the majority of the illustrations the artists demonstrate in detail the most representative episodes or even in some cases there is a combination of all the episodes, while a number of imageries are inspired from each stage of the biblical text and thus all (or the most) of the episodes take part in the illustration². The relevant episodes are the *temptation*, the *fall* and the *covering with fig leaves*.

The second stylistic allocation of the motif attempts to portray the original fall historically and in a more narrative way, rather than symbolically. In the early Christian artistic symbolism was a characteristic of the illustrations, which however is met also in parallels of the Medieval and Byzantine art especially of the manuscripts, due to the lack of space.

The episode of the fall³ is a wide- spread artistic motif already from the first Christian centuries; the tree of knowledge⁴, with the serpent around it- as

¹. An alternative suggestion on the role of Eve on the history of the original sin and specifically of a verse of *Sir* 25, 16- 24, which refers to evil woman- wife (espec. on verse 24, it is mentioned that "*From a woman sin had its beginning, and because of her we all die*", a fact that is associated with the wife, who is always malevolent and immoral. See Levison, 1985, pp. 617- 23.

². An overall description of the iconography of the scene from the very early examples until the Renaissance paintings of the fall see Poeschel, 2005, pp. 39- 40. An account of the third chapter of *Genesis* as well as relevant bibliography see Erffa, 1989, pp. 162- 6. Cf. Older bibliography comments on the Tree of knowledge, finding similarities on the forbidden fire that Prometheus has stolen from the Olympus gods Headlam, 1934, pp. 64- 5.

³. Erffa, 1989, pp. 178- 86.

⁴. According to the tradition that was an apple- tree and that is followed in the most of the visual presentations of the fall. It is interesting to point out that in Latin, the word *malum* represents the evil, the disaster and also the apple. Apparently, the apple represents the fruit of sin, thought simultaneously the fruit of redemption. The first case is when it is depicted on the hands of the protoplasts and the second on the hands of Christ. That is a prefiguration for the new Adam, according to the analysis of the text of the *Song of Solomon* (2, 3, "*As an apple tree*

the emblem of the fall, is flanked by the protoplasts, who usually cover their nudity with tree- leaves, which is the symbol of their shame. Frequently, fig- leaves are depicted; a pictorial form related to the symbol of desire and fertility¹, as well as the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* mention that Eve after the eating of the fruit tried to cover her shame, but "*the leaves dropped off all the trees in my part of Paradise, except the fig- tree. So I took some leaves from it and made myself a girdle*"². Moreover, in the New Testament Christ ordered the fig tree to run dry, because it produces only leaves and no fruits at all³. According to Christian exegesis the reason that Christ commanded its dryness was based on its sin; having provided Adam and Eve with leaves to cover their shame⁴. Relatively, Christ penalised the fig- tree in a symbolic act, since it refers to the individuals, who would wish to conceal their faults⁵.

Despite the fact that there is no distinctively Christian art until the beginning of the 3rd c., it is understandable that the patterns concerning the Old Testament is familiar to the Christians, especially to those who have had a Jewish background. Besides, the original sin has a significant role in the history of the holy *Oikonomia*, as well as in the conscience of the believers. On this ground, it is reasonable the episode of the fall to be pictured already in the catacombs and in the early sarcophagi.

As having undergone through a Jewish literature background, Schubert refers to the dense illustration of the original sin in Via Latina. He is mostly focus on the writings of Midrasch (an ancient commentary on part of the Hebrew Scriptures, attached to the biblical text. The earliest Midrasch come from the 2nd c. AD, although much of their content is older) as far as the way the snake is exhibited around the tree is concerned⁶.

among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among young men. With great delight I sat in his shadow, and his fruit was sweet to my taste"). Ferguson, 1961, pp. 27- 8. Nonetheless, in some pictorial forms of the fall, the tree of knowledge is instead of an apple tree, a fig tree, being linked with the covering of their nakedness. Cf. Frye, 1960, pp. 24ff. For Satan as the character of evil.

¹. Ferguson, 1962, p. 31.

². Sparks, 1984, XX, 4- 5, PP. 163- 4.

³. *Mt* 21, 19- 20, *Mk* 11, 13, *Lk* 13, 6.

⁴. St. Athanasius, *Quaestiones in scriptoram sacram* [Sp], PG 28, 716, 51.

⁵. Nautin, P., Doutreleau, L., 1976, p. 200 (codex p. 85, line 21- 27).

⁶. Schubert, 1973, pp. 14- 7, fig. 2. For the possibility of decorating Via Latina under the Jewish influences see Schreckenbergh H., Schubert K., 1992, pp. 189- 91. In general, the

The iconographic origin of the episode probably derives from the ancient visual form of the myth about the apples of Hesperides¹. For instance, the cubiculum *N* of the catacomb of Via Latina is decorated with the cycle of Hercules (*fig. 47*)²; the particular scene is the grab of the gold apples. The *Ladon*, the snake that was placed in the tree with the gold apples, is depicted around the tree, while Heracles is facing the viewer³. In other illustrations of the theme, there are also secondary figures, the Hesperide(s), such as on the one side of the Medallion of Antoninus Pius (second half of the 5th c.)⁴. A parallel could be found in the scene of the Elysium garden, which actually was the paradise of the ancient mythology. Two female figures, as in the Velletri sarcophagus (ca. on the turn of the 3rd to the 4th c., *fig. 48*)⁵, cut the fruits of the tree in the middle. That account is in agreement with the Hesperides scene, if we take into account that the gold fruits in the garden of Hesperides were giving life. Apparently, the women who pick them could be interpreted as the souls of the dead, who are desperate for redemption. The influences from the scene of Heracles and tree of Hesperides are obvious in the early fresco under the church of SS. Martiri in Cimitile (ca. 300, *fig. 49*)⁶. Eve is on the left side from the viewer's part and Adam takes place in the scene, as Hercules, on the right side. Despite the *Genesis* text, Adam is taking the forbidden fruit, following the above- mentioned pagan pattern, while Eve is standing having an

Jewish art, as it is expressed for instance on the Synagogue of Dura- Europos, extricates itself from its seclusion and it assimilates into the trends of biblical art either Christian or Jewish. That aspect see Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., 1990, p. 143- 50. A critical review on the monograph of Weitzmann and Kessler see Wharton, 1994, pp. 1- 25.

¹. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 38, Esche, 1957, pp. 10- 1, fig. 4.

². For example Hercules is pictured with Athena (Ferrua, 1991, p. 140, fig. 132) or he is dragging Alkestis out of Hades (*ibid.*, p. 141, fig. 135). Also see Kötzsche- Breitenbruch, 1976, pp. 11- 2. Even though the cycle of Hercules is plainly distinguishable, it is difficult to specify the exegesis of the scenes beside the Judaeo- Christian pictorial faith expression (Elsner, 1995, pp. 176- 7).

³. Elsner, 1995, pp. 274- 7, fig. 78, Ferrua, 1991, p. 142, fig. 137, Fink, 1978, p. 54, fig. 32.

⁴. Kaiser- Minn, 1981, p. 63, fig. 35b.

⁵. Kaiser- Minn, 1981, pp. 63- 4, fig. 36b.

⁶. Gerke, 1967, p. 23.

elegant pose¹. Nevertheless, the scholars pinpoint a partial influence from the Christian art into the Hercules cycle, as far as the presence of episodes of his life within Christian imagery is concerned, which is not meaningless, but probably belongs to religious typology, pagan or Christian, developed in the art of the 2nd c. onwards².

The early Christian art can demonstrate a number of sculptural examples, sarcophagi, since the episode of the fall is linked with the theme of death. The research has presented three motives of the episode. The variations mostly concern the positions of the protoplasts and especially their hands.

The first motif applies the same iconographical elements as in Dura-Europos, namely a symmetrical arrangement; the protoplasts, who are facing each other, are around the tree, contacting with their right hand the foliage and hiding their shame with the left hand. We quote the Cyriaca-fragment (Napoli, Museum Archeologico Nazionale, first third of the 4th c., *fig. 50*)³, a sculpture in the Museum Pio Cristiano (second third of the 4th c.)⁴ and a scene on the columnar sarcophagus in Marseille (Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne, middle of the 4th c.)⁵. A fragment of a sarcophagus without any structural parallel is met on the Sotheby's collection (London, 4th c.), where Adam and Eve are carved on the two edges of the surface, while on the middle there is the tree with an extraordinary foliage and a serpent around it⁶.

Another parallel is the upper- left scene of a sarcophagus found in Via Appia (Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano, first third of the 4th c.), where their left hands cover their nakedness, but there is a differentiation: Eve's right hand is

¹. Korol, 1987, pp. 61- 4, fig. 1ab, Kaiser- Minn, 1981, p. 89₃₉, fig. 49a, Gerke, 1967, p. 23, fig. on p. 105.

². Elsner, 1995, pp. 275- 6. Yet, Goodenough mentions the aspect, though he does not absolutely favour it, of the non- existence of any parallelism between Hercules and Christ and likewise the room in Via Latina with the cycle of Hercules belongs to unconverted members of the families. See the ratiocination Goodenough, 1962, pp. 126- 7, p. 133.

³. Repertorium II, 1998, pp. 68- 9, fig. 180, Kaiser- Minn, 1981, pp. 2- 3, fig. 1a. She also notes (*ibid.*, p. 58) that the episode of the fall follows the scene of Eve's creation, as well as in the Arles sarcophagus. Nonetheless, that aspect is under dispute from the research, as it was discussed in previous chapter. Cf. Klauser, 1961, p. 133.

⁴. Repertorium I, 1967, p. 95, fig. 146.

⁵. Repertorium III, 2003, p. 141, fig. 72₆.

⁶. Repertorium II, 1998, p. 38, fig. 41₄.

moving towards her mouth and Adam's one is in the pose of speech¹. In the fragments of the Notre- Dame in Manosque (Alpes- de- Haute- Provence, last third of the 4th c., **fig. 51**) the protoplasts are in the pose of eating the fruit, while the serpent moves towards Eve².

An exceptional carven picture is met in the sarcophagus in Arles (Museum de l' Arles Antique, ca. 325), where four persons participate in the episode and there is no track of the serpent. The position of the protoplasts differentiates only in their heads' position; they are looking at their back, where there are two figures, whose hands are lying on the shoulders of Adam and Eve-gesture of speech (?). The figures could be interpreted either as Logos or angels. The question that has occupied the scholars is whether the particular illustration stands for the episode of the fall or the expulsion from paradise. If it is the first option then the gesture to the shoulder could be the admonition, while in the second aspect the sign for the protoplasts' exit from paradise. Certainly, it is likely a mixture of both the possibilities to occur³. In a sarcophagus of Museum Pio Cristiano (second quarter of the 4th c.)⁴ there is only one male figure that holds Adam from his shoulder and it seems like exerting force towards him. On the other side of the tree Eve's gesture refers to surprise. The animation in their bodies (esp. of Adam and man) as well as the astonishment of Eve could affirm the aspect for the combination of the fall and the expulsion.

The sculpted images of the protoplasts, whose both hands are holding the leaves, covering their body, could be characterised rather motionless, though austere and restrained. We name, for instance, fragments of sarcophagi in the cemeteries of Maggiore (end of the 3rd- beginning of the 4th c., **fig. 52**)⁵, Sts. Marco and Marcelliano (first quarter of the 4th c.)⁶, of St. Lorenzo o di

¹. Repertorium I, 1967, p. 67, fig. 77.

². Repertorium III, 2003, p. 140, fig. 282₁.

³. That question is based on the fact that the direction and the position of their feet differentiate from the illustrations that are certainly the episode of the fall (such as in the catacombs). Cf. the ratiocination Kaiser- Minn, 1981, pp. 8₃₂- 9, fig. 10b. Also see Repertorium III, 2003, p. 24- 5, fig. 12, Koch, 2000, p. 136, fig. 48, Engemann, 1997, p. 66, fig. 54.

⁴. Repertorium I, 1967, p. 20, fig. 23a.

⁵. Repertorium II, 1998, pp. 65- 6, fig. 164.

⁶. Korol, 1987, p. 43, fig. 27a, Repertorium I, 1967, p. 257, fig. 637.

Novaziano (first quarter of the 4th c.)¹, two sarcophagi in the Museum Pio Cristiano (both from the first quarter of the 4th c.)² and in the Museum Nazionale Romano (second quarter of the 4th c.)³.

The episode of the fall in the double-register columnar sarcophagus of the Roman senator Junius Bassus (Rome, now in the Museum Historico e Artistico, ca. 359, **fig. 53**) is an outstanding paradigm. Even though the protoplasts have both their hands on the leaves, as in the previous-mentioned cases, their heads are turned around, facing the external side of the scene⁴. The well-proportioned figures, their elegant sophistication and the inclination of their heads give an emphasis on their shame for their disobedience and technically helps to avoid any static result. Moreover, in the middle of the composition there is the serpent around the tree and in the background there is a sheaf of wheat (behind Adam) and a sheep (behind Eve)⁵. The scenes of the sarcophagus declare the typological form developed among them and their interrelations. In particular, the fall of Adam and Eve is in a figurative correspondence with Daniel and the lions, due to the sinful and disobedient past of the protoplasts and Daniel's obedience, as the promised liberation⁶. Struthers Malbon is probably accurate in her developing the intercolumniation in an apparent liturgical intimation. Its ratiocination is based, firstly, on the lower columns by the two scenes, which have grapes as ornaments and, secondly, on the multiplication of the loaves, which are developed on the spandrel scene on the top of Eve's head. Apart from the Eucharistic typology, the nakedness of the

¹. Repertorium I, 1967, p. 265, fig. 662.

². Repertorium I, 1967, p. 6-7 (esp. 6), fig. 6, 3 and p. 8, fig. 8 respectively. In both the examples Eve has long hair, yet in the second the sculpted style is more vivid and not so faint as in the first one.

³. Repertorium I, 1967, p. 335, fig. 802.

⁴. Koch, 2000, p. 135, Repertorium I, 1967, pp. 279-83 (esp. p. 281), fig. 680₁. In general about the sarcophagus see *Kostantin der Grosse* (excibition), 2007, p. 287, fig. 8, and its iconography in details throughout Struthers Malbon, 1990.

⁵. See comments below.

⁶. Struthers Malbon, 1990, pp. 59-62. Struthers Malbon has reversed the chiasmic interrelations of the scenes that Gaertner (1968, p. 34ff) has imported. He conflated Adam and Eve with Pilates on the right scene of the upper-register. According to his explanation Pilates gave the opportunity for redemption to people, due to his permission for the passion of Christ, while the protoplasts with the original sin have driven the world into death. Cf. Struthers Malbon, 1990, pp. 34-7 (esp. p. 36).

protoplasts and the (original) figure of Daniel¹ can be translated as the visualisation of the promise for deliverance, whose first stage is the baptism, as man's recreation².

Other exceptional and stylish parallels are those, where Adam and Eve flank Logos in the middle of the composition. He is dressed with a tunic, as a Greek philosopher, and he holds their hands, giving them a sheaf of wheat and a sheep, which act symbolically. The wheat refers to the allocation of labours and the hard-earned meals outside Eden and the sheep stands for the act of spinning and its symbolism³. Moreover, the sheep might also signify the wool of which the clothes of the protoplasts were made from, before their expulsion from Eden⁴. Besides, the given from God duty of woman is to be responsible for the clothing of the family⁵, which certainly is related to the produce of the wool from the sheep. Those typological features are also in accordance with the *Genesis* text (4, 2- 4) "*Now Abel was a keeper of sheep and Cain a tiller of the ground. In the course of time Cain brought to the Lord an offering of the fruit of the ground and Abel for his part brought of the firstlings of his flock*"⁶. In the

¹. The figure seen is a baroque replacement, since the original is missing. The researchers have pointed out that Daniel was originally naked, according to the drawings of A. Bosio (1632) and P. L. Dionysius (1773). See Struthers Malbon, 1990, p. 190₁₁₃, fig. 15. For Daniel and his connection with Orpheus see Gerke, 1967, pp. 31- 4.

². It is most likely this aspect to be accurate, since the sarcophagus is from neophytes Junius Bassus (it is indicated in the inscription the *NEOFITUS*, who is walking towards God, *IIT AD DEUM*). See in details her documentation Struthers Malbon, 1990, pp. 63- 7.

³. Koch, 2000, p. 137, Struthers Malbon, 1990, p. 63, Kaiser- Minn, 1981, p. 11, Repertorium I, 1967, p. 95, Esche, 1957, p. 15. For the spinning and its connection to Eve and to Virgin Mary see on chapter referring to adamic typology. As far as the harvest of the earth, as a necessary postlapsarian act see st. Gregory of Nyssa, *Faciamus Hominem Adam imaginem et similitudinem nostram*, 1, PG 44, 272BC.

⁴. Cf. St. John Chrysostomus, *In Genesim*, 2, PG 53, 150. The sheep in general is linked to the first material of the clothing, see for example st. John Chrysostomus, *In Genesim*, 9, 5, PG 53, 79- 80.

⁵. St. John Chrysostomus, *Argumentum Epistolae Primae Corinthios*, 4, PG 61, 291, "*ἰστός γὰρ καὶ ἡλακάτη τῆς γυναικός· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔδωκε τῇ γυναικὶ ὑφάσματος σοφίαν*". Also *ibid.* 5, PG 61, 292.

⁶. It is interesting to connect this account with other texts of the Old Testament, such as *Num* 18, 12, *Num* 18, 17, *Lev* 3, 12, and about the offering of Cain and Abel in the New Testament, such as *Heb* 11, 4. Comments on the text see St. John Chrysostomus, *In Genesim*,

early Christian sculpture that account is pictured as offering to God a sheaf of wheat and a sheep¹, meaning the same motif, which is noticed next to their parents in the fall. That episode is met in the Museum of Pio Christiano; in the *Trinity* sarcophagus², where the tree is on the right (the serpent holds the apple on its open mouth) and in another sarcophagus (first third of the 4th c.), where the tree on the left is a part of the next scene (the coming of Christ in Jerusalem)³. In the Adelfia sarcophagus (Syrakus, ca. 340- 350) there is a repetition of the above- mentioned motif, but there is no tree on the episode. That is why there is the question of the exact identity of the scene; whether it is the fall or the allocation of labours⁴.

Thirdly, there are paradigms where the balanced prospect is interrupted by the variation of the gestures. Eve on the left picks the fruit (or she is in the pose of speech) and she covers herself, whilst Adam with both hands hides his shame. As an example we cite the sarcophagi from the church of St. Marcello al Corso (second quarter of the 4th c.)⁵ and from the Museum Pio Cristiano (first

PG 53, 155- 156, where it is mentioned the fact that the deep notion of the gifts to God is the will of humans to offer to God the best of their products ("οὔτε ἡ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν προσαγωγή ζητεῖται παρὰ τῷ Δεσπότη, ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς γνώμης διάθεσις μόνον").

¹. Cf. Struthers Malbon, 1990, p. 63, fig. 9. That motif is also met in the repertoire of the miniatures of manuscripts of the 12th c. onwards, such as in an English Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ca. 1200), Buchthal, 1957, fig. 147a. On monumental art see the scene in Palatina, Palermo (Demus, 1949, fig. 29b)

². Koch, 2000, fig. 46, Kaiser- Minn, 1981, p. 11, fig. 6, Repertorium I, 1967, pp. 39- 41 (esp. p. 40), fig. 43. Later symbolises the Eucharist (Kaiser, p. 73₁₁₆, St. Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos II*, 23- 24, PL 34, 208- 209)

³. Repertorium I, 1967, p. 35, fig. 40. In a sarcophagus of the Museum Pio Christiano (second quarter of the 4th c.) the same motif is used, but instead of the protoplasts there are two Apostels, while on the left there is the tree, part of the coming into Jerusalem. The episode of the fall takes place in the low line. Their gestures classify the episode in the second motif, their hands cover their shame and their figures are inflexible, with plain lines. Cf. Repertorium I, 1967, pp. 36- 7, fig. 41. In the Junius Bassus sarcophagus the fall is depicted beside the coming into Jerusalem, while its very next scene is Daniel in the lions. The typology performed here is suggests the promise to salvation. See comments above.

⁴. Koch, 2000, p. 136 and p. 137, fig. 47.

⁵. The episode is depicted by the offering of the presents from the Magi to the newborn Christ, in an obvious way to point out the salvation of the original sin by his arrival. Cf. Repertorium I, 1967, pp. 305- 6, fig. 745.

third of the 4th c.)¹. In other sculptures Adam's body has an adversative direction (he indicates the serpent on the tree and his head is turned on the external side of the scene), as in Pio Christiano (second third of the 4th c.)² and at the same time Eve holds with her right hand the fruit, as in Lucq- Béarn (first third of the 5th c.), where Eve looks, instead of Adam, backwards³.

Furthermore, there is the asymmetrical type, which is met on a fragment of a sarcophagus in Velletri (ca. 300, **fig. 54**) and a glass fragment in Cologne (4th c.). In particular, both the protoplasts are placed arisen on the same side and they hold each other hands. By all means, the prototype for the specific pattern is met on the Prometheus sarcophagus from Arles (Paris, Louvre, ca. 25 years later than the Velletri sarcophagus)⁴.

The comprehension of the meaning of the fall for the whole world is obvious in the existence of the particular episode in the visual art and its combination with other scenes. The earliest example is that in the Christian House of Dura- Europos (232- 250), where in the baptistery the Good Shepherd is illustrated and in the left- down corner Adam and Eve. Even though the theme of the Good Shepherd dates from the pre- Christian period, in the Christian pictorial compositions plays a vital role, since the Evangelists connect it with Christ. Especially, *John* frequently repeats that Jesus the Good Shepherd will give to his sheep life with his death and resurrection⁵. Hence, the theme of the original sin was not dealt on the catacombs as having any topological association with the Good Shepherd, since the spirit of the salvation was spread around the place. Yet in the baptistery, it was almost fundamental for the notion of the redemption that Christianity promises, to combine those scenes in an indissoluble way⁶. The composition is symmetrical and the protoplasts surround

¹. Repertorium I, 1967, pp. 11- 2, fig. 12a.

². Beside their full- length, solemn figures lay a sheep and a sheaf of corn. Repertorium I, 1967, pp. 51- 2, fig. 52, 3.

³. Repertorium III, 2003, p. 136, fig. 271.

⁴. Korol, 1987, pp. 43- 4, Kaiser- Minn, 1981, pp. 86- 7, fig. 34a- b.

⁵. *J* 10, 1- 30 and also *Mt* 25, 32- 33. Cf. Claman, 2000, p. 40.

⁶. Grabar, 1968, p. 20, fig. 41. It is also suggested that the figures of the protoplasts were a later emendation, probably in order the synthesis to gain a more acute eschatological meaning (Downing, 1998, p. 275)

the tree. The one hand of theirs covers their shame and with the other they take, both of them, fruits from the tree, while the serpent is on the feet¹.

On the cupola of the mausoleum in El Bagawat (ca. 4th- 5th c., *fig. 55*) there is another unusual illustration of the temptation, taking inspiration from the Jewish literature on Adam². The scene consists of two levels; on the upper there is an angel dressed as an ancient philosopher in front of stairs, which probably get towards the kingdom of God. On the lower level, the actual scenes of the temptation and the fall take place in. The standing serpent on the left is in front of paradise wall and the protoplasts, who are totally dressed. Adam is talking with the serpent, while Eve is standing behind him. On the right side of the scenery there are a number of plants and trees.

That theme is a part of the densely- decorated catacombs in Rome. The pattern is almost identical and most of the examples bear a stylistic balance with the tree of knowledge in the middle of the synthesis.

In the illustration of the catacomb of Sts. Peter and Marcellinus (middle of the 4th c., *fig. 56a*), the protoplasts have elegant poses by their gesture for covering their shame and having their heads slopping, as a sign for showing repentance. The model of the centralised composition nominates them to flank the tree of knowledge with the serpent, while behind Adam there is also the tree of life³. In the Priscilla catacomb (end of the 3rd c.) the figure of Eve on the left and the presence of the tree on the right, while the serpent is on the middle, try to centralise the synthesis⁴.

In Via Latina, as mentioned, there is an exclusively rich tone on the subject of the fall and Hercules, as a part of the general attempt for parallelism. Adam and Eve cycle are portrayed in the catacomb three times committing the original sin followed the popular patterns of the period; either both of them pick

¹. Claman, 2000, p. 49, fig. 2- 13, Kaiser- Minn, 1981, p. 89₃₉, fig. 49b, Stevenson, 1978, p. 65.

². Esche, 1957, p. 12, fig. III.

³. Stützer, 1991, fig. 19, Stevenson, 1978, fig. 38, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1968, fig. 1. By no means, the aspect of Beckwith (Beckwith, 1970, p. 9, fig. 7) about a stylistic flaccidity can be acceptable, due to the fact that the most of its contemporary illustrations echoed a semi- delicate form, which actually aimed more at an allegorical representation of the faith than at an elegant iconographic display.

⁴. See "Adam und Eva" in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1968, p. 55, Esche, 1957, p. 12, fig. II.

the fruit and cover their shame (cubiculum A and C, *fig. 56bc*)¹ or Eve, as responsible for the sin, takes the fruit, while Adam covers his nudity with both his hands (cubiculum M, *fig. 56d*)². According to Goodenough³, the presence of the particular scene is not corresponding with the habit of not burying their dead without any optimistic signs. In regard to this, there are in Via Latina and general in the sepulchral early Christian art, the fall is visually linked to motifs, which refers to the redemption, such as the peacock, the ram or the goat⁴, or, as we will examine below, playing the role of the pre-figurations to the events of the New Testament.

After commenting on the repertoire of the catacombs and the contemporary sarcophagi imagery, where the original sin is normally depicted in a densely illustrated episode, the next phase is the Vienna Bible (beginning of the 6th c., *fig. 57*)⁵. On a frame the temptation, the fall and the hiding from God's calling are presented. The first episode follows the iconographic lines of the previous symmetrical images around the tree, while on the next episode, divided from the first one with another tree with thick foliage, the protoplasts' bodies have a slight inclination, which, with the obvious sorrow on their faces, indicates their shame⁶.

¹. Cf. the diagram Elsner, 1995, p. 271- 4, fig. 72- 73 and the description in Ferrua, 1991, pp. 62- 3, fig. 39 and 74 respectively.

². Bargebuhr, 1991, *passim*, Ferrua, 1991, p. 130, fig. 123, 124.

³. Goodenough, 1962, p. 131. Generally speaking, it is a common place that the presence of the episode of the fall is linked to the paradise that can be regained only through Christ, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1968, p. 55.

⁴. The *peacock* stands for immortality, due to the fact that it does not undergo a fleshly decomposition. Additionally, its tail with the eyelike feathers is an allegory of the *all- seeing* Church. In western scenes of the Nativity, there are examples with the presence of a peacock (Ferguson, 1961, p. 23, Liddell- Scott, ¹⁰1996, p. 1763). The *ram* as the head of the herd is used as a symbol of Christ, as the head of the Church. Moreover, the strength of the ram is to the Christ's triumph towards Satan. It is also interesting that God instead of Isaac has chosen a ram to be offered as a sacrifice (*Gen* 22, 13), exactly as a pre- figuration of Christ's Crucifixion (Ferguson, 1961, pp. 23- 4, Lampe, 1961, p. 778, Liddell- Scott, ¹⁰1996, p. 996). Nevertheless, the *goat* in the early Christian art represents the damned during the Last Judgement, while the sheep denote the moral people (Ferguson, 1961, p. 19). In general, it is mentioned that the sheep and the goats symbolise the flock of the *Good Shepherd*, Christ (Goodenough, 1962, p. 116).

⁵. Esche, 1957, p. 13, fig. IV.

⁶. Zimmermann, 2003, pp. 74- 5, Schubert K., 1983, pp. 1- 2.

The visual translation of the original sin in the Carolingian Bibles consists of a variety of distinctive stylistic elements, inspired of Byzantine and Western motives. Particularly, the account in the *Genesis* frontispiece of the Grandval Bible is composed of two episodes; the temptation¹ and the eating of the fruit. Eve is plucking the forbidden fruit from the mouth of the coiled serpent around the tree, whereas there is a repetition of her figure nearby. Their physical forms are outstandingly alike, even in their anatomy, in such a degree that hardly a gender difference can be observed. Apparently, the second episode is that of the fall, since both the protoplasts eat the fruit, without however following the archaic patterns with the tree in the middle or having their nudity covered. Iconographically, the rendering bears similarity with the relative episodes in the mosaic of San Marco².

The same pattern is met in the Salerno ivory³, with the double depiction of Eve, with the only difference that Eve, picking the fruit, is standing on the left side and not on the right as in Grandval Bible. In an Exultet Roll (Pisa, Museum Civico, early 12th c., *fig. 58*)⁴ and in the Millstatt Genesis (Klagenfurt, Rudolfinum Museum, cod. Vi, 19, fol. 10^r and fol. 26^r, late 12th c.)⁵ the episodes echo the style of the above- mentioned examples. Yet, the tree of knowledge is repeating in both of them⁶; so in the second episode the synthesis goes after the balanced motif of the early Christian art, even though the tree in the Exultet Roll has a smaller proportions. In the Hortus Deliciarum (Strasbourg, Bibliothèq̃ue de la Ville, fol. 17^v, second half of the 12th c., *fig. 59*)⁷ the protoplasts take part in both the episodes, the temptation and the actual fall (which are separated by another tree, as in the contemporary miniatures). The

¹. A description of the episode and relevant bibliography see Erffa, 1989, pp. 166- 71.

². Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, p. 22, fig. 6, Kessler, 1971, p. 148, fig. 2, Gaehde, 1971, p. 368, fig. 1, where there is a comparative chart of the *Genesis* episodes in the Grandval, Vivian and San Paolo Bibles.

³. Kessler, 1966, p. 89, fig. 22.

⁴. Kessler, 1966, p. 89, fig. 25.

⁵. Kessler, 1977, fig. 19 and 24 respectively.

⁶. The appearance of the tree however differentiates in the two episodes. In the first, its trunk ends in fine, elaborate branches, while in the second there are two trees. The one in the middle is a plain formation with thick foliage.

⁷. Green, 1955, pp. 344- 5, fig. 2ab, where a comparison with the relative mosaic of San Marco and the episodes of the Millstatt Genesis is made. Kessler, 1977, fig. 37.

symmetry of the picture is more than evident if we notice the movement of the protoplasts. Eve on the left of the first episode and Adam on the right of the second one move their feet towards, while the feet of the figures in the central parts are static. Suffice it to say that their shame is covered only in the second episode, where their sadness is observable, by the holding of their cheeks.

A shortened form of a combined scene, including the temptation, the picking of the fruit and the fall, is met in the Bamberg and the Vivian Bibles. Simultaneously, Eve is being tempted by the serpent and is offering to Adam the fruit. Apart from the motion of their hands, the figures seem rather rigid¹. Other parallels, such as the Berlin ivory (Staatliche Museen, 11th c.)², follow the common type of the catacombs and sarcophagi, even if there are variations in the gestures of the figures.

Despite the classification of the Hildesheim bronze doors close to a Touronian archetype the episodes of the original sin may enable its differentiation from it and its link to other patterns, as well³. In particular, the noticeable iconographic variations of the temptation and the fall are inherent in the distant placement of the protoplasts and especially Eve's peculiar stance⁴. Her hands as well as Adam's hands have a quite free, lightsome and gentle form. The outstretched hands of Adam proclaim the fact that the scene is likely to combine the actual moment of the fall with the moment that the protoplasts had acquired the covetable knowledge. Essentially, their hands appoint their will and their needs in a way that they overlook the fact that the Creator was the

¹. This kind of combined arrangements of the episodes are often and do not support any thought for different origin, since the iconographic features are in great correlation with each other. Kessler, 1971, p. 149, fig. 1 and fig. 3 respectively. Gaehde, 1971, p. 368, commenting only on the Vivian miniature. Our comments on the episode in the San Paolo fuori le mura Bible are made on the chapter of the admonition, since an extra conflation of the episodes is observed.

². Kessler, 1966, p. 89, fig. 2.

³. For example the tempter is depicted like a dragon, an element pictorially originating surely not on the Touronian archetype or on *Junius 11* miniatures. It is believed that it might have its roots on a manuscript of *Genesis B*, which probably has been highlighted by the malicious serpent and its goals. Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, pp. 21- 2.

Nor should it be forgotten that Satan is linked with a dragon on the text of *Apocalypsis* (12, 9) and in the ecclesiastical literature.

⁴. Oddly enough, Tschan (1951, p. 188) on his commentary on the scene discerns two depictions of the serpent, despite the biblical account.

one who has created the world with his hands¹. There is also an eminent potentiality to conclude that Eve has already eaten the fruit, while Adam is under the process for his persuadability of eating it. That might be visually described by the fact that Eve's figure is more petite than of Adam's, meaning her loss of her *original beauty* in paradise.

The scholars point out that from that scene on, the differences of the genders are obvious. Eve's bodily gesture presumably suggests a sexual tendency, as conceivably Cohen and Derbes propose²; she steps towards the tree with the coiled serpent on the right and concurrently turns her body to Adam and outstretches her hand with the fruit to him. That invitation also implies, on the one hand, seduction³ and on the other that Eve is the actual tempter. The anatomical difference and the sexuality that occur on the particular scene might have been presented as another form of the consequences of the original sin, the final separation into man and woman⁴. Nevertheless, at the same time it reinforces the merely culpability of Eve towards Adam and her role, in order the Crucifixion, the scene in the opposite door, to take place.

Thematically the Hildesheim doors are analogous to the miniatures of the *Junius 11* (Cædmon Genesis, Oxford, Bodleian Library, first quarter of the 11th c.). William Tronzo indicated that the two monuments are akin in the way that the artists understood the responsibility of Eve in the history of humanity. Even though, the *Junius 11* does not focus on the guilt of Eve intensively as in the Hildesheim doors, it is plausible an illustrated copy of it to have been accessible to bishop Bernward, who from the depiction of Eve's creation in a full- page might have inspired to begin with her creation the door account⁵.

The *Junius 11* unfolds the narration of the actual events of the temptation and the fall in four episodes, even not in the right course. Its pictorial repertoire echoes a rendering without parallel, since it demonstrates the meaning of the biblical paraphrase. The incident of the fall seems to be in

¹. Mohnhaupt, 2000, p. 81.

². Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, pp. 22- 4, fig. 7.

³. Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, p. 24, about the anatomy of Eve and the meanings of the breasts of the woman.

⁴. Mohnhaupt, 2000, pp. 81- 2.

⁵. The information is taken from Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, pp. 25- 6.

the Christian theology as elemental as the fall of the angels¹, a fact that justifies its occurrence twice on *Junius 11*².

From a stylistic standpoint we can mention the full-length figures, with their supernatural long limbs and sizable bellies, which reach the limits of an imaginary visual form and their extraordinary vivid gestures that can be characterised as clumsy and awkward. Page 20 (*fig. 60a*) of *Junius 11* is divided into two sections; the lower section pictures Satan imprisoned in hell³, giving orders to a naked fiend to fly to paradise for causing the fall of the protoplasts. According to the text, first the fiend tries to tempter Adam, who cautiously refuses the proposal and the devil decides to focus on Eve. That narration is visualised on pages 28 (*fig. 60b*) and 24 (*fig. 60c*). On the first phase of the temptation we notice on the middle of the composition an angel, who is the fiend in disguise⁴. He turns his glance to Adam and he offers the apple first to him, who does not touch it and then to Eve, who accepts it immediately. The successive actions of the dual temptation are indicated by the text and less by the figural lines, which cause an ambiguous result. The two apples declare her direct acceptance; one that the angel gives her and simultaneously the other that eats with her right hand. Successively, the angelic figure offers one more fruit to Eve (page 24), where the gesticulations are calmer and gentler. The temptation is repeating also on the upper section of page 20, though timely in the wrong place. In that occasion, the tempter follows, as usual, the model of the serpent. The last episode (page 31, *fig. 60d*) the disguised demon is in the pose of speaking, behind Eve, who is giving the fruit to Adam⁵.

The hitherto description of the episode of the covering their shame with fig leaves, as a separate episode, finds no resemblance to the *Junius 11* manuscript, wherein the rendition of the text is divided into two parts. The one on the lower section of page 31 portrays the direct repentance of the protoplasts immediately after the eating of the fruit; Adam is kneeling and having his hands

¹. Hentschel, 1935, pp. 59- 64.

². Kauffmann, 2003, p. 52.

³. The chained Satan is a pattern of the Harrowing of Hell or of the Apocalypse, even though the Commentaries on *Genesis* of the Church Fathers refer to him, but it has been attached to the iconography of *Genesis*. See Ohlgren, *The illustrations*, 1972, p. 204, Ohlgren, *Visual language*, 1972, pp. 257- 8.

⁴. Erffa, 1989, p. 174.

⁵. Kauffmann, 2003, p. 52, Ohlgren, *The illustrations*, 1972, pp. 206- 7, fig. 2, 3.

in supplication, whilst Eve is praying almost having her head on the ground. The attractive angelic figure on the top is now the naked demon as on the page 20 (the beginning of the original sin)¹. On the second section (page 36, *fig. 60e*) the protoplasts are in the position of penitence. The episode is unique, in spite of the traditional pose of the protoplasts. They are covering their shame and touching their cheeks and the emissary fiend plays his last role on the downfall of Adam and Eve. He is depicted naked to bend in order to arrive at hell through a hole. Moreover, in order an emphasis to be given on him, he is illustrated in the hell, giving report in front of the enchained Satan, who is waiting the protoplasts to reach him. Yet, due to their apology in front of God, they gain a chance for redemption. By setting the artist side-by-side Eden and hell he suggests Satan's defeat and the future salvation of man².

The iconographic relationship between the Latin productions during the crusades is indeed extremely closed. As far as the depiction of the fall is concerned it can be pointed out the surprisingly symmetry of the episode in the Morgan Old Testament (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 638, fol. 1^v, 13th c.) and its parallel the Arsenal Bible (MS 5211, fol. 3^v)³, which recall the early paradigms. Furthermore, both Adam and Eve share exactly the same gesticulation and the movement of their bodies; they are eating the fruit, while their right hand is outstretched towards the tree in the middle of the composition and their feet are in a smart motion. It is peculiar the fact that the protoplasts do not cover their nudity⁴, a totally western element that might stem from the beginning of formation of the doctrine of the purgatory. That aspect is reinforced by the depiction of the Creator, taking his rest on the Seventh Day, in a box- illustration surrounded by the introduction into paradise and the original sin. His pictorial form implies the stylistic background of Byzantine archetypes of the enthroned *Pantocrator*. His placement between the two scenes of the protoplasts stresses his role as a judge⁵.

¹. Ohlgren, *The illustrations*, 1972, p. 206, fig. 4, Ohlgren, *Visual language*, 1972, p. 261, fig. 9.

². Ohlgren, *Visual language*, 1972, p. 271, fig. 8.

³. Weiss, 1998, fig. 65 and plat. VI respectively.

⁴. The same detail occurs in an English Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ca. 1200), despite the differences at the stylistic elements, such as the harmonised figures and the calm gestures. See Buchthal, 1957, fig. 147a.

⁵. Weiss, 1998, p. 156.

On the episode of the fall on the St. Martin des Champs Bible (Mazarine 38, fol. 6^v) the striking comment is the expressions of their faces. They lose their mildness and kindness and they begin to have an unattractive appearance, thoroughly with surprise and irritation, especially on the scene of the expulsion, which follows¹.

The symbolic pattern of the fall as describing in the early Christian art onwards is also followed by the artists in Spain for the Bibles and the *Beatus* miniatures². Their differentiations are observed in the way of the anatomical rendering of the body of the protoplasts and also in a few iconographical details³.

The Catalonian repertoire comprises of depictions with various, though equivalent, patterns. It is noteworthy the strictly and, could say, lifeless patterns, which emerging a total frontal aspect of the stocky figures, while their feet are externally turned. Usually the background of the scene is filled with thick foliage (and sometimes the rivers of paradise) and the serpent has often a full-size proportion. Such versions are found in the Mozarabic Bible of St. Isidoro at Leon (written by the presbyter Sancho at Valeranica or Barilangas, 960)⁴ and its parallel a page of the Escorial- *Beatus* manuscript (Escorial, Bibliotheca del Monasterio, II. 5, fol. 18^r, 11th c., *fig. 61a*)⁵. In the *Mappa*

¹. Branner, 1977, p. 90, fig. 257.

². A copy, especially in illuminated manuscript form, of the *Commentary on the Book of Revelations*, written by Saint Beatus of Liébana, a Spanish monk (8th c.), is often just referred to as a *Beatus*. Many well- known versions exist, especially in the Mozarabic style.

³. For instance, in the Romanesque art there was a diversity of the picture of the forbidden fruit; it is not always in a ring- shape, but it also found as a banana, cherries or grapes. That comes along with the variations of the rural products in the areas of France and Spain. See the fall in Burgos Bible with the elongated fruit and the sculpture of the Cathedral in Gerona with the tree full of grapes. Cook, 1927, pp. 166- 7, fig. 1 and fig. 24 respectively. Yet, especially the grapes could also be recognised as a prefiguration of the holy Eucharist, if of course the artists had been influenced by a theological background. See the symbolism of the grapes Ferguson, 1961, pp. 31- 2. As far as the cherries are concerned, they are often characterised as the fruit of the paradise, due to their sweetness and also represent the delights of the blessed. Cf. Ferguson, 1961, p. 29.

⁴. Englisch, 2002, pp. 197ff, Cook, 1927, p. 155, fig. 4.

⁵. Englisch, 2002, pp. 188- 9, fig. 27, Cook, 1927, p. 159, fig. 10.

*Mundi*¹ page of the Silos- *Beatus* manuscript (London, British Library, add MS 11695, the illustrations were made on 1109, **fig. 61b**)² the figures bear resemblance to the illustration of the genealogical table in Morgan- *Beatus* manuscript (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 644, fol. 11^v, beginning of the 10th c.)³ and in a way to the Valladolid- *Beatus* (Valladolid, MS 433, fol. 34^v- 37^r, 10th c., **fig. 61c**)⁴. Another example of that archaic lifeless prototype is the scene of the copy of St. Sever *Beatus* manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8878, fol. 6^v between 1028 and 1072, **fig. 61d**)⁵. The account of the Ashburnham Pentateuch is distinguished from the previous patterns in the way the protoplasts are depicted; they are fully- dressed. Conceivably, in that scene is combined the fall with the clothing of Adam and Eve, as it can be derive from the inscription on the red background⁶.

¹. *Mappa* (cloth, chart) *Mundi* (of the world) is the Latin term of the Medieval European maps of the world. Their main goal was to depict the most remarkable incidents of the Christian history and simultaneously, though not so important, to indicate their accurate locations (Harley, B. J., Woodward D. (editors), 1987, pp. 286- 7) as well as to share information about classical and biblical persons and situations (ibid., pp. 326- 30). Nowadays, they have survived at about 1100 *Mappae Mundi*, while 900 of them contain miniatures. Fourteen quadripartite maps are found illustrating different manuscripts of the *Commentary* of Beatus of Liébana. It is believed that all of them originate in a single archetype, now lost (ibid., p. 357 and also see Englisch, 2002, pp. 173- 81). There is also the suggestion that mainly the design of the Wheel of Fortune bears resemblance to that of the *Mappae mundi*, as far as their principal purpose is concerned, to depict the world and its fate as a whole. Cf. Harley, B. J., Woodward D. (editors), 1987, pp. 338- 40, Kitzinger, 1976, p. 333. For the cartography of the Eastern areas in *mappae mundi* manuscripts see Deluz, 2007, pp. 23- 36.

². Englisch, 2002, pp. 193ff (esp. p. 216), fig. 33, Cook, 1927, p. 160, fig. 15. Following the same structural rules, though with more elegant stances see Williams, 1994, fig. 22 the Girona *Beatus* (Museu de la Catedral, Num. Inv. 7 (11), fol. 51^v- 55^r).

³. The scene is simplified: the fig leaves, the serpent and the river of paradise are excluded. Cook, 1927, p. 159, fig. 11.

⁴. Englisch, 2002, pp. 193ff, fig. 34. See as well as fig. 28 the Facundus- *Beatus* manuscript (Madrid, Vitrina 14- 2, fol. 63v- 64r, 1047)

⁵. The tree is represented with a tiny bush and there is no trace of the serpent, Deluz, 2007, pp. 31- 2, fig. 5 (also cf. in older bibliography Cook, 1927, p. 160, fig. 16). See about the St. Sever- *Beatus* copies Englisch, 2002, pp. 182ff.

⁶. *ADAM CUM (UXORE) SUA SUM TONICIS PE(L)LIC(EIS)*. Cook, 1927, p. 155, fig. 3.

Nevertheless, in Spain there are also French influences, due to which the plastic models acquire flexibility in their gestures and a realistic attitude. So the early Mozarabic style starts to be relinquished and the Romanesque approach, creating a number of lifelike patterns, such as the Bible of Rodes (11th c.) and the Bible of Farfa (9th c.), where Eve wears in both cases a female hat on her head, while Adam in *Roda* does not hold a fig leaf and he does not cover his shame¹. The same sample is met in an ivory chess piece (Paris, Louvre, 12th c.)². That probably could be explained by the belief of the artists of putting the total blame of the original sin on Eve. Nonetheless, in the Huntingfield Psalter (English manuscript in Mendham Priory, now in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ca. 1170, *fig. 62*)³ both the protoplasts do not cover their shame. We also notice that the figures stand on tiptoe, an element that provides a native view in the incident.

An extraordinary gesture of Adam is that we meet for instance in the Codex Vigilanus (Escorial Museum, 976, *fig. 63a*), in the Burgos Bible (Municipal Library, beginning of the 12th c., *fig. 63b*), in the Sagars panel (Solsona, Episcopal Museum, 13^{os} a.u.), *fig. 63c*), *Mappa Mundi* page of *Beatus* manuscript (London, British Museum, 12th c.)⁴. He does not grasp the fruit, but he puts his hand over his chin, expressing his hesitation for the disobedience to God. Additionally, that posture is combined with the *Malus Adami*, the projection at the front of men's neck that is formed by the thyroid cartilage, in other words *Adam's apple*. It is claimed that the particular elevation of the skin was the result of Adam's great effort to swallow the fruit, despite his will. The same element is met on a fresco on the church of Vera Cruz (Spain, Segovia, now in Prado Museum, 12th c.)⁵. Our estimation on the specific iconographical element is that it occurs mostly, if not only, in catalonian pictures and it found

¹. The trees are having a unique design with various styles in the leaves. Cook, 1927, p. 156, fig. 5 and fig. 6 respectively.

². Cook, 1927, p. 156, fig. 7.

³. Cook, 1927, p. 163, fig. 20.

⁴. Cook, 1927, p. 159, fig. 9, p. 159, fig. 1, p. 163, fig. 2, p. 160, fig. 18 respectively. For the Sagars panel see Ainaud, J., Held, A., 1963, fig. 130. In Burgos Bible as well as in the fresco of Vera Cruz, Adam is depicted to touch his throat. That pictorial motif, mostly met in Catalanian and Gothic pictures, derives from the tradition that Adam was choked when he tried to swallow the forbidden apple, the so-called *Pomum Adami*.

⁵. Ainaud, J., Held, A., 1963, p. 25, fig. 113.

an appeal during the Renaissance, as for instance in the pictures of Jan van Eyck (15th c.)¹.

The account of the temptation and the fall in the Byzantine Octateuchs, as in Vat. gr. 746 (fol. 37^v) and of Seraglio (fol. 43^v, *fig. 64*) unfolds in three episodes, which are separated by trees, exactly as in the Carolingian frontispieces. The narration opens with Eve's temptation and the odd appearance of the serpent as a camel. The next episode shows the protoplasts discussing; Eve tries with both hands to persuade Adam to eat the fruit, whilst his gesture records his worry. The third episode Adam is finally eating the fruit. The upper part of Eve's body is similar to the one of the first episode (both hands and head raised towards the tree) and her feet are analogous to the second episode (like walking towards)². Adam's feet are in both his appearances immobile, exactly as Eve's on the first episode. Those two different ways of standing could probably be the visualised status of sinfulness or not.

The covering of their shame is represented in Vat. gr. 746 (fol. 40^v), 747 (fol. 23^v) and in Smyrna Octateuchs (fol. 13^v) by an original approach and minor differences among the miniatures. Both the protoplasts are depicted seated opposite to each other with the tree in the middle. With their left hands they cover their nakedness and their right lie on their stomachs. Eve's face is predominated by sadness, while Adam appears more anxious, since, according to the text, he has to answer to God's question. Therefore, he looks at the sky through which the hand of God represents his presence in the episode³.

On the Homilies of Jacob Kokkinovaphou (Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1162, fol. 35a, 1125- 1150) the original sin and specifically Eve's temptation is placed on the central part of the synthesis, as the principal fact of the drama of the human history. On the upper right corner, Eve tries to persuade Adam to taste the fruit and on the opposite corner, it is depicted their *hiding*, though their admonition is made by an angel. The figures are reserved and static, while the presence of a rich floral background and the precipitate flow of the symbolic performance of the four rivers of paradise, adds a dramatic notion to the composition⁴.

The detailed rendering of the original scene in the mosaic of San Marco is an extraordinary example. Its minute description of the *Genesis* text unfolds in four episodes: the *temptation of Eve* starts the narration, the *picking of the*

¹. Snyder, 1976, fig. 3.

². Lassus, 1979, pp. 130- 2.

³. Lassus, 1979, p. 132.

⁴. Galavaris, 1995, fig. 144.

*fruit*¹ and *the fall*, which share the same cube and the covering with fig leaves runs in separate cubes². Specifically, on Eve's temptation Adam also takes part, standing with his back to Eve. That unusual position of him is, according to Weitzmann and Kessler, a remnant of the admonition of the protoplasts, a scene that the Cotton Genesis manuscript had³. Yet, if the mosaicists of San Marco took his iconographic structure from the Cotton scene, it would be unjustified his speaking gesture, which can be described as unnecessary for that particular occasion⁴. His existence on the episode might have happened, in order to define Adam's role in the original sin and his co- operation, though his disdainful position of his body towards the event⁵. Yet, the inscription⁶, following the Vulgate *Genesis* text⁷- even it is an invented brief version, as the following ones- absolves Adam from blame.

On the following episode⁸, Eve bears resemblance to her figure of the previous episode, though she removes with her right hand a leave from the tree of knowledge on the left. On the same frame, Eve is repeating on the right, while she moves towards Adam. The pose and the gestures of her figure show a similarity to Logos. Her pictorial form declares her self- confidence as well as

¹. A ratiocination on the kind of fruit and consequently the sort of tree see Niero, 2001, pp. 256- 8.

². Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, pp. 55- 6, see the connection of the remains of the Cotton Genesis miniatures (fol. 9^v, 10^r, 10^v) to the other members of its recension as well as manuscripts related to it, such as San Marco, Millstatt Genesis, Touronian Bibles.

³. They support that the presence of Eve in the admonition scene is based on the text of *Vita Adae et Evae* ("Ὅτε ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός, ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα ὑμῶν, δι' ἧς καὶ ἀποθνήσκω, ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν πᾶν φυτόν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, περὶ δὲ ἐνός ἐντεῖλατο ἡμῖν μὴ ἐσθίειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, δι' οὗ καὶ ἀποθνήσκωμεν", Tromp, 2005, p. 128 (VII, 47- 50) or Tischendorf, 1856, pp. 3- 4) and it probably was on the left half of the miniature of the folio 9^v of the Cotton Genesis. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 55.

⁴. Jolly, 1997, p. 47.

⁵. Jolly, 1997, p. 45. It is interesting the fact that in the Hebrew *Genesis* text it is mentioned that the serpent addressed to Eve as well as to Adam.

⁶. *HIC SERPENS LOQUITUR EVE ET DESIPIT EAM*, Demus, vol. 2, 1984, p. 78, Jolly, 1997, pp. 47- 8.

⁷. *Gen* 3, 1- 5.

⁸. In the inscription we read *HIC EVA ACCIPIT POMUM ET DAT VIRO SUO*, Demus, vol. 2, 1984, p. 78.

her dominance over Adam. Convincingly, Jolly points out that possibly derives from the motivation of the artists from the apocryphal texts, such as the *Vita Adam et Evae*, where it is mentioned that Eve realised her nakedness before she offers the fruit to Adam, meaning she acts as God¹. Simultaneously, the likeness God- Eve has an elementary dissimilarity; she stands in profile, a symbolic pose synonymous of the evil creatures². The covering with fig leaves their shame³ opens its narration with the figure of Adam, who imitates Eve's pose on the previous episode. His backward position is a visual hint of his sinful attitude. Behind him, Eve covers her shame with both her hands, she bears an inverse bodily pose; she looks on the left towards Adam, while her body is turned to the right and her legs are crossed, a symbol of the serpent coiled around the tree⁴.

Serpent

The tempter is pictured as a serpent curled around the tree of knowledge that deceitfully deluded man into sin⁵. It is the antitype of the cupreous serpent that Moses has raised in the middle of the desert, in order to be seen by the people of Israel. The theological link between them is that the serpent in paradise brought about the disobedience, while the serpent of Moses was the means for redemption. Moreover, it was made by copper, in order its physical essence not to accept any alteration or corruption⁶. Accordingly, the cupreous

¹. Jolly, 1997, p. 48. She also interprets the gesture of the her left hand, which seems like showing Adam's genitals, as the visualised lust and also her becoming fully aware of their nakedness and their bodily nature (ibid, p. 49).

². Jolly, 1997, p. 48. Apart from the fiends, also Judas and all the unholy persons are presented in a profile, in order the viewers to be aware of the nature of each depicted being. Cavaros, 1993, pp. 28- 9.

³. *HIC ADAM ET EVA COOPERIUNT SE FOLIIS*, Demus, vol. 2, 1984, p. 78. Among the Cotton Genesis family only the *Genesis* cycle of San Marco includes that as a separate episode, while in other examples is combined with other episodes, too. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 56.

⁴. That posture also is met in the Potiphar's wife, the temptress in the story of Joseph, in the cupola of San Marco. Jolly, 1997, p. 50, fig. 22.

⁵. Ferguson, 1961, pp. 16- 7, where the term *serpent* is examined as a synonyme with *dragon*.

⁶. Relatively see st. Maximus the Confessor, *Quaestiones et dubia* in Declerck, 1982, p. 8 (section 9, lines 3- 13), "Ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἐξαρχῆς ἀπατήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ νοητὸς ὄφεις διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ τὸν τῆς ἀμαρτίας νόμον ἡμῶν ἐγκατέμειξεν... διὰ τοῦτο ὁ

serpent is a prefiguration of the crucified Christ, whose sight would be a way for salvation¹.

Apart from the cases that there is no trace of the serpent, as mentioned above, there are some extraordinary illustrations of it that we cite below, where the serpent is depicted as dragon², angel, fiend or as having the head of a woman³.

In the Grandval and the Vivian Bibles the tempter has a dotted back, a dark base and a comb in a brilliant red pigment. That probably derives from their prototype, though in the Vivian miniature it also has teeth. Those odd characteristics might originate in the *δράκων* of the classical and patristic literature, the animal that bears resemblance to the python and its pictorial form might derive from the Hesperides apples and their guard⁴.

An interesting iconographical element of the medieval Catalonian pictures of the fall is the cases of the head of the serpent being depicted as a woman. The particular iconographical feature was introduced into western art at the late 13th c.⁵, though there were scholars, who supported that the particular iconographical element is also met in the catacomb of Saint Agnes⁶. Characteristic examples⁷ are miniatures, such as in Brussels (Bibliothèque

την ἔρημον παθῶν ἀρετῆν βαδίζων ἐὰν στραφῆ εἰς Αἴγυπτον... Χαλκοῦς δὲ ὁ ὄφις, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε μείωσιν οὔτε ἰὼν ἐπιδέχεται ἢ τοῦ χαλκοῦν φύσις".

Cf. As far as the Gnostic thoughts on the role of the serpent on the Genesis story it is noteworthy the fact that it is considered to be the revealer and emissary, having been sent by the supreme god to assist man to obtain knowledge, meaning gnosis. Cf. Magne, 1993, p. 60, Gero, 1978, pp. 299- 301.

¹. St. Gregory the theologian, *In sanctum Pascha*, PG 36, 653B. Also see st. Maximus the Confessor, *Quaestiones et dubia* in Declerck, 1982, p. 8 (section 9, line 8- 12).

². St. Athanasius, *Epistula Adam episcopus Aegypti et Libyae*, PG 25, 540B. An extraordinary example of the depiction of dragon as the serpent is the armenian illustration of Alt' Amar, Mathews, 1982, pp. 249- 50.

³. A minute description of each case throughout all the periods of the Christian art see Erffa, 1989, pp. 171- 6, Esche, 1957, pp. 27- 8.

⁴. Kessler, 1971, p. 155, fig. 27, 28. See an overall description, Esche, 1957, pp. 28- 9.

⁵. Koch, 1965, p. 323.

⁶. Koch, 1965, p. 323.

⁷. It is mostly prevalent on the 14th and the 15th c., as for instance on the *Garden of Eden* of Hugo Van der Goes (Flemish painter, ca. 1440- 1482/ 83). Cf. Koch, 1965, pp. 323- 6.

Royal, cod. 9345, fol. 123, second half of the 13th c.)¹, in a Psalter (Cambridge, St. John's College, MS K. 26, fol. 4^r, ca. 1270- 80)² and in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Brussels, 14th c.)³. It is also met in some miniatures of the crusade production in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, such as the Arsenal Bible. Its parallel, the Morgan Old Testament presents Satan as having the head of a woman covered with the contemporary female hat and the body of a bird, with sizeable wings⁴. The latter element demonstrates the western influence, especially from England and France, of the illustration, as it is met as well in a Catalan miniature of a *Beatus* manuscript (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1220)⁵.

The Satan as a woman is mentioned in the western ecclesiastical writers; the first references are by a French theological writer Peter Comestor (died ca. 1173)⁶ and the dominican friar Vincent of Beauvais (ca. 1190- 1264?)⁷. That combination was probably based on the attraction of the serpent to Eve. The medieval theologians supported that there was an inborn relationship and that is the reason why the serpent addressed immediately to Eve than to Adam. Furthermore, that bond is stressed by the fact that on the admonition God announced hostility between them⁸. Iconographically speaking, the roots of that motif could be on the depictions of Heracles and the Hydra, the many-headed snake, whose heads grew again as the were cut off or from the Sirens, the female winged creatures, whose singing lured unwary sailors onto rocks⁹.

Yet, the mystery dramatic plays are more possible of having influenced the artists, since frequently, a woman played the role of the Satan and often its

¹. Cook, 1927, p. 164, fig. 23.

². Nigel, 1988, pp. 182- 3, fig. 381.

³. Cook, 1927, p. 164, fig. 21.

⁴. Weiss, 1998, plat. VI and fig. 65 respectively.

⁵. Cook, 1927, p. 164, fig. 25.

⁶. Petri Comestoris, *Historia Scholastica*, XXI, PL 198, 1072BC. Cf. Erffa, 1989, pp. 172- 3.

⁷. He wrote the *Speculum Maius*, which was the main encyclopedia of the Middle Ages and it seems to be a compilation of three parts, the *Speculum Naturale*, the *Speculum Doctrinale* and the *Speculum Historiale*. In the first part it exists an extensive comment on *Genesis*.

⁸. Cf. Jolly, 1997, p. 45.

⁹. See other possibilities for the archetype of the motif Erffa, 1989, p. 172.

costume had a head of a woman. In the earliest play, the Anglo- Norman play *Jeu d' Adam* (12th c.)¹, there is no such a discrimination, which though characterises the later editions of such mystery plays of the 13th and the 14th c., which are possibly influenced by the increasing of the belief on the dreadful heritage of the original sin on the next generations.

Exceptional examples are the appearance of the serpent in the temptation of the Octateuchs, such as of Seraglio (fol. 43^v) and of the Vat. gr. 746 (fol. 37^v), lying on the back of a camel, which has a head of a serpent. That particular iconographic feature might be influenced by the Jewish literal sources. In a text, belonging to the Haggadic literature, the *Pirkê Rabbi Eliezer*, there is a minute account of the temptation, "*The serpent's appearance was something like that of the camel, and he (Satan) mounted and rode upon it*"².

Another observation is that on the mosaic of San Marco the serpent occupies the very left side of the cube, the actual position of Logos in the most of the previous scenes. That stresses the increasing of the power of the serpent and its role on the temptation and the fall³. However, on the same cupola mosaic, there are a few relevant points that deserve to be mentioned. On the scene of the *Blessing of the birds and the fishes* they are five veiled angels, who, as Reed convincingly explains, refer to female figures. Beneath their feet there is a huge, elongate, crawling serpent, which is blessed by Logos, entirely

¹. See *Jeu d' Adam*, ed.: Grass, Halle 1891, p. 31, verse 534- 557. Cf. Cook, 1927, p. 164. As far as the presentation of Satan with a bird- body, Cook quotes, although with no accurate reference, the existence of the English *Chester* mystery play, where Satan describes himself as having "*wynges like a byrd she hase, feete as an adder, a maydens face*". Nonetheless, the *Chester* mystery play dates back to the early 15th c. and not earlier, as the miniatures in discussion. They are based on the texts of the Old and the New Testament, from Creation to the Last Judgement. The plays took place at the holiday of *Corpus Christi* until 1521. Queen Elizabeth I banned the performance of the plays, because it was supported to be ceremonies associated with the papal system. However, the plays revived in the city of Chester, England, every five years. The last production was performed on June 28 to July 19 of 2008. For the *Corpus Christi* plays concerning the Resurrection of Christ and their connection to the fall of the protoplasts see Sheingorn, 1982, pp. 111- 29 (esp. pp. 118- 20).

². Weitzmann, 1952- 53, p. 119, Weitzmann, *Septuagint*, 1971, p. 230, Gutmann, 1966, p. 39. Lassus, 1979, p. 130, Erffa, 1989, pp. 171- 2. Moreover, in some versions of the apocryphal *Life of Adam and Eve* it is mentioned the oversized serpent, which apart from being the animal with the most outstanding qualities, his height was almost similar to a camel (Ginzberg, 1995, p. 38).

³. Jolly, 1997, p. 45.

equal as all the other creatures of the universe. The hidden meaning of that scene could be a reaction to the heresy of Catharism, a Christian sect professed a form of Manichaean dualism, whose belief was in opposition to Satan (serpent) subordination to a superior, benevolent Creator. As well as it might be a part of the Marian typology, since the angels have been feminized and the motif, stepping over the serpent, is also met in medieval scenes with Virgin Mary, such as in the Annunciation of Stammheim Missal (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 64, fol. 11^v, 1170- 80)¹.

There are a few early Christian illustrations where the serpent is depicted in the original situation, even during the temptation of the protoplasts². That is found in the St. Priscilla catacomb (*fig. 65*) and the cupola of the El Bagawat mausoleum. On both examples, the serpent is pictured on a vertical line, which is aligned to the tree on the first illustration and the wall of Eden on the second³. Presumably, the prelapsarian visual account of the serpent derives directly from the biblical text, where the penalised words of the Creator occur after the original sin, meaning that, up to that point, the serpent can theoretically have the prelapsarian posture⁴.

¹. Reed, 2007, pp. 46- 50, fig. 7. The belief that the world was created with wisdom is met on the Stammheim Missal (Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 64, fol. 10^v, ca. 1170), where the *Wisdom of Creation* is depicted. As the missal was manufactured on the monastery of St. Michael's at Hildesheim- approximately 150 years later than the bronze doors of the church- the main scene is the creation of Eve. Thus, the central point of the world are the protoplasts, having an emphasis on their original sin, the next illustrated scene on the left and the consequence of death, by depicting the murder of Abel on the right (Teviotdale, 2003, pp. 79- 81, fig. 1). Likewise, in the Zwiefalten manuscript (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. hist. 2^o 415, fol. 17^r, 1162- 1165) the depiction of the creation of Eve is combined with the fall of the angels, the original sin and the expulsion (Obrist, 2007, p. 571, fig. 23), while on the Flavius Josephus manuscript (Werden (?), lat. fol. 226^v, before 1159) the Creator stands on the upper part of the original sin (Fingernagel, 1991, pp. 116- 8, fig. XV).

². That is visualised as the serpent, which does not crawl his belly on the ground, as we meet on some examples of the naming of the animals.

³. Esche, 1957, p. 12, fig. II, III respectively.

⁴. According to patristic literature the serpent, before its corruption by the Satan, used to be the most prudent of all the animals and as incorruptible as the dove; Cf. st. Basil, *Ascetica magnum sive Quaestiones*, PG 31, 1245, 30, "Ὁ φρόνιμος μὲν ὡς ὁ ὄφις, ὁ μετὰ περισκέψεως καὶ κατανοήσεως τοῦ δυνατοῦ καὶ τῆς εὐδοκίας πρὸς εὐπειθειαν τῶν ἀκουόντων τὴν διδασκαλίαν οἰκονομῶν· ἀκέραιος δὲ ὡς ἡ περιστερά". After its occupation by Satan, it is the synonym of malevolence and of sinful life. It is often compared

The aspect that the original sin could be combined with the Eucharist and subsequently the salvation finds a controversial pictorial example of that linkage on the carvings of a shaft. It is found at the Priory church (Breedon on the Hill- Leicestershire, end of the 9th- beginning of the 10th c.), where the temptation is under the unidentified scene of a woman offering a drinking horn. That Anglo- Saxon topic could be negatively interpreted as the drinking or the sexual temptation¹.

to the sinner, who after his confession returns to his original situation, and he is drawn a parallel between the repentant and the sheep. Cf. St. John Chrysostom, *De paenitentia*, 1, PG 49, 337, "εἰσέρχεται ὄφις, καὶ ἐξέρχεται ἀρνίον, οὐ τῆς φύσεως μεταβαλλομένης, ἀλλὰ τῆς κακίας ἐλαννομένης".

¹. See the other possibilities of interpretation and the analogous analysis De Vegvar, 2003, pp. 245- 7, fig. 15.

viii. *The punishment* (Gen 3, 8- 22)

Those verses have been pictorially expressed in four episodes, though not always are depicted to a nicety, but also in a combined form. Specifically, the *Hiding from the presence of God or the Calling* (Gen 3, 8- 10), the *Denial of the Blame* (Gen 3, 11- 13), the *Punishment of the protoplasts and the curse to the serpent* (Gen 3, 14- 20) and *their Clothing* (Gen 3, 21- 22). The dreadful reaction of hiding is based on the fear of Adam and Eve, which originates in the lost of the holy garment, meaning virtue¹. That restrained emotion is pictorially marked by their leaning posture on the particular episode.

The early Christian sculpture has to demonstrate an example of the episode of the *Denial of guilt*, though not without scepticism, due to its bad condition. On the left side of the Balaam sarcophagus (Rome, Museum St. Sebastiano, first third of the 4th c.) there are the remains of a throne- seated man and in front of him two pairs of naked feet, the bottom of a tree and a serpent. The scholars can only assume the existence of a combined scene, the fall and the discussion among the protoplasts and Logos².

On the illustrations of San Paolo fuori le mura, as preserved in miniatures (Vatican Biblioteca, cod. Barb. Lat. 4406, fol. 27^r and fol. 28^r), they divide the *Denial of Blame* into two episodes: the *Reproval* of the protoplasts and the actual act of the *Denial*. Primarily, the protoplasts are almost kneeling in front of the tree of knowledge, praying or begging, while Logos is depicted in front of his globe³, indicating to the protoplasts with his straight raised hand. The succeeding episode presents the refusal of Adam and Eve to accept their guiltiness. That is visually displayed by the position of the right hands of the three protagonists of the episode. Logos, at that time on his sphere, gestures towards Adam and he, in his turn, points to Eve, who finally demonstrates the

¹. Didymus Caecus, *In Genesim* in Nautin, P., Doutreleau, L., 1976, p. 214 (codex page 92, lines 10- 14), "Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ φόβος ἔχοντος ἔτι διάλημψιν ὡς αἰσχροὺν ἢ κακία καὶ κολαστέον. Τοῦ δὲ φόβου αἴτιον εἶναι φήσιν τὴν γυμνό[τη]τα, ἥτις ἐκ τοῦ ἀπολωλέκειναι τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἥτις ἦν σκέπασμα· ἔνδυμα γὰρ ἐστὶν θεῖον ἢ ἀρετή".

². There is no parallel in the early Christian art in sarcophagi. Koch, 2000, p. 136, Kaiser- Minn, 1981 pp. 6- 7, fig. 4ab, Repertorium I, 1968, p. 112, fig. 176.

³. That motif was adopted by later medieval pictorial forms, as in Pantheon Bible (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. vat. lat. 12958, fol. 4^v, between 1120- 1130). See Fillitz, 1990, p. 270.

serpent as the definite offender of the sin. At that episode, it is also significant the way Eve is presented; she is already dressed in her animal tunic, giving with an apparent way, the meaning of awareness of her fault¹.

The narrative of the Touronian frontispieces does not unfold all the episodes in detail, due to the lack of space². The forefathers are pictured both on the same side of the episode (either on the right as in Grandval and in Bamberg, or on the left in Vivian), as an inseparable unit, opposite God, who has his hand raised. Scholars supported that the scenes of the Grandval and Bamberg Bibles are parallels and represent the *Denial of guilt (Reproval)*³. We suppose that Kessler's aspect is based on the bending position of the figures of Adam and Eve, as for instance in the Vienna Bible or of Eve's gesture showing the serpent next to her. He also mentions that the illustration of the Vivian frontispiece (**fig. 4**) refers to the *Hiding*, a very possible aspect⁴. Nonetheless, it cannot be accidental the arrangement of the rendition both of the Vivian and the Grandval Bible around the tree of knowledge. Thus, we assume that the particular scene is a combination of the *Hiding* (the protoplasts hide behind the tree, cover their shame and have a light or intense inclination) and the *Denial*, as concluded from Logos' gestures. On the contrary, the Bamberg scene, despite the similarity on the model of the Creator with the above-mentioned scenes, is clearly the *Denial*, since the tree is behind him.

A supreme conflation of episodes is also met in the San Paolo fuori le mura Bible (**fig. 5**). The archaic symmetrical arrangement of the protoplasts around the tree is repeating in the particular frontispiece, represented actually the *original sin*. Simultaneously, Logos is taking part in the scene, depicted beside Eve, while calling the protoplasts by his extended arm, a presence that refers directly to the *Denial of guilt*. The similarity in the gestures both of Adam and of Logos with the episode of the calling in San Marco cannot be

¹. Kessler, *Tours*, 1965, fig. 27- 28 respectively.

². Kessler (1971, p. 151) refers to that combinative imagery also as the *Reproval of the protoplasts*, while Gaehde (1971, p. 368, fig. 1) as the *Admonition*.

³. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 56, fig. 56, Kessler, 1971, p. 151. Cf. also Köhler, 1963, pp. 123ff, who unconvincingly tried to originate the Vivian illustration in the Vienna Bible; there are, according to Kessler, only "*some similarities of a superficial nature*".

⁴. It is also mentioned that the Vivian frontispiece provides the best-preserved episode of the period, Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 56, fig. 54. Also cf. Kessler, 1965, pp. 19- 20.

accidental and it reinforces the aspect of the close relationship between the monuments¹.

The scene of the *Hiding* on the Berlin plaque bears more resemblance to the particular episode of San Marco, than of any other earlier example. That derives from the pose of the figures; the protoplasts run away from Logos, though they look backwards at him².

The scene of the *Hiding* on the Hildesheim doors is at variance to a large extent with the above- mentioned examples³. The synthesis of the scene demonstrates with a more acute way than in the previous frames of the doors the responsibility of Eve. Specifically, the protoplasts do not stand as a unit one next to the other, but separately. It is remarkable the placement of the tree not between Logos and the forefathers, but in the middle of Adam and Eve. It means that it disunites Adam and Eve, putting the mainly blame on her and simultaneously declares a kind of solidarity between Adam and his Creator. By all means she daringly looks straight at Logos in contrast with Adam's restrained pose (he looks at the ground) strengthens the previous aspect⁴. Moreover, the species of the plants are of the same kind as in the previous scenes of the doors and according to Mohnhaupt, fairly unconvincingly, the usage of the leaves of the trees in order to cover their shame allude to the gradual catastrophe of the environment⁵.

On fol. 47^r of the Seraglio Octateuch (*fig. 67*), it is depicted the calling of the protoplasts and their attempt to escape from him. The hand emerging from the sky and the beam of rays from the hand towards the protoplasts stand

¹. Kessler, 1971, pp. 149- 50, fig. 4. Gaehde (1971, pp. 368- 9) refers to minor possibilities of the San Paolo Bible to originate in the pictorial synthesis of the Vivian frontispiece, since only the figures of Logos bear a kind of resemblance.

². Its parallel the Salerno *paliotto* does not include the particular scene, Kessler, 1966, pp. 89- 90, fig. 2.

³. The Logos holds a book on his hands, as in the *introduction* scene, Mohnhaupt, 2000, p. 82.

⁴. Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, p. 24, fig. 9. Cf. Tschan, 1951, pp. 188- 90, where it is implausibly mentioned that on the scene it is pointed out the culpability of Adam and not of Eve, as she is protected by the distance between her and her Creator. Even the shape of the tree whose branch covers Adam seems like there is a visual accusation for Adam, though the serpent- dragon stands by Eve.

⁵. Mohnhaupt, 2000, pp. 82- 3.

for God himself¹. On the scenery with luxuriant vegetation the protoplasts are placed on the right part, looking back on the left side, where God's hand is set and gesturing, as talking, to him². The exceptional element of the particular miniature is that an undersized plant covers with its branches their shame.

The influence of the Byzantine iconography is apparent, especially as far as the appearance of Logos is concerned, who clearly resembles to Byzantine *Pantocrator*. In the Sicilian monumental cycles, in Monreale (*fig. 68a*) and in Capella Palatina (*fig. 68b*) the artists follow the same motif for the *Denial of guilt*³. The gestures of the figures, pointing one another, are identical and refer to the discussion and the denial of any responsibility of the blame. Furthermore, the placement of the sinful couple behind the grass foliage and the tree of knowledge⁴ alludes to their *Hiding*, whereas the serpent on the ground may indicate the already imposition of the punishments. So, it is once again noticeable that the scenes in Sicily are compact, in a way that they follow the iconographic and technical lines of a model book, since they do not create a full, detailed narration of the punishments' episodes.

There are parallels, where two episodes are met or even a combined scene. Specifically, on the Millstatt Genesis (fol. 12^r) the combined scene probably represents the *Hiding* and the *Denial*⁵. The first is likely to be concluded by the fact that the forefathers are depicted stepping away from Logos, while their heads are turned towards him⁶. Their embarrassment is obvious by their gestures, whilst Logos is in the pose of speech. The helping figure, the angel, is standing crying behind the Creator. He (though the figure

¹. That motif is also met in the Vienna Bible, as already mentioned. See Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 41.

². The miniature is a work of the painter B. A minute description of the linear technique of the protoplasts see Anderson, 1982, p. 88, fig. 4. Also see Eller, K., Wolf, D., 1967, fig. 31.

³. Demus, 1949, fig. 97b and 28b respectively.

⁴. On the Monreale scene there is one more tree, behind them, which looks like a fig tree. That could refer to the tree, from which the protoplasts took the fig leaves to cover their shame. On the contrary, in Palatina there is only one tree on the scenery.

⁵. The scholars call that scene either the *Hiding* (Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 56, fig. 53) or the *Reproval of the protoplasts* (Kessler, *Tours*, 1965, fig. 26).

⁶. Their pose is a parallel to Adam's position of the *Hiding* in San Marco, even though his hands have been differentiated.

looks like a female one) has no wings and the clothes are not hieratic as in the previous episodes, but gradually they became minimally; only a plain chiton. His sorrow is visually stated by his doleful expression of his face and by his gesture of wiping his tears with his covered left hand¹.

Despite adducing a link between the Hortus Deliciarum manuscript (*fig. 69*), the Millstatt Genesis and the narthex of San Marco, the pictorial synthesis of the particular scene (fol. 17^v) is to our knowledge exceptional. The scene takes place around the tree of knowledge: On the left part Logos is standing, with a light inclination, as a part of his body gesture towards the seated protoplasts. The uniqueness is the open scroll he holds, where, among others, it is written "*Ubi es*" (*Where are you?*). On the right Adam seems like sitting on Eve's feet and he points at her, as a sign of refusing his guilt².

The scenes of the cupola in San Marco continue to be a narrative figuration on the episodes after the original sin. It is one of the exceptional parallels with such a detailed account of the *Genesis* text. On the episode of the *Hiding from God*³, Logos retakes his place on the left of the frame. His reserved moving figure has also a soft speaking gesture. Adam's running- away position is totally innovative and betokens his scare and awareness of his sin. In addition, the eccentric position of Eve, still figure and a rotation of her hands and upper body, declares her disgrace⁴. A unique noteworthy iconographical element is the picture of a palm tree between Logos and Adam. Despite the dense foliage of the scenes, starting from the cube of Adam's creation to the labours, this is the only appearance of a palm tree. A possible interpretation might be that the palm tree acts as a link between the first and the second Adam. The symbolism of the palm frond is generally related to the victory over death and certainly is a sign referring to Jesus entry into Jerusalem⁵. Evidently, it seems that the setting of the palm tree between the two figures after the protoplasts committed the original sin operates as a promising and hopeful

¹. Cf. Dave, 1978, p. 31, fig. 9.

². Green, 1955, p. 345, fig. 2c.

³. *HIC DOMINUS VOCAT ADAM ET EVAM LATENTES POST ARBOREM*, Demus, vol. 2, 1984, p. 78.

⁴. Jolly, 1997, pp. 50- 1, fig. 23, Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 56, fig. 52.

⁵. The palm leaf was a symbol of victory in general in the ancient Roman period. Ferguson, 1961, p. 36.

mark for the future salvation and it is also a part of the already developed theology on Christ- Adam.

On the next frame it is presented the *Denial of guilt*, having the most well- preserved compositions of the dome mosaic¹. The depiction of Logos seated on a luxurious throne reminds us the judge in the court, who is seated on a high rostrum². Behind his throne both the trees, without the serpent, are protected from any additional intrusion³. Likewise, the text of *The life of Adam and Eve* might have been a basis for their visual description of the episode, "καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστηρίζετο, ὅπου ἦν τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς"⁴.

The design arrangement of the *Punishment of the protoplasts and the curse to the serpent*⁵ is symmetrical even at the minor details⁶. On the middle, the seated Logos addresses to the serpent with the familiar gesture of speech. A foliage background and the protoplasts flank the throne. They are both depicted in profile, showing their culpability. Besides, they kneel in front of God and they have their hands crossways, like praying. The serpent is located on the right part in an up- side- down position, indicating his inferiority and his

¹. The inscription of the episode, *HIC DOMINUS INCREPAT ADAM IPSE MONSTRAT UXOREM FUISSE CAUSAM*, is also the most well- preserved. See Demus, vol. 2, 1984, p. 78.

². St. John Chrysostomus, *In Genes. 17, 3*, PG 53, 137, "Εἰ γὰρ δικαστὴν ὁρῶντες ἐπίγειον ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ βήματος καθήμενον, καὶ τοὺς καταδίκους εἰς μέσον ἄγοντα..." ("When the judge is seen seated on a high throne, having the convicts around him..."). Cf. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 56. The seated on a throne Logos calls to mind the seated on his sphere Logos of the San Paolo fuori le mura (Vatican Biblioteca, cod. barb. lat. 4406, fol. 28^r), who actually is depicted a level upper of the forefathers. The feature of Logos, as the ruler, might have been popular at the Cotton Genesis family.

³. Although the serpent is included on the traditional pictorial accounts of the Middle Ages, its absence here it is explained by the fact that the artists followed the Vulgate narration and its commentaries, where the serpent is not mentioned. Jolly, 1997, p. 51, fig. 24.

⁴. "And the throne of God supported by the tree of life", Tromp, 2005, p. 148 (XXII, 198). See Jolly, 1997, p. 55.

⁵. *HIC DOMINUS MALEDICIT SERPENTI CUM ADAM ET EVA ANTE SE EXISTENTIBUS*, reads the inscription of the episode, Demus, vol. 2, 1984, p. 78.

⁶. It recalls the iconography of the Last Judgment, Demus, 1988, p. 163, p. 165.

distance from Eve shows their hostility given from God¹. We find interesting to cite the resemblance that occurs on the specific episode with the scene of the *Etoimasia* on the Torcello Cathedral (12th c.). The structure of the motif in Torcello, the throne being flanked by two angels and the protoplasts in proskynesis, speaks volumes for similarity of the two monuments as well as the implementation of the adamic typology and theology in general, according to the rules of Byzantine art².

Likewise, the next infrequently depicted episode of the *Clothing*³ is a balanced scenery with a rigorous discipline among the figures. Adam is already dressed and depicted static and frontal, whereas Eve maintains in profile and Logos on the middle assists her to be clothed in the tunic⁴. In the first instance, that act, in conflation with her portrait in profile, might echo her major level of guiltiness that requires superior, personal treatment from Logos himself.

The tunics according to the Greek Fathers represent God's promise for providence for all the humanity and the perspective for rehabilitation of the humans into paradise⁵. Yet, in the medieval Europe there were aspects on the clothing as a symbol of mortality and sin⁶, which though they do not keep up

¹. Jolly, 1997, p. 55, fig. 25. The inspiration of the synthesis may have been inspired from the pictorial form of the Last Judgment. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L. (*Septuagint*, 1986, pp. 56- 7, fig. 57) point out the possible parallels of the particular scene, as the Last Judgment of Torcello and of Panagia Chalkeon, where the Christ is depicted also in the middle of the composition.

². Guldan, 1966, pp. 40- 1, fig. 18.

³. HIC DOMINUS VETIT ADAM ET EVAM writes on the inscription, Demus, vol. 2, 1984, pp. 78- 9.

⁴. Niero, 2001, p. 266.

⁵. St. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Anima et Resurrectione*, PG 46, 148A- 149A, st. John Chrysostomus, *In Genesim*, 18, 1- 2, PG 53, 148- 150. Clothing also in the Jewish tradition acts as the bond between the past and the future. It is not accidental that in the Midrashic Aggadah it is mentioned that the garments of the coming Christ would be identical to Adams'. See the analysis in Rubin N., Kosman A., 1997, pp. 155- 74.

⁶. Kosmer, 1975, pp. 1- 8.

Actually, when we refer to the nakedness of the old man, it is equivalent to the lost ancient beauty and kindness. Though, the tunics were symbols of the upcoming salvation, clothes in general were signs of the corporal world (that can be deduced from the following readings: "... *et euto veteris hominis habitu, nudi in fide exultem in te, Domine, quia induisti*

with the auspicious meaning of the promise for delivering the humanity from the captivity of death. The dissimilarity between the lengths of the tunics- Adam's extending to his ankle, Eve's up to her knee- is interpreted by some scholars as an indication of sexuality¹. However, the totally alike tunics on the scene of the expulsion from Eden give us the signal to suggest that the different lengths of the previous episode are not just a symbol of sexuality- nowadays a word with unpleasant connotation- but better an allegory of the situation of marriage, which was established after the original sin. Marriage is actually instituted by the punishment to woman "*I will greatly increase your pangs in childbearing; in pain you shall bring forth children, yet your desire shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you*" (Gen 3, 16). The notion of marriage is essentially the desire for restoration towards the prelapsarian situation. In paradise, among the angels or the protoplasts before the fall, marriage was unnecessary. Yet, the human beings need to be within the state of marriage, as a hopeful co- operation for the reconstruction of the original beauty, as angels, who have never lost it².

nos vestimento salutis, et tunica laetitiae circumdedisti nos. sicut sponsam adornasti nos muliebribus stolis, coniunge nos tibi per confessionem." EUCHOLOGICUM, p. 228).

¹. See Jolly, 1997, p. 56. That sense of lasciviousness was, according to Williams, in Spain, where, after the centuries under the Muslim occupation, a number of influences are observed. The effect of our interest is the pictorial presentation of the female sexuality, since there was the tendency to face the Saracens as sexually permissive. Williams, 1977, pp. 8- 9.

². St. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Hominis Opificio*, 17, PG 44, 188A- 189D (esp. 189B). The discussion on the early Christian and Jewish exegetical works as far as the sexual relationships of the protoplasts after their expulsion and the notion of marriage as an eschatological important stage see G. Anderson, 1989, pp. 121- 48.

*ix. The expulsion*¹ (*Gen 3, 22- 24*)

The only extant illustration of the catacombs is the one in Via Latina (Room *B*). It is a unique rendering of the biblical text, where the protoplasts are presented dressed in their leopard skins. They are standing under a rectangular frame, symbolizing the door of paradise. Their figures are undersized in comparison with the fairly large bodily structure of Logos², who is standing by the door indicating the protoplasts the way out³.

The episode of the expulsion of the Vienna Genesis (6th c., *fig. 70*) points out the presence of God by including in the frame his hand emerging out of the sky, as well as the verity of the original sin, by the depiction of the serpent. The noteworthy elements are the wheel of fire and an extra female figure, which probably are of Jewish origin⁴. Firstly, the wheel of fire in front of the gate of paradise probably represents the flaming sword and the divine attendance as it is described in *Ezek* (1, 1- 21). On *Ezek* (1, 22- 28) is described the presence of God, the *Shekhina*, which was located before the gate of paradise after the expulsion of the protoplasts, according to the *Targum*⁵. Provided that the garden of paradise was made for the moral people, it is supported that the flaming sword could be a symbol of hell and it is autonomous from the cherubim⁶. Secondly, Adam and Eve are accompanied by a figure with an unquestionably female form, whose analysis is discussed

¹. In general the iconography of the scene see Poeschel, 2005, p. 40.

². Yet, there is also the aspect that the existence of an angel instead of God is an earlier motif than that of Logos himself, since the pattern is depended upon the theological development. Nor should it be forgotten that there were still Jewish influences on the very early art of the catacombs at least as far as the ban on God's depiction. See the ratiocination Kötzsche- Breitenbruch, 1976, pp. 46- 8.

³. Bargebuhr, 1991, pp. 31ff, Goodenough, 1962, p. 131.

⁴. Schubert K., 1983, pp. 1- 2.

⁵. An ancient Aramaic paraphrase or interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, of a type made from about the 1st c. AD when Hebrew was declining as a spoken language. Schreckenberg H., Schubert K., 1992, pp. 212- 3, fig. 46.

⁶. Schreckenberg H., Schubert K., 1992, p. 213.

variously by the scholars; the divine Wisdom or the divine Law¹. Thereby, according to scholars, the right part of the Vienna scene demonstrates the tradition of the *Targum*².

On the group of the Carolingian Bibles there are diversified variations of the theme of *Expulsion*. Firstly, the Bamberg and the Grandval frontispieces present the protoplasts dressed in short tunics, being expelled from Eden by an angel. Both Adam and Eve stare backwards at the lost paradise, whereas their intense movement denotes a strong emotional situation³. Secondly, the scene also appears in the Vivian bible, though having a dissimilar form. It is mostly emphasized their utter desolation and sorrow about their mistake, feelings that are visible through their inclined pose and especially Eve's left hand under her cheek. Furthermore, they look forward to their new environment, an element that refers to the acceptance of the punishments. Almost the same movement occurs on the San Paolo fuori le mura frontispiece, though with a totally different appearance; the protoplasts are nude, covering their shame with the fig leaves, while an eager, wingless man (guard) forces them towards with a sword and an aggressive posture. Kessler categorizes the Vivian and the San Paolo bibles having probably the same archetype, certainly different from the first two bibles⁴ and Gaehde suggests the *same or very similar models*⁵.

Moreover, as a close parallel it is given the Salerno Antependium (*fig. 71*) and the Berlin ivory (11th c.), where the postures and movements bear resemblance to the previous illustrations, as well as the angel of the Vivian bible and his movement holding Adam's shoulder⁶ (the gestures of the protoplasts vary; on the Berlin ivory their hands are totally pendulous, a pose which reveals a non- reaction to their expulsion, as they realized their mistake, contrary to the Salerno Antependium, where they intensively react). There is an analogous pose in the scene of the Millstatt Genesis (cod. VI, 19, fol. 14^v),

¹. Hengel, *Judentum*, 275- 318.

². Zimmermann, 2003, pp. 75- 6, Schreckenber H., Schubert K., 1992, p. 213.

³. Kessler, 1971, p. 150.

⁴. Kessler, 1971, p. 150. Almost comparable is the scene of the church of San Paolo fuori le Mura, as being perceived on the manuscript (Vatican, Bibliotheca, cod. Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 29^r). See Kessler, *Tours*, 1965, p. 20, fig. 31.

⁵. Gaehde, 1971, p. 369.

⁶. The protoplasts in both examples wear a peculiar pair of knee pants. Kessler, 1966, p. 90.

though it is Logos himself, who holds Eve, while Adam tries to get through the arch of the paradise door¹. The artists might have used the scene of Calling of the Cotton manuscript in order to operate as the expulsion, since there is the assumption about the Cotton Genesis of having two scenes for expulsion².

However, the protoplasts' nudity³, which also appears in the Millstatt Genesis, cannot be accidental. It could be possible the miniatures to have been derived from the same archetype and the artists to follow only a few main lines, such as the protoplasts gestures, while rejecting other more central points, such as the clothes. On that case the artist might have wanted to concentrate the viewers' attention on the *labours* scene, in order to demonstrate in a more intensive way on the results of the original sin (an aspect that can be reinforced by the aggressiveness of the guard) and at the same time the creation of their own clothes, just by themselves. In the scene of Hortus Deliciarum (fol. 17^v, **fig. 72**) Logos himself expels the protoplasts from paradise. He touches both of them from their shoulder showing them their new life with the most gentle and compassionate way⁴. Apart from that, the other striking pictorial element is their nakedness. Thus, it is interesting, though odd, Logos to be depicted as a Byzantine *Pantocrator* and simultaneously the protoplasts to be nude, a western pictorial tradition.

The visual description of the *expulsion* on the Hildesheim doors received a Tournian impact, though different in some points. The protoplasts move is dissimilar, since Adam has a gently figure tiptoeing outward from the door, which he actually opens. On the contrary, Eve has a rather aggressive posture, staring at her back the angel and the lost paradise, as she is the one, who really argues with the angel and fight for being expelled⁵. Moreover, the building that symbolizes the door of paradise is a part of a complete architectural construction. If we notice the opposite scene, we discern that there

¹. Kessler, 1971, p. 150, fig. 16 and fig. 18 respectively.

². Kessler, 1971, p. 150. That speculation was based on the second scene on the Millstatt Genesis, where a man, with a sword, grasps his clothes, probably as a sign of desperation (see fig. 20, *Sword whirling and flashing* scene (fol. 16^v), Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 57, fig. 62).

³. Notwithstanding the positive connotation of the nudity in Byzantine art, as far as the holy and asceticism is concerned, the protoplasts in their postlapsarian situation bare another sort of nakedness; the disgrace and shame. Maguire, E. D., Maguire, H., 2007, p. 106.

⁴. Green, 1955, p. 346, fig. 2d.

⁵. Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, p. 24, fig. 11, Mohnhaupt, 2000, p. 83.

is its matching part, the rest of the building¹. The construction could be the pictorial indication of the forthcoming human culture and civilisation in a nearly peculiar situation that was instituted by the original sin and it can be expressed by the link *nature* and *culture*². Presumably, that refers to Jerusalem, as the divine city, whose entrance is based on the virtuous character of the protoplasts and generally of every individual³. That pictorial effect underlined the continuation between the facts of the Old and the New Testament.

As far as the Byzantine art is concerned we quote the scene of the expulsion on the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 510, fol. 25^v, 880- 883)⁴, which is limited within the frame of the first row of the miniature, where there are three scenes on the whole. That means the narration is minimized on the basic elements; the protoplasts, who are pushed away from Eden by an angel, are depicted in motion one behind the other in order to gain space.

Despite its Byzantine background the miniature with the story of the protoplasts of the Homilies of Jacob Kokkinovaphou (Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1162, fol. 35a, 1125- 1150, **fig. 73**)⁵ bears a western

¹. According to Tschan (1951, p. 251) there is architectural decoration on both wings of the doors also in miniatures of the Echternach school, developed in the area of Aachen.

². Mohnhaupt, 2000, pp. 83- 4. Yet, the Orthodox theology considers the original sin as the denial of accepting the gift of the Creator that was the entire universe under man's command. That accrues from the mystical alliance between the human beings and the natural environment, a bond, which originates on their common roots. See concisely the Orthodox position on the subject Bartholomew, 2008, pp. 92- 8.

³. St. John Chrysostom, *In parabolam Samaritani*, PG 62, 755, "Ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶ ὁ Ἀδάμ, Ἱερουσαλήμ δὲ ἡ ἐπουράνιος πολιτεία καὶ ἡ φρόνησις, Ἱεριχὼ δὲ ὁ κόσμος. Ἐφ' ὅσον τούτων ὁ Ἀδάμ πρὸ τῆς παρακοῆς εἶχε τὸ ἐπουράνιον φρόνημα, καὶ τὴν ἰσάγγελον πολιτείαν, ἀκώλυτον εἶχε τὴν εἴσοδον ἐν τῇ ἐπουράνιῳ πόλει Ἱερουσαλήμ", ("Adam is man, Jerusalem is the celestial city and the prudence, Jericho is the world. Since Adam, before the original sin, had the celestial esprit and he was equal to an angel, he had also free access to the city of Jerusalem").

⁴. Der Nersessian, 1962, p. 208, fig. 9.

⁵. Galavaris, 1995, fig. 144.

element, rare in the eastern art¹; Adam and Eve are unclothed during their expulsion, though their gesture are on supplication and sorrow is depicted on their faces. That could be explained by the fact that in Constantinople, where the manuscript was created, they coexisted various iconographical styles.

Furthermore, both in the mosaics of Palatina (*fig. 74*) and Monreale (*fig. 75*) there is identical arrangement of the scene. On the left a rectangular, elongated architectural construction stands for the door of paradise, having in its front a cherubim with the flaming sword. An angel drives the protoplasts outside of Eden. Their movement is more intense in Monreale, while their gestures are in the pose either of supplication and they gaze backwards². Eve in both pictures, as well as in the *labours*, wears hair ornaments, which probably refers to the customs of the women on that period to titivate them.

The visual rendering of the creation cupola in San Marco comes to an end with the last frame, where the scenes of the expulsion³ and the labours of the protoplasts are portrayed. On the first scene a remarkable motion is discerned, since all the characters, the Logos and the protoplasts, move forward outside of the door of Eden. Despite the previous illustrations, the protoplasts are accompanied by Logos himself, whose gesture on Adam's shoulder is similar to the one on the *Introduction of Eve into paradise*. Yet, the terms have been overturned, since on the *introduction* Logos holds Eve and Adam indicates to her the paradisiacal environment, whereas on the *expulsion* Eve presents their new situation to Adam with disenchantment⁴.

On the left side of the scene, there is a composition of the tree of life, having the illustration of a cross in its foliage, two phoenixes and a flaming sword. As regards to the cross, it is the prefiguration of the Crucifixion, the necessary act, according to the western scholastic dogmatic teachings, which restrained within the original sin the Incarnation of Logos. The flaming sword was transformed into the salvation cross and thus those iconographical elements of the scene have a natural association with the Resurrection.

¹. It is a common place that the most of the Byzantine illustrations depict the protoplasts dressed during their expulsion from paradise, such as the Byzantine Octateuchs. See Lassus, 1979, pp. 137- 8.

². Demus, 1949, p. 260, fig. 29A and 97B respectively

³. *HIC EXPELLIT EOS DE PARADISO* it is read on the inscription of the scene. Demus, vol. 2, 1984, p. 79.

⁴. Jolly, 1997, p. 57.

Moreover, there is a tradition of the construction of the Christ's Cross from the wood of the tree of life, which was presumably popular in Venice, since in the treasury of San Marco there was its relic¹. It is persuasively argued that the presence of the cross on the narthex had also a political nuance. Should it not be forgotten that the period of the construction of the mosaics in San Marco was after the occupation of Constantinople (1204), meaning that probably they wanted to lend Byzantine glamour to the illustrations and a sense of stability, though the cross is neither a Byzantine nor a Latin one, but the feeling that the mosaics are God's dispensation².

The phoenix, according to the Christian symbolism, represents the Resurrection of Christ and it regularly performs with the Crucifixion and in general it refers to the everlasting life over death³. Their red colour also allude to the Jewish legend, according to which Eve has shared the fruit to the animals; the only exception was the phoenixes, which denied to eat it and as a reward they were allowed to continue their life in the garden of Eden⁴.

The Arsenal Bible shares similarities, such as the western element of the nakedness, with the Old Testament Picture Book in the Morgan Library (M 638, fol. 2^r)⁵, a manuscript in Munich (Staatbibliothek, lat. 835, fol. 8^v)⁶, the *Dijon* manuscript of the *Histoire Universelle*⁷ and an English Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8846, fol. 1^r, ca. 1200)⁸. Weiss mentions that the scenes of the Arsenal Bible and the one of the Morgan manuscript are compound; they include in one frame the scenes of the *denial* and of the

¹. Jolly, 1997, pp. 56- 7.

². Niero, 2001, p. 268.

³. Ferguson, 1961, p. 23. The phoenix is also met in other patterns, such as on the paradise river on the conch of S. Maria Maggiore, as a reference to the eternal life, Barclay Lloyd, 2002, p. 42.

⁴. Reed, 2007, p. 50, Jolly, 1997, p. 57, Kessler, *Salamander*, 1965, p. 325- 9.

⁵. Cockerell, 1970, p. 30.

⁶. Buchthal, 1957, plat. 148b.

⁷. Buchthal, 1957, plat. 82a.

⁸. The Psalter is possible to be linked with the sculpture of the Chartres Cathedral (1260) and especially as far as the particular scene is concerned the gestures of the protagonists bear direct resemblance. See Büchsel, 1995, p. 143, fig. 283.

expulsion, which is shown by their gestures of denial¹. In our opinion, that might only be suggested about the Arsenal scene and only judging by Adam's gesture indicating Eve. Furthermore, their body motion could refer to the scene of *hiding*. Yet, Weiss conclusion cannot come up to the Morgan manuscript, since their gesture as well as their pose reveals their acquiescence in their punishment. The extraordinary feature is that apart from the hostile angel, who forces them out of Eden, in the Morgan frame Logos also takes part in the scene². He is in the pose of blessing and at the same time he holds a book, meaning he has an unquestionable Byzantine appearance. The humble, though naked, figures of the protoplasts and the tranquil form of Logos around the unfriendly angel create a pictorial balance.

¹. Weiss, 1998, p. 126.

². Buchthal, 1957, plat. 62 and 148e respectively.

x. The labours

In Christian art the scene of the labours is actually derived from the relevant *Genesis* text (3, 16- 19), which concerns the punishment towards the protoplasts and the life that they had to deal with after their expulsion, as having been announced by their Creator.

Opposite the expulsion scene in Via Latina, on the other side of the arch (room *B*) the protoplasts are depicted seated in sadness (holding their cheek with their right hand) and wearing the same garments. The episode is actual the lament of the protoplasts, a pattern not so habitually depicted on the Christian art. Next to them their sons, Cain and Abel, offered to them vegetables and a lamb respectively, whilst in their middle, the illustration of a serpent symbolizes the murder¹. Schubert elucidates the particular motif by referring to Midraschic tradition, the narration of which points out the serpent to be the father of Cain and that is why it takes part on that illustration².

The act of offerings reminds us the early Christian depictions on the sarcophagi, where a lamb and a sheaf of wheat accompany Adam and Eve. Those elements stand for the abbreviation of the two incidents, since the lamb is probably a prefiguration for Christ's sacrifice. Moreover, their son are fully-clothed, Cain in a short tunic and Abel in a robe. The interpretation of the robe could presumably be its connection with the Savior, who is going to offer redemption by his death. It is also noteworthy the fact that a figure, probably Noah, whose story is a prefiguration of the salvation, is also dressed in such a robe³.

At the last scene of the *Genesis* frontispieces of the Carolingian Bibles Adam curves downward, tilling his fields with a mattock. Apart from the San Paolo fuori le mura miniature, where Adam wears a leather bertha, on the other illustrations he is dressed in the same kind of clothes as in the expulsion scene. As far as Eve is concerned two variations are occurred. The one, on the Grandval and San Paolo f. l. m., depicts Eve nursing his child, being semi-nude (a rather occasional pattern) and the other, on the Vivian and Bamberg Bibles, she has a hieratic pose, seated with her child on her lap⁴. The latter is a part of

¹. Kogman- Appel, 2002, p. 82, fig. 10, Stevenson, 1978, p. 65, fig. 39, Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, 1976, pp. 48- 51.

². Schubert, 1973, pp. 17- 8.

³. Goodenough, 1962, pp. 131- 2.

⁴. Kessler, 1977, p. 150, Gaehde, 1971, p. 370.

the adamic typology, a prefiguration of Virgin Mary, as she holds Jesus, especially of the Vivian Bible, where Eve is depicted in frontal position.

The suggestion that the Ashburnham motif (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2334, fol. 6^r, late 6th c., **fig. 76**) accepted the same influences with the Tournon Bibles¹ was not a fully- acceptable proposal, especially as regards the placement of Eve. She is seated on a bench, which is placed under a shelter with a roof, whilst the Carolingian Bibles she sits on the rocky ground under a bower constructed by a garland of leaves, hung between two trees². It presumably derives from the Latin apocryphal text of the *Vita Adam et Evae*, where the legend states the construction of a shelter, where they remained for seven days, before they decided to repent, in order God to have a pity on them; hence, Adam realises his sin and he fasts by the river Jordan³. Albeit, the bower is not mentioned on the Greek versions of *The Life of Adam and Eve*, the text declares their way out of the garden of Eden towards East ("ἀνήλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολήν") and in other versions also their stay there ("καὶ κατοίκησεν")⁴. The East is widely revealed in the Christian literature, eschatologically as the sunrise (the Greek word ἀνατολή is also used for the rise of the sun), meaning the coming of Christ, as the sun or the place of the world that has a particular theological meaning, since it is met in various circumstances in connection with the existence of a tent, such as the tent of Abraham, the tent of the Ark of Covenant or even the reference of the word *tent* as the *Ecclesia*⁵. The latter brings forward analogous thoughts of the illustration of Eve and her child under the protection of a bower in the labours scene, which presumably indirectly refers to the Virgin Mary and her child, Christ, under his Church.

¹. Narkiss, 1969, pp. 45 -60. The researches mention that the Pentateuch was transferred in Tours on the 9th c. and it is likely to have been seen by the artists of the Carolingian Bibles. Lowden, 2002, p. 45.

². Kogman- Appel, 2002, p. 81, fig. 9, Kessler, 1971, p. 151 and pp. 159- 60, Tschan, 1951, p. 193. The scholars do mention that iconographical element, though without any theological explanation, rather practical, for the protection of Eve from the sun.

³. "When they were driven out of paradise they made a booth for themselves and spent seven days mourning and lamenting in great grief" (Sparks, 1984, I, 1- 3, p. 147. See the translation of the text in Greek, Agouridis, 2004, p. 184). Ginzberg, 1995, pp. 45- 7, Kogman- Appel, 2002, p. 1.

⁴. Tromp, 2005, I, 2, p. 122.

⁵. St. Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, 12, PG 27, 112B, "Σκηνήν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁγίαν Ἐκκλησίαν σημαίνει" ("Its shelter means the holy Church").

Eve on the Hortus Deliciarum (fol. 27^r)¹ scene does not hold a child, but only her spinning tools, even though she is semi-dressed, while Adam is digging the plants, though his posture of his body does not follow the previous examples; he is relatively in an upright stance and it seems that the couple does not communicate to each other with any pictorial element.

An entirely differentiated parallel of the Cotton Genesis recension, is the Salerno Antependium (ca. 1084). Both the protoplasts are tilling with their mattocks the soil, which is implied by two short bushes². They are placed in parallel, Eve above Adam and they have an identical position; their bodies form a right angle, while their stepping is similar to the one of the previous scene, the *Expulsion*. That arrangement of the scene perhaps occurs due to the lack of extra space and the same stepping in order a balance to be achieved. It remains an open question the explanation of their identical stance and especially Eve's, which is not based on any text or hymn. A possible clarification would be the need for the artist to declare the equality between the sexes or even to express a certainty for the hardness of the human life and his call for salvation.

That unusual composition, depicting Eve as a helper for Adam on the fields is also met on the Bible of Ripolli (Citta del Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 5729, f. 6^r, second quarter of the 11th c.). According to Conzalez, the particular pictorial form finds its origin on an ivory Byzantine casket (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 10th c., *fig. 77*), where both the protoplasts seem to be occupied with the forge³. Apparently, Ripolli is the earliest western examples with Eve working, a more Byzantine element, even though she is totally dressed up, as the dressing codes of the period called for the social appearance of women.

On the sixth panel of the Hildesheim doors the life outside of paradise is pictured, providing a few elements for further discussion. On the upper middle of the scene an angel seems like being a representative of the Creator, while below there is a lion head as a door fastener. Adam's stance on the left performs as being guided as a puppet by God or as having that peculiar position in order to be accentuated his physical exhaustion and his difficulty in operating in his new way of existence⁴. Eve, fully-clothed, holds with maternal affection his first-born child and she sits under a construction of a loosely-tied sheet. That

¹. Green, 1951, p. 346, fig. 16.

². Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 57, fig. 63.

³. Conzalez, 2002, p. 38, fig. 4 and 15 respectively.

⁴. It is mentioned that his position is mostly regulated by the presence of the lion in the middle of the scene or it is based on the ineffectiveness of the artist to transfer his prototype picture into the hard material of the doors. Tschan, 1951, p. 193.

effect protects her from the sun, it is wavelike due to the heat and the wind of the outside world and it can be considered as the result of God's compassion¹. The angel holds a crossed staff, which on the one hand acts as a consolation for salvation and on the other hand strengthens the aspect of being archangel Gabriel, as a prefiguration of the Annunciation².

The symmetry of the scene has been moved on the right side of the frame, in contrast with the almost strict balance that occurred in the episodes before the fall. Additionally, the remote distance of the protoplasts as well as their use of their hands only for work in contrast to their will for hugging on their *introduction* scene denote the alteration of their postlapsarian life³. Needless to cite that the seated Eve acts as an antitype to the scene of the *visit of the Magi*⁴ and simultaneously the attendance of the *labours* by an angel is not a fortuitous incident, but it can enclose a link to the angel of the Annunciation.

The scene following the *expulsion* from paradise on the fol. 52^v Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, gr. 510, 880- 883) takes up the whole place of the middle row of the miniature and it is an exclusive arrangement. The Cherub, that is guarding the paradise with his flaming sword, occupies the half of the frame. By the door the presence of an angel offering a hoe to Adam is a sole iconographical element without parallel in Byzantine art. Besides, Adam's figure is depicted one more time on the right corner with Eve, both in mourning seated on a mount⁵. That seems to be a Byzantine motif, which is followed by later miniatures, such as the relevant pages of the Octateuchs, Vat. gr. 746 and 747 (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 11th c., 44^r and 25^r respectively), though with a few innovations, such as the angel talks with both the protoplasts and on the next scene they are depicted Adam, Eve and their children⁶.

On the Sicilian monuments, Capella Palatina and Monreale, the protoplasts share roughly identical poses and outfit⁷. Eve is depicted in sorrow, having her left hand on her cheek, though there is a differentiation between the mosaics. In Monreale she holds also a spindle and a distaff, while in Palatina she does not. An exceptional element in Palatina is Eve's position of her feet. They are crossed in such a way that reminds us the posture of Christ in the Byzantine illustration of *Virgin Mary of passion*. That position refers to the

¹. Tschan, 1951, pp. 194- 5, p. 261.

². Tschan, 1951, p. 194, p. 264.

³. Mohnhaupt, 2000, p. 84.

⁴. Mohnhaupt, 2000, p. 85.

⁵. Brubaker, 1985, p. 8, fig. 6.

⁶. Lassus, 1979, pp. 136- 8.

⁷. Demus, 1949, fig. 29A and 98A respectively.

passion of Christ. Thus, it could not be impossible for the artist to conflate her mourning and the forthcoming passion, due to their disobedience.

The scene of the *Labours* in the cupola of San Marco¹ involves a number of interesting iconographical elements, which corresponds to the typology developed in Venice during the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th c. Above all, the protoplasts, first time outside of paradise, represent everyone of us and our role in the world. Primarily, the scene is not actually separated with any kind of barrier from the expulsion, meaning their link. The natural background is rocky and plain, without trees or flowers, referring to the differences between it and the Edenic world. Adam, according to God's punishment, holds a mattock and he cultivates the unfriendly fields. His guilty is visually presented by his profile posture and his uncovered leg, similar characteristics of Eve on the scene of *Clothing*. On the contrary, Eve in the *Labours* has a frontal depiction and her body is totally covered by her clothes². She is seated on a throne and she holds a spindle and a distaff, which act as a prefiguration of Virgin Mary, who appears in the scene of Annunciation holding the same the same tools or having next to her throne a box of wool³.

The ancient mythological ideas on the foregone history of the world are related to the Moirai, the Fates, and especially the spinning goddess Clotho (*Κλωθώ*, the one who spins). She is spinning the days of the lives of people and she defines their destiny⁴. That Greek myth is also met in Plato having the name of Ananke (Necessity). Ananke holds the spindle of the world, a

¹. *HIC INCIPIUNT LABORARE* writes the inscription of the scene. Demus, vol. 2, 1984, p. 79.

². Jolly, 1997, 56- 8.

³. According to the *Protevangelium* of Jacob, "*Καὶ ἔλαχεν τὴν Μαριάμ ἡ ἀληθινὴ πορφύρα καὶ τὸ κόκκινον, καὶ λαβοῦσα ἀπίει εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς. Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐσίγησεν Ζαχαρίας καὶ ἐγένετο ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Σαμουὴλ, μέχρις ὅτου ἐλάλησεν Ζαχαρίας. Μαριάμ δὲ λαβοῦσα τὸ κόκκινον ἔκλωθεν*", Tischendorf, 1856, p. 20 (chapter 20). Cf. Jolly, 1997, p. 61, Constatas, 2003, pp. 332- 4. See iconographical analysis Brenk, 1975, pp. 9- 19, fig. 46. For instance we mention the scene of the Annunciation in Santa Maria Maggiore (c. 432- 40), Jolly, 1997, p. 61. Sometimes on the down- right corner of the scene of the Annunciation there is an infrequent detail of a minute female figure, reddish- painted, who is convincingly supported that she is Eve herself, the mother of the human nation, next to the second Eve, Virgin Mary. See Constatas, 2003, pp. 335- 7. However, other scholars support that she is the figure of a plain handmaid, whose red colour could simply be explained as the artistic coloured contrast on the background colour. See Galavaris, 1995, p. 251, fig. 178.

⁴. Kerényi, 1998, p. 44.

figurative imagery for describing the notion of fate within the universe¹. Despite the limited visual representation of the spinning figure, she is enthroned holding the spindle in her hand². Presumably, the spinning tools of Eve are met in the mythical artistic concept of an ancient pictorial presentation of the spinning goddess.

The relationship of Eve- Mary through spinning in Christian art has a reference to the text of *Job* (38, 39) and it is connected with the womb of woman and her postlapsarian labours to give birth her children³. Her look states her eagerness and ironic attitude, while her luxurious dress and her ornament on her hair affirmed her inactivity. On that point, there is an interesting, though not totally potent or persuasive suggestion. Jolly supports that the roles of the protoplasts have been inverted after the expulsion and consequently Adam is subjected to Eve. That attitude was, according to Jolly, under the Middle Ages approach about women, who is subjected to her avocation to the bodily beauty and sexuality.

Identical are the frames of the *labours* of the Arsenal Bible and Picture Book in the Morgan Library (M 638, fol. 2^r)⁴. Between the protoplasts, who hold the relevant tools, there is a tiny figure in the Arsenal and two minute persons in the Morgan Book, who stand for their children. It does not go unremarked the outfit of the participants; Adam and Eve are semi- dressed, whilst their children wear garments up to their knees. On the contrary on the scene of the English Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8846, fol. 10^r, **fig. 78**) both the protoplasts are dressed in full- length garments, while their children are totally naked⁵.

Besides, it is unique and rare the labours to be depicted having as protagonists Adam and Cain. For instance we cite the *Junius 11* (page 49), where the first of the five scenes about the story of Cain and Abel portrays

¹. An analysis of the particular figures, as well as their correlation with other deities of other ancient mythical interpretation related to the future of the world see Brendel, 1977, pp. 50- 9.

². Brendel, 1977, p. 60ff.

³. Thus, we totally disagree with Jolly, when she wonders whether the distaff and the spindle refer straight to her determination to create *new* clothes, more luxurious and attractive, in order Adam to be submitted to her (Jolly, 1997, p. 72).

⁴. Cockerell, 1970, p. 30, Buchthal, 1957, plat. 62 and 148e respectively.

⁵. Buchthal, 1957, plat. 147a. On a manuscript in Munich (Staatbibliothek, lat. 835, fol. 8^v, ca. 1220, **fig. 79**) there is the scene of the *labours*, where non of the children take part and the protoplasts have plain, totally dressed figures (see Buchthal, 1957, plat. 148b).

Adam and Cain with spades working on the field (**fig. 80**)¹. That scene is likely to be a combination of the *labours* of the protoplasts and the occupation of Cain on the fields, as his father. Due to lack of space the artist chose to exclude Eve and at the same time to demonstrate that Adam's punishment is also transferred to this children, while on the episode below Abel is depicted with his flock of sheep.

Conception of Cain and the Birth of Abel

In a few illustrations of the Cotton Genesis family the unusual scene of the *Birth of Abel* and the *Birth of Abel* is depicted, another visual presentation of her punishments. The *Birth of Abel* in Millstatt Genesis the focus is on the protoplasts, having no specific background, while it is also illustrated the *Birth of Cain*. The *Birth of Abel* also exists on the Cotton Genesis manuscript and it almost identical to San Marco mosaic. Cain is presented bearing a cup and an overturned wineskin, a direct reference to his iniquity and dishonesty².

Moreover the *Conception of Cain* in San Marco (below the Creation cupola)³, according to Jolly does not give the impression of being modest or having subservient manners and her seductiveness is reinforced. Her unveiled, though ornamented, head is also a way to refer to her unwillingness to follow God's punishment as far as her submission to her husband is concerned⁴. Yet, it is worthy of note the laws towards women's longing and narcissism in Venice of the Middle Ages, whose special meanings the mosaicists might have wanted to depict⁵.

Thus, we have completed our reference to the *Genesis* pictorial repertoire of the protoplasts, trying to combine it with citations of the ecclesiastical literature or of the hymnographic texts. Our partial suggestions or aspects have already been developed during our analysis of each scene and the specific iconographic or aesthetical points.

¹. Ohlgren, *Visual language*, 1972, p. 257, fig. 1.

². Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 58.

³. Weitzmann, K., Kessler, H. L., *Septuagint*, 1986, p. 58, fig. 69. For their inscriptions see Demus, vol. 2, 1984, p. 79.

⁴. Jolly, 1997, pp. 59- 71.

⁵. Jolly, 1997, pp. 72- 6.

Part B: *Anastasis (Descent into Hades)*

A. Theological definition of *Anastasis*

Our scientific pursuit with the scene of *Anastasis* is not seen as simply another pictorial case that the protoplasts are taking part in. It is not only the last episode of the biblical events, which refers to the scenes with Adam and Eve, but it has a complete eschatological meaning. The protoplasts are the protagonists of the beginning (the creation) and of the end, though that end is not death, but the resurrection of the human nation, the most fundamental value of Christianity. The presence of Adam and Eve during Christ's Resurrection acts as the representatives of all the people and simultaneously finalizes their repentance and rescue as well as the fact that the *Anastasis* is not gravitated only to Christ, but also to his creation.

Christ's descent into Hades is symbolically met as a prefiguration¹ especially on the *Ps* 106 (107), which refers to the saving of many troubles of Israel, implying the salvation of the human beings². In the New Testament there are texts, which deal with the Resurrection of Christ and his descent into Hades³. It is also significant that Christ is called "*the first-born of the dead*"¹, a

¹. *Ps* 3: 7- 8, *Ps* 23: 7- 10 (in the Greek text)- *Ps* 24: 7- 10 (in the english text), *Isa* 2: 17- 19, *Ezek* 36: 25- 26, *Isa* 43: 17- 19. *Wis* 16: 13.

². Beer, 1902, pp. 1- 29. There is also a compelling account on the prophesy of Iezekiel (37, 1- 10), where the dead bones on a valley received the promise for having again the breath of life by the Lord. Cf. Matsoukas, 2002, pp. 384- 7.

³. *John* 20: 9, *I Cor* 15: 4, *I Cor* 15: 12, *I Cor* 15: 13- 14, *I Cor* 15: 21, *Rom.* 10:, 7 *Acts* 13: 30 and particularly for Adam, *I Cor* 15: 22. Especially, in *John* 11:25- "*I am the resurrection and the life. Those who believe in me, even though they die, will live*"- that is one of the most significant passage, since it testifies his Resurrection and establishes one of the main foundations of our church. For the relevant terminology in Paul see Koperski, 2002, pp. 265- 81 and his understanding on the resurrection see Thrall, 2002, pp. 283- 300. Cf. the understanding on John's Gospel Menken, 2002, pp. 189- 205 and on Matthew's Gospel Denaux, 2002, pp. 123- 45. Cf. about the situation of the raised body in *I Cor.* 15: 35- 58 mostly, and in *I Cor* 15: 3- 4. Matsoukas (Matsoukas, 2002, p. 523)points out that in *I Pet* 3, 18- 22 the words

term, which was used by the Church Fathers², in order to indicate Christ's connection with Hades. Therefore, Christ is apart from the *first-born of the Father*, the *first-born of the world*, but not as a creature, but as pre-existed, is the *first-born of the dead*, not as he was the first of being dead, but as he was the redeemer and all the humans followed his Resurrection.

In the middle of the 2nd c. in the theological thought and work of the Apologists the first meeting among the classical Greek philosophy and the Christian theology occurred³. As being the first systematic theologians of the Christianity, their contribution was to take advantage of the philosophical elements, which can be combined with the Christian teaching, in order to be understandable by the non-Christians and to identify the different parameters of those fields, as well. As far as Christ's Resurrection is concerned, the Apologists comprehend the Cross in connection with the Anastasis, which is the beginning of the new era, leading to the eschatological life⁴. They moved around the affirmations of the Incarnation, Passion and Resurrection, notions that started being mentioned even in the first Baptismal Creeds (the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd c.)⁵. The three most important Baptismal Creeds refer to Christ Resurrection as following: Firstly, from the papyrus Der Balyzeh (being found in Egypt in 1907), they confess that "*καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν*", while from the apostolic tradition of Hyppolitus "*καὶ ἀναστάντα*

"He was put to death in the flesh, but made alive in the spirit" (3, 18) are the foundations of the christological doctrine: the one, who died and came into live again.

¹. Col 1: 18 and Rev 1: 5 ("*Πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*").

². A number of indicative text of the Church Fathers are being cited here: St. Basil, *Adversus Eunomium* (libri 5), PG 29, 701B, st. Athanasius, *Orationes tres contra Arianos*, PG 26, 276C, 277B, 281B, *Liber de definitionibus* [Sp.], PG 28, 549A, st. Cyril of Alexandria, *De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate*, PG 68, 1096A, *Thesaurus de sancta consubstantiali trinitate*, PG 75, 404B, St. Maximus the Confessor, *Quaestiones et dubia*, *Corpus Christianorum*, in Declerck, 1982, p. 86 (Ou. 118). See also citations from st. John Damascene, *Expositio Fidei* in Kotter, 1973, p. 237 (100, 79) and *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli* [Dub.], PG 95, 888C, 913D, *Homilia in sabbatum sanctum*, PG 96, 629B.

³. For the Apologists see Scouteris, 1998, pp. 215- 274.

⁴. Daniélou, 1973, pp. 157, 189, 207. Also see about the resurrection of the dead Ross, 1996, p. 216.

⁵. It was the need to refer to the apostolic tradition and to declare their faith both during the Baptism and the Holy Communion service, which have led the ancient Church to develop these Creeds. Karmiris, 1960, pp. 40- 41.

τῆ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ζῶντα ἐκ νεκρῶν". The third one comes from baptismal Creed of the Church of Rome, stating that "*tertia die resurrexit a mortuis*" and referring to our hoping for the future judgment that "*remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem*", words which have been used later for the Apostolic Creed¹.

The partial vagueness and incoherence of those Creeds led to the systematization of the language and they became clearer with the 1st Ecumenical Council in Nicaea (325) and the 2nd Ecumenical Council in Constantinople (381). The Nicaea Creed declared that "*...He rose again on the third day*", which points out the more fundamental historical fact of the Christian faith². Christ's Crucifixion is the proof of his human nature, while his Anastasis is the biggest evidence of his divinity³. In the Creed of Constantinople they added the phrase "*In accordance with the Scriptures*", in order to emphasize the establishment of the Resurrection in the scriptural texts⁴. In it, they added the "*I await the resurrection of the dead*", an eschatological point, which opposes the straight- line Christian tradition about life to the circular way of life (reincarnation) according to the ancient Greek philosophy⁵. Officially the Church discussed about the *Descent into Hades* in the 5th Ecumenical Council in Constantinople (553) by anathematizing, with the 9th Canon, those who believed that the incarnated Logos of God did not go to Hades, but only the Nous⁶. Thus, the dialogue of the apologists towards the non- Christians, the destruction of the cosmo- theory of the classical philosophy and the internal problems and the misunderstandings within the Church have led to the Ecumenical Councils and to the Creeds. The Creed of Nicaea-

¹. A detailed analysis to the history of the Baptismal Creeds and the Creeds themselves see Karmiris, 1960, pp. 34- 49.

². *1 Cor* 15: 12- 19. Scouteris, 2004, p. 314.

³. A comparison between the doctrine on the resurrected body of st. Gregory of Nyssa and Origen theology see Hennessey, 1989, pp. 28- 34. In English the Easter sermons of st. Gregory of Nyssa see Hall (transl.), 1981, pp. 31- 53, Drobner (transl.), 1981, pp. 263- 75 and Van Winden (transl.), 1981, pp. 101- 17. Cf. Chadwick, 1993, pp. 281- 300.

⁴. Scouteris, 2004, p. 520.

⁵. Scouteris, 2004, pp. 534- 6.

⁶. Karmiris, 1939, pp. 39- 40. For the earliest statements of the councils about the "*Descent into Hades*" see Karmiris, 1939, pp. 41- 7. It is also said that it became an "article of faith" in the 4th c., without however, having been specified where, Ross, 1996, p. 10.

Constantinople had a confessional character¹, since there is no actually a difference between the Christ before, during the Crucifixion and after his Resurrection², the scene of the *Descent into Hades* demonstrates with the finest way the basic Christological points³.

¹. A comparison between contemporary protestant theologians see Molnar, 2003, pp. 147- 67. In particular, there is an analysis of the denial of Roger Haight of the actual event of the Resurrection, based on his refusal to accept Jesus as the incarnated Logos and his acceptance of the resurrection as only a human experience (pp. 149- 57) and also a review on Thomas F. Torrance Christology (pp. 158- 67). Moreover, the protestant theologian trend of the "fallen" human nature of Christ and the difference of that expression to the "*traditional understanding of original sin*" and its consequences on the salvation of human beings see Crisp, 2004, pp. 270- 88.

². According to the dogma of Chalcedon, there is a hypostatic union of the divine and human nature in Christ, which is a fact even during his descent into Hades. See st. John Damascene, PG 94, 1101A- 1104B. Cf. Matsoukas, 1992, pp. 276- 89, esp. 286- 8.

³. A discussion on st. Augustine's understanding for the resurrection of the body see Miles, 1979, esp. pp. 99- 125. Cf. Bynum, 2000, pp. 94- 104.

B. Liturgical definition of *Anastasis*

The inclusion of the *Descent into Hades* in the Services and the liturgical hymns and especially its celebration on the Holy Saturday clearly proves the central meaning of the Anastasis in the Christian teaching.

The main goal of this chapter is succinctly to examine the relationship between the hymnography and the art, by quoting the relevant liturgical texts and connecting them with the gradual pictorial evolution¹. Our decision on referring mainly on the Orthodox liturgical texts is based on the above-mentioned analysis on the orthodox theological documentation of the icon of the descent into Hades, as the Anastasis². Yet, in the RCatholic liturgical act there are a number of citations in the Resurrection, not so great in number as the references to the role of the Cross³.

Specifically, a number of references to the salvation of the protoplasts from the second Adam are often made in a specific hymn, called "*Theotokion*". That is actually a prayer to Virgin Mary to mediate to her Son, in order we to be saved as Adam and Eve were. At this point it is noteworthy to refer to a miniature of a Serbian Psalter, now being in Munich (15th c.) even though it is not in our chronological territory. It depicts the seated Virgin Mary with Christ on her laps, who grabs Adam and Eve, on the left and right side each, from their sarcophagi⁴. It is probably a parallel of the seated Virgin, but at the same time the artists seems influenced by the contexts of the above- mentioned hymns.

¹. About the poetic exaggerations or the overall religious style of the hymnography see Karmiris, 1939, pp. 58- 9.

². Fischer, B., Wagner, J., 1959, pp. 49- 56. About the general problems in Eastern and Western liturgical understanding Taft, 1984, esp. pp. 49- 149. About the medieval drama see Young, 1967, pp. 149- 77.

³. The overemphasised notion of the Crucifixion in the RCatholic Church also takes a visual perspective. For example, we cite the Passion Cycle of La Daurade (first third of the 12th c.) and the fact that in Cluniac monasteries made during the 11th and the 12th c. a special focus on the Mass of the Dead. See Seigel, 1987, esp. pp. 87- 9.

⁴. Schiller, 1971, p. 55, fig. 124.

*Divine Liturgy*¹: Within the Divine Liturgy the topic of the Anastasis is directly connected to the Eucharist². The Holy Communion is the mystical link to the Last Supper, not as a typical revision, but as the Last Supper itself, being offered by Christ³, the new Adam. So the Descent into Hell has in the orthodox Holy Liturgy of Sts. Basil and John Chrysostom a significant role⁴.

In particular, in the first part of the Holy Oblation (*anaphora*) of the Liturgy of st. John Chrysostom⁵, there is a prayer "Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σὲ εὐλογεῖν, σὲ αἰνεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν", ("It is right and fitting to hymn you, to bless you, to praise you, to give thanks")⁶, which is silently by the priest. That prayer is the starting point of a process, which is going to lead the ecclesiastical community to the Eucharist. We thank the Triune God for having created us and for having sent his own Son to recreate us and to bring us back to heaven⁷. A particular sentence "Καὶ παραπεσόντας ἀνέστησας πάλιν", ("And when we had fallen you raised us up again")⁸ directly associates the Holy Oblation with the protoplasts. The Holy Oblation expresses the gratitude and the gratefulness for our resurrection, which had been done in the face of Adam and Eve during the Harrowing of Hell, and it constantly happens through the Holy Eucharist. Consequently, the *anaphora* has features of both a recollection and an anticipation for the future resurrection⁹.

A great example of the direct link between the descent into Hades and the Eucharist is the illuminated liturgical scroll 109 (Jerusalem, Patriarchal

¹. *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, 1972, pp. 224- 7. An analysis of the Orthodox liturgy and the Western Eucharist see in Wybrew, 1996, pp. 1- 11.

². That is not only by the liturgical practical point of view but Eucharist also is a process which leads people to our risen Lord "*The Eucharist is a sacrament... it is the entrance of the Church into the joy of its Lord*", "*The liturgy of the Eucharist is best understood as a journey or procession... a sacramental entrance in to the risen life of Christ*". See Schmemmann, 1965, pp. 28- 30.

³. In the anaphora of both the Divine Liturgies of Sts. Chrysostom and Basil, the priest mentions the remembrance of the Death, the Anastasis of Christ and His Second Coming, as well, "*Remembering therefore...the Cross, the Tomb, the Resurrection...the Second and glorious Coming*", *THE DIVINE LITURGY*, p. 33, Trempela, 1982, p. 182.

⁴. It is about the prayer of Anaphora, Karmiris, 1939, p. 43.

⁵. *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, 1972, p. 226.

⁶. *THE DIVINE LITURGY*, p. 31.

⁷. About the meaning of this prayer see Gregorios (Monk), 1998, pp. 255- 7.

⁸. *THE DIVINE LITURGY*, p. 31.

⁹. Schulz, 1986, p. 84.

library, end of the 11th c.)¹. The drawings are not inspired by some particular words, but they are related to the overall theological meaning of the hymns and prayers and their symbolical meaning. Particularly, the fourth illumination refers to the prayer of *anaphora*. It pictures Christ in Hades, dragging Adam to his resurrection. The next scene of the scroll is the resurrection of Lazarus, which is the representative of the Anastasis for a longer life in earth, but in connection with the Harrowing of Hell reflects the meaning of the Holy Oblation².

In the Holy Liturgy of st. Basil, in the part of the prayer of Offering (prothesis or proskomide)³, the soteriological emphasis of the internal unity of death and resurrection is obvious; "*Καὶ κατελθὼν διὰ τοῦ Σταυροῦ εἰς τὸν Ἄδην... ἔλυσε τὰς ὀδύνας τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ἀναστὰς τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ... ἐγένετο ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων, πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν*"⁴, (*"He descended from the cross into the realm of the dead and assuaged the pains of death. On the third day he arose from the dead... He became the firstborn of those who have fallen asleep, the firstborn from the dead"*). The theological aspects and teachings of st. Basil had influenced that characteristic part of the prayer, especially the "*About the Holy Spirit*", where he develops the trinitarian theology in a frame among the Creeds of the first two Ecumenical Councils and the ancient baptismal Creeds⁵. In the last part of the Dismissal of the Liturgy, the priest mentions first of all Christ, as "*ὁ ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν*", (*"he who rose from the dead"*)⁶. That particular phrase is said only on Sundays, in order to be emphasized that Sunday, the 8th day of the liturgical week, is the day of the Anastasis.

When the bishop takes part in the Liturgy there is a special *typikon* for his presence. There are two particular points, which are related to the Anastasis. Firstly, it is his entrance into the church, which symbolizes the first coming of Incarnated *Logos* in order to save us from the realm of dead⁷. Secondly, after

¹. A general description of the illustrations of the scroll see Schulz, 1986, pp. 80- 6.

². Schulz, 1986, p. 84.

³. This is the first prayer that the priest says in a low voice, after the Great Entrance with the Precious Gifts (the wine and the bread, which have become the Blood and the Body of Christ). In this prayer the priest begs the Lord to accept the Gifts for his own and the people's sins. Gregorios (Monk), 1998, pp. 237- 8.

⁴. For a comparison of the prayer between the scrolls see Trepela, 1982, pp. 181- 2.

⁵. Schulz, 1986, pp. 148- 9.

⁶. *THE DIVINE LITURGY*, p. 51.

⁷. St. Maximus the Confessor, *Mystagogia*, PG 91, 688C, "*Τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν σύναξιν εἴσοδον, τῆς πρώτης τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ διὰ σαρκὸς εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον παρουσίας*

the reading of the Gospel, the bishop, who, up until that moment was standing on his throne almost in the middle of the church, now enters the sanctuary, while at the same time the neophytes must go out of the church, since it starts the preparation for the Holy Communion. Those acts serve as a symbol of the second coming of Christ, in order to judge us¹.

Easter Lent (Triodion): It is the fasting period and preparation for the great event of Christ's resurrection. That Lent demonstrates the passing from the situation after the original sin to the salvation through Christ. Adam denied obeying to God's restriction not to eat from the Tree of Knowledge, while the second Adam fasted for 40 days following his Father's will. Similarly, it was established the Easter fast, in order to remember Adam's disobedience and the loosing of the human's imperishability, in order to make an effort to preserve what Christ has offered to us².

As far as the odes and the hymns of the Triodion are concerned, they have as a starting point Adam's exile from paradise and in an amazing way, day by day, the main subject changes; from the original sin to the Anastasis and finally the human salvation. In so far as the hymns of Adam's situation have already been mentioned in the Genesis chapter, here we quote the texts, which combine both topics or only refer to the Anastasis.

Starting from the Last Judgment (or Meatfare) week, the salvation is already mentioned³, while after the beginning of the Lent, on Cleaning Monday,

τύπον και εικόνα φέρειν, ἐδίδασκε· ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς τῷ θανάτῳ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, και βασιλευμένην τυραννικῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις ἐλευθερώσας, ("The first entrance in the Holy Church of the bishop, is the type and icon of the entrance in our world of the incarnated Son of God, our Saviour, Jesus Christ. With his presence liberated the human beings from their capture in the kingdom of death and sin, which is governed with a tyrannical way by Satan").

¹. "Ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου κατάβασις, και ἡ τῶν κατηχουμένων ἐκβολή, γενικῶς μὲν σημαίνει τὴν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ δευτέραν τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ και Σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν και τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἀφορισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν και τὴν δικαίαν πρὸς τὴν ἐκάστου ἀξίαν ἀμοιβήν", ("The descent of the bishop from his throne and the departure of the neophytes means the second coming of our great God and Saviour and the separation between the sinners and the saints and the giving to us whatever we deserve").

². *TRIODION*, Synaxarion of Sunday of the Cheese Week, pp. 72- 3. That is the day, where the Orthodox Church remembers Adam's exile from paradise.

³. *TRIODION*, Katavasia of the 2nd Ode, Saturday of the Last Judgment, p. 20, "Και λύσας τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ προπάτορος Ἀδάμ, ὡς φιλόνητος", ("And you released the forefather Adam from the sin, as you are merciful"), *TRIODION*, Katavasia of the 3rd Ode,

the reading- texts are mainly from the Genesis¹. Gradually, as we move towards Easter, the mention to the resurrection of the protoplasts and its significance for all the humanity becomes more frequent².

Saturday of the Last Judgment, p. 21, "Καὶ τὸν Ἄδην, καὶ συνεγείρας νεκρούς, τοὺς μεταστάντας ἐξ ἡμῶν", ("And Hades and all the dead were resurrected"), *TRIODION*, Hymn "The Paradise of Edem", Saturday of the Last Judgment, p. 26, "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη λύσας τῶν δεσμῶν, Ἄδὰμ τὸν πρωτόπλαστον, καὶ τοῦ Ἄδου καταλύσας τὴν ἰσχύν. Θαρσεῖτε πάντες, οἱ νεκροί, ἐνεκρώθη ὁ θάνατος, ἐσκυλεύθη καὶ ὁ Ἄδης σὺν αὐτῷ", ("Christ was resurrected and he unfasten the fetters, from Adam the protoplast, and he abolished the power of Hades. Be happy all the dead people, since the death is killed and with him Hades is devastated"), *TRIODION*, Doxastikon of Ainous, Sunday of the Last Judgment, p. 35, "Ὁ ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀκατακρίτους ἡμᾶς διαφύλαξον, δοξολογοῦντάς σε τὸν μόνον ἀναμάρτητον", ("That who has been raised from the dead, protect us, as we glorify you, the only sinless"). During the Cheese Week the references to the Anastasis are less than those to the original sin: *TRIODION*, Hymn of the 8th Ode, Wednesday of the Cheese Week, p. 45, "Ἀναμάρτητος ἐν Σταυρῷ, ὁ τῶν ὄλων Δεσπότης, τὸν Ἀδὰμ σὺν τῇ Εὕα, πάλιν ἀνακαλέσω, καὶ ἐν τῷ Παραδείσῳ Χριστέ Σωτῆρ εἰσηξας", ("You, Christ, the only sinless, our Master, were crucified, in order Adam with Eve to be in Paradise again"), *TRIODION*, Kathisma of the 7th Ode, Sunday of the Cheese Week, p. 71. The English transl. is from www.anastasis.org.uk, "Ἐξεβλήθη ὁ Ἀδάμ, τοῦ Παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς, διὰ βρώσεως πικρᾶς... καὶ κατεκρίθη", ("Through eating Adam... was cast out of paradise")

¹. Gen 1. 1- 13, 1. 14- 23, 1. 24- 31, 2. 1- 3, 2. 4- 19, 2. 20- 25, 3. 1- 20

². *TRIODION*, Prosimio, Vesper of the first Tuesday of the Lent, p. 101, On the first week of the Lent: "Τῆς ἐγκρατείας τὴν τρυφήν, κάμοι Λόγε χάρισαι, ὡς τὸν Ἀδὰμ... ἵνα τὸ ζωηφόρον πάθος σου τοῦ Σταυροῦ, χαρᾶ προφθάσω", ("My God give me patient, as you gave to Adam... in order to get with joy to the day of your Crucifixion"), *TRIODION*, Stichera Prosimio, Vesper of the first Thursday of the Lent, p. 120, "Χριστέ μου φώτισον... φθάσω καιρῶς τῆς Ἀναστάσεως τῆς σῆς, τὴν ἀγῆν τὴν σωτήριον", ("My Christ lighten me... in order to reach the Anastasis day, which is the dawn of our salvation"). On the second week: *TRIODION*, Hymn, 6th Ode, Matins of the second Saturday of the Lent, p. 191, "Μετέβαλες τοῦ θανάτου εἰς ὕπνον τὸ ἐπίπονον ἐν τάφῳ ὑπνώσας, καὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς, τὴν ζωὴν ἐδώρητῳ", ("You transformed the painful death into a sleep, and you gave life to the dead as a present"), *TRIODION*, Hymn for the dead, Matins of the second Saturday of the Lent, p. 194, "Νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων ὡς Θεός, ὁ νεκρώσας τὸν θάνατον, καὶ ζωὴν τῇ ἐγέρσει σου πᾶσι παρασχών, Χριστέ, ἀνάπαυσον, καὶ τοὺς δούλους σου, οὗς μετέστησας", ("God of the living and the dead, God who killed death and gave life with your resurrection, Christ, give rest to the people you have raised"), "Ὁ καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων, ἐξουσιάζων ὡς Θεός", ("The God the master of dead and alive"). On the third week- especially on Sunday, there are a number of references to the salvation. Here we quote some of

Holy week: During the Holy Week, the liturgical act revolves around Passion. However, since the Resurrection is the direct consequence of the Passion, there are gradually a great number of references to the Anastasis¹. On

them: *TRIODION*, Prosimio, poem of Theodore, Vesper of the third Thursday of the Lent, p. 219, "Προφθάσαι τὴν ἔνδοξον καθαρῶς καὶ ἀγίαν Ἀνάστασιν, τὸ Πάσχα τὸ μυστικόν, δι' οὗ Ἀδὰμ ἐπανήλθεν, εἰς τὸν Παράδεισον", ("We wait for the holy Anastasis, the mystical Easter, which Adam returned to paradise with"), *TRIODION*, Stichera prosomio, Vesper of the third Sunday of the Lent (Sunday of the Cross), p. 229, "Ἴνα τοῦ Ἀδάμ, ἀφανίσῃς τὴν κατάραν, σάρκα τὴν ἡμῶν, προσλαμβάνεις δίχα ρύπου", ("In order you to destroy Adam's curse, you became man"), *TRIODION*, Irmos, 1st Ode, Matins of the first Sunday of the Lent (Sunday of the Cross), p. 231, (the English transl. is from www.anastasis.org.uk), "Ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἐξαναστάς, χορεύει χαρᾶ· διὸ ἀλαλάξωμεν", ("Adam has arisen and dances for joy. Therefore let us cry about as we sing a song of victory"). On the fourth week: *TRIODION*, Stichera prosomio, Vesper of the fourth Thursday of the Lent, p. 260, "Ὁ νεκρῶσας τὸν θάνατον, νεκρούς ἀναστήσας", ("He, who abolished death, he raised the dead"), *TRIODION*, Kathisma, Matins of the fourth Friday of the Lent, p. 262, "Τὰ θεμέλια ἐσαλεύθη τοῦ θανάτου, Κύριε· ὃν γὰρ κατέπτε ὁ Ἄδης, ἀπέλυσε τρόμω", ("The foundations of Hades are quaked of your mighty; Hades left away the fear"). The sixth week is the one before the week the Passion. The supplications towards God to help our souls and resurrect us with Christ are often repeated: *TRIODION*, Hymn, 9th Ode, Tuesday before the Palm Sunday, p. 349, "Ὁ Χριστός... δεσμεύσας τὸν θάνατον, ἀναστήσει, πάντων ὡς Θεός", ("Christ... who limited the power of Hades and resurrected everybody"), *TRIODION*, Katavasia of Easter, Matins of the Sunday of Palm Sunday, p. 384, (the English transl. is from www.anastasis.org.uk), "Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀνακαλέσασθαι", ("Blessed are you who come to call back Adam"). Also, Lazarus' resurrection, which is celebrated that week, proclaims Christ's resurrection: *TRIODION*, Doxastiko, Service of Liti, Vesper of the Sunday of Triodion, p. 382, (the English transl. is from www.anastasis.org.uk), "Πρὸ ἕξ ἡμερῶν, τοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ Πάσχα, ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς εἰς Βηθανίαν, ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὸν τεθνεῶτα τετραήμερον Λάζαρον, καὶ προκηρύξει τὴν Ἀνάστασιν", ("Six days before the Passover was to take place, Jesus came to Bethany to call back Lazarus who had been dead for four days and to proclaim beforehand the Resurrection"), *TRIODION*, Hymn, 1st Ode, Matins of the Palm Sunday, p. 384, "Νεκρὸν τετραήμερον, προστάγνати σῶ, ἐκ δεκάδων σύντρομος, Ἄδης ἀφήκε Λάζαρον· ἢ ἀνάστασις Χριστέ, σὺ γὰρ καὶ ζωή", ("He was dead for four days and he was resurrected after Hades being ordered by Christ, who is the life").

¹. Some references to the first and the second Adam or Eve: *TRIODION*, Doxastiko of the Apostiha, Good Monday morning, p. 401, "Δευτέραν Εὐαν... ἀλλ' αὐτὸς καταλιπὼν τὸν χιτῶνα ἔφυγε τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, καὶ γυμνὸς οὐκ ἠσχύνετο, ὡς ὁ πρωτόπλαστος πρὸ τῆς παρακοῆς· αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἰκεσίας, Χριστὲ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς", ("Due to the second Eve... but he

Good Thursday evening, while the priest is hanging the Cross in order Christ to be crucified, an astonishing hymn is being sung: "Σήμερον κρεμάται ἐπὶ ξύλου, ὁ ἐν ὕδασι τὴν γῆν κρεμάσας. Στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν περιτίθεται, ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων βασιλεύς. Ψευδῆ προρφύραν περιβάλλεται, ὁ περιβάλλων τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν νεφέλαις. Ῥάπισμα κατεδέξατο, ὁ ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ ἐλευθερώσας τὸν Ἀδάμ. Ἦλοις προσηλώθη, ὁ νυμφίος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Λόγχῃ ἐκεντήθη, ὁ Υἱὸς τῆς Παρθένου. Προσκυνοῦμεν σου τὰ πάθη Χριστέ. Δείξον ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἔνδοξόν σου ἀνάστασιν", ("Today, he who hung the earth upon the waters is hung upon a Tree. He who is the king of the Angles is arrayed in a crown of thorns. He who wraps the heaven in clouds is wrapped in mocking purple. He who freed Adam in the Jordan receives a blow on the face. The Bridegroom of the Church is transfixed with nails. The Son of the Virgin is pierced by a lance. We worship your suffering, O Christ. Show us also your glorious Resurrection")¹. There are frequent references about the descent into Hades and its significance on Good Friday², as well as a series of

left behind the tunic and the sin, and even he is naked he is not ashamed anymore, as the protoplast was before the disobedience; Christ have mercy on us"), to the wood of the Cross: *TRIODION*, Makarismoi, Service of the Holy Passion, p. 448, "Διὰ ξύλου ὁ Ἀδάμ Παραδείσου γέγονεν ἄποικος· διὰ ξύλου δὲ σταυροῦ ὁ ληστής Παράδεισον ὤκησεν", ("Through a tree Adam became an exile from paradise; through the tree of the Cross, the thief made Paradise his home"). As the salvation of Adam and of all the human kind: *TRIODION*, Hymn, 9th Ode, Good Tuesday morning, p. 406, "ὡς ὑπεύθυνος παραστήναι Πιλάτῳ καὶ πάντα παθεῖν, ἵνα σωθῇ ὁ Ἀδάμ", ("he stood before Pilate and he underwent the passion, in order Adam to be saved"), *TRIODION*, Stichera Idiomelo, Good Thursday morning, p. 429, "ἵνα τὸν Δημιουργόν, καὶ Κτίστην τῶν ἀπάντων, Πιλάτῳ παραδώσῃ· ὦ τῶν ἀνόμων, ὦ τῶν ἀπίστων! ὅτι τὸν ἐρχόμενον, κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς", ("in order to abandon himself, the Creator of the universe, to Pilate; Oh! The unjust! Oh! The doubting! He came to judge the alive and the dead"), *TRIODION*, Makarismoi, Service of the Holy Passion, p. 449 (The English transl. from www.anastasis.org.uk), "ἡ ζωηφόρος σου πλευρά, ὡς ἐξ Ἐδέμ πηγῆ ἀναβλύζουσα, τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν σου, Χριστέ, ὡς λογικὸν ποτίζει Παράδεισον", ("your life-bearing side, gushing up like a spring in Eden, gives drink to your Church, O Christ, as a spiritual paradise"), "ἐκ δεσμῶν θανάτου τῇ ἀναστάσει σου· δι' ἧς ἐφωτίσθημεν", ("delivering all from the bonds of death by your Resurrection, through which we have been enlightened").

¹. *TRIODION*, Antiphon 15, Service of the Holy Passion, p. 447 (The English transl. from www.anastasis.org.uk).

². Indicatively *TRIODION*, Hymn, Good Friday evening, p. 480, "τὸν Ἀδάμ ἐγείραντα καὶ ἐξ Ἄδου πάντας ἐλευθερώσαντα", ("Adam was raised and everybody from Hades got his freedom"), *TRIODION*, Theotokion, Good Friday evening, p. 480, "ζωοδότην

hymns are sung in front of the Christ's grave. They are called *Encomiums* and the most of them are referring to the journey into Limbo and the salvation¹. In the vesper of Good Saturday, there is a part of the above- mentioned text of Pseudo- Epiphanius². By the same token, his description about the couples of death- earth and life- sky, undoubtedly, reflects to the internal life and to the Last Judgment and also encourages the double- zone illustration of Anastasis³.

Paschal Liturgy: On Holy Saturday, after the liturgical announcement about Christ's Anastasis, the Easter Liturgy begins. The liturgical concept of that day is the triumph against death and the redeem of the humanity from the vice. The main paschal troparion is "*Χριστός ανέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν, θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας, καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι, ζωὴν χαρισάμενος*", ("*Christ is risen from the dead, conquering death by death, and on those in the grave*

τεκοῦσα, ἐλυτρώσω Παρθένε, τὸν Ἄδὰμ ἀμαρτίας· χαρμονίην δὲ τῇ Εὐᾶ ἀντὶ λύπης παρέσχες ρεῦσαντας ζωῆς", ("*you, Virgin Mary, gave to the Life- giver; Eve rejoices for the new life, instead of being sad*")

¹. Even though there are plenty texts connected with the specific topic, here are cited the most relevant ones: *TRIODION*, Egomia, Good Friday evening, pp. 473- 80. Some of the encomiums in English are from *PASSION AND RESURRECTION*, pp. 196- 9, "*τοῦ θανάτου τὸ βασίλειον λύεις δέ, καὶ τοῦ Ἄδου τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐξανιστᾶς*", ("*We revere your passion and your burial by which you saved us from corruption*"), "*ἡ ζωὴ ἐν τάφῳ, κατετέθης Χριστέ, καὶ θανάτῳ ὤλεσας καὶ ἐπήγασας τῷ κόσμῳ τὴν ζωὴν*", ("*from the grave you raised the dead, and saved them from the pit of sin*"), "*ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατήλθες, ἵνα σώσης τὸν Ἄδὰμ καὶ ἐν γῆ εὐρηκῶς τοῦτον, Δέσποτα, μέχρις Ἄδου κατελήλυθας ζητῶν*", ("*to earth did you come down, O master, to rescue Adam. When you failed to find him here on earth, you sought him out in the world below*"), "*νεκρωθέντα πάλαι, τὸν Ἄδὰμ φθονερώς ἐπανάγεις πρὸς ζωὴν τῇ νεκρώσει σου, νέος, Σῶτερ, ἐν σαρκὶ φανείς Ἀδάμ*", ("*our Saviour, being in flesh, as the second Adam, you died and you brought again Adam in life*"), "*τὴν πλευρὰν ἐνύγης, ὁ πλευρὰν εἰληφώς, τοῦ Ἄδὰμ ἐξ ἧς τὴν Εὐᾶν διέπλασας, καὶ ἐκεβλύσας κρουνοὺς καθαρτικῶς*", ("*from Adam's rib you made Eve and you brought purifying torrents*"), "*καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐκένωσας καὶ τὸν Ἄδην ἀπεγύμνωσας*", ("*and you vacate the graves and you depopulate Hades*"), "*ἔπηξεν Ἀδάμ, Θεοῦ βαίνοντος ἐν παραδείσῳ, χαίρει δὲ πρὸς Ἄδην φοιτήσαντος, ἀναστὰς μὲν νῦν καὶ πάλαι πεπτωκώς*", ("*Adam flew away by God's coming into Hades and he, who has fallen, now is raised again*"), "*τὸν Ἄδὰμ καὶ Εὐᾶν ἐλευθερώσαι μητέρ, μὴ θρήνηι, ταῦτα πάσχῳ*", ("*Mother liberate Adam and Eve, who suffer and cry*").

². PG 43, 440D- 441A. See also Kartsonis, 1986, p. 65.

³. PG 43, 464B "*ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, ἀπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον φῶς*". Cf. Deligianni- Dori, 1994, p. 421.

bestowing life")¹. Cavarnos mentions that sometimes a hymn, such as the above- mentioned, due to its rhythm and expressive language is more moving and has a greater impact on the believer, than the icon of the Anastasis².

Moreover, on that day there are always references to the Anastasis and to the re- birth of man. For instance, "Θανάτου ἐορτάζομεν νέκρωσιν, ἄδου τὴν καθαίρεσιν", (*"Today the master has despoiled Hades, for he has raised those who had been chained there for ages"*). "Σαρκὶ ὑπνώσας ὡς θνητός, ὁ Βασιλεὺς καὶ Κύριος, τριήμερος ἐξανέστης, Ἄδὰμ ἐγείρας ἐκ φθορᾶς, καὶ καταργήσας θάνατον. Πάσχα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, τοῦ κόσμου σωτήριον", (*"O King and Lord, you fell asleep like a mere mortal! But, three days later, you arose, lifting Adam from corruption, putting death to death! O Pasch beyond corruption! O ransom of the world"*)³, "Πάσχα Χριστός ὁ λυτρωτής", (*"... the Pasch of our salvation that is Christ"*), "ὁ Πάσχα λύτρον λύτης· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τάφου σήμερον, ὡσπερ ἐκ παστοῦ, ἐκλάμψας Χριστός", (*"Christ comes forth from death, bringing joy to all who love him"*)⁴. *"The Lord's right hand has triumphed. The Lord's right hand has raised me up"*. Particularly the last phrase probably depicts the fact that Christ holds Adam usually with his right hand, as in Nea Moni of Chios. However, there are cases where he holds Adam with his left hand, as in Hosios Loukas and in Moni Daphiou and we assume that it depends on which side Adam is standing.

A significant part of the paschal liturgy is the Easter Canon of st. John Damascene⁵, a poem, which consists not of nine Odes as usual⁶ but the second one is missing, because it is always a mournful one. It mentions the ascendancy of Christ over the realm of the dead and it stresses the new situation of Adam.

Before the Thanksgiving and the Dismissal of the Easter Liturgy, the priest reads the *homily* of st. John Chrysostom⁷. It is actually mentioned once again the greatness of the day and the importance of Christ's resurrection for the

¹. *PASSION AND RESURRECTION*, pp. 226- 43.

². Cavarnos, 1978, p. 283.

³. *PENTEKOSTARION*, Exaposteilarion, p. 5. The English transl. is from *Passion and Resurrection*, ed: New Skete, Cambridge N. Y. 1995, p. 238.

⁴. The Paschal Stichera, *PENTEKOSTARION*, p. 5. The English transl. is from *PASSION AND RESURRECTION*, pp. 239- 40.

⁵. That Canon can be read either in the Patrology PG 96, 839- 844 or in the liturgical book *PENTEKOSTARION*, pp. 2- 3. In an English translation see *PASSION AND RESURRECTION*, pp. 227- 35. Cf. comments Nikolaidi, 2000, pp. 197- 203.

⁶. Dragas, 2004, p. 79.

⁷. That is the so- called *Homily of Cathemism*, which actually is the expression of the dogma.

human kind and the defeat of the kingdom of dead; "Ἐσκόλυεσε ὁ Ἄδης, ὁ κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν Ἄδην", "Ὁ Ἄδης, φησὶν, ἐπικράνθη συναντήσας σοι κάτω. Ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ κατηργήθη. Ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ ἐνεκρώθη. Ἐπικράνθη, καὶ γὰρ καθηρέθη", "ποῦ σου, Ἄδη, τὸ νίκος; Ἀνέστη Χριστός, καὶ σὺ κατεβέβλησαι. Ἀνέστη Χριστός, καὶ πεπτώκασι δαίμονες... Ἀνέστη Χριστός, καὶ νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο", ("He who descended into Hell has despoiled Hell", "'Death', he said, was embittered when it met you there below. Embittered, for it was destroyed. Embittered, for it was mocked. Embittered, for it was bound fast", "Where hell, is your victory? Christ has risen and you are abolished! Christ has risen and the demons have fallen!..... Christ has risen, and there is no corpse in the grave! For Christ, being raised from the dead, has become the first fruits of those who sleep")¹. Besides, there are references to the pre-figurations of Christ's Anastasis². Similar references could be noticed during the Easter week³, on Thursday of the Ascension and the Sunday of the Fathers of Nicaea⁴. Likewise, there are hymns and prayers about the pre-figurations during the liturgical year, not only in order the Anastasis to be mentioned, but also for exemplifying the life of the saint, such as on the 20th of February (the memory of Leon, bishop of Katanis, st. Bissarion and st. Plotin),

¹. PENTEKOSTARION (see about Pentekostarion in *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, 1972, p., 79), p. 6 (the English transl. is from www.anastasis.org).

². TRIODION, 6th Ode, p. 482. The English transl. is from PASSION AND RESURRECTION, p. 231, "Συνεσχέθη, ἀλλ' οὐ κατεσχέθη, στέρονις κητώις Ἰωνᾶς σου γὰρ τὸν τύπον φέρων, τοῦ παθόντος καὶ ταφῆ δοθέντος, ὡς ἐκ θαλάμου, τοῦ θηροῦ ἀνέθορε", ("O Christ, you pierced the world beneath..... you came forth from the tomb, as our Jonah, from the belly of the whale"), TRIODION 7th Ode, p. 482. The English transl. is from PASSION AND RESURRECTION, p. 233, "ὁ ἐν καμίνῳ ρυσάμενος, τοὺς ὀσίους παῖδας ἐκ φλογός, ἐν τάφῳ νεκρός, ἄπνους κατατίθεται εἰς σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν", ("As he rescued three young men from the furnace flames, by his passion he has rescued us from death").

³. On Sunday of Thomas, since the Easter Canon of John Damascene is repeated. See PENTEKOSTARION p. 53.

⁴. PENTEKOSTARION, p. 164, "Στέρονων Ἰωνᾶν, τῆς φθορᾶς διαρπάσης", ("That like the prophet Jonas from the breast. Of the sea beast, you might snatch from corruption"- www.anastasis.org.uk) and p. 181, "Ὁ ἐν καμίνῳ πυρός, τοὺς ὑμνολόγους σώσας Παῖδας, εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός", ("Looses the bonds and turns the flames to dew; Youths give praise; while all created nature. Blesses the only Saviour and Creator"- www.anastasis.org.uk).

on the 6th Ode about Jonah¹ or on the 4th of April on the 7th and on the 8th Ode about the three young men².

The 50 days period after Easter: Apparently, the Easter Liturgy as well as the Easter week (Diakainisimos)³ and generally the period until the Pentecost is totally filled with hymns and troparia⁴ about the Anastasis and the happiness that has caused⁵. A few examples of the references to the Anastasis during the period of the 50 days until the Pentecost is necessary for the better understanding of the significance of the descent into Hades and Adam's rescue for the Orthodox liturgical act⁶.

¹. *MENAION of February*, p. 261, "Καὶ ἡ ζωὴ μου τῷ Ἄδη προσήγγισε· καὶ δέομαι ὡς Ἰωνᾶς· ἐκ φθορᾶς ὁ Θεός με ἀνάγαγε", ("I went up to the point of Hades; and I pray as Jonah; please God save me from the corruption").

². That is the day of the celebration of Hosios George of Malasio, who holding the Cross resisted to the enemy, *MENAION of April*, 4th of April, p. 44, 7th Ode: "Οἱ τρεῖς σου Παῖδες κατεφρόνησαν, ἀθεωτάτου προστάγματος· μέσον δὲ πυρὸς ἐμβληθέντες δροσιζόμενοι ἔψαλλον", 8th Ode: "Τὸν ἐν καμίνῳ τοῦ πυρὸς, τῶν Ἑβραίων τοῖς παισὶ συγκαταβάντα, καὶ τὴν φλόγα εἰς δρόσον, μεταβαλόντα Θεόν, ὑμνεῖτε τὰ ἔργα ὡς Κύριον", ("In the furnace there were the children of Jews and from the flame you made a source of dew. We highly exact you to all the ages"- www.anastasis.org.uk).

³. "Διακαινίσμιμος" means something new; and that is the new, renovate living situation that man can live after Christ's resurrection and Adam's salvation. That week starts on the Easter Sunday up until the Sunday of Thomas disbelief.

⁴. Dragas, 2004, p. 78.

⁵. During the vesper on the Easter Sunday in *PENTEKOSTARION*, p. 9 (the English transl. from the www.anastasis.org.uk), "ὁ ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἔσωσέ με τὸν πλανώμενον ἄνθρωπον", ("and having risen from the dead he saved me, mankind that had gone astray"), "καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τὸ κράτος κατήργησε" ("and destroyed the might of death"), "αὐτὸς γὰρ λυτρωτὴς ἐστὶ καὶ Σωτὴρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν", ("he is the Redeemer and the saviour of our souls"), "καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐγέρσει σου ἐφώτισας τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων", ("your Resurrection has enlightened the whole inhabited world"), on Monday liturgy, *PENTEKOSTARION*, p. 10, "Πᾶσα πνοὴ καὶ πᾶσα κτίσις, σὲ δοξάζει, Κύριε, ὅτι διὰ τοῦ Σταυροῦ τὸν θάνατον κατήργησας"

⁶. On Sunday of the Holy women *PENTEKOSTARION*, p. 53 (the English transl. from the www.anastasis.org.uk), "καὶ συνήγειρεν, ἐαυτῷ τὸν Ἀδάμ, ἀναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ τάφου", ("you raised with yourself all Adam's race in rising from the tomb"), "νεκρὸς ἐστὶ ὁ Ἄδης", ("Hell is dead"), "καὶ τοὺς δεσμίους ἐκσπάσας, ἀνήγαγε πάντα, καὶ τὸν πρωτόπλαστον Ἀδάμ, αὐτὸν ἀνιστῶν ὡς εὐσπλαχνος", ("He has brought back all mankind and raised Adam the first-formed, since he is compassionate and loves mankind"). On the kontakion of that Sunday, Eve is mentioned for the first time after Easter: *PENTEKOSTARION*, p. 53 (the

Services: During the service of **baptism**, the child is dived into the water three times. That act symbolized the three days of Christ's death and stay in Hades and his final Anastasis¹. The hymns of the **burial service**² are relative to man's death and resurrection, after the hopeful resurrection of Christ; "Ὁ θάνατός σου, Κύριε, ἀθανασίας γέγονε πρόξενος· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐν μνήματι κατετέθης, οὐκ ἂν ὁ Παράδεισος ἠνέωκτο", ("The death which you endured, O Lord, is become the harbinger of deathlessness; if you had not been laid in your tomb, then would not the gates of paradise have been opened")³, "Σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ καταβάς εἰς Ἄδην, καὶ τὰς ὀδύνας λύσας τῶν πεπεδημένων", ("You are our Lord, who descend into Hell and saved people from pain")⁴. It is noticeable that on the **sacraments** during the year, there are a great number of references to Adam and Eve and their direct connection to the salvation of the human beings⁵. Apart from the official days that the protoplasts

English transl. from the www.anastasis.org.uk, "Τὸ χαίρει ταῖς Μυροφόροις φθεγξάμενος, τὸν θρήνον τῆς προμήτορος Εὕας κατέπανσας, τῇ Ἀναστάσει σου, Χριστέ ὁ Θεός", ("When you cried to the Myrrhbearers, 'Rejoice', Christ our God, you ended the lament of our foremother Eve by your resurrection"). On Sunday of the Holy Fathers of the 1st Ecumenical Council in Nicaea, *PENTEKOSTARION*, pp. 171- 85, "ἐν σοροῖς τοῦ Ἄδου, τῶν παθῶν μου κατακείμενον, σὺ ἐξανέστησον", ("my sins were a pile in Hades and you resurrected me"), "ἐν τῷ Ἄδῃ; ἐπάτητας θάνατον", ("in Hades you step on death"), "διὰ ξύλου, τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀπατηθέντα, διὰ ξύλου Σταυροῦ πάλιν ἔσωσας", ("with the wood Adam was deceived, with the wood of the Cross he was saved again").

¹. Germanus, Archbishop of Constantinople, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum contemplatio [Db]*, PG 98, 385CD, "Βεβαπτίσαμεθα δὲ κατὰ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ. Διὰ γὰρ τῆς ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καταδύσεώς τε καὶ ἀναδύσεως, τριπλῆς τε ἐπικλήσεως, τὴν τριήμερον ταφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξεικονίζομεν καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν", ("We are baptised according to the death and the anastasis of Christ. So, through the submergence and the emergence from the water, three times, we portray and confess the three- day death and the resurrection of Christ").

². St. John Damascene, *De iis qui in fide dormierunt*, PG 95, 247- 278. About the eschatological extension of the Roman funeral liturgy see Owusu, 1993, esp. pp. 168- 96, Ottosen, 1996, pp. 176- 7.

³. *SMALL EUCHOLOGION* (about *Small Euchologion* see in *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, 1972, p., 78), p. 207 (www.goarch.org/en/chapel/text.asp).

⁴. That particular prayer is from the service for dead babies. *SMALL EUCHOLOGION*, p. 229.

⁵. For example, often in an *Irmos* there is the following phrase: "ἐκ φθορᾶς ὁ Θεὸς με ἀνάγαγε", ("God has moved me from the decay") which is a prayer for our saving of the corruption, the situation after the Original Sin. In *MENAION of May*, *Irmos*, 23rd of May, p.

194, *MENAION of June*, 14th of June, p. 96, *MENAION of July*, 14th of July, p. 188. Or in similar words in *MENAION of February*, Irmos, 6th Ode, 24th of February, p. 305, "ἀνάγαγε ἐκ φθορᾶς τὴν ζωὴν μου Πολυέλεε", ("All-merciful, drive my life away from the decay"). During **September**, there are a number of references, which combine the wood of the Tree of knowledge with the wood of the Cross, *MENAION of September*, Katavasia of the 5th Ode, Matins, 1st of September, p. 25, Hymn, Matins, 1st of September, p. 35, Katavasia of the 6th Ode, Matins, 1st of September, p. 26, Stichera of Ainoi, Matins, Matins, 1st of September, p. 36. Similarly, from the actual celebration of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on the 14th of September there are references, *MENAION of September*, Stichera, Small vesper, 14th of September, p. 227, Stichera, Small vesper, 14th of September, p. 228, Stichera, Vesper, 14th of September, p. 229, Liti, Vesper, 14th of September, p. 231. On **November**, *MENAION of November*, Staurotheotokion of Stichera, 4th of November, p. 61 "Θέλων ἐκλυτρώσασθαι, τοὺς ἐξ Ἀδάμ γηγενεῖς", ("I would like to redeem all Adams' descendants"), *MENAION of November*, Staurotheotokion, 3rd Ode, 28th of November, p. 490, "ἐν τῷ Σταυρῷ παρισταμένη Παρθένε... σώσαι τὸ γένος", ("under the Cross Virgin Mary... save our nation"). On **February**, indicatively, there are mentions for the resurrection of the protoplasts, *MENAION of February*, Staurotheotokion, Stichera, 11th of February, p. 163, "σπεῦδον ἀναστήναι, συνανιστῶν τοὺς Προπάτορας", ("please hush into resurrecting me with the Protoplasts"), the amendment of Eve's transgression *MENAION of February*, Hymn, 6th Ode, 11th of February, p. 167, "γυναῖκες ἠρίστευσαν, τὸν ὄφιν πατήσασαι, τὸν ποτὲ τὴν Εὐάν Παραδείσου ἐξοικίσαντα", ("women distinguished themselves and correct the Eve's sin in Paradise") and for the destruction of Hades, *MENAION of February*, Staurotheotokion, Vesper of the 22nd of February, p. 278, "καὶ γὰρ ἀναστήσομαι καὶ δοξασθήσομαι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἄδου βασιλεία, συντρίψω σθένει, καὶ ἀφανίσω τούτου τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοὺς δεσμίους ἐκλυτρώσομαι", ("and I am resurrected and be glorified and abolish his power and rescue the prisoners"). And in **April** indicatively, there are references to the Crucifixion *MENAION of April*, Stichera, Vesper of the 3rd of April, p. 28, "ὁ σκοτεινότετος τύραννος κατέκλεισε θηρῶν ὠμότητι, Παραδείσου τὴν οἴκησιν, ἐν νῶ περιφέρων, χαίρων τε τῷ πνεύματι, Πάτερ ὑπέμεινας", ("the darkest oppressor closed harshly the doors of Heaven, but you our Father suffered with joy for our sake"), *MENAION of April*, Staurotheotokion, Vesper of the 3rd of April, p. 29, "ὄρων σὲ ἐν ξύλῳ, Σῶτερ, κρεμᾶμενον· ἐφριξαν δὲ κάτωθεν, τὰ καταχθόνια, καὶ νεκροὶ ἐξανέστησαν, ἐρόράγησαν πέτραι", ("I see you on the Cross, my Saviour, and the underground world is horrified, the dead were resurrected and the stones were broken"), *MENAION of April*, Irmos, 9th Ode, 4th of April, p. 47, "Τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Λόγον, τὸν ἀρόρητο σοφία, ἤκοντα καινουργῆσαι τὸν Ἀδάμ, βρώσει φθορᾶ πεπωκότα δεινώς", ("The Logos of God came to redeem Adam from the dead"). Similarly, there are relevant quotations in the liturgical texts during **June** (*MENAION of June*, Irmos, 1st of June, p. 12, "Τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον... καινουργῆσαι τὸν Ἀδάμ, βρώσει φθορᾶ πεπωκότα δεινώς, ἐξ ἀγίας Παρθένου, ἀφράστως σαρκωθέντα δι' ἡμᾶς", ("The Logos of God....renew Adam, who had

are remembered, for instance the Sunday before Christmas, the relevant references to them are often, even in the celebration of not so known saints¹. During the Christmas vesper, there are references to the protoplast and their salvation from the dead, and the theology of the first and the second Adam; "καὶ ὄκησεν ἐν μήτρᾳ παρθενικῇ ἀναλλοιώτως· ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ, τὸν φθαρθέντα Ἀδὰμ, ἀναπλάσῃ", ("and made his dwelling in a virgin womb without change, that in it he might refashion corrupted Adam as he cried")², "ὁ τῆς ἐπιπνοίας, μετασχὼν τῆς ἀμείνω Ἀδὰμ χοϊκός, καὶ πρὸς φθορὰν κατολισθήσας, γυναικείᾳ ἀπάτῃ, Χριστὸν γυναικὸς βοᾷ ἐξορῶν", ("Adam, formed of dust, who had shared in a better breath of life and slipped down to corruption through a woman's deception, seeing Christ born from a woman cries out")³, "νέον ἐξ Ἀδὰμ, παιδίον φυράματος ἐτέχθη Υἱός, καὶ

been in decadence, through the Holy Virgin, became a man for us"), Theotokion and Staurotheotokion respectively, Vesper of the 2nd of June, p. 13, "καὶ κατάρας ἠλευθέρωσας, Παρθένε, προγονικῆς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον", ("Virgin Mary through you the human kind was free from the curse of its ancestors"), "ἀλλὰ σπεύσον ἀναστήναι, συνανιστῶν τοὺς προπάτορες", ("but resurrect us quickly, with our forefathers") and in **July** (MENAION of July, Theotokion, 9th Ode, 4th of July, p. 51, "τεκοῦσα σωματικῶς... ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον... Ἄδης κατήργηται", ("as his body was dead...Hades was abolished... and the eternal life was gained"), Theotokion, 7th Ode, 14th of July, p. 190, "Νεκροῦται τὸ πρὶν, ὁ Ἀδὰμ φθοροποιῶ βρώσει, πανάμωμε· σὺ δὲ τεκοῦσα τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν, τούτον, Παρθένε, ἐξώωσας", ("The previous situation is over, Adam has been saved. Virgin Mary is praised for having given birth to God, who saved us").

¹. On **Sunday before Christmas** (it can be celebrated between the 18th and the 24th of December), it is celebrated the memory of the Ancestors, from Adam up to Joseph, Virgin Mary's husband, as they are mentioned in the Loukas' Gospel. *MENAION of December*, Synaxarion of the day, p. 251, "Ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἄρχι καὶ Ἰωσήφ τοῦ μνήστορος τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, κατὰ γενεαλογίαν, καθὼς ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς Λουκᾶς ἱστορικῶς ἠριθμήσατο". There are references straight to Adam and Eve: *MENAION of December*, Synaxarion of the day, p. 251, "Μνήμη τῶν πρωτοπλάστων Ἀδὰμ καὶ Εὕας", (the day of the memory of the protoplasts Adam and Eve), *MENAION of December*, Synaxarion of the day, p. 251, *MENAION of December*, Proeortios of the 8th Ode, p. 262, Hymn, 3rd Ode, p. 246, Theotokion, 8th Ode etc.

². *MENAION of December*, Hymn of the service of Liti, 25th of December, p. 386 (the English transl. from the www.anastasis.org.uk).

³. *MENAION of December*, Hymn, 3rd Ode, 25th of December, p. 389 (the English transl. from the www.anastasis.org.uk).

πιστοῖς δέδοται", ("a young child has been born from Adam's matter, and a Son has been given to the believers")¹.

Undoubtedly, during the liturgy of the Sunday of the Ascensors, it is often mentioned the anastasis in connection with the protoplasts and the salvation of the human race. That demonstrates the importance of the history of the Old Testament in the Divine Oikonomia. It is also significant to mention that Adam and Eve have their celebration day, as all the other prophets and saints, without being excluded.

¹. *MENAION of December*, Hymn, 6th Ode, 25th of December, p. 392 (the English transl. from the www.anastasis.org.uk).

C. Iconographic analysis of the *Anastasis* scene

As far as the origin of the scene is concerned, La Piana's theory¹, that the text- source of the Anastasis illustration was a *Homily* of Pseudo-Epiphanius², and the homilies connection with the Byzantine theatre, could be characterized as controversial³. The context of "*Homilia II in Sabbato Magno*"⁴ pertains to Holy Saturday, meaning Christ's burial, his visit into Hell and his resurrection⁵. Millet¹ opposed by suggesting the *Apocryphon of Nicodemus* (2nd

¹. La Piana, 1936, pp. 171- 211. He refers to the dramatization of the homilies and the religious history in connection with the liturgical tradition of Christendom. The interactive influences in the visual and literary arts in Medieval Europe are explained in Sheingorn, 1982, pp. 111-29. Also cf. Alexiou, 1975, pp. 121ff about the *Christos Paschon* and Nichols, 1983, pp. 52ff about the drama of theosis. Cf. about the dramatic elements on the Mass of the Passion and the Resurrection in Young, 1967, pp. 85- 177.

². The particular *Homily* is pseudepigraphon, professing to be writings from Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus. See "*Επιφάνιος*", *ΘΗΕ* 1964, pp. 800- 8.

³. Millet, 1960, p. 612, Kartsonis, 1986, pp. 64- 5. La Piana himself made some comments on Millet's remarks, La Piana, 1936, p.185.

⁴. Epiphanius, *Homilia II in Sabbato Magno [Sp]*, PG 43. 439- 64.

⁵. However, the first surviving illustrations of Anastasis do not apply all of the elements that are mentioned in the Homily. For instance, it is said that "*Christ came towards them, holding the victorious weapon of the cross*", PG 43, 461, while in the first examples Christ holds a scroll. Moreover, even though the broken doors and keys are mentioned in the Homily, there are not in the illustrations. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 65, note 77. The scroll that Christ's holds is the oldest iconographic tradition, which it appears in a few examples in the middle of 14th or in the 15th c. in eastern Europe, such as in Studenica, Mistra, Ohrid and in some icon, in Venice, in Ermitage Museum in Russia and in the Benaki Museum in Athens. Those examples are exceptions to the illustration of Christ holding the Cross, which is the connection between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, a symbol of Passion, but of power at the same time. See Deligianni- Dori, 1994, pp. 402- 3, Kartsonis, 1986, p. 206, it is believed that the wood of the Cross was made or at least remind us the Tree of Knowledge, O' Collins, 2004, p. 10. It is also said that a part of that tree was by Adam's grave, later it was transferred into the Temple garden and then in the Bethesda pool, see Fergusson, 1961, p. 39.

c.)², which became the most accepted iconographic source of the Anastasis³, since it describes in detail Christ's venue into the underground world. Likewise, researchers⁴ mention the supplementary possibility of the inspiration from the *Odes of Solomon* (first half of the 2nd c.) and from the texts of the early Fathers, such as st. Melito of Sardis (PG 101- 102, 775- 785), st. Irenaeus of Lyon (*Adv. Haer. III*, 20, 4)⁵, st. Hippolytus (*Commentary on Daniel*, IV, 33), st. Ephrem the Syrian (*Carmina Nisibena* 65), st. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catachesis* 14, 19).

However, there are researchers who state that, if the frame has been the general seventh or eighth century tense of illustrating scenes considering Christ's body and soul, then the sources for the Anastasis icon would have been also other patristic works and liturgical texts, such as the *Paschal Canon* of st. John Damascene and the hymns of st. Andrew of Crete and st. Cosmos of Maioum⁶. Around the end of the seventh century, theology emphasized on those christological points, which could give specific arguments against the heresies, concerning Christ 's divinity and humanity. The council in Trullo (691- 2), with the 82nd Canon established the non- symbolic representation of Christ and the possibility of his illustration as a human being⁷. At that time¹, Anastasius the

¹. Millet, 1960, p. 616.

². Especially about the Christ's Descent into Hell of Nicodemus in the original text see Kalokyris, 1967, pp. 158- 67. In a Modern Greek translation see in Bozinis, 2005, pp. 186- 213 (and comments pp. 329- 47), *Απόκρυφα Κείμενα Καινής Διαθήκης*, 1991, pp. 123- 72. The various editions in English see Elliott, 1999, pp. 185- 204. The mentioning of the Gospel of Peter as a source of the scene can be characterized as "problematic". Cf Cartlidge, R. D., Elliot K. J., 2001, p. 131.

³. Quenot, 2001, pp. 175- 8, Tsitouridou, 1986, p. 100, Osborne, 1981, pp. 258- 9, Galavaris, 1969, p. 70. The Gospel of Nicodemus became very popular in the Middle Ages and there are numerous manuscripts in different translations, Glaeske, 1999, pp. 81- 4. Cf. Sheingorn, 1982, p. 112 even though she talks about medieval drama, she mentions the Gospel of Nicodemus.

⁴. Quenot, 2001, pp. 75- 6.

⁵. Bynum, 2000, pp. 34- 43, where the theology on resurrection of st. Irenaeus and Tertullian is analysed.

⁶. Quenot, 2001, p. 81, Koukiaris, 1996- 97, p. 305, Deligianni- Dori, 1994, pp. 401, 409- 11, 421- 6, Palioura, 1978, pp. 386- 7.

⁷. Specifically, the 82nd Canon declared the ability of illustrating the incarnate Word of God, Logos, with human figures and not any more as a lamp, amnos. Mansi 11: 977E- 980A, Sahas, 1986, pp. 23, Michelis, 1967, p. 151. The Council mentioned that the illustration of "amnos" has had a special meaning in the Old Testament. Thus, by banning it, Christ can be

Sinaite wrote the *Hodegos*², a handbook with dogmatic terms and explanations for Christians, who want to become defenders of their faith. Sinaite points out the significance of the "*material representations*"³, which are more powerful than the scriptural words. Consequently, it is not so persuasively suggested⁴, that the *Hodegos* was the text, which the artists took the theme of Crucifixion and the Burial of Christ from⁵. Even though, it does not encourage the Anastasis scene, it does demonstrate the hypostatic union in the two natures of Christ and inevitably can give the same ground with the Crucifixion and the Entombment. The text of *Hodegos* was the fundamental text that the Fathers of the 6th Ecumenical Council followed in their Christological expressions, since it was actual a florilegium, comprising of the major issues of the Christian faith⁶.

In the early Christian art the Resurrection was described indirectly, with symbols, such as the phoenix and the peacock or with its typological prefigurations from the Old Testament, for instance Daniel and the lions, Noah and the ark or Jonah in the whale⁷. Iconographically speaking, the scene of the

separated from the prefigurations of the Old Testament and his humanity can be declared. Kessler, 2000, pp. 42- 5

¹. There is no specific agreement on the date of this text. See Kartsonis, 1986, p. 41, note 1.

². St. Anastasius Sinaites, *Hodegos*, PG 89, 35- 310 (also its critical edition see Uthemann, 1981).

³. "*Πραγματικές παραστάσεις*", st. Anastasius Sinaites, *Hodegos*, PG 89, 40C (Uthemann, 1981, p. 8, I, 1, 26).

⁴. Kartsonis, 1986, pp. 40- 41 and Deligianni- Dori, 1994, p. 403. 10 agrees with A. Karstonis. In Cartlidge, R. D., Elliot, J. K., 2001, p. 247, note 88, it is noted that the authors do not disagree with the suggestion of Kartsonis that the Gospel of Nicodemus is not the origin of the scene. However, they do not specify if they agree with her suggestion about *Hodegos*.

⁵. For further analysis see Kartsonis, 1986, pp.40- 67.

⁶. See about *Hodegos* and its role in the 6th Ecumenical Council (the actual solution of the Christological dispute and the preparation of the 7th Ecumenical Council) in Lialiou, 2006, pp. 92- 3, pp. 225- 7, note 1. The *Hodegos* as a florilegium was, with other significant dogmatic pieces, one of the archetypes of the Codex Parisinus gr. 1115. See Alexakis, 1996, pp. 52, pp. 57- 8.

⁷. Sheingorn, 1982, p. 114. Moreover, there are two pre- figurations of the Resurrection. Both are from the Old Testament: the prophet Jonah and the three young men in the furnace. The first is about the story of Jonah, who was in a whale for three days and three nights and he finally came forth from its belly, without any harm. The second one is the three young men, who even though were in a furnace, they were not burned from the flames, as

descent into Hades owed its structure to the ancient depictions of the triumph of the emperors¹. The position of the emperor, as a redeemer of the citizens, goes to Christ, as the Redeemer of the humanity². In a short note Nordhagen tried to ask and answer to some questions on Grabar's theory and he presumed that since it was used to demonstrate the imperial power, it could be easily adopted by Christians for illustrating his authority on the upper and underground world³.

The scene of the Anastasis until the end of the 13th c., is discerned into three iconographic types, having variations on the position of Christ and the main protagonists, as well as on the reactions of the participants⁴. Thus, according to the visual rendition there are the *narrative*, the *renaissance* and the *dogmatic* type.

In particular, the narrative type demonstrates Christ moving towards Adam and taking him out of his sarcophagus. The particular type dates from the pre- iconoclastic period and it has the oldest parallels⁵. In the second type, the renaissance type, Christ with an impressive move holds Adam, dragging him from his sarcophagus. Its name probably came up from the Macedonian Renaissance, during the 10th c⁶. According to Weitzmann, the model of that motif derived from the classical ancient art and specifically the scene of

Christ came from the realm of dead totally alive. *John* 1, 1- 4, 11. Especially on the passage *Jon* 1, 17 ("and Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights") is the main pre-figuration of the Christ's resurrection. It is also mentioned on the New Testament: *Mt* 12, 40 ("For just as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the sea monster, so for three days and three nights the Son of Man will be in the heart of the earth"), *Luk* 11, 30 ("For just as Jonah became a sign to the people of Nineveh, so the Son of Man will be to this generation").

¹. Ross, 1996, p. 11.

². Mouriki, 1985, p. 147. In the Incarnate Logos the three axioms, the royal, the prophetic and the hieratic, are unified. With his royal axiom, Christ has the power to create and re- create. So, with this authority he descended into Hell. See Eusebius Caesarias, PG 20, 72A-C. Cf. Matsoukas, 1992, pp. 298- 303, esp. 301. 89.

³. Nordhagen, 1982, pp. 345- 8.

⁴. See in general Grabar, 1972, pp. 264- 90. Cf. Schwartz, 1972- 73, pp. 30- 1, who mentions a forth-combined type. Also see the instructions for the iconography of the scene in the post-byzantine art in Dionysios of Fournas, 2007, pp. 157- 8.

⁵. Galavaris, 1969, p. 70, Mouriki, 1985, p.147, Gioles, 1982- 83, p.139.

⁶. Galavaris, 1969, p. 71, Mouriki, 1985, p.147.

Hercules pulled Cerberus along from the underground world¹. Schwartz argues that this variation has had as an origin, the scene of the late ancient era of the emperor dragging a captive². Kartsonis suggests that it started developing during the beginning of the 9th c. and if she is correct, that means this model is the improvement of the numismatic depiction of the 4th and 5th c., so her suggestion may be connected with Grabar's idea of the imperial ancient influence to the Anastasis scene³.

Lastly, in the third type- the most rare illustrated variation- Christ stands, facing the spectator. Around him there are two groups of Adam and Eve, Prophets and Kings and John the Baptist⁴. It was likely germinating at the second half of the 9th c.⁵ and it is more known from the miniatures rather than from the mosaic or frescoes⁶. It is sometimes called the dogmatic type⁷, while Galavaris mentions it as the type, which depicts Christ stretching out his hands, showing his injuries to the people around him⁸. Xyggopoulos has interpreted this type with the hymnology of Easter Sunday, mostly in the Canon of st. John Danascene and he named it the *hymnologic* type⁹. He referred to Christ as standing on the high hill, inviting Adam and Eve¹⁰, since the aim of this type is

¹. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 135. The myth says that Hercules had to beat Cerberus, the three-head dog, the guard of the underworld, in order to reach the Hades Palace. So, he managed to fasten Cerberus with a rope and he dragged it up. The myth has a number of parallels in ancient- painted pots. See Kerényi, 1998, pp. 423- 4- fig. 74.

². That information derives from Kartsonis, 1986, p. 135.

³. Maybe that position is inspired by Schwartz's idea. She actually mentions that it might have taken place a "*Constantinian Revival*". Kartsonis, 1986, p. 136.

⁴. For the figures, known or anonymous, and analysis on their presence on the scene see Koukiaris, 1996- 97, pp. 305- 17. For those figures on the 14th c. see Antonopoulos, 1993- 94, pp. 87- 97.

⁵. Mouriki, 1985, p.147.

⁶. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 164.

⁷. Mouriki, 1985, p.147.

⁸. Galavaris, 1969, p. 73.

⁹. Xyggopoulos, 1941, pp. 113- 29. Others agree with that name and explanation, Paliouras, 1978, p. 387. 1, Deligianni- Dori, 1994, pp. 409- 11. A criticism over Xyggopoulos aspects see in Galavaris, 1969, p. 73ff.

¹⁰. Xyggopoulos, 1941, p. 115.

to depict the belief to the resurrection of the human beings through Christ's Anastasis¹, while the other two historical variations state the supernatural fact of the Resurrection². The earliest examples of this type are a miniature from a lectionary in the monastery of Iviron of Mt. Athos (cod. 1, 11th c.) and an early icon in the Museum of Leningrad³.

A new iconographic type, the symmetrical one, was created at the beginning of the 13th c. Primarily, Christ in the middle of the composition is flanked by the protoplasts, creating a balanced scenery. The extraordinary of the parallel is its focus not only on Adam, but on Eve, as well, probably because of the special growth of the honour to Virgin Mary and her reference as the *second Eve*⁴. A miniature of a Gospel of the Monastery of Vatopedi (Mt. Athos, cod. 735, 13th c.), is one of the earliest examples of the type⁵; the fresco in Moni of Choras in Constantinople (1315- 20) is the most characteristic representatives, even so this variation became more popular with the angels, holding the Cross and the symbols of the Passion, as in Studenića⁶. Nevertheless, Adam and Eve are not changing their position, except in a few examples, in Peć (before 1337) and in Staro Nagorićino (1317- 18), where they stand at the same side, probably having been still influenced by the earliest types⁷.

The combination of the earliest historical types on the ground horizontal zone and the sphere of the sky on the top zone in Protato (Mt. Athos, ca. 1300)⁸, is consider to be the first pictorial echo of the soteriological message of

¹ Xyggopoulos, 1941, p. 124, Deligianni- Dori, 1994, p. 411. This is already mentioned in the Apocryphal Gospel, see Elliot, 1999, p. 189. Galavaris mentioned that this idea does not come from the Canon, as Xyggopoulos supported, but straight from the Apocryphal, Galavaris, 1969, p. 76.

² Xyggopoulos, 1941, p. 129.

³. Galavaris, 1969, p. 73, Xyggopoulos, 1941, pp. 114- 5.

⁴. Deligianni- Dori, 1994, pp. 404- 5.

⁵. Sotiriou, 1933, p. 118.

⁶. Deligianni- Dori, 1994, pp. 404- 6.

⁷. Deligianni- Dori, 1994, p. 406.

⁸. Deligianni- Dori, 1994, pp. 412- 4, fig. 3.

Anastasis¹. This connection is based on the common belief that the resurrection of the protoplasts and the Prophets emphasizes on the second coming and the Last Judgment². In Protato, Adam and Eve stand on the same side, without any kind of sarcophagi and with a strong, vivid movement towards Christ. Christ, facing the spectator, drags Adam on the left side, while Eve is raising her hands in supplication, on the right side. Though not in our period under analysis, it is noteworthy to cite the constructive comparison of the iconographical and technical approach, which was made by Tsigaridas between the painting in Protato and in the parekklesion of St. Eythymios (1302- 03) on the southeast side of the Basilica of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki. It is concluded that Manuel Pancelinos was the artist of the two monuments³. In fact, that Palaeologian combined illustration was already completed in Gračanića (1318- 21) and in Monastery of Helandariou (Mt. Athos, 1318- 20)⁴.

Early Illustrations:

The earliest surviving illustrations of Anastasis date from the first decade of the 8th c. in Rome- under the authority of Pope John VII (705- 7)⁵. In Santa Maria Antiqua, there are fragments of two frescoes in doorways, which have rather no parallels and they started being deteriorated since the beginning of the 20th c. (*fig. 81ab*)⁶. In the doorway to the church, we can only distinguish the outlines of Christ, Adam and Eve, while on the doors from the main aula to the palace the condition of the fresco is better⁷.

Moreover, there is a mosaic in the Oratory of the Pope John VII in the St. Peter's church, which however was demolished in 1606 and its decoration is

¹. Moreover, in the upper band of the Gračanića fresco, the throne with the cross and the gospel are the symbols of the Preparation of the Holy Communion, which symbolize the Last Judgement and since the 11th c. is a part of its pictorial illustration. Deligianni- Dori, 1994, pp. 418- 26. See about the Lord's throne in *Ps* 9: 7- 8, *Ps* 102. 12, *Mt* 19: 28.

². Ross, 1996, p. 11, Deligianni- Dori, 1994, pp. 411- 2.

³. Especially about Adam and Eve in Anastasis see Tsigaridas, 2008, p. 111, p. 181, pp. 210- 1, fig. 175- 177.

⁴. Deligianni- Dori, 1994, pp. 417- fig. 4

⁵. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 70, Nordhagen, 1982, p. 345, Koukiaris, 1996- 97, p. 305.

⁶. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 70.

⁷. Nordhagen, 1982, pp. 346- 7.

known only by earlier drawings¹. Mainly, the motifs are Greek and probably the artist came from the East, giving the indication that the scene was already known in the East from the pre- iconoclastic period². It is also supported that they reinforce the idea of the close connection of the iconography of the Anastasis and the imperial iconography of the Roman art³, while the trampling over Hades seemed as significant as Adam's resurrection, in such a way in order the scene to be iconographically balanced⁴.

Another dated illustration in Rome is a mosaic depiction of Anastasis in the Chapel of St. Zeno in Santa Maria Prassede (by the Pope Pascal I, 817- 824, *fig. 82*)⁵. On the lower part of the illustration lies a marble structure, which prevents us for seeing where Adam and Eve are being dragged from and whether Hades is pictured. However, it is strange that Adam looks towards the viewer and not his rescuer⁶. This mosaic can be examined in connection with the 11th c. Skevophylakion Lectionary in Lavra, which considers to have a Constantinopolitan origin⁷.

In both frescoes in the church of St. Clemente (the first since the dates of the Pope of Leo IV, 847- 855 and the other one from the last quarter of the 9th c., *fig. 83ab*)⁸, Christ, who is circled by a mandorla, is moving with an overwhelming position towards Adam. In the first one, the protoplasts are surrounded by a dark hole, a cave, the Realm of dead, out of which are stepping due to Christ. Adam he is sited, he has a long beard and he holds Christ's hand. Eve stands over him in a supplication pose. It is noticeable the fact that all three of them have the poses as the later examples, meaning that the basic structure of the scene has formed since the very early illustrations. Yet, Hades does not take

¹. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 70, Gioles, 1982- 83, p. 139. Schiller mentions that the illustration must have been short in its narration. See Schiller, 1971, p. 49.

². Cartlidge, R. D., Elliot, J. K., 2001, pp. 127- 8, Kartsonis, 1986, p. 70, Gioles, 1982- 83, p. 139.

³. Mouriki, 1985, p. 147, Nordhagen, 1982, pp. 345- 8.

⁴. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 83.

⁵. That reinforces the idea of the eastern origin of the first illustrations. See Kartsonis, 1986, p. 70.

⁶. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 88.

⁷. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 122.

⁸. Osborne, 1981, pp. 279- 80, Schiller, 1971, p. 49.

part in the particular picture. In the second one, a development in the pictorial forms is observed. The figures are taller, their hands are huge, the facial characteristics are clear, and especially with expressive eyes and the clothes are more pleated¹. The personification of Hades is lying under Christ's feet and he is grabbing Adam's heel, while the only thing that is obvious today from Eve is her hands. Furthermore, Christ has no beard at all, Adam has shorter beard than in the previous drawing and a quite gentle standing position. Christ's mandorla has ornaments and probably two or three different colours.

Additionally, we quote a fresco in St. Peter's church (Rome, during the papacy of Formosus, 891- 896), which is known only from later drawings² and a fresco in Basilica dei Santi Martiri in Cimitile (around 900)³. The artist of the latter probably wished to lay emphasis on the descendent movement of Christ into Limbo. His mandorla reminds us the shape of the one in St. Clement, even though without any decoration. Also, his mantle is waving, almost the same as we notice in the very first examples, in Vicopisano Cross and in the Fieschi-Morgan reliquary. Christ, with his oversized right hand holds Adam, who moves through a rocky surrounding, as it can be noticed from his not-totally-saved figure, whilst Eve is barely distinguished.

In spite of the similarities of the last three depictions to the former ones, they created a new group. Even though they are in Rome, iconographically and technically, they fit more with the eastern illustrations, apart from a few western innovations. Adam and Eve step out of a black hole, instead of their sarcophagus. The dark surrounding symbolizes Hades⁴, probably having a

¹. Osborne, 1981, pp. 256- 8.

². Schiller, 1971, p. 49.

³. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 82, Schiller, 1971, p. 49.

⁴ During the 9thc. in order the Iconophiles to demonstrate the rightness of the illustration of the Resurrection, as far as the depiction of Hades is concerned, reacted in various ways. They deleted totally Hades from the scene and they put the darkness instead, which was acceptable or they painted Hades as an ugly, huge figure, as we will mention below. Besides, they started to paint an innovating illustration of the actual act of the Resurrection (Kartsonis, 1986, p. 141). Furthermore, although the presentation of Hades on the early 8th c., for instance on the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua, as being walked over and crushed by Christ, miniatures of the 9th c., such as that of Pantocratoros Psalter (cod. 61), where Hades has toppled over, the Renaissance approach, as on the Lyon ivory (11th c.), is a relaxed silhouette, which adjusts itself more to the revitalized atmosphere of the epoch (Weitzmann, 1980, pp. 621- 2).

connection with the Hades in Homer. Apparently, opposite to the previous depictions, the artists focus on the topography of the realm of the dead, as a dark and rocky place, while the appearance of flames (in S. Clement second Anastasis) indicates the combination of Hades and Hell. At the same time, it pays more attention to the raising of the protoplasts, than concentrated on the battle between Christ and Hades, before Adam's rescue¹. Consequently, the presence of the four mummies in the fresco in Cimitile demonstrates the resurrection of all the human beings due to Adam².

Special cases:

During the 9th c. there was a tendency to identify the oldest features of the scene and to develop new patterns with western and eastern elements, as well.

One of the earliest eastern Anastasis scenes is on the inside cover of the silver reliquary Fieschi- Morgan of the Metropolitan Museum of New York (there is no homophony about its origin and its date, *fig. 84*)³. Some researchers mention that its origin is Syro- Palestine and so is this type of the Anastasis⁴. The possible date from Gioles is around 900⁵, Beckwith supports that this type is developed from the 6th c. crystal in Victoria an Albert Museum and others on the 8th c⁶. On the contrary, due to specific iconographic elements, Kartsonis suggests the first quarter of the 9th c. as a date, having a Constantinopolitan

The darkness on the posterior western pictorial approach on the scene could be suggested that it was influenced by the fact of Christ's descend into Hades and the resurrection was during the night. That affected also the liturgical act (*EUCHOLOGIUM*, p. 1035, "*Nox, in qua inderna patuerunt, nox, in qua absolutus est Adam, nox, in qua inventa est dragma quae perierat, nox, in qua boni pastoris humeris reportata est oves perditam, nox, in qua diabolus occubuit et sol iusticiae Christus exortus est et solutis inferni nexibus claustrisque perfractis multa sanctorum corpora de sepulchris erumpencia intraverunt in sanctam civitatem*").

¹. Kartsonis, 1986, pp. 82- 3.

². Kartsonis, 1986, p. 84.

³. *Byzanz*, 1998, pp. 53- 4, fig. 39b.

⁴. Gioles, 1982- 83, p. 143.

⁵. Gioles, 1982- 83, p. 139.

⁶. The information derives from Gioles, 1982- 83, p. 130, Schiller, 1971, p. 47.

background¹. In its four scenes- Annunciation, Nativity, Crucifixion and Anastasis- the figures are tall, trim, with extended legs, having diminutive outlines and petite faces. Specifically in Anastasis, Christ is stooping towards the protoplasts, which are both on the right side. Adam is being dragged and Eve is begging. Their figures are tiny, without any special feature, Eve has her hands uncovered and there is not any sarcophagus under them.

The compilation of the scene in the Vicopisano Cross (probably the first half of the 8th c., *fig. 85*)² is completely the same with the Fieschi- Morgan reliquary. There is homogeneity both in figures and in their position and location. Their simplicity and the sameness even in the lines of the clothes are noticeable points. The personification of Hades and two more persons, as spectators, on the left top take also part in the scene.

In the Chludof Psalter, a Constantinopolitan manuscript, which (now in Moscow, 9th c.)³, there are some interesting observations for its three miniatures. At first, in Chludof *Ps* 82^v, Christ is standing on the baldhead of a huge monkey, the personification of Hades. It may be the first step of a procedure, which ended up to the high hill of the most of the third type illustrations⁴. That illustration, over the head of Hades, is probably the pictorial transfer of the *Ps* 68 (67)⁵; we cited the 68. 1 "*Let God rise up, let the enemies be scattered*" and 68. 21 "*But God will shatter the heads of his enemies*. Additionally, Adam, being pulled up from his hand and Eve, begging for redemption, are not on the same side, as usual and the result is to have a symmetrical miniature.

¹ She connects it with the Pliska and Vicopisano cross, as well as with the Chapel of St. Zeno. Moreover, the fact that Constantinople was a significant centre for the production of reliquaries and its Greek inscriptions reinforce her argument. See the article of G. Mietke, "Wundertätige Pilgerandenken, Reliquien und ihr Bildschmuck" in *Byzanz*, 1998, p. 54, fig. 40c-d, Kartsonis, 1986, pp. 122- 3.

² Kitzinger, 1988, pp. 65- 6, as well the Sofia Cross, pp. 63- 4, fig. 9. Cf. Schiller also connected the two above- mentioned monuments. Also mentions the Vicopisano Cross as Syriac- palestinian art. See Schiller, 1971, p. 47.

³ This date is totally acceptable from the researchers, Gioles, 1982- 83, p. 139. It is also, not so convincingly, mentioned that in Chludof miniatures it happens for the first time that Christ steps over Hades. Koukiaris, 1996- 97, p. 305.

⁴ Xyggopoulos, 1941, pp. 122- 3- fig. 5, Kartsonis, 1986, p. 136.

⁵ Schiller, 1971, p. 54.

In fol. 63^r, with the inscription "Τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀνιστῶν Χριστὸς ἐκ τοῦ ᾠδου", ("Christ is raising Adam from Hades")¹, Adam and Eve are standing on the left side and Christ, holding a scroll, grabs Adam from his wrist. The scene takes place on the stomach of a huge figure of Hades, who is depicted upside down- his head on the front and his feet are revealing behind the Christ's mandorla². Consequently, it seems that the three persons of the scene balance themselves. Especially Adam, with a shorter figure than Eve, moves his feet towards Christ and his body to the back, with a gesture which declares his forceful movement out of Hades. Behind him Eve is calmly standing, watching the scene. The only differences with the fol. 63^v are that in that setting there are no flying demons and the inscription says "Another Anastasis of Adam"³.

Those extreme pictures, especially in the manuscripts, are probably a part of the various reactions to the Iconoclasm and a procedure in order to indicate and form the Anastasis scene. Yet, its illustration has been excluded from the cycle of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ in the fol. 30^v of the manuscript Paris gr. 510 with the Homilies of st. Gregory the Theologian (880-883)- a manuscript through which the early Macedonian art can be identified⁴. This folio might have been misplaced from the first Oratio on Easter⁵ or it is an expression of the ideas of that period.

Eastern Illustrations:

The period after Iconoclasm and before the outstanding mosaic cycles of the 11th c. the church decoration was kept within fixed, simple limits, which transferred the dogmas to the viewers with a narrative way, avoiding the personifications and the exaggerations.

Consequently, during the 10th c. the most common iconography of the Anastasis was that of the first type, with some changes and the final input of the scene into the cycles of the Christ's Passion. Christ is stepping either on the left or on the right, over broken gates and bars of hell, holds a scroll and Adam's arm on the other hand. In Göreme of Cappadocia, in the Old Tokali Kilise (first

¹. Kartsonis supposes that the artist with this inscription, identifies the difference between the Christ's and Adam's resurrection. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 135. However, it might be the result of the artist's belief that there is no difference between the two facts.

². Kartsonis, 1986, pp. 134- 5, Schiller, 1971, p. 54.

³. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 135.

⁴. Der Nersessian, 1962, pp. 195- 228.

⁵. Der Nersessian, 1962, p. 218 and p. 225, Kartsonis, 1986, p. 141.

quarter of the 10th c.)¹, the Passion scenes are depicted in a row leading to the Anastasis, which acts as an evidence of Christ's divine and human nature, according to Kartsonis², but in accordance with Epstein is not presented as the greatest cycle scene³.

In the New Tokali Kilise (middle of the 10th c.)⁴, the development of the scene is obvious. John the Baptist joins the background scenery for the first time⁵. As he is commonly named is the Forerunner of Christ, not only in the earth, but in Hades, as well, where he went and preached. That is why he is usually depicted with his right hand risen, in a teaching- speech way⁶. He is also considered⁷ to be the connection between the baptism and the Liturgy.

An early illustration is an ivory door- diptych, in Dresden (middle of the 10th c., **fig. 85**), which has two scenes; the one with the appearance of Christ to the women ("*Χαίρετε*") and the Anastasis ("*Ἡ Ἀνάστασις*")⁸. Christ still holds the scroll and he is walking over Hades' neck, grabbing Adam's hand. Adam has a rather awkward pose in his sarcophagus, with a long right hand and a quite fat figure. All the male participants have beard and Eve, who humbly appeals for mercy, has her hands uncovered.

On a Byzantine Psalter (fragments of which are in Paris, 10th c., **fig. 86**) there are two huge sarcophagi⁹. One of them is like a house, with roof and window, while its door is broken. Apart from that unique feature, another special point is Christ's position. He does not seem to be depicted during his descent into Hades, but his ascent to the upper world. Also, there is not any mandorla, just series of lines- as the light is depicted- around him. As far as the protoplasts are concerned, we can only guess, that they are those two tiny,

¹. Epstein, 1986, p. 20ff.

². Kartsonis, 1986, p. 166.

³ Epstein, 1986, pp. 24- 5.

⁴. Epstein, 1986, pp. 29- 32.

⁵. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 169.

⁶ He actually prepared the path for Christ. See PG 90, 242B. Koukiaris, 1996- 7, p. 306. In the New Tokali Kilise only the Head of the John the Baptist survives. See Kartsonis, 1986, pp. 172- 3.

⁷. Kartsonis, 1986, pp. 172- 3.

⁸. Schiller, 1971, p. 50.

⁹. Schiller, 1971, p. 54.

without any particular appearance, persons on the right side, coming out of the house- tomb.

Echoing the common iconography of the Middle Byzantine period on the Ettiswil miniature of the Anastasis (Coll. Amberg AS 502), Christ drags Adam from his tomb, whilst Eve is in supplication. The structure of the scene as well as Christ's broadly open stride forward could remind, up to an extent, S. Maria Antiqua's fresco¹, though the figures of the miniature are in lack of the overwhelming movements of the fresco.

Citing the most significant monuments of the 11th c., Hosios Loukas in Phocis (first half of the 11th c.)² is the earliest parallel of the second iconographic type of Anastasis³. The frontal position of Christ emphasizes the importance of his action and it is originated in the iconographic tradition of the eleventh- century manuscripts, such as the Lectionary of the monastery of Mega Lavra in Mount Athos⁴. Adam and Eve are in their well- ornament sarcophagus; Adam is being dragged and Eve stands in the position of a humble request. He has the common patriarchic figure, as an old, respectful man and both of them have a conservative pose, which does not enable them to show their feet. That simplicity is the first step to the overwhelming position of the following- mentioned compositions. Adam wears white clothes and Eve a white cloth with a light red garment over it⁵. In general, that Constantinopolitan style is austere and formal, while the figures and the postures are static and restrained.

¹. Weitzmann, 1980, p. 26, fig. 15.

². A detailed report on the dating of Hosios Loukas see in Mouriki, 1980- 81, pp. 81- 81.

³. Galavaris, 1969, p. 72. By technical aspect it is mentioned that the formulae of Hosios Loukas bear resemblance with the Hagia Sophia in Kiev (after 1040) and in the church of Torcello in Venice (end of the 11th c.). Cf. Chatzidakis, 1996, p. 93. A few comments on the Anastasis mosaics of Hosios Loukas, Monastery of Daphni and Nea Moni of Chios see Bulst- Thiele, 1979, pp. 452- 3.

⁴ Chatzidakis, 1996, p. 25.

⁵. Chatzidaki, 1994, p. 237, fig. 63, Beckwith, 1970, p. 108, fig. 199, Diez E., Demus O., 1931, p. 85.

In the monumental painting of the 11th c. Nea Moni of Chios (1042-1056) follows the first type of the Anastasis¹. According to the pictorial vocabulary of the narrative type, Christ is stepping towards Adam and he moves forward by raising one foot out of his sarcophagus. Christ holds him by his wrist, while Adam raises his left hand in a speech gesture. However, Adam's figure is quite short and his movement is not smart, but on the contrary his left foot is asymmetrical. Mouriki relates that to an afford of being pictured the dynamic way of the body's movement, which characterizes the figures of the mosaics in Nea Moni². Eve is, as usual, portrayed in a young age and she stands behind him, having her hands raised and covered with her maforio. In the middle Byzantine art it was important to emphasize to the luxury of the cloths, by depicting them in the right colours and with rich folding. It is noteworthy that Eve wears red clothing with golden, quick stripes³, as a part of the adamic typology, since it is frequently met Christ, Virgin Mary and the kings to wear the same kind of cloth⁴. Additionally, one big, square sarcophagus surrounds both the protoplasts. That sarcophagus as well as the Daphniou one, are situated in such a way in order to have a deeper perspective, whilst in Hosios Loukas the sarcophagus is concurrent and it is similar to a short, ornament wall.

In the Monastery of Daphni (end of the 11th c.)⁵ the need to encourage a straight transfer of the theological meaning of the scene to the believer is observable. That happened by putting the Crucifixion and the Anastasis closer to the viewer, on the eastern wall of the north and south side of the architectural cross⁶. In Daphni there is the same pictorial form as in Nea Moni. Nevertheless,

¹. Mouriki, 1985, p. 147. Nea Moni of Chios is the first eleventh- century monument with the most completed iconographic cycle of the important liturgical feasts, starting with the Annunciation and ending with the Anastasis (ibid., p. 222).

². Mouriki, 1985, p. 246. Cf. Chatzidaki, 1994, p. 239, fig. 78- 81.

³. Diez E., Demus O., 1931, p. 84. 1.

⁴ Moreover, some saints of the inner- narthex, Anna and Daniel, Mouriki, 1985, pp. 262- 3.

⁵ Its dating at the end of the 11th c. Is supported by the Comnenian style in some elements of the mosaics and their connection to the Sicilian mosaics of the 12th c. Mouriki, 1980- 81, pp. 97- 8.

⁶. Mouriki, 1985, p. 224, Beckwith, 1970, p. 121, fig. 220. It is interesting to quote a byzantine ivory with the Crucifixion, depicting Christ to stab with his cross a male figure that some scholars, as Weitzmann, identified him as Adam. Yet, according to the persuasive

the composition performs partial alterations; slimmer and taller figures, better lines on the pleats¹. Moreover, John the Baptist has a more central role and some ancient elements are observed, such as the personification of Hades lying under the feet of Christ. Adam and Eve are on the left side in front of the kings. Christ's move is the same as in Nea Moni, even though his right foot is visible and Hades grabs his left foot, probably in order Hades' desperate position to be indicated. His figure is a mix of the "*profile and the three-quarter poses*"², in such a way that he seems to turn indirectly- a totally Hellenistic pattern. Eve's supplication becomes humbler by her dramatic facial expression.

In general, in Hosios Loukas the lineal elements and the static character of the mosaics are the points, which demonstrate a removal from the classicizing style. That tense becomes more obvious in the Nea Moni of Chios and finally in Daphni the harmony between the lineal and the painting elements reinforces the focus on man, as an organic whole and on the psychological part of the situation. As well, Adam's clothes in those monuments have a red stripe, being drawn on the inside cloth. A speculative interpretation could be relevant to adamic typology, involving a connection with Christ and red, as a royal colour.

A close parallel to the Anastasis illustration of Daphni is met on the Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta at Torcello (11th c.)³, though Adam has already stepped out of his sarcophagus and he is depicted as having an overwhelming forward motion with his standing stance. The same parallel with the Nea Moni of Chios and the monastery of Daphniou appeared in a great number of manuscripts of the 11th c.⁴, such as in the Lectionary A- 648 in the Institute Kekelitze, in the Lectionary, cod. 587, and the Homilies of Gregory, cod. 61⁵, in the monastery of Dionysiou in Mount Athos¹, in the Gospel of the

analysis of Frazer (1974, pp. 153, 61) the figure corresponds to Hades and one of the parallels she uses is the presence of the stabbed Hades and simultaneously the raising Adam in the mosaic of Daphni.

¹. The figures and the pleats have been probably inspired by the ancient Greek statues, Chatzidakis, 1956, p. 21.

². Diez E., Demus O., 1931, p. 77.

³. A study about the tesserae used for the mosaics, as well as their chronology and restoration process, see Andreescu- Treadgold I., Henderson J., 2006, pp. 87- 119.

⁴. Mouriki, 1985, p. 147.

⁵. Mouriki, 1985, p. 147. Cf. Galavaris, 1969, p. 194.

Bibliothèque Nationale, par. gr. 74 and in the Lectionary of the Morgan Library, cod. 639, in New York. Yet, a number of miniatures, belonging to the first type, demonstrate the development of the parallel, in spite of not having undergone significant alterations². Christ moves and bends towards Adam, while in Palaeologean art he is surrounded by a mandorla with rays, a motif of that period³. Moreover, we quote a medallion with the picture of Anastasis (Sardis, Acropolis, first half of the 11th c.)⁴, since it seems interesting how faith and specifically the doctrine of Resurrection was an inseparable part of the everyday life.

A sobering influence from the Western art was observed on the Anastasis mosaic of the Church of Anastasis in Jerusalem (11th c.), which follows, up to an extent, the middle Byzantine stylistic formulas and at the same time Bulst- Thiele notes the link between the inscription of the illustration and the Vesper of the Assumption Day⁵. In a similar manner the frescoes of the 12th c. in Serbia emphasises the role of Adam and Eve on the Resurrection, having an overtone to the wavy garments and motion, such as in Kurbinovo⁶.

The Anastasis miniature on the Queen Melisende's Psalter (1131- 43)⁷, though the manuscript has a connection with the western liturgical tradition, displays Byzantine iconographical elements. Adam's stance is almost similar to Nea Moni of Chios and Christ's posture as in Hosios Loukas. Yet, Eve, though in the position of supplication, has her hands uncovered, an element coming from the Macedonian art, which was culminated in the Western artistic expression.

A notable connotation is presented on the compilation of the six Homilies on the feast- days of Theotokos, copied by Jacob the Monk of the Monastery of Kokkinobaphos (Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana gr.

¹. Eller, K., Wolf, D., 1967, fig. 59.

². See a list of miniatures in Galavaris, 1969, p. 71. Cf. a Psalter (Vatican Library, 752, fol. 44^v, 11th c.) Aivalov, 1961, p. 42.

³. Galavaris, 1969, p. 71- fig. 454.

⁴. Foss, O., Scott, J. A., 2002, p. 621, fig. 4.

⁵. Bulst- Thiele, 1979, pp. 450- 2. A discussion on the particular illustration and its influences on the similar Romanesque architectural structure of the chapel of St. Jean of Le Liget (11th c.) see Munteanu, 1977, pp. 71- 80 (esp. p. 32, p. 35).

⁶. Millet, 1954, pl. 85.1.

⁷. Buchthal, 1957, pp. 1- 3, pl. 9.

1162, fol. 48^v, 1125- 1150, *fig. 87*)¹. The Anastasis miniature divides the event of the Anastasis in two episodes; on the upper part is depicted Christ's descending into Hades, where all the figures stand nude on a black background. On the middle part, the actual incident of the Resurrection is occurred, following the typical Byzantine structure, though their nakedness attest a western trend. It is noteworthy that all the figures are moving towards a paradisaal environment, filled with trees and flowers.

A typical example of the iconographic and stylistic middle Byzantine grounds of the Anastasis is met on an epigonation (Athens, Byzantine Museum, end of the 12th- beginning of the 13th c.), the figures of which are characterized by their calm movements². While Adam in the epigonation is depicted on his sarcophagus up to his chest, on the analogous fresco of the church of Hagioi Anarguroi Kipoulas (1269), he is stepping with his left foot out of it³, an action rather common for the Byzantine iconographic preferences.

On Byzantine art, the scene of the Anastasis is often met on the Dodekaorton⁴. For instance icons from the Monastery of Sinai from the end of the 11th to the beginning of the 13th c.⁵, in the monasteries of Mount Athos⁶, or Byzantine icons on the Western Europe⁷, which however have been under a lot of discussion and since we do not have anything to add, we do not intent to conclude them within our thesis.

¹. Mouriki, 1980- 81, pp. 102- 3. For the Vaticanus gr. 1162 see Hagiographi Bollandiani- De´ Cavalieri, P. F., 1899, pp. 100- 2.

². Sotiriou, 1933, pp. 108- 20. An identical iconographical approach is met on a metallic icon of sculpture in relief from the Museum Kanellopoulou (Athens, end of the 12th c.), which was presented on an announcement on the 29th Annual Symposium of the Byzantine and Postbyzantine Archaeology and Art (Athens, 15- 17 May 2009), Skampavias, 2009, p. 110.

³. Drandakis, 1980, p. 109, fig. 30a, 31a.

⁴. Kitzinger, 1988, pp. 51- 3.

⁵. Bokotopoulos, 1995, p. 195, fig. 18 and p. 199, fig. 34- 37 respectively. Cf. about some Syriac miniatures of the Crusader Kingdom in East in Doumato, 1999, pp. 245- 7.

⁶. We cite here miniatures from the Monastery of Iviron, such as the Tetraevangelion, cod. 5, fol. 360a, 13th c. (Galavaris, 2000, p. 59, fig. 40).

⁷. Krickelberg- Pülz, 1982, pp. 69- 71, fig. 36b.

Western Illustrations:

The earliest western example is a silver reliquary cross from the days of Pope Pascal I (817- 824)¹. The two participants on the scene, Christ and Adam, are stepping quickly away from the dead. That fact is reinforced with the depiction of the Cross in Christ's hand. This iconographic formula actually connects the Crucifixion and the resurrection of the mankind and it was widespread in the eastern illustrations, especially from the 11th c. onwards. Even though the figures are shorter than other illustrations of that period, probably because the available place was smaller than of a fresco, their move is swift and sharp. Also, they are beardless and their facial characteristics are big, austere, inelegant, while Adam's right hand is abnormally long. In addition, neither Eve nor Hades takes part in the scene. Additionally, it could also be suggested that the scene is mostly focusing on Christ's ascent with Adam to paradise, as his re-entrance.

In an ivory box in Württembergisches Landesmuseum (Stuttgart, 9th or 10th c.)² Eve does not participate in the scene and at the same time Adam is on his knees and he is coming out of his sarcophagus. Christ is portrayed walking towards Adam, over the remnants of Hades- its personification and its gates, as in the later eastern illustrations of the 11th c. Around them, there are four sarcophagus in both sides and two persons in each one, in the pose of supplication. They are being raised with Adam, reinforcing the eschatological belief on man's resurrection in the West, too. The whole scene is dense and symmetrical.

The Stuttgart Psalter, from the north of France (ca. 820- 830, *fig. 88*), depicts Christ beardless with his staffed- cross, running towards the gates of Hades³. His movement is rough and violent and his step is abnormal. An angel follows him; the doors are big, reminding us the gates of a castle. On the left corner there is a black monster, probably Satan, while we only suppose that Adam and Eve are the first two naked persons.

A sequence to the older eastern iconographic patterns, with an emphasis on the meeting between Christ and Adam are noticeable in a sculpture of Basilewsky- Situla (London, 980)⁴. Christ, over the gates, has a rushed move towards Adam. He holds his Cross, while around him there is a mandorla and

¹. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 85, Schiller, 1971, p. 51.

². Schiller, 1971, p. 50.

³. Schiller, 1971, p. 56.

⁴. Schiller, 1971, p. 59.

behind it two persons, probably angels, are watching the scene. Adam is depicted on his knees, exactly as it was previously described in the eastern illustrations. The viewer can barely see Eve, behind Adam, since only her head is visible. The uniqueness of the composition is the second incident on the right corner; an angel, looking at Christ, is fighting with the personification of Hades.

The soteriological message of the Anastasis in West is more widely circulated in the sculptures of that period. That is often demonstrated by depicting the Crucifixion and next to that the Harrowing of Hell. Such an example is the ivory box in Rome (ca. 1070- 1075)¹. Apart from the protoplasts' nakedness, the compilation derives from the eastern pictorial type. They are dragged by Christ and we suppose that they are over the broken doors of Hades or maybe their sarcophagi.

An extremely unique group of miniatures is that from the south Italy, known as the Exultet Rolls between the 10th and the 11th c. To some extent, those manuscripts are influenced from the liturgical eastern tradition; but they mostly represent the Latin technical and iconographic tools, in connection with the western theological views about the resurrection of the dead². In the Exultet group, the Latin belief that the characteristic of Hades is fire and pain, since Adam has had to subject a penalty for his disobedience, becomes an element of the Harrowing of Hell scene. Adam is being burned in the fire, while Eve, next to him, has her hands in supplication³. The particular motif could be characterized as having a combination with the order of the Last Judgment. Apparently, the resurrection is not so intensively emphasised as the penalty of Adam. His punishment is actually personalized, meaning that since Adam has committed sins, he is subjected a penalty. Thus, according to that aspect, the Anastasis does not concern all the human beings, but only the protoplasts. On the contrary, the eastern culture does not consider the situation in Hades equal with that in Hell⁴, probably because, theologically speaking, the idea of the

¹. Schiller, 1971, p. 62.

². Schiller, 1971, p. 58.

³. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 85. The pattern that Eve is in supplication is not unknown for her figure, even from the scenes of the Genesis, such as in *Junius 11*. That begging stance does not reinforce any feministic aspects, since Adam seems to be under the entirely burden of the blame and he himself undergoes through the punishment.

⁴. Kartsonis, 1986, p. 84. Cf. in the Byzantine topography hell is in the lower place of Hades, Hyppolytos, *Liber adversus Graecos*, PG 10, 800A, st. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Anima et Resurrectione*, PG 46, 68AB.

resurrection does not fit with the belief of the severe punishment. A totally western feature is the delineation of the protoplasts. They are both naked; that is probably connected to their nakedness before the original sin. Probably after there are being saved by Christ they were again in the former situation; as they were in paradise. It seems like the clothes represent sin and death. Eve is always depicted as young, while Adam is sometimes beardless or with long or short beard. Moreover, in the earlier Exultet Rolls, only 2/3 of their body is illustrated, while later they are totally depicted.

Another very interesting element of the western illustrations is the use of the Cross. Apart from connecting the Crucifixion and the Anastasis, it is also used as a weapon upon Satan¹. That can be noticed in the vigorous and forceful way of Christ holding it during his descent into the realm of dead. In the Stuttgart Psalter Christ, who is being accompanied by an angel, holds the cross and he attacks against the door of Hades. In other cases, such as in some Exultet Rolls, the artist depicts the two explanations of the cross in two different episodes. In the first one, he attacks to Satan with a lance or with a cross-staffed lance². In the Exultet Roll in Benevent (981- 987), Christ in his mandorla and two angels with him, drags with his lance Satan from the neck. In this miniature Satan is chained³. In addition, he and another figure as well, are depicted like black monsters, being in the middle of the flames. In the Exultet Roll in the Gaeta Cathedral (around 1100, *fig. 89ab*)⁴, his mandorla is a circle, having also two angels around him. However, the Satan here is a dragon, reminding us the Mouth of Hell⁵. In the second episode, Christ holds a cross – more or less ornate- with his left hand and drags the protoplasts from the flames of Hell with his right hand, as in the Exultet Roll in Monte Cassino, Capua (11th c.)⁶. He is walking towards, without looking back, imitating his position in a

¹ It is not clear the origin of the Cross, eastern or western, since there are not surviving illustrations with the cross in the East before the 11th c. See Kartsonis, 1986, p. 86.

². Kartsonis, 1986, p. 86.

³. Schiller, 1971, p. 57.

⁴. Schiller, 1971, fig. 130.

⁵. Schiller, 1971, p. 58. A combination of the two episodes in one, having similar stances and outfits is met on the fresco of the crypt of the church of St. Nicolas in Tavant (France, 12th c.). See Ainaud, J., Held, A., 1963, p. 16, fig. 58 (*fig. 95*).

⁶. Schiller, 1971, fig. 129.

silver reliquary cross in Vatican (820)¹. Furthermore, in Benevent there are on the left two sarcophagi with two mummies in each, who are watching Christ's advent with the protoplasts. That comes from the earlier eastern illustrations; however, it is excluded in the later Exultet Rolls. Another special element that can be noticed is that Adam and Eve are in their sarcophagus and the flames of the Hell are in it, while later on, they are only surrounded with flames.

An Exultet Roll (now in Manchester, around 1000), forms a unique presentation of the descend into Hades, following the Catalonian pictorial tradition of the Middle Ages². The scene has also two episodes. The first is about the victory over Hades; Christ is standing over the personification of Hades, holding a cross staff and the scroll. The two main figures of the scene are surrounded by architectural structures. The buildings on the left and the right side are full of dressed people, being in the supplication. The second composition, which probably combines the Harrowing of Hell and the Last Judgment, has unusual elements; Adam and Eve are depicted in 2/3, dressed and are being removed from their sarcophagus. They face the viewer, with a quite emotionless rigidity. Completely new is the picture of a great number of dressed people behind Christ, who watch the scene of the salvation. On the other side there are people, who are packed without any order and their clothes are closely- knit, like mummies. It is claimed³ that the first group is those who have been saved and the second the previous situation, the condemnation. On the right down side there are the portraits of two kings. Hades is still lying chained under the feet of Christ. On the scene there are buildings and ornaments, in the same style as the previous episode. In both compositions Christ has no mandorla around him.

Despite imitating the iconographic forms of the 9th c., a miniature from Reichenau, now in Hildesheim (1018, *fig. 90*) adjusts some western features on the scene⁴. Hades is as a monster on the lower part, flames around the Protoplasts, naked people. On the other hand, Adam and Eve are dressed, even though Eve has uncovered her huge hands. Their facial characteristics remind us the Stuttgart Psalter, while surprising is the non- white colour of Adam's skin. Beardless Christ in a mandorla stoops to grasp them.

¹. Schiller, 1971, p. 58, fig. 109.

². Schiller, 1971, p. 58.

³. Schiller, 1971, p. 58.

⁴. Schiller, 1971, p. 59, Von den Steinen, 1965, p. 258, fig. 191.

The iconography of the fresco in S. Angelo in Formis in Italy (1072-1087, *fig. 91*) follows the destroyed up- to- a point carolingian fresco in Müstair, having some Byzantine elements¹. Wide lines surround the composition, having as a result the felling that the persons appear through rocks. Even though Christ steps over Hades with a slight inclination to the front, dragging Adam with his right hand and holding a stick with a cross on the top with the left, the Protoplasts are depicted in an unusual way. They are both naked and they are arisen from a hole. Adam has very long hands, white long hair and beard, while a fear is obvious on his face. On the contrary, Eves' hands are short, having sweet and beautiful facial characteristics. Moreover, as it is usual for the 11th c. in the East, John the Baptist, the kings and people take part in the scene. As far as their nakedness is concerned, the fresco bears resemblance to the above- mentioned Exultet Rolls. In general that fresco, in spite of following the western iconographical forms, it also has eastern elements, such as the clothes and the movements of the participants.

The presentation of the scene in two episodes is also met on an Metallantepentium from Oelst in the National Museum of Copenhagen (12th c., *fig. 92*)². On the left, it is the descent and the victory of Christ over Hades. On the right it is Adam and Eve's salvation. On the first scene, Christ blesses the personification of Hades. He is sitting chained in front of a column, around which there is a snake. The contraposto pose of Christ, the fact that he holds both Adam and Eve and their long- length and stretched bodies as well characterize the scene as austere and emotionless. Christ has a dominant, moving figure, Adam moves towards his Redeemer, but Eve is totally static. However John the Baptist also helps the Protoplasts. He is recognized by his halo and his move to push Eve, in order her to be saved. Although it is not common for the western art to depict him on the Harrowing of Hell, that period in the East in the scene of the Anastasis lots of named people take part, as John the Baptist. Thus, there is a degree of resemblance, even only in the participation and not in the technical forms.

It is noteworthy that there is a tendency to depict two relevant scenes in the sculptures, in order to emphasize their meaning. Apart from the above-mentioned composition, there are examples with a combination of the Resurrection of Christ or the visit of the women to his tomb with his descent into Hades. Such a sculpture is a German ivory Platte (now in Leningrad, 12th

¹. Schiller, 1971, p. 56. Also see the short notice about the decoration on St. Angelo on Enckell- Julliard, 2007, p. 78.

². Schiller, 1971, pp. 59- 60.

c.)¹. On the first scene the angel and the three women are surrounded by a buildings, like a castle, while in the second one Christ is standing in a higher level, like a hill- instead of Hades or the doors. Adam and Eve seem to have a quick movement towards Christ and both of them are naked. The unique is that Eve is in the front in supplication, while Adam follows, being dragged. The performance of the Hell seems to be with flames.

Similar combination but in another way of depiction can be observed in an ivory font in Freckenhorst (12th c.)². The composition takes place in a frame with columns, an apse and a limited scale tower. Probably because of the lack of space, the artist has combined three scenes, in a short way: Christ's resurrection, his victory over Hades and the salvation of the Protoplasts. Representatives of the first scene is the angel, sitting on the right, while for the second one, Hades, on the left corner, as a monster with chains around him. Our main interest is the scene of the Harrowing of Hell in the middle. Christ on the right side holds a cross and steps over the door of Hell. His figure is bigger than those of the protoplasts on the left side, who are almost tiny. However, their nakedness and their move are observable. They come out of a building with a large door and Adam has his one foot out and one in it- as it is often depicted in the eastern illustrations.

During the 12th c. in the West, even though there are a few elements of continuation of the above- mentioned norms, a number of amendments are also noticed.

Indicatively, it is cited here the Liutold Gospel, in Wien (12th c., *fig. 93*), as a representatives of the art in Austria (Salsburg school)³. The composition is more static and flat than the previous examples. That means all the participants are standing almost at the same level. Christ is being followed by angels, holds a staffed- cross with a flag on the top. That flag bears resemblance to his flag, during his resurrection from his tomb- a mostly western picture. Adam and Eve, naked once again, are coming through a rocky apse and a place where Hades and lots of snakes are illustrated.

In a Gospel of the Herzog- August Library in Wolfenbüttel (1195) the dead people, Hades and the flag in Christ's cross are western, however, the pictorial forms of the protoplasts and Christ are eastern⁴. Christ is hovering over

¹. Schiller, 1971, p. 62.

². Schiller, 1971, p. 62.

³. Schiller, 1971, p. 59.

⁴. Schiller, 1971, pp. 60- 1.

the dead in his mandorla, which is like a cloud around him. Adam and Eve are dressed; especially Eve has her head and hands covered, as in the eastern archetypes.

As far as the monumental iconography of the scene is concerned, it can be said that it is not rich in the western Christian art. The fact that it is sometimes depicted in the cycles of the churches means that the artists of the particular place were influenced by the East.

More Byzantine features can be adduced in some western illustrations of the 12th c., such as the the altar of the monastery of Neuburg (1181, *fig. 94*)¹. The iconographic patterns are Byzantine; Hades under Christ's feet, the protoplasts coming out of their sarcophagus- not out of the Mouth of Hell, Christ with his contraposto position and his double cross- instead of the flag, holding not only Adam but Eve as well- as in the eastern illustrations of the particular period. Hardly somebody can he realize that this is a western picture; only from the Protoplasts' nakedness and the Latin inscription around the scene.

An additional example with eastern forms is the fresco in the crypt of St. Nicolas in Tavant (middle of the 12th c., *fig. 95*)². Christ holds a long cross, while his clothes, his position and the dragging of Adam seems to have undergone eastern influences. Yet, there are also western points, such as the tall and naked figures for the protoplasts and the black monster that stands for Hades. Another fresco is that in New Testament cycle in St. Maria Lyskirchen in Cologne (1250, *fig. 96*)³. The only eastern elements are the personification of Hades, who moreover wears a crown, like a king and the participation of John the Baptist behind the protoplasts. On the contrary, Christ is dressed as usual in the depictions of his resurrection in the West, holding a cross with a flag and dragging Eve and not Adam. It is unusual to see Eve in the front, as the central protagonist and Adam at the back, where only his head and his arm are visible. Eve is dressed in a cloth around her body and she has long, beautiful hair. The realm of the dead is drawn as a castle full of flames. A tantalizing thought about the particular parallel would be the putting of the blame on Adam and not on Eve, who is firstly saved and she seems like a contemporary lady. Apparently, as having already commented on the Exultet scene, it is almost impossible the artist of the thirteen century to put through misogynistic ideas, as some scholars

¹. Schiller, 1971, p. 60. The altar has influences from the Byzantine iconography and it is read as a kind of Byzantine baroque with manieristic elements, having pictorial impacts from the Norman monuments. See Dittelbach, 2003, pp. 162- 3.

². Schiller, 1971, p. 61.

³. Schiller, 1971, p. 61.

suggested for some western monumental example, such as the creation in San Marco.

A unique illustration comes from a Psalter in Munich (second half of the 13th c.)¹. Christ with his cross- flag drags Adam with a quite slight movement. The scene takes place in a big room with architectural ornaments. That room is separated in four levels; on the upper one there are naked the Protoplasts and another person (probably John the Baptist, although beardless) totally emotionless. Eve's hair follows the hair- style of the Middles Ages. A uniquely different element is the clothes and hats of the people in Hades, which actually represent the various social classes of the era.

Special cases:

Mouth of Hell: A very special group of the western tradition of the scene is that of the resurrection of the protoplasts from the Mouth of Hell. During the Monastic Reform of the 10th c. in Great Britain, the artists presented the entrance of hell, instead of the eastern rocky topography, as a disembodied head of a monster with a huge mouth². It is usually on the ground of the illustration, opened widely in order all the other figures to be contained in it; it is the place for the damned, for spiritual torture and pain³.

Our first example is the Cotton Psalter (London, British Library, C. 6, fol. 14^r, 1050, *fig. 97*)⁴. The composition is centralized on an extremely large in size figure of Christ, whose movement gives vividness to the synthesis. His inclination to the front is acute, deep and unrefined. However, the message of the scene indicates more the soteriological meaning of his descent into the realm of dead than his victory over Hades⁵. The gates of the realm of dead are open behind him and Hades is lying under him, as half man, half animal, while there is a small dragon on the down- left corner. Moreover, there is not any kind of mandorla around Christ and he holds neither a cross or a lance, but he lifts Adam with his left hand and he blesses Eve with his right one.

¹. Schiller, 1971, p. 59- fig. 150.

². Schmidt, 1995, p. 13.

³. The Mouth of Hell passed into the Medieaval drama, as a "*place next to a pageant wagon or on a scaffold*", without loosing its first meaning up until today. See more information in Schmidt, 1995, p. 14.

⁴. Schiller, 1971, pp. 56- 57.

⁵. Schiller, 1971, p. 57.

Adam and Eve can be distinguished among the other figures, since they are the only with clothes on them. Adam has a full-length portrait, with a dress up to his knees. Eve wears a long dress and her head is covered, as it is usual in the eastern forms. The other three people are naked, begging for salvation.

Almost a century later, the Mouth of Hell is enlarged and placed usually on the right side of the composition, in such a way that Christ is not the dominant figure. In the Winchester Psalter, C. 4, fol. 24^r, an Anglo-Saxon manuscript (British Library, 1150- 1160). Adam and Eve are totally recognizable, in front of a group of people. Eve is already beside Christ, looking at the Adam's salvation, who is stepping out of the mouth of hell. They are both naked, as it is used to being portrayed in the West.

During the next century the protoplasts are grasped out of the Mouth of Hell, which is pictured on the left side, as well. As a representative example we cite a Psalter from Thüringen, in Stuttgart (1210- 1220, *fig. 98*)¹. Christ's contraposto pose emphasizes the fact of the Resurrection. That is indicated more by the illustration of the other people, who step out of the Mouth with Adam.

Nevertheless, at the same period we notice miniatures where Christ's victory over Hades is the initial aim: the Albanipsalter in Hildesheim (first half of the 12th c., *fig. 99*) and the Arundel Psalter in the British Museum in London (end of the 13th c., *fig. 100*)². The background of the scene is the Mouth of Hell, but there are also Hades, demons and broken doors. Even though the patterns are in both illustrations western, in the first one their hair are black, while in the second white. In both of them Adam holds Christ and Eve is in supplication.

Both Christ's Resurrection in the western form and the Harrowing of Hell are depicted in a miniature of a Psalter in New York (second half of the 13th c.). The composition combines the Mouth of Hell with a castle with open doors as the topography of Hades. So, Adam seems to step out of the mouth, while Eve appears to get out of the castle.

Adam- Eve are not depicted: A merely proof that the western art follows the western theological view on the resurrection is that there are a number of cases that the protoplasts do not take part in the scene. Indicatively, we cite a Catalonian illustration in Beatus- Apocalypse in Gerona (975), which pictures

¹. Schiller, 1971, p. 60.

². Schiller, 1971, p. 61.

the Hell in three levels with different colours¹. Starting from the bottom, it is the Hell; a black Satan in the middle and damned, naked people around, in several positions. Above that is the pre- stage of Hell, that of the purification; only four people are sitting there in the pose of supplication, looking at Christ above them. Between the middle and the upper zone, Adam is sitting, being saved by Christ. He is naked, beardless and emotionless. At the top of the picture, there are the broken gates, Christ and another person, probably an angel. Eve cannot be seen anywhere.

A combination of the episodes of the Christ 's victory and the salvation during the Descent into Hades is presented in a miniature of a Echteracher Perikopenbuch from the dates of Heinrich III, now in Bremen (1040)². It is an absolutely western illustration, when there are plenty of satans tied up with a rope and a number of naked people in the fires of Hell. They beg Christ to save them. However, the protoplasts are not recognizable by a special feature or a front place in the scene.

Our short reference to the theological and liturgical definition of Anastasis, as the major event of the Orthodox Church is accompanied by the iconographic analysis of the relevant scene. It is interesting the fact that the western artistic look has faced Hades as the actual Hell and they depicted the protoplasts between Satan and its fires. The conclusions that such a pictorial trend may lead the researcher are developed on our *Conclusion*, combining them with the specific examined scenes of *Genesis*.

¹. Williams, 1994, p. 53, fig. 23, Schiller, 1971, fig. 136.

². Schiller, 1971, p. 59.

APPENDIX

Visual language on the protoplasts' story

i. Adamic typology

It is a significant point for the theological approach of our subject to analyse briefly the adamic typology, meaning the antithetic parallel between Adam and Christ, Eve and Virgin Mary¹.

¹. Apart from the adamic typology, there are a number of symbolical elements in the *Genesis* exegesis, Kruger, 2001, esp. pp. 429- 34, pp. 439- 40. Cf. Benko, 1993, pp. 237- 45.

Cf. *TRIODION*, Kathisma, Matins of the Sunday of Palm Sunday, p. 383, "Σωτήρ, ὁ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐλθὼν, τοῦ σῶσαι τὸν Ἀδὰμ, ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀράς, πνευματικῶς γενόμενος, φιλόανθρωπε, νέος Ἀδὰμ ὡς εὐδόκησας", ("Saviour, you came to our world to save Adam from the ancient curse and you became the spiritual Merciful, the second Adam"), *TRIODION*, Stichera Prosomio, Vesper of the first Thursday of the Lent, p. 120, "Οὗτος ἐξήνηθη ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, τὴν ἐν Ἐδέμ ποτὲ Ἀδὰμ ἀκρασίαν, προῤῥίζον ἐκτίλουσαν· θάνατον μὲν ἐκεῖνη ἐπεισήγαγε τοῖς βροτοῖς, ἀλλ' οὗτος ἀφθάρτως ἐκβλύζει, τὴν ἀθανασίαν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὡς ἐκ πηγῆς ἄλλης τῆς τοῦ Παραδείσου, τῇ κατακενώσει, τοῦ σοῦ ζωηρότου αἵματος, ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ὕδατος· ὅθεν τὰ πάντα ἐξωπονήθη", ("Great are the wonders of the Cross! It planted abstinence firmly in the church and uprooted Adam's lack of it in paradise. One tree in Eden brought death to man, but another (on Golgotha) granted eternal life to the world. The Cross is the fountain of paradise which released your life-bearing blood and water. By your Cross, gladden our lenten joy, God of Israel who possess great mercy"). Especially, during the *Akathistos Hymn*, which is devoted to Virgin Mary, there are hymns relevant to the Protoplasts' misdeed and to the mediation of Virgin Mary; *TRIODION*, Troparia of the *Akathistos Hymn*, pp. 322- 3 ([www.goarch.org/en/chapel/liturgical texts](http://www.goarch.org/en/chapel/liturgical%20texts)), "Χαίρε, τοῦ πεσόντος Ἀδὰμ ἢ ἀνάκλησις· χαίρε τῶν δακρῶν τῆς Εὕας ἢ λύτρωσις", ("Rejoice, the restoration of Adam the fallen one; Rejoice the redemption of downfallen Eve's tears"), "Χαίρε παραδείσου θυρῶν ἀνοικτήριον" ("Rejoice, key to the doors of Paradise"), "Ἀδὰμ ἐπανόρθωσις, χαίρε

In the New Testament, it is repeated that the protoplasts are the first human beings in the earth, who have to be renewed and with them all the people¹. Generally there are passages, concerning the connection between Christ, who is the Saviour of the world, representing life, obedience, justice, and his prefiguration², Adam, who was a representative of death, disobedience and punishment. He offered himself in order man to live again the missing Eucharistic life as a new man³. Apostle Paul has mentioned that as with Adam

Παρθένε Θεόνυμφε, τοῦ ἁδου ἢ νέκρωσις", ("Rejoice, Virgin Bride of God, the restoration of Adam, the *mortification of Hades*").

Cf. in the RCatholic liturgical act for instance in *MISSALE ROMANUM*, p. 175- 6, "*Qui pro nobis aeterno Patri Adae debitum solvit: et veteris piaculi cautione pio cruote deterisit*".

Cf. in general about the artistic typology Schade, 1966, pp. 125- 9.

¹. All the people in the earth originate from Adam *Acts* 17: 26- 27, the genealogical tree of Christ ends in Adam- sixty- two generations between Adam and Christ. See *Luk* 3: 38 and also Greek Fathers st. Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum*, PG 69. 40B. Cf. Nielsen, 1968, p. 13. The difference between Adam who impatiently tried to become God and Christ, who did not consider his relationship to the Father a chance of abuse, *Phil* 2, 6- 8. Cf. Barrett, 1962, p. 16. In *1 Cor* 15: 44- 49 Adam was created "*in living being*" ("*εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν*"), the last Adam was made "*a life- giving spirit*" ("*εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν*"), st. John Chrysostomus, *De mutatione nominum*, PG 51, 130. That means, to Adam it was given life and all the people after him are earthly, while Christ offered the spirit, the source of life and people's life became spiritual. Paul did not imply that Christ has had no body or that Adam has had no physical existence. It is pointed out that Adam came from earth and has had soul (*Gen* 2: 7), while Christ came from heaven (*1 Cor* 15: 47). Adam, with his denial, gain pain and lost God's grace, but Christ brought justification and life for all human beings, *Rom* 5, 12- 21.

². "*Typos*" is the Greek word, which is used in order to identify episodes or persons that appear to prophesy later events. For the typology Adam- Christ see Kittel, 1953, pp. 142- 3. See *Rom* 5, 14 "*Adam, who is the type of the one who was to come*". Comments on the Romans epistle see st. John of Chrysostom, *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Romanos*, PG 60, 473- 84, esp. 475 about the New Adam.

³. Schmemmann, 1965, pp. 37- 41.

Cf. *MENAI*O of December, 25th December, Matins of Christmas, the canon, 6th Ode, 2nd troparion, "*Νέον ἐξ Ἀδάμ παιδίον φυράματος, ἐτέχθη Υἱός*", ("A new son, from Adam, was born"), *ibid.*, Oikos, "*Τὴν Ἐδέμ Βηθλεὲμ ἤνοιξε, δεῦτε ἴδωμεν· τὴν τροφὴν ἐν κορυφῇ εὔρομεν, δεῦτε λάβωμεν, τὰ τοῦ Παραδείσου ἔνδον τοῦ Σπηλαίου. Ἐκεῖ ἐφάνη ῥίζα ἀπότιστος, βλαστάνουσα ἄφρασι· ἐκεῖ εὐρέθη φρέαρ ἀνόρυκτον, οὐ πικρὸν Δαυὶδ πρὶν ἐπεθύμησεν· ἐκεῖ Παρθένος τεκοῦσα βρέφος, τὴν δίκην ἔπαυσεν εὐθύς, τὴν τοῦ Ἀδάμ*

the human nature has lost its deification, a new Adam should be the one who would pay for the sins of humanity, the Redeemer¹. Apostle Paul put the foundations² for systematic theology by pointed out some of the most basic principles of Christianity.

The way the term "*last or second Adam*" ("ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ") was created and which tradition followed has raised much discussion. Most scholars support that it was created by Apostle Paul, since there are no other parallels in

καὶ τοῦ Δαυΐδ", ("Bethlehem has opened Eden, come and see; we have found again the lost comfort, come and take the goods of paradise within the cave. There, appeared a root not-watered, asking for mercy; there was found a well unopened, where David wanted to drink; there, Virgin Mary gave birth to a baby and immediately Adam and David have no thirst at all"), *MENAIO* of December, Sunday after Christmas, Feast of David the King, Vesper, 1st Stihiron idiomelon, "Τὸν θεοπάτορα πάντες ἀνευφημήσωμεν, Δαυΐδ τὸν βασιλέα· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦτου προήλθε ῥάβδος ἢ Παρθένος καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνατέταλκεν ἄνθος Χριστός, καὶ τὸν Ἀδάμ σὺν τῇ Εὐᾶ ἐκ τῆς φθορᾶς, ἀνεπλάσετο ὡς εὐσπλαχνος", ("Everybody we must honour David the King; from him came Virgin Mary and from her the flower of Christ, who as merciful, save Adam and Eve from the corruption").

Cf. in the RCatholic liturgical act, *EUCHOLOGICUM*, p. 238, "*Tu Evam in Mariam redintegrasti. Tu Adam in Christo renovasti*". In *Antiphonalibus Officii Romani*, *EUCHOLOGICUM*, p. 855, "*Paradisi portae per te nobis apertae sunt, quae hodie gloriosa cum angleis triumphas*", *EUCHOLOGICUM*, p. 875, "*Paradisi porta per Evam cunctis clausa est et per Mariam Virginem iterum patefacta est*". In *Ritus Ambrosianus*, *EUCHOLOGICUM*, p. 971, "*redde quod in paradiso Adam perdidit*". In *Ritus Cisterciensis* (1106- 1109), *EUCHOLOGICUM*, p. 1645, "*Adam te clamamus exules filii evae*". In Anselmus Cant. (1034-1109), *EUCHOLOGICUM*, p. 1651, "*Ave, per quam occumbentis est Adae surrection. Ave, per quam primae matris est Evae redemptio*".

A characteristic iconographical element is met on the Crucifixion fresco on the former church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Spoleto (by Albert Sotio, 1187, **fig. 103**), where the blood of Christ from his feet flows towards the mouth on Adam's skull on the very bottom of the scene. The skull has its mouth open and it gives the impression that the blood is the means for its revival. Ainaud, J., Held, A., 1963, p. 14, fig. 43.

¹. *1 Cor* 15: 22 "*For as all die in Adam, so all will be made alive in Christ*". This is a sentence which can be laid in not only a soteriological and anthropological frame, but in an eschatological, as well. Barrett, 1962, pp. 72- 4.

². It is noteworthy that the, so- called often by the western theologians, Pauline Theology deals with Adam in an anthropological way. That is why Paul had a tendency to use the name of Adam not only for the first human, but also with the meaning of man generally. See Trummer, 1970, pp. 66- 9, Barrett, 1962, p. 6, Murdoch, 1973, p. 48.

the Old Testament¹ or overall in the Jewish literature². On the other hand, there is the possibility of Apostle Paul having been affected by Alexandrian traditions, Philo³, Gnosticism or the rabbinic literature⁴. However, it may be misleading to interpret Paul's view as a polemic against the philosophical views of that period instead of realizing the need for explaining to Corinthians the connection between the first man and the Son of God, the nature of the mortal body and the restoration of the human nature⁵. On balance, Steenburg interpreted the early dedication to Christ originated from the notion of Christ's and Adam's creation according to the image of God and he talked about Adam worship and Adam Christology, terms which could provoke strong disagreement⁶.

This soteriology became the base for an enriched tradition about Adam-Christ and the renovation of the world⁷. In the second century st. Irenaeus of Lyons and Hyppolytus developed the Pauline Theology. Adam was the "*typus futuri*" of Christ, who, as "*homo spiritalis*" saved the world⁸. It is absolutely

¹. Nielsen, 1968, p. 77.

². Sharpe, 1973, pp. 35- 46, where the reference of the second Adam on the apocryphal text of the *Apocalypse of Moses* is analysed.

³. Tobin, 1983, Hultgren, 2003, pp. 344- 57, Steenburg, 1990, pp. 104- 5.

⁴. Hultgren, 2003, pp. 343- 70.

⁵. Hultgren, 2003, p. 356.

⁶. Steenburg, 1990, pp. 95- 109.

⁷. Dobrzeniecki, 1964, p. 386.

Cf. in the Orthodox liturgical act for example in *MENAIIO of January*, 6th January, Feast of Epiphany, Matins, 1st Ode, troparion a, "*Ἀδάμ τὸν φθαρθέντα ἀναπλάττει*", ("*Adam who was corrupted is now refashioned*"), *ibid.*, 7th January, Feast of John the Baptist, Matins, Oikos, "*Τῷ τυφλωθέντι Ἀδὰμ ἐν Ἐδέμ, ἐφάνη Ἥλιος ἐν Βηθλεέμ... τῷ μεμελανωμένῳ καὶ σινεσκοτισμένῳ, φῶς ἀνέτειλεν ἄσβεστον· οὐκ ἔτι αὐτῷ νύξ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἡμέρα*", ("*For Adam, who was blind in Eden, the Sun in Bethlehem was arisen... from the black and the dark situation, the inextinguishable light has risen; so it is not any more night, but always day*").

⁸. De Jonge, 2003, pp. 187- 9, Nielsen, 1968, pp. 14- 5. See *Isa* 11: 6- 9 and in *Ps* 22: 21 and Daniélou, 1973, pp. 257- 71 for the prefiguration of the Resurrection, of the baptism and the eschatological goal in Daniel and the lions. Cf. the text of st. John Damascene, *Expodisio Fidei* in Kotter, 1973, pp. 184- 185 (82, 53- 104), about the meaning of the Baptism and the link between the various baptismal events, water, Adam, Noah and Christ. Maximus the Confessor also connects the Original Sin with the restoration of the world from the "Second Adam". Yet, he went a bit further, having pointed out that the new, restored life can be "static",

interesting to juxtapose Adam's and Christ's side¹. It is also said that the day of the Annunciation occurred at the same time of the year as the first spring of the creation, meaning that the protoplasts were actually gained their salvation already from the day of the Annunciation². Moreover, this typology became a source for the apocryphal literature about the protoplasts and various folkloristic motifs have been developed³, making as clear as the biblical texts the connection of the fall and the Redemption. Obviously, Christians have an inseparable link with their ancestor, understanding the same time the need of replacing the old man and overcoming the original sin and its aftermaths by being helped by the Son of God, who raised them from the dead⁴.

Similar parallelism can be noticed between Virgin Mary and Eve. As Eve was the reason for the fall, Mary came to redeem her and to put the female nature into a new frame⁵. In the Christian literature, Eve is the antithesis and

unless man put into practice the concept of christian love, Boojamra, 1976, pp. 29- 30. St. Maximus Confessor, *Quaestiones et dubia*, in Declerck, 1982, p. 50 (Qu. 64, line 10).

¹. See the comparative list and his commnets in Nielsen, 1968, pp. 73- 82. In the pseudepigraphic lives of the protoplast, they are also types of Christ and his Mother. For example Adam fasts by the river Jordan, where Christ's Baptism took place. Murdoch, 2000, p. 39.

². Maguire, 1981, pp. 44- 5.

³. For the apocryphal Adambooks, such as *Apocalypse of Moses* (probably the oldest) and *Vita Adae et Evae*, see Murdoch, 1973, pp. 37- 51. For the problematic involving the origin- is it Jewish or christian- and the date of the *Vita Adae et Evae* see De Jonge, 2003, esp. pp. 184- 7. Even in the medieval drama plays, the same actor performed both Adam and Christ, indicating by that way their connection. See O' Collins, 2004, p. 10.

⁴. Eph 4: 22, Col 3: 9- 10, Heb 2: 5- 9.

⁵. Even though, the typology of Adam- Christ is based in the Bible, the parallelism between Eve- Virgin Mary is not referred. Sometimes the interpretation of *Gen 3: 15- 16* is mentioned to have some typological elements, concerning Eve- Mary, see Murdoch, 1973, p. 48, Clark, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 1997, p. 407. For some researches that text is not a document of a punishment, since, according to them, she had not sinned. See Higgins, 1976, pp. 644- 5. Furthermore, the passages of *Gen. 2: 2-7* and in *Luk. 1. 26ff* suggests typological figures, for example Mary's dialogue with the Angel is compared with Eve's conversation with the serpent. Constan, 2003, pp. 282- 5. Generally about the particular typology see Benko, 1993, pp. 235- 7, Murdoch, 2000, p. 26. Cf. Gerke, 1967, pp. 106- 8.

Cf. in the Orthodox liturgical act in *MENAIIO of December*, 6th December: Matin, Odes 6th, troparion a, "Θανάτων μὲν αἰτία ἡ Εὐὰ τοῖς βροστοῖς, συμβουλίᾳ ὄφρα γεγένηται Ἄγνη· σὺ δὲ Παρθένε τεκοῦσα λόγῳ τὸν Λόγον, ἀθανασίας καὶ ζωῆς πρόξενος ὤφθης", ("The cause of the dead is Eve, who was advised by the snake; Virgin, you, as having born

simultaneously the type of Mary, a quite popular topic. Specifically, in the patristic writings due to Eve we lost our paradise and due to the beneficial intervention of Mary, man has the opportunity to regain it¹. Eve is also considered to have lost the virginity of her heart through her obedience to the serpent², while Mary keeps her physical and spiritual clearness³. Eve was "*the chief of the sin*"⁴ and Mary "*the chief of virginity*"⁵ and she, Mary, expresses the clarity of the Church⁶.

Furthermore, in the Old English literature Eve takes part on the Harrowing of Hell, actually as an alteration of the patristic adamic typology on Eve and consequently an acquaintance to patristic texts is implied⁷. Eve appears momentarily on the Latin B recension of the *Descensus Christi*⁸, reinforcing the idea of her supporting her role only through her connection with Virgin Mary. The extraordinary point of that connection is that the Anglo- Saxon tradition concentrated on their similarities, instead of their differences⁹.

Logos, are the agent of immortality and life"), *ibid.*, 25th December, Matins of Christmas, the canon, 3rd Ode, troparion a, "*Ὁ τῆς ἐπιπνοίας, μετασχὼν τῆς ἀμείνω Ἀδάμ χοϊκός, καὶ πρὸς φθορὰν κατολισθήσας, γυναικεῖα ἀπάτη, Χριστὸν γυναικὸς βοᾷ ἐξορῶν*", ("*Adam, who was fashioned with the dust and he is lapsing into corruption from the woman's deceive, he is calling Christ through another woman*"), *ibid.*, Sunday after Christmas, Liti, Easter stihiron, "*Θεοτόχε Παρθένε, ἡ τεκούσα τὸν Σωτῆρα, ἀνέτρεψας τὴν πρώτην κατάραν τῆς Εὔας*", ("*Virgin Mary, who gave birth the Redeemer, you overturned Eve's first curse*").

¹. For instance see st. Theodore of Studium, *Laudatio in dormitionem sanctae Dominae nostrae Deiparae V*, 2, PG 99, 721C.

². St. Augustine, *Oratio 213, VII*, PL 38, 1064, st. Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses V, XIX, 1*, PG 7.2, 1175B. Cf. Spourlakou- Eutyhiadou, 1998- 1999, pp. 473- 83.

³. Indicatively, st. John Damascene, *In Nativitatem B. V. Mariae, 1, 5*, PG 96, 688A. Cf. Spourlakou- Eutyhiadou, 1998- 1999, pp. 484- 93, where a great number of patristic references are cited and Conostas, 1995, pp. 179- 83, for the conventional images that Proclus of Constantinople (4th c.) establishes for Virgin Mary, such as the "*place*", the "*locus*", the "*earth*", the "*loom of the flesh*" etc.

⁴. St. Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolykos, 2, 28*, PG 6, 1097A, st. Cyril of Alexandria, *Catechesis, 13, 21*, PG 33, 800A.

⁵. St. John Damascene, *In Nativitatem B. V. Mariae 1, 10*, PG 96, 713D.

⁶. Spourlakou- Eutyhiadou, 1998- 1999, pp. 495ff, Benko, 1993, pp. 231- 5.

⁷. Glaeske, 1999, pp. 81- 2.

⁸. "*Then also our mother Eve in like manner fell at the feet of the Lord and, arising, kissed his hands and shed many tears. And she testified to all, Behold the hands which mad me*", Elliott, 1999, p. 203- 9 (25).

⁹. Glaeske, 1999, pp. 95- 101.

In Christian art, there is the typological connection of spinning¹. For instance, in Santa Maria Maggiore, the Annunciation mosaic (ca. 432- 40) illustrates Virgin Mary seated and next to her throne a basket with wool, while in San Marco, Eve is sitting in a throne, holding a distaff². Another parallel from the late twelve- century western art is from York Psalter, made in England (or Hunterian Psalter, Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 229, fol. 8^r, around 1170)³.

The spinning connection derives from the Protoevangelium of James⁴, where it is mentioned that during the Annunciation, Theotokos was spinning a cloth. Often in art there is a female figure, usually in the down- right corner, who probably is Eve, in order to include in the scene their typology⁵. In Mt. Sinai, an icon (12th c.) depicts Mary by the river of paradise and some thread come out of her breast, while the baby Christ is in her womb⁶. Additionally, the above- mentioned *Job* text could be seen in the illuminated manuscripts of *Job*, as a picture of two women spinning⁷.

¹. In *Job* 38: 36 it says "*Who gave women the wisdom of weaving?*" which is connected to the construction of flesh in their wombs. See the mythological as well as the biblical background of the specific female domestic art in Nannette, 1997, pp. 11- 55.

Cf. Papadimitriou, 2008, esp. pp. 76- 8, about the visual connection between Eve and Virgin Mary particularly in the bema doors of the Byzantine and post- Byzantine churches illustrating the Annunciation.

². Papadimitriou, 2008, pp. 179- 80, Conostas, 2003, pp.332- 4, Jolly, 1997, pp. 60- 1- fig.27, Sieger, 1987, p. 86. In general about the iconography of S. Maria Maggiore see Spain, 1979, pp. 518- 40.

³. Boase, 1962, p. 16.

⁴. Jolly, 1997, p. 61. The spinning and the weaving was regarded to be the traditional domain of woman already from the ancient world and it is specifically mentioned in several passages in Homer. See Pantelia, 1993, pp. 493- 501. Cf. about women and weaving in Late antiquity Conostas, 1995, pp. 183- 8.

⁵. Conostas, 2003, pp. 335- 7. Other researches mention that female individual as a servant, who is painted with a strong, red colour, totally different from the background, as a means of her separation as well as an extra emphasis to her. Galavaris, 1995, p. 251- fig. 178.

⁶. Conostas, 2003, p. 334. St. Gregory, Bishop of Neocaesaria and Pontus, in his *Homily* about the Annunciation relates the flesh, which became the source of the sin and the death in the world to the incarnation of Logos through Mary's pure, virgin womb. PG 10, 1156D- 1157D. For Mary's womb see the symbolism of st. Ephrem's poem and its connection with the Trinity and the Cross (however without any reference to Eve), Yousif, 1978, pp. 52- 60.

⁷. Conostas, 2003, p.335.

The protoplasts, either as the protagonists of the original sin or of the resurrection of the dead, are depicted in association with scenes of the life of Theotokos. It is noteworthy to quote a few examples, such as the exceptional early Christian pattern on an acrosolium of Maius cemetery (Rome, ca. half of the 4th c.) on the left side of the roundel with Daniel illustration. The original sin is depicted following, more or less, the contemporary model, while simultaneously the Adoration of the Magi is drawn below- in particular exactly beneath Eve is the figure of Virgin Mary, in a way the artist to focus on their typology¹. On the Vaticanus codex gr. 1162 (fol. 35^v, 1125- 1150) there is the narration of the fall next to the scene of the Nativity of Virgin Mary². Likewise, on an icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai (around 1080- 1130), where prophets and saints surround Virgin Mary with her son. The inscription, "*Joachim and Anna conceived and Adam and Eve were liberated*"³ beneath the Mother of God, is a part of a hymn of Romanos the Melodos on Mary's Nativity Feast and the protoplasts are also depicted beside Joachim and Anna⁴. Furthermore, on an icon from the monastery of Schemokmedi (end of the 10th c.) the main Anastasis scene is accompanied by the Annunciation. It is also significant to mention that the figure of Eve is identical with that of Theotokos and both of them wear a halo⁵. Moreover, the enthroned Theotokos of Santa Maria Antiqua opposite the Anastasis creates the pictorial reference to the adamic typology⁶.

Equally, in Hagia Sophia in Trebizond (12th c.) there is an unusual visual connection and a line between Eve in the north porch to the Virgin Mary in the south porch⁷. Additionally, the detailed episodes of the Descent into Hades on the two upper zones of on the manuscript of Jacob the Monk from the Monastery of Kokkinobaphos (Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 48^v) are accompanied by an exceptional iconographic formula; the protoplasts are in supplication in front of the enthroned Theotokos⁸. Adam has an upright pose, while Eve prostrates

¹. Guldan, 1966, p. 25, fig. 8.

². Eastmond, 1999, p. 233- fig. 14

³. *ΙΩΑΚΕΙΜ Κ[ΑΙ] ΑΝΝΑ ΕΤΕΚΝΟΓΟΝΗΣΑΝ Κ[ΑΙ] ΑΔΑΜ Κ[ΑΙ] ΕΥΑ ΗΛΕΥΘΕΡΩΘΗΣΑΝ.*

⁴. *Η δόξα του Βυζαντίου στο Όρος Σινά* (excibition), 1997, pp. 43-4, Eastmond, 1999, p. 233- fig. 24.

⁵. Guldan, 1966, pp. 35- 6, fig. 9.

⁶. Guldan, 1966, p. 36.

⁷. Eastmond, 1999, pp.233- 4.

⁸. Anderson J., 1982, p. 90, fig. 11, Guldan, 1966, pp. 36- 7, fig. 10.

herself¹. By all means the particular motif echoes on the one hand the prefiguration between the first and the second Eve and on the other hand the emphasis on the liturgical honour of Theotokos after the 11th onwards. Thus, the protoplasts corroborate in visual terms the important role of Theotokos, especially on the Orthodox theology, as the intercessor between God and the human beings.

Certainly, the motif of another miniature from the Homilies of Jacob of Kokkinobaphos justifies our interest; Virgin Mary in pregnancy is depicted resting on a hillock among paradisaical plants, whose harvest is gathered by a tiny male figure climbed on one tree. A male and a female figure, as personifications of *Mare* and *Terra*, accompany Theotokos, in a way of demonstrating the anticipation of the whole universe for the Nativity of Christ. The naked woman, the *Earth*, the mother of all the creatures, is actually the antithesis of Theotokos, who was described as "*terra sancta virginalis*"². It is more than obvious for the researchers that the odd couple of *Mare* and *Terra* correspond to the protoplasts³.

Moreover, the story of the expulsion presented on the right of the Porte Miègeville of the Saint- Sernin in Toulouse (end of the 11th c.) performs a unique linkage to the Annunciation on the left side. The Creator and two angels accompany the axial figures of the protoplasts, which are also nude, a mostly western element. The motif of an angel carrying a cloth could be accepted as the linking to the Annunciation. Convincingly it is suggested that the garment stands for the coats of skin of the protoplasts, as well as the mantle of Christ and thus the salvation⁴. Furthermore, a scene from the Christological cycle of

¹. Those stances are possible to have their roots on the Akathistos Hymn of Romanos of Melodos. Cf. Guldan, 1966, p. 7.

². St. Andreas Kreaa, *In Annuntiationem B. Mariae*, 5, PG 97, 895A (the latin text)- (896A "*χωρίον ἐνὸς ἄλλου*"). The personification of Mother Earth, having her children suckled from her breasts, has its origin on the *Magna Mater*, the goddess of ancient Rome Kybele. Yet, the pattern found an apt pictorial terrain on Christian art, also as the presentation of the Church, and it is met with combination with Christ in his majesty, such as the Metzger Euchologion (ca. 870) and the Hildesheim Gospel (ca. 1015) or as a separated motif on sculptures, such as on San Zeno in Verona (end of the 11th c.). Cf. Guldan, 1966, pp. 38- 9, fig. 12, 13, 14 respectively. Therewithal, it is not irrelevant with our topic to quote the "*Terra significant sanctam ecclesiam*" of Anselm of Laon (PL 113, 74).

³. See the whole ratiocination Guldan, 1966, pp. 37- 8. Also see Esche, 1957, p. 42 and p. 67.

⁴. Lyman, 1967, pp. 25- 7, fig. 2 and 7 (the expulsion), fig. 4 (the Annunciation), fig. 3 and 8 (the angel holding the garment).

the capital frieze of Notre- Dame at Etampes (first half of the 12th c.) and specifically the temptation of Christ plays a juxtapositional role with the temptation of Adam and Eve¹.

The figure of Eve of the north portal of the Cathedral of Saint- Lazare, as a representative of the original sin is definitely linked with the raising of Lazarus on the tympanum above². The artists actually developed an antithetical programme based on the prefigurations of the Old to the New Testament. The specific pictorial association involves the antitypical affiliation, as symbolic counterparts for confession, which probably was drawn from the exegetical literature, already developed on the early Christian texts. That is visually reinforced by the illustrations of the inner part of column capitals, where present on the right the resurrection of the son of the widow of Nain and on the left the parable of the prodigal son³. On the *Commentary on Job (Magna Moralia)* of st. Gregory the Pope (ca. 540- 604) it is written that the act of hiding of the protoplasts implies their need for a refuge, meaning the starting point for confession. On that particular moment it can be linked with the raising of Lazarus, to whom Christ did not say *Come to life again*, but *Come out*. That denotes the man in sin, who is in the stage of humility and almost ready to regain himself through confession⁴.

¹. Nolan, 1989, p. 174 and p. 179, fig. 5. The combination of the christological cycle with the story of Adam and Eve in Catalonia see Alfani, 2007, p. 63.

². Werckmeister, 1972, p. 12ff, Schade, 1966, p. 39.

³. Werckmeister, 1972, pp. 16- 7. Often in the patristic literature there is the combination of the resurrection of Lazarus and of the son of the widow, such as in st. Gregory of Nyssa, *In sanctum pascha (vulgo In Christi resurrectionem oratio iii)* in Gebhardt, 1967, p. 257 (line 10), *πρὸς δὲ ταύτην προσηθείης ὡς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀπίστων ψυχάρια πόρρωθεν καθορῶν ἔργῳ τῆν τῶν νεκρῶν ἐγερσιν ἐβεβαίωσεν πολλὰ σώματα τῶν τετελευηκότων ψυχώσας. Διὰ τοῦτο Λάζαρος τετραήμερος νεκρὸς τῆς θήκης ἐξήλατο καὶ τῆς χήρας ὁ μονογενῆς ἀπεδόθη τῇ μητρὶ ἐκ τῆς κλίνης καὶ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας ἀναλυθεὶς καὶ ἄλλοι μυρίοι, οὓς ἀπαριθμείσθαι νῦν ὀχληρόν".*

⁴. *Moralia in Job, XXII, 15, 31, PL LXXVI, 231C, "ut cum de vitio suo quisque"* See the analysis Werckmeister, 1972, pp. 12- 3. In the Greek Fathers it is met the connection of Lazarus with the renewal of the old nature to an innovative one (see for example Romanus Melodus Hymnographus, *Cantica in Grosdidier de Matons*, 1965, pp. 284- 6, Hymn 30, section 7, lines 1- 4, "*Ρύπον εἰ εἶχεν κηλίδος ὁ Λάζαρος τοῖς παισίμασι μικρὸν πρὸς ἔτασιν, οὕτω προσκαίρως ἐνθεν κρίνεται, ἕως ὅτου ἀνηρέθη ἡ ἁμαρτία τοῖς πόνοις τοῦ σώματος νῦν, ὡς ἐν πυρὶ*", Pusey, 1965, vol. 2, p. 292 (line 16), "*εἰ γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν ἀποθάνοι Λάζαρος, δεῖ μετὰ ἐξομολογήσεως, ὡς Μάρθαν καὶ Μαρίαν, τὴν ὑλικὴν σάρκα καὶ τὴν σεμινοτέραν ψυχὴν προσελθεῖν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ παρακαλέσαι καὶ ὅς*

An indirect visual typological line between Adam and Christ is met in a few illustrations of Adam wearing a halo. We cite two relevant pictures; in Bawit (ca. 5th- 6th c., *fig. 101*), where Adam looks like an angel and in the church of Sophia in Kiev (12th c., *fig. 102*), where, despite his nakedness, he is depicted as a saint. In general, the illustrations probably derived from the fact that in the eastern liturgical act, Adam is mentioned as the first of the Patriarchates or as saints, as in the Christmas vigil¹. Yet, it should not be unrelated the notion of the adamic typology: Adam as a saint, who is waiting his redemption from his God, Christ.

ii. The impact of the liturgical act on the Genesis cycle²

The *liturgical time* finds its artistic application on the creation mosaic of San Marco³. Primarily, the inscriptions of the last eight cubes (from temptation to the labours), begin with the word *HIC*, meaning here. The *HIC* has a conceptual structure that mirrors both the location and the time of the event⁴. Extending Jolly's aspect, we point out that the inscriptions are not meant only to have a didactic role, but a liturgical, as well. The liturgical time of the hymnology, where the present tenses dominate, due to the need of thinking of the events, as current and being active in the past, the present and the future, is also visualised in art. That occurs as the golden background of the scenes, such as in the Crucifixion in Moni Daphni or as a text of an inscription, as in San Marco.

It is noted that the creation concerning Adam and Eve are usually adduced in the narthex. Symbolically, the narthex refers to the earthly environment, which has not yet been restored and it expects to receive the holy illumination, in order to get out of the spiritual darkness. Since the beginning of

ἐπιστάς, τὴν ἐπικειμένην τῇ μνήμῃ ἀρθῆναι κελεύσει πώρωσιν, καὶ φωνήσει μεγάλη φωνῇ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς σάλπιγγος. Δεῦρο ἔξω τῶν τοῦ κόσμου περισπασμῶν, καὶ τὰς σειρὰς λύσει τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν, ὥστε δύνασθαι κινεῖσθαι ἀραρότως πρὸς ἀρετὴν"). Yet, to our knowledge, there is no reference to the combination that st. Gregory the Pope did with the protoplasts.

¹. Esche, 1957, pp. 34- 5, fig. X, XI.

². An interesting approach about the way to treat the liturgy as creation and art see Folez, 1994, pp. 229ff.

³. Peterson, 2007, pp. 107- 9.

⁴. Jolly, 1997, p. 78.

its existence that particular part of the church was used to give hospitality to the catechumens, the heretics, who wished to enter again the Church and the penitents¹. In general that was the place for the people who are not yet totally members of the ecclesiastical community.

The story of the fall is mostly mentioned in the pre- Lent and the Lent periods; in the Septuagesima Sunday (the ninth before Easter)² and on (since the Maundy Thursday for the Western and the Sunday of Easter for the Eastern Church) that story is one of the main subjects of the liturgical praxis, due to the anticipation of the human beings to regain the paradise. It is worthy to notice that until the 14th c. in the Western Church, the penitents were sent away from the church on Ash Wednesday as a remembrance of the protoplasts' expulsion and they were accepted again in the narthex on Maundy Thursday, in order to be reunited with God. Apparently, it is used the text of *Genesis* as a pattern for the ceremonies of public penitence³.

The liturgical influence on the pictographic presentation as far as the penitence of the sinners is concerned is observable on some medieval iconographical programmes. Specifically, the north portal of Saint- Lazare operated as the penitential entrance as well as the Genesis frieze on the south porch of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond, which served as a reminder of the human need for salvation. Thus, it is evident that the illustration of the creation acted as a didactic way; it reflected the story of the fall with an astonishing approach and it aimed to a reconsideration of life on behalf of the specific people. Yet, as for instance the southern bay entrance of San Marco, though according to recent aspects it cannot be with certainty directly related to any penitential portal, as it was suggested a decade ago, it does not imply the link between the *Genesis* text, the cupola and the western and eastern liturgical act⁴.

On the north portal of the Cathedral of Saint- Lazare (Autun, now in the Musée Rolin, between 1130- 1140, *fig. 104*) the figure of Eve is survived in a

¹. Kallinikos (1969, pp. 88- 9) mentions that in the narthex the emperor had to leave his crown, his sword and everything refer to his secular life, in order to enter the main church as a simple believer.

². Vogel, 1986, p. 311.

³. Reed, 2007, p. 51, Jolly, 1997, pp 81- 2. It is also noteworthy the fact that the preparation of the baptism, which was taken place only on Holy Saturday, ended in the early Western Church after seventh scrutiny (Peterson, 2007, pp. 94- 6). Cf. for the baptism in the Western Church Fischer, B., Wagner, J., 1959, pp. 32- 45.

⁴. Reed, 2007, p. 51, Jolly, 1997, p. 82. Cf. Petersen, 2007, pp. 109- 13.

stance that is commenting below¹. Appositely, the particular depiction represents on a unity the episodes of the *fall*, the *hiding*, the *covering with leaves* and the moment of *penitence*, a point under discussion.

Eve's body is lying on the ground almost horizontally, being surrounded with short bushes². The plant in front of Eve performs a double role; the decorative one and at the same time the one that covers Eve's shame. Her left hand is stressed and she holds the forbidden fruit, while the serpent is being seen on the edge of the sculpture.

Two abnormal iconographical elements deserve to be observed: her reclining figure, as well as the gesture of her right hand. Firstly, the uniqueness of her resting stance does not correlate with the iconographical tradition, as having already described in previous chapters. That is not only due to the synthesis of the above- mentioned episodes in one, but also to the detail of her position. It is more than a common place in those episodes that Eve is pictorially described in a standing position. Up to a point, it was accepted by the art historians that the specific posture of her body was developed according to the form of the lintel and does not include any hidden reason- as Werckmeister proved for Autun³. An almost corresponding parallel could be seen on Eve's position on the episode of repentance on *Junius 11* manuscript (page 31), where she is kneeling, having her head among her hands, demonstrating a pose entirely in agreement with the stance of *proskynesis*⁴. In

¹. It is supposed that the figure of Adam was also existed on the opposite half of the lintel in an identical posture, serving probably the same visual purpose. Werckmeister, 1972, pp. 1- 3.

An analysis of the portal sculptures in Mâcon with other contemporary sculptures, such as of Autun, see in Angheben, 2001, pp. 73- 85.

². On a fresco on the Church of Vera Cruz in Segovia (now in Prado Museum, 12th c.), Eve is depicted as lying on the ground, but in a vertical position, covering her shame and holding with her right hand the forbidden fruit. See Ainaud, J., Held, A., 1963, p. 25, fig. 113 (*fig. 105*).

³. See the discussion Werckmeister, 1972, p. 3, note 13. Esche, 1957, p. 22 states further that it is possible that motif to have an origin in an unknown previous tradition.

⁴. Liturgically the *proskynesis* was a mostly significant ritual of the early Middle Ages. Here we refer to the prostration of the emperor towards God and especially the Cross, as an act of modesty and supplication for forgiveness and indication of veneration and simultaneously prayer (Hageman, 2005, pp. 244- 5). The particular ritual prescribes the ruler to kneel on the prie- dieu under the cross, stretching his right hand as having his upper body in the stance of the forward inclination (*ibid.*, p. 250). Its visualization in art is met for example on the miniatures of the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald (Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, fols. 38^v- 39^f,

addition, with her right hand she supports her cheek, a gesture quite acquainted with the equivalent pose for sleeping of Adam and that of Christ as *Anapeson*. Yet, her pose cannot be interpreted in reference to that of Adam or *Anapeson*. Iconographically speaking, the same pattern appears on the illustration of *hiding* (though in a mixed way) on the Aelfric's Anglo- Saxon paraphrase (London, British Museum, Cotton MS Claudius B. IV, fol. 7^v, second quarter of the 11th c., **fig. 106a**)¹. Both the protoplasts are depicted on an odd complex, having huge branches of trees between them. Adam turns his head on the back, whilst Eve touches her cheek². Though they are pictured on the standing position, those pictorial elements are not unusual on the episodes of the *denial*, as in the miniature of Millstatt Genesis, or on *Junius 11* manuscript (page 34), of the *expulsion*, such as on the frontispiece of the Bible of San Paolo f. l. m. and of the Vivian Bible as well as of the labours, as in Monreale and Palatina, where the figures of Eve are presented as seated. Oddly enough, Eve has a lying figure on a detail (I think it is unparalleled) of a Byzantine miniature (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 394, fol. 77^r, 11th c., **fig. 113**)³. She is displayed lying on the ground, touching her cheek with her right hand and her left follows the stretched lines of her body, not far away from Saint Lazare figure. The remarkableness of the detail is that her figure is presented between the two episodes of the temptation; Eve with the snake and the temptation of Adam from Eve. A plausible reading of the scene can only be reached if we focus on the fact that the miniature accompanies the *Homily 14* of st. John Klimakos' *Heavenly Ladder*, which refers to the original sin and that the protoplasts could not have committed it if they achieved to resist to the forbidden fruit⁴. We can presume that the lying figure has the notion of the remorse or at least a kind of visual approach of the wished result (the original sin and consequently the fall not to have been a real fact).

In general, the touching of the cheek can also be considered as a sign of grief, a point rather originated on the pictorial English tradition⁵, though its

846- 869), (ibid., pp. 247- 50) and of the Psalter of Louis the German (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Theol. Lat. Fol. 38, fol. 120^v, second quarter of the 9th c.), (ibid., p. 250).

¹. For the Aelfric manuscript and the late- antique influences see Henderson, 1962, pp. 187- 8.

². Werckmeister, 1972, pp. 5- 6, fig. 3c, Henderson, 1962, p. 173, Esche, 1957, fig. 8.

³. Eastmond, 1999, fig. 13. For the Vaticanus gr. 394, Devreesse, 1937, pp. 93- 6.

⁴. For the *Homily 14* in connection with the miniature see Eastmond, 1999, p. 226.

⁵. See the Burgundian Romanesque examples, such as the sculptures of the fall on the capital in Vézelay (ca. 1096) and on one of the capitals of the ambulatory of the third abbey church at Cluny (ca. 1095), Werckmeister, 1972, pp. 8- 9, fig. 4a, 4d.

combination with the indication of the sin- the other hand usually reaches the fruit- seems to derive from the apocryphal tradition and particularly the *Cave of Treasures*¹. Subsequently, the visual result of the two- in- one acts is to become apparent the psychological confusion of the protoplasts during and after the original sin.

It is persuasively argued by Werckmeister that the combination of the sorrow and the reclining pose of Eve- and supposedly of Adam- can be understood under the thought of their link to the crawling serpent². Specifically, the Creator's punishment towards the serpent, *upon your belly you shall go*, as well the fact that it was the Satan's tool determine a figurative rank for the lintel of Saint- Lazare; the two representative sinners are lying on the ground exactly like the serpent. Yet, the hand- on- cheek gesture reinforces the aspect that Eve expresses her willingness for redemption, though her simultaneous act of clutching the fruit.

Expanding Werckmeister argument about the combination of the sin and the procedure of repentance, we would like to put into discussion the following thoughts: Eve's posture is almost non- existent until the early- eleventh- century. Yet, Virgin Mary, since the early pictorial tradition, the Byzantine and post- Byzantine period, of the scene of *Christ's birth*, she bears a similar position. Additionally, we cite an example of the sculptural western tradition, that of Virgin Mary beside the crib on the Cathedral of Chartres (12th c.), where, apart from Mary's left hand, the position of her reclining body and the gesture of her right hand are totally identical to the one of Autun. We could only assume that the elements of the scene are under the influence of the adamic typology and the combination of Eve and Virgin Mary in a soteriological approach.

Furthermore, Werckmeister convincingly conflates the portal programme and the theology of the sacrament of penance. Essentially, it appertains to the medieval rite of public penance, which was developed on the Western Church³ and its liturgical formulary is recorded in detail in the Roman *Ordo L* (10th c.)⁴. The penitential rite started on the first day of the Lent of the Western Church, the Ash Wednesday; the sinner, who were ready to endure the

¹. Werckmeister, 1972, p. 9. Werckmeister (pp. 6- 7) refers to the particular book as a possible way of explaining the densely series of episodes in one iconographic scene. That is a general comment.

². Werckmeister, 1972, pp. 10- 2.

³. Werckmeister, 1972, p. 17.

⁴. That collection of formulas was assimilated into the Roman- German Pontifical (ca. 950- 962), which was broadly used in Western Europe until the 12th c.

public penance were firstly standing barefooted in front of their bishop and they pronounced their guiltiness. After their prayer, the servants of the parish ceremonially expelled them from the church, as the protoplasts- to whom there was a reference, were forced out of paradise. On Maundy Thursday the penitent sinners were obliged to go to church and if their requests were accepted, then they had the permission to receive the Holy Communion. The liturgical act of that day makes no reference to Adam and Eve or to Lazarus. In our opinion, there is a direct relevance with the passage of the Latin text of the *Life of Adam and Eve* the detection of the fact that "*Seth and his mother... looking for the oil of mercy... took dust from the ground and put it on their heads and they prostrated themselves and began to lament with loud moans, supplicating the Lord God to pity Adam*"¹. Most likely, the artists could have a percentage of influence from the apocryphal text as it seems that they were quite familiar with the text. Our suggestion about the acquaintance of the artists with the apocryphal tradition is reinforced by the fact that there are later depictions of the particular apocryphal verses on the sculptural ecclesiastical production, as for example on the southeast choir portal, Heiligkreuz Minster (Schwäbisch Gmünd, ca. 1351- 1360, *fig. 106b*)². The particular example is extremely important if we notice Adam's lying position and his right hand on his cheek, totally alike with the pose of Eve in Autun. Should we think that, according to the apocryphal text, Adam is depicted on penitence, then it is more than an assumption that Eve is in penitence and the fact that she also grasps the fruit is only for the viewer to face all the history of the fall from the very beginning until the awareness of the sin.

Simultaneously, it seems mostly possible their purpose was to create the pictorial rendition of the penitential rite, in the way that the following ratiocination states: The penitents were situated down on the floor on their knees and elbows³, a position totally identical to the *proskynesis* of Eve in the

¹. Sparks, 1984, XL, 1- 2, p. 158.

². Pinkus, 2007, p. 33, fig. 7.

³. A similar act of repentance is described from Georgius Syncellus, Mosshammer, 1984, p. 411 (line 12), "*Διαδέχεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου Ἰάκωβος, ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ χρόνων μέχρι καὶ ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ Ἰάκωβοι ἐκαλοῦντο. οὗτος δὲ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἅγιος ἦν. οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐκ ἔπιε, καὶ ἔμψυχον οὐκ ἔφαγε, καὶ ξυρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἔλαιον οὐκ ἠλείφατο καὶ βαλανεῖω οὐκ ἐχρῆσατο. τούτῳ μόνῳ ἔξιεν εἰς τὰ ἅγια εἰσιέναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐρεοῦν ἐφόρει, ἀλλὰ σινδόνας. καὶ μόνος εἰσήρχετο εἰς τὸν ναόν, ἠρώσκετό τε κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι καὶ αἰτούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἄφεσιν, ὡς ἀπεσκληρέναι τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ δίκην καμήλου διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κάμπτειν ἐπὶ γόνυ*

Caedmon miniature¹. Nevertheless, the line on the sculpture of Autun is horizontally placed probably according to the liturgical text "*super genua vel cubitos*" (*is reclining above the knee*). Should Eve's left arm move up to her head, the stance would exhibit the sinners' position during the sacrament. Yet, it seems likely to perform an antitypical role, which is similar to the parallel one. Eve having her head on the fruit shows that she is not in total repentance, a different state than that of people, who at that particular moment were determined to confess². Furthermore, the erect stance of the human body is based on the *Genesis* text (1, 26), in order people to be distinguished from the other creatures that were created by God and to present visually their struggle to reach the *likeness*³. The inclining silhouette involves an incapability to raise, an allegorical act of the impacts of the original sin¹.

προσκυνούντα τῷ θεῷ καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι ἄφεσιν τῷ λαῷ. διὰ γε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο δίκαιος καὶ ὀβλίας, ὃ ἐστὶ περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ, δικαιοσύνη, ὡς οἱ προφήται δηλοῦσι περὶ αὐτοῦ. Τινὲς οὖν τῶν ἑπτὰ αἰρέσεων τῶν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ προγεγραμμένων μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι ἐπνυθάνοντο αὐτῷ, τίς ἢ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγε τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν σωτήρα". The stance of genuflection is described as the position of prayer of st. Ephraem Syrus in Phrantzoles, vol. 1, 1995, pp. 264- 5, "τὰς χεῖρας εἰς προσευχὴν· εἰ δὲ καὶ σφοδροτέρως ἐπιθῆ σοι, κλίνον καὶ γόνυ εἰς προσευχὴν", Phrantzoles, vol. 2, 1989, p. 26, "Πολλοὶ εἰσι ἐξ αὐτῶν κλίναντες γόνυ εἰς προσευχὴν, καὶ ἀνεπαύσαντο πρῶτως ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ Δεσπότου", or regret and request for redemption, Phrantzoles vol. 4 1992, pp. 15- 16, "μέσον δὲ τούτων πᾶσαν φυλὴν καὶ πᾶσαν πνοὴν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου Ἀδάμ ἕως τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἔσχατον πάντων, καὶ πάντας μετὰ τρόμου γόνυ κλίνοντας καὶ προσκυνούντας ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον· ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει Κύριος, ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ", st. John Chrysostom, *Oratio secunda* [Sp.], PG 63, 923, "Ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ μου, κλίνω γόνυ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς, ἐξαγορεύων σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ μου πάσας τὰς ἀμαρτίας μου. Κλίνον καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ οὖς σου εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν δέησιν, καὶ ἄφες τὴν ἀσέβειαν τῆς καρδίας μου. Ἡμαρτον, ἠνόμησα, ἐπλημμέλησα, παρώξυνα, παρεπίκρανα τὸν ἐμὸν ἀγαθὸν Δεσπότην καὶ τροφέα καὶ κηδεμόνα".

¹. Werckmeister, 1972, p. 18- 9.

². Werckmeister, 1972, p. 19.

³. St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Quatenus uni ex his fecistis mihi fecistis* in Van Heck, 1967, p. 114 (line 18), "ἄνθρωπος, ὁ τῷ σχήματι ὄρθιος, ὁ εἰς οὐρανὸν βλέπων, ὁ τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἔργων ὑπηρεσίαν παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔχων", St. Gregory of Nyssa, *De creatione hominis sermo alter (recensio C)* [Sp.] in Hörner, 1972, p. 67a (line 8), "οὐ γὰρ ἵνα ἐπὶ γῆς σύρηταί σου ἡ ζωὴ ὡς τῶν ἐρπετῶν, κατεσκευάσθης ὄρθιος, ἀλλ' ἵνα οὐρανὸν βλέπῃς καὶ τὸν ἐν τούτῳ Θεόν", Basil of Seleukeia, *Oratio I*, PG 85, 36B, "Ἄνθρωπος δὲ μόνος ἐμφαίνει διὰ τῆς πλάσεως τὴν εὐγένειαν. Ὁρθιος πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνεται· ποσὶ μὲν

Furthermore, Eve in Autun raises the question of her function on the north entrance of the church. Our answer to that could only be shaped within a frame of thoughts. Thus, the placement of the imagery related in a way with the penitence sacrament on the north entrance of the church is possible in connection with the north entry of the Jewish temple and Ezekiel's vision (*Ezek* 40, 20, "Then he measured the gate of the outer court that faced north"). If the function of Eve's sculpture was indeed related to the penitence after committing sins, then it should be placed on the outer court, since the entrance of the church ought to be by having a virtuous soul. Ezekiel mentions that "Opposite the gate of the north, as on the east, was a gate to the inner court" (40, 23) and also that "There was a gate on the south of the inner court" (40, 27). In some way, the east and the south drive the believers towards the inner court, while the north on the outer. That ratiocination is reinforced by some passages from the Christian literature, which speak volumes for the association between the north side and the sin or the coming of malevolent situations², meaning that it is likely the

ψαύων τῆς γῆς, ὡς ἐν αὐτῇ τέως στρεφόμενος· τῷ δὲ προσώπῳ πρὸς οὐρανίους ἀψίδας αἰρούμενος. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ χειρᾶς ἐκτείνων, τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ πατρίδα φαντάζεται". Iconographically see Schade, 1966, pp. 118ff.

It is not irrelevant for our topic to quote here that the 20th Canon of the 2nd Ecumenical Council forbids to the believers to genuflect during the holy liturgies of Sundays and of the Pentecost (Cf. analysis Lialiou, 1999, p. 86, p. 193).

¹. Werckmeister, 1972, pp. 23- 5.

². Firstly, in the word *Βορρᾶς* (*North*) it is mentioned the cool, harsh wind, which is similar to devil, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, vol. 1, K. Latte (editor), ed.: Munksgaard, Copenhagen 1953, letter beta (824, line 1), "«βορρᾶς»· ἄνεμος ψυχρὸς παγώδης καὶ σκληρὸς, ὃς τροπολογούμενος σκαιὸς καὶ ἀποπομπαιὸς λέγεται, ὃς σημαίνει τὸν διάβολον". The Christian exegesis refers to the biblical text of Ezekiel, Theodoretus, *Explanatio in Canticum canticorum*, 5, 1, PG 81, 148, "Τῶν διαβαλλομένων ἐστὶν ὁ βορρᾶς παρὰ τῇ θεῖα Γραφῇ· διὸ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Ἰερεμίου φησὶ τοῦ προφήτου, ὅτι «Ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἐκκαυθήσεται κακὰ.» Καὶ πάλιν, «Καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἐκδιώξω ἀφ' ὑμῶν». Καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ· «Ἴδὸν κακὰ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἔρχεται, καὶ συντριβὴ μεγάλη», and they combine the northern side with the darkness and devil himself, Origenes, *Expositio in Proverbia*, PG 17, page 237A, "Τὸν διάβολον εἶπε πρόσωπον ἀναιδὲς, ἐρεθίζοντα ἦν ψυχὴν πρὸς κακίαν, καὶ ἐγείροντα, ὡς βορρᾶς νέφη, λογισμοὺς τῇ ψυχῇ πονηροῦς", st. John Chrysostom, *De circo* [Sp.], PG 59, pg 569, "Σκληρὸς τις ἄνεμος βορρᾶς· σκληρὸν γὰρ ἀληθῶς πνεῦμα καὶ πονηρὸν ὁ διάβολος", st. Gregory the Pope, *Homily in Ezekiel*, ii, 7, 13, PL 76, 1021B "Pateat porta ad Aquilonem, ut hi qui...". Cf. Werckmeister, 1972, p. 20.

north entrance of Saint- Lazare was to transfer the sinners in and out of the church¹.

In analogy, we would like to comment on the Genesis frieze over the south porch of the church of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond (13th c., *fig. 107ab*). Briefly, the frieze runs from right to left, consisting of seven scenes: Eve's creation, the temptation of Eve, the handing over the fruit to Adam (in a bad condition), the closed gates of paradise, the expulsion, the lamenting and probably the murder of Abel (in a very bad condition and hardly to attain a definite identification of the scene)². Eastmond cited a number of interesting observations on the frieze starting with the first scene of the panel, the creation of Eve³, an element that also is occurred in Hildesheim doors. The disorder of the scenes and the compulsory reading from right to left took place probably due to non- predetermination of its particular placement⁴. That unusual reading is met in other Byzantine examples of the fall, such as the miniature on a copy of the Homilies of st. Gregory the Theologian (Paris, BN gr. 543, fol. 116^v, 14th c., *fig. 108*). On his *Homily* about the *Theophany*, the Nativity is combined in a remarkable way from right to left with the animation of Adam- creation of Eve, their introduction into paradise and their lamenting after their expulsion. Moreover, the placement of the last scene in the margin, far from the frame of the miniature emphasizes the separation between the outer and the inner ground⁵.

In general terms, the use of any kind of porches and consequently friezes in Byzantine decorative architecture is almost non- existent. The Hagia Sophia is a church that does not ally with the typical formulae and the patterns of Byzantine art, in architecture and in the sculptural and painting decoration⁶. Yet, in Georgia the addition of the porches gradually (around the 11th c. onwards) became a significant part of the churches and specifically they indicated that the south entrance became the main access towards the inner. In all probabilities, the Georgian porches had the role of the Byzantine narthex. In Hagia Sophia in Trebizond the south porch was the only one decorated and in

¹. Due to the lack of evidence as well as the fact that it is unusual to create on their iconographical programmes penitential portals, it is insecure to assume that the porch was used only on Ash Wednesday and on Maundy Thursday, though of having a significant meaning. Werckmeister, 1972, pp. 21- 3.

². Eastmond, 2004, pp. 64- 5, Eastmond, 1999, pp. 219- 21, fig. 3- 6.

³. Eastmond, 1999, pp. 221- 3.

⁴. Eastmond, 1999, p. 225.

⁵. Eastmond, 2004, pp. 71- 2, fig. 45.

⁶. Eastmond, 2004, p. 13.

addition, the larger in size¹. Apart from the oriental pictorial influences, a noteworthy point is that the protoplasts are clad in long robes before committing the original sin and their nakedness after it. The suggestion, that the clothes perform the role of the prelapsarian garments, meaning the robes of grace or light², is definitely accurate.

Additionally, the correspondence between the frieze and the liturgical act elucidates its task. The inscription on the left "*Ἐκ[άθισ]εν Ἀδ[ά]μ ἀπέ[αντι τοῦ Παρ]αδείσου καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν γύμνωσιν θρηνη[ῶ]ν ὠδύρευτο*" ("Adam sat before the paradise and, lamenting his nakedness, he wept") derives from the service of vesper on the eve of Sunday before the Lent, which is devoted to forgiveness³. On the right the inscription "*Ἐφύτευσεν ὁ Θε[ὸς] παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδέμ κ[α]τ[ὰ] ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἔθετ[ο] ἐκεῖ τὸν ἄνθ[ρωπο]ν ὃν ἔπλασε*" ("and the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed")⁴ has a complementary character. The liturgical inscriptions display the significance of the start of the Lent, probably intensely celebrated on Trebizond. Equally, the meaning of the frieze is absolutely corresponding to that particular week, while it is the element demonstrating the re- entrance into paradise, meaning the interior church. Apparently, the artists did not follow the biblical description of the facts, but the liturgical rendition, a conclusion made due to the prelapsarian clothes and the presence of the inscriptions.

In a number of ivory- carved Byzantine examples⁵ the selection of the scenes is not in a great distance from the Trebizond frieze. For instance, we quote the lid and side scenes on the ivory of the Cleveland Museum (1924. 747, 11th- 12th c., *fig. 111abc*) or (less) the ivory plaque (Musée des Beaux- Arts de Lyon, D 312- its origin is not known if it is in Italy or in Byzantium- 11th c., *fig. 112*). The particular parallels convey a vague theological connection with

¹. Eastmond, 2004, pp. 34- 5.

². Eastmond, 1999, pp. 228- 9. That approach is also met in the text of st. John Chrysostom, *In Genesim*, 15, PG 53, 125.

³. Eastmond, 2004, pp. 65- 6, Eastmond, 1999, pp. 222- 3. Cf. Schmemmann, 1974, pp. 27- 8.

⁴. Eastmond, 1999, p. 222. The scene of the lamenting with the protoplasts depicted seated is also met on the end of the Cleveland ivory (*fig. 173c*), bearing, as it is visible, a great resemblance. See Eastmond, 1999, p. 224, fig. 11.

⁵. Indicatively see the ivory caskets in Baltimore (end of the 10th c.), in the Musée de Pesaro and in St. Petersburg (11th- 12th c.) in Goldschmidt, A., Weitzmann, K., 1930, figs. 82, 86- 87, 68a respectively. Also see about the ivory caskets Cutler, 1984- 85, pp. 32- 43.

Trebizond, though they prove that the frieze was constructed under a quite wide eastern pictorial tradition, having a liturgical or in general a ritual meaning¹.

We would also wish to make a few remarks on the aesthetical motifs that the artists of the frieze had followed. On the creation of Eve we notice the hand of God emerging from the upper right corner, a pattern that it is also met in the Cleveland ivory casket (*fig. 111a*) as well as in the plaque of Lyon (*fig. 112*)². It is noticeable that in a ivory basket in the Musée Saint-Remi (Constantinople (?) no 795- 1- 3865, 11th- 12th c.) Adam is being expelled from paradise by the hand of God³. Additionally, both in Cleveland and in Lyon ivories, while Adam is asleep in order Eve to be created has his feet crossed (the Trebizond frieze is much destroyed on that point and his feet are not discernible); his feet on his creation are depicted totally stretched. The particular pattern is partly met on Christ-child on the Theotokos of Passion and it is a prefiguration of his passion. We think that the way he is presented is a part of the adamic typology. Furthermore, on the Cleveland scene Adam left hand holds his head in a remotely, yet close, manner with Eve in Saint Lazare. Moreover, on the right scene of the front frame of the Cleveland ivory (*fig. 111b*)⁴ it is presented the *Calling*, as it can be understood by the inscription "ΑΔΑΜ ΠΟΥ Η" (Adam where are you- though the spelling is incorrect: the word H should have been EI). Yet, his posture and gestures reflects the lamenting scene of the end side of the ivory as well as that in Trebizond's frieze. The Pantocrator stands for the Creator in an almost identical position with Adam's creation in Palermo.

Apart from the performative function of the frieze, Eastmond propounds its use as a figurative way to display the political history of the Grand Komnenoi, who were living in exile. Thus, the narration of the fall and their promise for redemption was related with the expulsion of the Komnenoi and their re-inauguration in Constantinople⁵.

¹. Eastmond, 1999, pp. 224- 5, fig. 9- 12.

². The particular design is also met in the Byzantine Octateuchs, as in Eve's creation of Seraglio Octateuch gr. 8, fol. 42^v, (Eastmond, 1999, fig. 16).

³. *Byzance*, 1992, pp. 260- 1, no 169, Goldschmidt, A., Weitzmann, K., 1930, Nr. 84, pp. 19- 20.

⁴. Eastmond, 1999, fig. 10.

⁵. Eastmond, 2004, pp. 73- 4. Mentioning of such a relation of the exile of political persons, for instance Niketas Choniates and Theodore I Laskaris, as their opportunity to make amends for their sins and mistakes (Angold, 1975, pp. 28- 9, Mango, 2007, pp. 224- 5). Probably it is not irrelevant that in the Palace of Trebizond there were memorial illustrations of the creation. See Mango, 2007, pp. 252- 3.

Aside from the liturgical or political operation of the protoplasts' story, our purpose is to quote the Trebizond frieze as a juxtaposition of Saint Lazare and to unfold a few compelling thoughts. In our opinion, the question, that is still open to discussion, is the fact of the north and south porches and the function of their reliefs. Why in our western example the north porch was used, while in the East the south side is the preferable one? As it was above-mentioned the north side demonstrates the evil, while the south the lightness and the truth¹. Yet, it is quite doctrinaire to discuss about a place of holiness, as a church is, and its separation into the evil and the virtue behalf. Thus, theologically, it is more precise to talk about the need of the human soul to repent and to focus on its salvation.

The placement of the Genesis frieze served also the purposes of the adamic typology. The viewer faces the story of Adam and Eve and entering the church notices the scenes of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis on the north wall of the interior². The differentiation of the Eastern and Western art and consequently their theological approach are emphasised: on the East the original sin is depicted on the south- bright side of the church, though it was the beginning of the earthly life of human beings, yet not their eternal condemnation, as the western theology understand it, even on its pictorial way of aesthetical argumentation of the dogma. In other words, the beginning of the Western line begins with the fall, while the Eastern thought falls of the original sin as only one fact on the history of the holy *Oikonomia*.

iii. The impact of the social or historical circumstances on the Genesis cycle

There is ample reason to believe that the pictorial programme of the Hildesheim doors was structured according to bishop Bernwards' beliefs about women and a number of events, which have formed the ecclesiastic environment of his area.

¹. Olympiodorus Diaconus, *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten*, PG 93, 608C, "νότος δὲ ἐκλαμβάνεται ὁ φωτεινὸς τόπος, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· βορρῶς δὲ ὁ ξοφώδης καὶ σκοτὸς πλήρης διάβολος", ("south is considered to be the bright place, and that light is the real one, our Lord Jesus Christ; north is the black and dark place of devil").

². Eastmond, 2004, pp. 67- 9, Eastmond, 1999, pp. 233- 4.

During the papacy of Gregory VII (1073- 1085) a movement of reformation within the RCatholic Church became broader than in the years before. The impetus of the reform, which began already from the end of the 10th c. and bishop Bernward was its supporter, was the corruption within the monastic orders and its main goal was to succeed to bring the clergy to reach a high standard of clerical morality. In particular, since then, the marriage of the priests was not totally forbidden and likewise there were monks, who lived in their monasteries together with their wives and children. It is noteworthy, indeed, that Bernward chaired in the Synod of Goslar, where it was decided that the children of that kind of marriages have no rights at all¹.

Moreover, bishop Bernward was embroiled in a fight about the public authority. His competitor was the daughter of emperor Otto II, Sophia (975-1039), who became the abbess of the abbey of Gandersheim. That was an open-minded atmosphere for autonomous women with much power and wealth, a place that the local bishop coveted to control. The conflict between Sophia and Bernward was radically amplified and the victory each time based on their strategy and methods used². Bernward's thoughts over the malevolent Sophia and subsequently the maliciousness of the female nature, as well as his honour to Virgin Mary, are evident elements on the illustrational account of the frontispiece of Bernward's *Precious Gospel*³ (Hildesheim, Dom Museum, MS 18, fols. 16^v- 17^r, 1015). The coronation of Virgin Mary on the right panel is in our interest: at the edge of the arches there are two roundels, with Virgin on the left and Eve on the right. Beneath Mary's roundel there is an elongated cross, while the inscriptions refer to Eve as an antithesis to Mary⁴. So, penetrating is the typology that it is interesting to be mentioned the reference of the inscription to the doors of paradise is related to the open door, in front of where Virgin Mary stands, in the scene of the Annunciation of the lower right panel and also to the doors of Gandersheim, which were open to Bernward after years of closure for him from Sophia⁵.

¹. Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, pp. 28- 9.

². See in details Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, pp. 29- 31.

³. See about the art and especially the Gospels of Bernward in Kingsley, 2007, passim.

⁴. Under Eve's roundel it is written "*Porta paradisi primeval clause per Aevam*" ("*The door of paradise, closed by the first Eve*"), though beneath Mary's roundel "*Nunc est per s[an]c[t]am cunctis patefacta Maria[m]*" ("*Now is open to all through the holy Mary*"), Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, pp. 31- 2, fig. 14.

⁵. Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, p. 32.

Thus, there was an anti-feminine attitude, which was based on Eve's culpability¹ for the original sin and consequently the responsibility of women for any tempter towards the clerical virtue². Simultaneously, the veneration of Virgin Mary, mostly as the antitype of Eve, increased during the 11th c. onwards, a fact that can conceivably explain the display of the Old and the New Testament scenes on the doors³. The typology, developed on the doors, is not dissociative. It has a direct link to the bishop and in no doubt he is responsible for the pictorial rendition. The visual language of the Hildesheim doors does not follow on the whole any former or contemporary model, though it is an exemplar of representing certain social or historical circumstances of a period.

The creation cycle in the dome of the narthex of San Marco in Venice contains a number of significant points, which several conclusions about the contemporary theological, political and social situation can be derived from.

It is not groundless for researchers to say that the transformation of any kind of early iconographical sources into a monumental piece of art occurred also under the influence of a mixture of the late twelfth-century thought⁴. Even though Demus has said that in Venice there was an absence of spiritual matters, and the citizens were mostly interested in the creation of fancy projects, the visual language of the creation cycle is astonishing.

¹. We quote here an ivory casket (now in Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, 10th-11th c.) Adam is cringing in front of the admonition of Logos, having a stance that is reminiscent of the position of repentance, as in the sculpture of Eve in Autun or other examples with Adam. The notable element is that he is depicted standing and not reclined. We do not know if it is secure enough to assume that Adam is pictured alone, without Eve, just in order the artist to make a visual display of Adam's major degree of culpability or to affirm that Eve was not the only to put the blame on. See Maguire, E. D., Maguire, H., 2007, p. 106, fig. 98.

². Abbot Odo of Cluny (a saint of the RCatholic Church, ca. 878- 942), wrote a disquisition about the fall with respect to the clerical celibacy- PL 133. Adémar of Chabannes (a monk and historian, ca. 988- 1034)- PL 161, prompted the Christians not to forget that the negative role of woman in the world's history. Peter Damian (1007- 1072)- PL 165, 410, warns the priests and the monks to express their vehement protest against women, because they can be characterised as the flesh of the devil. Cf. Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, p. 29.

³. Cohen S. A., Derbes A., 2001, p. 29. Also see Alexander, 1993, pp. 12- 15 for a short juxtaposition of the relation Eve- Mary, through art and the attitude towards them as a link to monastic orders and religious ideology.

⁴. Jolly, 1997, pp. 5- 6. For instance, the text *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor (ca. 1170), which deals with the Genesis of the world, was a popular text that could have influenced the mosaicists of San Marco. (*I- XXVI*, PL 198, 1053- 1077).

The narration in the cupola serves a didactic role, which is more obvious in its iconographical elements than in the inscriptions in each scene¹. The circuitous route of the creation mosaics is impressive enough to lead the scientists to comment on that and to have their conclusions. Generally speaking, the circle is the symbol of eternity and the everlasting life, which spring from the immortal Triune God². Hence, the circular depiction of the creation starts firstly from the fact of the world was created in order to be mortal, but eternal at the same time. Furthermore, in a circle there is no beginning and no end; as the *labours* begin (a stage that can be considered from the viewer as the end), then the hopeful meaning of the creation starts again with the *naming of the animals* and *Eve's creation*. That can be regarded as another element of the promise of God for reconciliation and redemption.

A quite interesting suggestion is made by Jolly, who supports that the circular illustration with the horizontal and vertical lines repeats the wheel motif, such as the Fortune's wheel, a popular medieval pattern³. The Fortune's Wheel had a revival during the 12th c., especially on the church portals. It represents the flexibility and the instability of the world, whose fate depended on the divine supremacy, but on the free human will as well. In the middle of the wheel motif a woman, as the personification of fortune is being pictured⁴, which can be combined with Eve's role in creation and in the history of the fall.

Furthermore, apart from the symbolism of spinning and the connection through it between Eve and Virgin Mary in the patristic literature as well as in the iconography, it was a tool of the three Fates of the classical mythology, those who wove the fortune of each man. That motif survived till the late Middle Ages (and in Renaissance), even though the spindles and distaff were not totally linked with the Fortune's Wheel. The figure of Eve in the *labours* of San Marco is different as it is expected after the terrible situation of the expulsion from paradise. Eve is enthroned, with a royal pose, facing Adam and

¹. A general conclusion for the inscriptions see Jolly, 1997, pp. 77- 9.

². Ferguson, 1961, p. 153.

³. Jolly, 1997, pp. 83- 5. Seldom is the Fortune's wheel associated with the rose-window, despite its great importance and common symbolism. See all the dimensions Dow, 1957, pp. 268-73.

⁴. Such an example is a miniature in the *Carmina Burana* (Clm 4660, fol. I^v) from South Tyrol (now in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, middle of the 13th c.), Jolly, 1997, p. 83, fig. 32. Yet, the earliest extant example of the Fortuna within her wheel is on the mosaic floor in Turin (12th c.), where Fortuna is pictured as a crowned, richly dressed woman, having also an inscription with her name, Kitzinger, 1976, p. 336, fig. 11.

spinning. That posture Jolly explains it as a possible connection with the *Fortune Lady*, the female figure in the middle of the Wheel¹.

During the first half of the 13th c. in Venice the law underwent a number of amendments, as for example a reduction in the Doge's power and an increase on the Procurator's authority. The latter was the actual supervisor of the mosaics of San Marco and that new status is a plausible explanation of the reinforcement of themes relatively to the divine justice. The creation episodes, especially from the original sin until the labours, encourage the didactic character on the justice and the fair attitude of God towards man by promising salvation².

iv. Manuscripts

The illustrations of the manuscripts were usually more than a decorative attempt of the artists in order to apply their experience and to create a luxurious or a notable product. By and large, they were interested in the educational part and how exactly the written text could be transformed into a graphic expression, which in connection with the words would be able to transfer knowledge and thoughts.

In the manuscripts that approach cannot be totally effective as far as all the rules of the written language is concerned, such as for instance the syntax or the meter. On the other hand, the colours or the lines of the drawings cannot be transferred into the text. Nevertheless, it is important to notice that the drawings function as sources of information for the text and its understanding.

A part of the miniatures of the manuscript of the *Homilies of st. Gregory the Theologian* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 510, fol. 52^v, **fig. 108**) is dedicated to scenes of *Genesis*. In particular, on a full- page illustration of the first *Oration on peace, On Peace after the reconciliation of the monks*³, an interesting combination was made. The page is divided into three rows. The

¹. Jolly, 1997, p. 87. An analogous illustration of a crowned woman there is on the *Hortus Deliciarum* (12th c.) and on the choir of Rochester Cathedral (13th c.)- and in other examples- as described in Dow, 1957, pp. 271- 2. The spherical aspect of the universe already on the ancient Greek philosophy in regard to the Moirai myth could also be a link to the Fortune's wheel, Brendel, 1977, pp. 50- 85.

². Jolly, 1997, pp. 79- 81.

³. St. Gregory of Nazianz, *Oration VI (Prima de pace, ob monchorum reconciliationem post silentium praesente patre*, PG 35, 721A- 752A. Cf. Weitzmann, 1951, pp. 6- 12.

upper two are dedicated to the scenes of creation, fall and expulsion, while the lower depicts Moses receiving the Law and on the last scene st. Gregory and his father stand behind the altar, while some monks attend. The latter scene represents the main purpose of the *oration*, the reunion of the church of Nazianzus after a schism, which was caused by st. Gregory's father after signed a semi- Arian creed. The reconciliation, succeeded by signing an Orthodox creed, was celebrated with the specific *homily*. Apparently, that ecclesiastical situation attaches itself to the last illustration, which is combined with the *Genesis* scenes according to st. Gregory's text¹. The consequences of any disobedience, such as the protoplasts', indicate the distance from God's grace, which reinstated through the revelation of God himself to Moses and throughout the history in the sacraments within the Church- that is suggested with the depiction of the reconciliation next to the altar². Thus the artist composed the visual language of the page by uniting scenes from the Old Testament and contemporary events of the period of st. Gregory, which are connected to his works and his devoutness to the unit of the Church. The fall is the antithesis of the conciliation, as Adam was the antithesis of Christ, a popular typology within the ninth- century Christians³.

Additionally, a well- known manuscript, *Junius 11*, is an ideal example of the propinquity between the text, which is a poetic paraphrase of biblical texts, and the drawings, which bear no resemblance to the previous iconographic tradition of the Bible. Ohlgren pointed out the central points in the relationship between the text and the illustrations, two of which are worthy to be mentioned here⁴. For instance, the repetition of the figure of the fiend, such as on page 20 and 36, aids to the visualisation of the *transitory effect*, which is a means for the successiveness and coherence of the events⁵.

In the *Junius 11* miniatures the colours play a symbolic role. Specifically, the artist made use of only two colours, red and brown⁶. He gave them, though, a figurative code, which was active in the drawings, either in the

¹. St. Gregory of Nazianz, *ibid.*, PG 35, 733C and 744C.

². Brubaker, 1985, p. 8, Der Nersessian, 1962, pp. 208- 9, fig. 9.

³. Brubaker, 1985, pp. 8- 9.

⁴. There are significant elements on the pages that are not in our interest, such as the fact that the illustrations may act as the patristic commentaries on the biblical texts, as in the frontispiece of the *Junius 11 Genesis*, where pictorial exegesis operates as typological explanation of the text. Details see Ohlgren, *Visual language*, 1972, p. 261, fig. 3.

⁵. Ohlgren, *Visual language*, 1972, p. 259 (fig. 2), 263, 272 (fig. 8).

⁶. Red refers to the blood of Christ, while brown represents the spiritual death and humiliation. Ferguson, 1961, p. 151- 2.

sartorial or the topographic presentations. In the original sin episodes the colour of Satan, the demons and the formation of hell have pictured brown. On the contrary, the emissary demon, when he was in disguise as an angel to the protoplasts, is dressed in red clothes¹. Thus, the specific colours transformed the account of the poem into a visual result of abhorrence to Satan and what he represents and simultaneously the anticipation of the salvation.

The manuscripts were decorated not only with the miniatures, as full pages, but also with initial letters, which ornamented the first page of the biblical book. As far as the initial to *Genesis* from western manuscripts are concerned, there can be a few interesting commentaries to be done. In some examples of the 12th c., such as the Salzburg *Genesis* (Stiftsbibliothek, St. Peter, MS A. XII. 18, fol. 6^r, ca. 1150), the artist focuses on the original sin and not the creation. The initial starts its account with the fall of Lucifer and continues with the fall of the protoplasts². Likewise, the Parc Bible (London, British Library, MS add. 14788, fol. 6^v) unites the first, fifth and sixth day of creation with the fall and its consequences³. Both the paradigms bear an anthropological rendition of *Genesis* and share, either following the Priestly (the account of the hexaemeron, *Gen* 1, 1- 2, 4)⁴ or the Yawist (the account that focuses on the free will of the human beings, as the source of the evil, *Gen* 2, 4- 3, 24) account⁵, a general interest on the issue of the existence of the human beings, but also of their route to their salvation.

An improved visual approach of the salvation and the fact that the Creator is God himself, who has promised to guide the human beings towards redemption, can be noticed on the *Genesis* initial of the Bible of Robert de Bello (London, British Library, MS Burney 3, fol. 5^v, ca. 1230- 1240)⁶. That aspect is derived from the selection of the scenes that make the initial and from the historical rendering of the text⁷. Moreover, the initial of the Souvigny Bible (Moulins, MS 1, fol. 4^v, **fig. 109**)⁸ or the initial of the Latin 226 Bible (the

¹. The demons were also red in the drawings pictured their situation before their fall. Ohlgren, *Visual language*, 1972, pp. 274- 5.

². Rudolph, 1999, p. 32, fig. 3.

³. Rudolph, 1999, p. 32, fig. 4.

⁴. A criticism on the Priestly overture to the Pentateuch see Vervenne, 2001, pp. 35- 80.

⁵. Rudolph, 1999, p. 24.

⁶. Turner, 1965, p. 12, fig. 2.

⁷. Rudolph, 1999, pp. 43- 4, fig. 21. In the bibliography of the early 20th c., the Bible is dated on 1224- 1253, Warner, 1910, p. 8, pl. XI, Millar, 1926, p. 52, pl. 76.

⁸. Rudolph, 1999, p. 33, fig. 8.

Aurifaber atelier, fol. 4^v, ca. 1250)¹ attach themselves to the *new* theology, whose centre of attention was the creation of the world more than the fall. A similar example is the Flavius Josephus manuscript and initial with the original sin and the Pantocrator creating the universe (probably from Werden (?), now in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. fol. 226, fol. 3^r, before 1159)². That current naturalistic theory was popular during the 12th c. onwards in the western society and it threatened the *old* one, which tried through the power of the Church to oppress the free willingness of people by demonstrating the necessity of the Church for their salvation.

Apparently, the scenes taking part in the initial letters of the medieval manuscripts of *Genesis* cannot consider as an accidental rendition, but as an echo that reflects the old and the new theories on creation and their connection to the political trends of the western society of the 12th c.

v. Image and likeness in art

The creation of man according to God's *image* and *likeness* is distinguishable in a number of Christian artistic proposals.

Particularly, they are based on the eastern iconological approach, mainly after the iconoclastic period, where the role of the material of the artistic products, the definition of the icon and its connection to Christology were well-defined. On the West *Libri Carolini* demonstrated the disapproval of the existence of the icons. The Synod of Frankfurt (794)³ and the western theological works, such as by Agobard of Lyon (ca. 769- 840)⁴ approved the criticism of eastern iconology and the context of the Carolingian Books.

Yet, the illustrational western production of the following centuries provides evidence of the aspect that in practice the artists have followed the previous pictorial forms and they developed them according to their needs and trends⁵. As a western thirteen- century example, we cite the Eton roundels (fol.

¹. Branner, 1977, pp. 109- 10, fig. 307.

². Fingernagel, 1991, pp. 116- 7.

³. Grape, 1974, pp. 49- 50.

⁴. PL 104, 222, "*Nam si ulla imago... et ratione carentium*", where he supports the corporeal resemblance between God- man. Thus, the existence of the icons can only be understood as the presentation of the bodily part. Ladner, 1962, p. 29.

⁵. Ladner, 1962, pp. 29- 30.

2^r), where the fall and its consequences are drawn, though not according to the biblical order. Thus, the central roundel, the prohibition, instigates the reading, which continues with the original sin on the left top corner. The unexpected point is the male figure on the admonition scene, who is dressed, while Adam on the expulsion scene is naked and he is usually pictured having a standing stance and not seated as in Eton roundels. Hitherto, the particular elements did not allow the scholars objectively to identify the figure as Adam himself. Henry, very convincingly, suggested the visual presentation of the created on the seventh day *man*, whose nature was according to the *image* and *likeness* of God and consequently, the artist had the theological background of depicting him/ her almost identical to Logos¹.

A nuanced reading of the parallels would allow the morphological link between Adam and Logos. Notwithstanding, the connotation of both the figures formulates two dissimilar pictorial discourses. In particular, there are those examples, which demonstrate Adam having a juvenile, beardless presentation, whilst there are monuments that focus on the relationship between Logos and Adam by displaying the latter with a grown beard. Those accounts unfold a problematic heterogeneity, due to the fact that we cannot recognise any specific stylistic forms based on their origin. Obviously, we discern an artistic flexibility, which reinforces the aspect of the inter- influences.

Primarily, in the frontispiece of the Carolingian Bibles an individual with young physical characteristics, almost alike with Adam, represents Logos. That is actual a heritage of the early Christian sarcophagi², something that can reinforce our suggestion about the fourth person beside the Holy Trinity on the *Trinity* sarcophagus, as the human being on his entirety, as a person that on his nature carries the godlike resemblance³.

Moreover, there is almost a striking resemblance of the male figures (Adam and Logos) to Eve, as far as their main facial features are concerned. Apart from the differences in their bursts and their generative organs and the dressed figure of the Creator, their faces and hairstyle are nearly identical. In other monuments, such as the cod. Barb. lat. 4406 or in San Marco, the difference of the sexes are obvious. Additionally, in San Marco, though a disparity in their hairstyle is observed, both Adam and Logos are young and beardless. In other examples, such as in Hortus Deliciarum, in Dijon's Histoire

¹. Henry, 1999, pp. 174- 5, where there are also stated four possible objections to the aspect of the figure being *man* in his entirety, which, to our opinion, cannot overcome the criteria in favour of the above- mentioned suggestion.

². Ladner, 1962, pp. 26- 7.

³. See chapter Eve's creation.

Universelle, Logos is depicted as the Byzantine Pantocrator, while Adam has an adolescent appearance.

On the other hand, it must be stressed that in other pictorial examples it occurs the mirror- like- effect. That means the look of Adam is similar to the Creator; both are having beard and in general identical facial characteristics. Partially, that effect can be noticed on the figures of the Millstatt Genesis, the Arsenal Bible, the Salerno Antependium, the Souvigny Bible and of the Morgan Old Testament M 638. More specific, on a lid- scene of the middle-Byzantine ivory of the Cleveland Museum (CMA 1924. 747, 11th- 12th c., **fig. 111a**)¹ and on the first scene of the ivory plaque (Musée des Beaux- Arts de Lyon, D 312, 11th c., **fig. 112**)², the image imitation on Adam's creation between the two figures had already been formed. Their facial features as well as the clothes and the gesture of the Creator in Capella Palatina follow the ivory prototype, while his standing stance goes after the Creator of the Salerno antependium³. Thus, on the cycles of Capella Palatina and of Monreale there is a striking resemblance between Logos⁴ and Adam. Their face, beards, haircut and even the plasticity of their hands and feet have a remarkable pictorial correspondence, which probably acts as the part of the adamic typology and as a visual interpretation of the coming of the second Adam, as the Redeemer. Thus, the particular iconographic elements are under the purely influence of the Byzantine theology and images.

Furthermore, the Aelfric's (Anglo- Saxon) and the Psalter in Munich lat. 835, having an Anglo- Saxon and an English origin respectively, as far as the resemblance of the two male figures and the Hortus Deliciarum or the manuscript from St. Emmeram in Regensburg (MS lat. 14339, fol. 74^v) as the pictorial presentation of the Creator are concerned, they follow Byzantine stylistic preferences. More specifically, they have a close iconographic account with the Sicilian monuments, a fact that can be explained by the circulation of

¹. Büchsel, 1995, p. 149, fig. 363, Eastmond, 1999, p. 224, fig. 9, Goldschmidt, A., Weitzmann, K., 1930, Nr. 67.

². See the description of J. Durand in *Byzance*, 1992, pp. 261- 2, no 170. Also see Eastmond, 1999, pp. 224- 5, fig. 12, Goldschmidt, A., Weitzmann, K., 1930, Nr. 70.

³. The facial features of Adam are repeating in all of the scenes of the ivory. See the ratiocination in Büchsel, 1995, pp. 148- 9, p. 416, fig. 363- 364 respectively. Also about the appearance of Logos in the Salerno antependium see Weitzmann, *Illumination*, 1980, pp. 122- 3.

⁴. Logos of the Genesis cycle is the actual *Pantocrator*, a motif frequently met in Monreale. For the pictorial presence of Christ as *rex* and *imperator*, as well as his connection with the current political situation of the 12th c. and the policy of the Latin Church see Dittelbach, 2003, pp. 295ff.

the pictorial forms from the Normans in England and in Germany, without however insisting in having exactly the same prototype¹.

vi. Body- gestural language

Man was created in an upright stance, in order to look straight at the sky. That position signals the royalty of his origin² and his superiority towards the other creatures of the earth³. Yet, his sin and disobedience caused shame towards God as well as humbleness and fear, emotions that are declared in the *Hiding from God* and the *Denial of guilt*⁴. The mosaic of the narthex in San Marco is an indicative example; the figures are standing during the creation of the protoplasts, their life in paradise until the original sin. On the cube where the *Denial of guilt* is drawn, the protoplasts have a slight inclination on their bodies, an element referring to their shame, which is more intense on the next episode, where the protoplasts with shyness accept their punishments. On the contrary, on the episode of the *Clothing* the protoplasts acquire their upright position, due to God's promise.

The hands are the tools of speech and they act as co- operators of the oral communication. The hands help the words to be better understood. Thus, they operate according to the logical nature and the intelligence of man⁵. An excellent example of visualising the speech is the episode of the *Denial of guilt* in San Marco, where Logos accuses Adam for the sin by showing him and simultaneously Adam, with almost an identical gesture indicates Eve, as the responsible one, whose gesture reveals the acceptance of the guilt. Moreover,

¹. The discussion about the resemblance of specific scenes of the particular monuments based on iconographic and historical analysis see Kitzinger, 2003, pp. 1071- 7.

². "Ὁρθιον δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ σχῆμα, καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνεται, καὶ ἄνω βλέπει. Ἀρχικὰ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀξίαν ἐπισημαίνονται...", st. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Hominis Opificio VIII*, PG 44, 144AB.

³. "Ἐπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς ὀρθόν· ἐξαίρετον ταύτην σοὶ τὴν διάπλασιν παρὰ τὰ λοιπὰ ζῶα ἔδωκε. Διὰ τί; ἐπειδὴ ἐξαίρετόν σοι καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἀποδιδόναι ἔμελλε", st. Gregory of Nyssa, *In verba, Facianus Hominem, orat. II*, PG 44, 293C.

⁴. St. John Chrysostomus, *In cap III genes, Hom. XVII*, PG 53, 132- 135.

⁵. St. Gregory of Nyssa, *De Hominis Opificio VIII*, PG 44, 144BC.

her depiction in profile, contrary to the frontal presentation of Logos and Adam, symbolises her guilt¹.

On the mosaics of San Marco, and particularly on the episodes of Eve's shaping and her introduction to Adam, the Creator holds her from her shoulder. If we tried to interpret that action, we could cite the explanation of the Zonaras lexicon, which states that the *shoulder* is the part that embraces the most of the burdens².

An anatomical examination of the Anastasis scene could lead to the following thoughts as far as the way Christ holds Adam during his exit from Hades. Thus, we notice that Christ grabs Adam from his carpus and not from his palm. In order to formulate our hypothesis it is essential to move among the relevant ecclesiastical literature.

Firstly, the holiness of the hand of God, as well as his determination to hold his people, within his hand, away from any kind of malevolent situations, can be extracted apart from the biblical references³, from some patristic texts as well⁴. In many cases it is stated that God extends his hand of charity⁵ towards man in order to give him a change for repentance and motivation for the clearness of his soul⁶. The hand of God is considered to be the safety net and

¹. Jolly, 1997, p. 54.

². See the Lexicon of Pseudo- Zonaras in *Iohannis Zonarae lexicon*, 1808, (letter omega, 1886, 12), "Ὠμος, τὰ μετὰφρενα. Παρὰ τὸ ὦ, τὸ ὑπάρχω. Ὁ ὑπομένων τὰ βάρη καὶ τὰ φορτία". The same gesture has the angel towards Eve, while he holds Adam from his elbow in the fresco of the Basilica of San Francesco of Assisi (1278- 80). See Bellossi, 2007, pp. 49- 51, fig. 12.

³. 2 Kings 19, 19, Psalm 139, John 10, 28- 30. Cf. Loeschke, 1965, pp. 58- 61.

⁴. St. Basil, *Adversus Eunomium*, 5, PG 29, 568B, "Οὐδείς δύναται ἀρπάσαι ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς μου, ἐπήγαγεν. Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατήρ ἐν ἑσμεν, σαφῶς τὸ ἐν ἀντι τοῦ ἴσου καὶ ταύτου κατὰ δύναμιν παραλαμβάνων" ("Nobody can grab you from my Father's hand. My Father and I, we are one, and equal and we have the same power"), st. John Chrysostomus, *In epistulam ad Philippenses*, 4, PG 62, 223, "Ἔως ἂν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ὦμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδείς ἡμᾶς ἀρπάξειν δύναται· ἰσχυρὰ γάρ ἐστιν· ὅταν δὲ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκείνης ἐκπέσωμεν καὶ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπολώλαμεν, πᾶσιν ἔτοιμοι προκειμέθα εἰς ἀρπαγὴν, πᾶσιν εἰς καταπάτημα", ("Nobody can grab us from the hand of God, which is very powerful. However, when we fall from the God's hand and we lose his help, we are absolutely exposed to every kind of plunder and pillage").

⁵. St. John Chrysostomus, *De paenitentia*, 7, 1, PG 49, 325.

⁶. St. John Chrysostomus, *Interpretatio orationis Pater noster [Sp.]*, PG 59, 628, "Ταῦτα λέγων, ἄνθρωπε, εἰάν οὐ ποιῆς οὕτως, ἐννόησον ὅτι φοβερόν τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας Θεοῦ ζώντος καὶ διορθωσάμενος ἐπίστρεψον πρὸς τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ Κύριον",

the two testaments, meaning promise for redemption¹, while the hand of man is frequently akin to sin and the performance of immoral acts². Apparently, the sanctity of God's hand and the uncleanness of man do not actual permit the handholding, which can only be accomplished when man reaches the original paradisaal beauty. Nevertheless, the carpus of man is often characterises as the

("It is really terrible for a human being to loose the hand of the real God and then to try to repear the damage and to return to the poet, our Lord"), st. Basil, Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam [Dub.] in Trevisan, 1939 (Chapter 1, 55, 1), "καὶ ἐπάξω τὴν χεῖρα μου ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ κυρώσω σε εἰς καθαρὸν", ("I will put my hand over you and I will make you clean").

¹. Didymus Caecus, *Commentarii in Psalmos 29- 34* in Gronewald, 1969, pp. 98- 100 (148, 26- 149, 6), "Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀρπάξει ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς· Ἐν ταῖς σαῖς χερσὶν οἱ κληροὶ μου, εἰσὶν, λέγει ὁ σωτὴρ... Οἱ κληροὶ ἐν ταῖς σαῖς χερσὶν εἰσιν, ἡσφαλισμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν δραστηρίων καὶ σκεπτικῶν σου δυνάμεων, ὥστε μηδένα οἶόν τε εἶναι ἀρπάσαι ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς σου· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται ἀρπάσαι ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς, οὐκ εἶπεν· εἰ μὴ ἔξω τις ἑαυτὸν ποιῆσῃ τῆς χειρὸς, οὐ δύναται ἀρπασθῆναι ἀπὸ τινος... Ἰούδας αὐτὸς ἔξω πεποίηκεν ἑαυτὸν τῆς χειρὸς... ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν σου τυγχάνει ἴσος κληρονομία... λέγομεν καὶ τοῦτο· χεῖρες τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰσὶν αἱ δύο διαθήκαι", ("Nobody can grasp the Father's hand. On the hands there are my heirs, the Saviour says... my heirs on the hands are sound and safe from the active and satan powers and nobody can take them from the hand of God; nobody can take them from the hand of the Father; but if you put yourself out of the hand, then there is the possibility to be hung up... Judas had put himself out of the hand of God... He, who grasp the hand is equal of the heritage... and we say also that: the two hands of God are the two Testaments").

². St. John Chrysostomus, *De Anna*, 1, 2, PG 54, 634: "καὶ λαβόμενος ὑμῶν οὐχὶ τῆς χειρὸς, ἀλλὰ τῆς διανοίας, πανταχοῦ τῆς κτίσεως περιήγαγον, δεικνὺς οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆς καὶ θάλατταν καὶ λίμνας καὶ πηγὰς καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ πελάγη μακρὰ...", ("and he did not grasp us from our hand, but from our mind, our spirit, which contains the whole creation, and can be found everywhere in the sky, the earth, the sea, the lakes, the rivers, the oceans"), st. Basil, *Homiliae in hexaemeron* in Giet, 1968, p. 362 (homily 6, section 7, lines 49- 52), "Οὐ γὰρ τοῦ κλέπτου τὸ ἀδίκημα· οὐδὲ τοῦ φονέως· ᾧ γε οὐδὲ βουλομένῳ δυνατὸν ἦν κρατεῖν τῆς χειρὸς, διὰ τὸ ἀναπόδραστον τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτὸν κατεπειγούσης ἀνάγκης", ("In the case of a thief or a murder, we could say that the holding of the hand, means the strength that he is hold and the fact that he cannot escape"). Cf. Didymus Caecus, *Commentarii in Psalmos 29- 34* in Gronewald, 1969, pp. 324- 5 (209, 21), "Περὶ ταύτης λέγεται: καθαρῶσατε χεῖρας, ἀμαρτωλοί, τότε δὲ καθαροὶ γίνονται", ("And it is said: you should clear your hands, you, sinning people; then you can become clean").

hard part of the hand¹. Thus, man has the opportunity to be held by God, in such a rigid way that he has the chance to follow his Redeemer and not be lost.

To put it into an iconographic frame, we could quote all the parallels of the Anastasis scene, even those from the early Christian art, that include the particular contact between Christ and the raising Adam or Eve. That iconographic element is mostly possible to derive from the ancient classical art, principally between the gods and the people². Additionally, it is noteworthy that the particular way of gesture is a repeated one, not only in the Anastasis scenes, but also in episodes from the life of the protoplasts in paradise. Indicatively, we quote the animation of Adam, his introduction into paradise and the admonition. Nor should it be forgotten the visual approach of God himself, mostly due to Jewish influences, as a hand emerging from the sky, which in the manuscript of Stuttgart (L. B. cod. lat. 23, 9, fol. 85^v, 9th c.) holds Adam's wrist, during the naming of animals³. Our theological approach is based on the fact that man was created to reach the *likeness* of God and he cannot hold the hand of God directly, unless he achieves a certain extent of holiness, could also be pictorially documented with parallels from the Theotokos of Passion, who is the most holy person of the saints⁴.

¹. *Etymologicum Graecae linguae*, 1968, p. 301, "Καρπὸς σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς χειρὸς καρπὸν, ὡς ἢ χρῆσις μαρτυρεῖ· Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ λαβὼν κύσε χεῖρα ἐπὶ καρποῦ· πλὴν καὶ τοῦτο ὡς οἶμαι, παρὰ τὸ κάρφος, ὃ σημαίνει τὸ ξηρόν· κατάξηρον γὰρ τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν ἐστὶν ὁ καρπὸς τῆς χειρὸς", ("Carpus is also the wrist, the part of the hand; Odysseus kissed the wrist of the hand. Apart from that as I know, *τε κάρφος* is the hardness; so it is more hard and dry the wrist than the other parts of the body").

². Loeschcke, 1965, pp. 46- 7.

³. Loeschcke, 1965, pp.63- 5.

⁴. Nonetheless, in the *Piéta* of Nerezi (12th c.) Apostle John holds the palm of Christ, a quite unique, up to our knowledge, element. In other scenes from the life of Christ, such as miracles, there is no such hand contact between the persons and Christ.

CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis we attempted to analyse the iconographical dimensions of the story of Adam and Eve in Creation and in Resurrection as a whole and as main events of the history of the holy *Oikonomia*. Having that thought as a starting point, we made every possible endeavour to examine the iconographical details of the scenes and to comment on them. Simultaneously, we tried to keep up with the discussion of the art historians about the various topics that enter into question, without hesitating to raise our own questions, to express a different opinion and to argue our suggestions. Apparently, to some extent in our study, proposals and conclusions are expressed in somehow tentative terms, which are based not only on the pictorial or general artistic principals, but also on theological as well as liturgical and historical parameters. Yet, a primary point on the discussion around the art of the Church is, that it cannot always have valid grounds for definitely aspects, while the speculations and the assumptions are not rarely the base for a constructive analysis and scientific dialogue.

The conclusions that have emerged from the research of the relevant artistic scenes and texts of the ecclesiastical literature and of a large amount of bibliography are the following:

1. We may positively conclude that there are common pictorial patterns in both the Eastern and the Western iconographic traditions, that others can be easily identified and analysed, meanwhile others can only be classified under a hypothetical outline. By no means our purpose here is to repeat the relevant aesthetical standards, since they have already been cited on each chapter of our study. Up to an extent, that commonness speaks volumes in some stylistic features or in their origin in the same or identical norms. Yet, the range of the parallels and their alterations, which are occurred in several cases, exemplify the variation on the theological and subsequently the liturgical approach.

2. Undoubtedly, it can be deduced that the scenes of creation of the protoplasts were mainly illustrated in the West rather than in the East. In general, in Byzantine art the artists evaded the depiction of the Old Testament

in an extensive way, while in the medieval monuments the structure assented to the longitudinal decoration starting with the creation of the world.

Nor should it be forgotten the fact that in the Western medieval world the creation was one of the most fundamental subjects of the theological thought, since their belief on the consequences of the fall could enlighten the responsibility of the Church and its role in their lives. That acts a bit different than the artists of the early Christian sarcophagi, who used the original sin as a promising visual element.

On the East, the approach was different, due to the understanding of the original sin only as a fact within the history of the holy *Oikonomia*, and not as the major fact, which impelled the human beings to death and to the heritage of the sin. Conceivably that could be the explanation of the not so-frequently-met creation in the eastern examples, but they mostly preferred to illustrate the Anastasis scene, in the theological terms we have mentioned.

Nonetheless, on the one hand, pictorial motifs of not any specific liturgical value in the West, as they are the creation scenes, find an eminent pictorial response. On the other hand, in the East, where the creation of man plays a significant role on the liturgical texts, it does not find a conducive iconographic ground.

3. On the following several occasions are extracted more explicit reasoning on specific pictorial features:

a. The ascertainment of the similarity between the figures of Logos and Adam in Christian art is an adversative element. The visual correspondence of the two individuals is frequently met already from the sarcophagi and catacomb epoch, where both of them are depicted beardless. The most remarkable connection is fulfilled in the Sicilian monuments, where the Logos is Pantocrator himself and Adam looks after him, as a pictorial element of the adamic typology.

b. There are iconographic elements that are met only in the Western pictorial tradition. Specifically, we refer to the shelter, under of which Eve is illustrated in the scene of the labours. We have already expressed in details our thoughts on that issue and we have quoted the relevant ecclesiastical texts. Yet, we could only suppose that, since it occurs only in the West, the artists were influenced by the Latin versions of the apocryphal text and it sounds difficult to have the chance to read the Greek Fathers.

c. Additionally, one of our most striking conclusions is the appearance of Adam and Eve during the scenes of the *expulsion* and the *labours*. To put it succinctly, in the most of the Eastern or the eastern- influenced examples they are wearing clothes. Meanwhile, there are western examples, which express

different iconographic preferences and the protoplasts are totally naked, sometimes holding the fig leaves or are semi-dressed. That feature turns out to be more significant when we notice the way the protoplasts are presented on the Anastasis scenes.

Needless to remind, the episode of the *clothing* in the cupola of San Marco, which is an extraordinary visual presentation of the promising of God for the future redemption. Evidently, it is almost impossible that occurrence to be based on stylistic bias or artistic innovations, without taking into consideration the theological outlook of each era.

The fact that there are western illustrations of the *Harrowing of Hell*, such as the Gaeta Exultet Roll, where the protoplasts are being dragged from the flames of Hell, is probably an early reference to the upcoming doctrine of purgatory. That RCatholic doctrine, which states that there is a place inhabited by the souls of sinners, who are expiating their sins, was developed later in Medieval Europe and it has influenced the everyday life of the believers and apparently their artistic expressions, though here we discuss their early versions. Thus, the promise for salvation, having been pictorially stated with the clothing of the protoplasts and their clothed appearance in the above-mentioned scenes, became a non-visible element in the parallels from the 11th c. onwards and it cannot be said that it serves the aims of the adamic typology. On the contrary, while the seated, clothed Eve refers to Virgin Mary, the nakedness of Adam and Eve could only convey the belief to the condemnation of the protoplasts and of their descendant, since the original sin is believed to be inherited to the whole human nation.

Accordingly, the seldom occurrence of the *Descent into Hades* on the Western monumental art is entirely understandable, since it cannot perform a role of hopefulness for the future recovery, but mostly a notion of scholasticism and also a misery and insignificant expectations. Yet, in the East the scene is impossible not to be depicted on the monumental iconographic programmes, since its frequent view from the believers, every time they were taking part in the liturgical act, operated as a reminder of the salvation in a positive way.

4. It is also deduced that the closely compacted rendering of the frontispieces and the miniatures of the *Genesis* books does not always occur due to the lack of space; a quite facile reasoning. The most of their narrations display a high level of both theological and artistic knowledge, bringing forward the central meanings, which should be conveyed to the believers. Moreover, the selected scenes of each programme, in the miniatures or in the monumental art were produced under the authority of specific persons and their

beliefs, under the social and historical influences or even depending on unidentified motivations.

5. How fundamental is the doctrine of creation within the ecclesiastical tradition is nowadays apparent with the project of the World Council of Churches "*Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation*" (though not having been mentioned in our analysis), which points out the environmental concern and the attention for the nature, for all the Christian Churches, despite the differentiation in the theological approach, as being discussed in our relevant chapter.

However, there are feministic groups, which argue that the explanation of the dogma of Creation with the traditional way encourages misogynous trends and reinforces man's role on the society against woman. In our study, there are references to those tendencies even in the field of the art history and the justification of specific iconographic features.

6. Ultimately, there are some *rules* of the Christian imagery from approximately the end of the 11th c. onwards. The following medieval stylistic formulae are also noticeable in the iconographic western recensions of the protoplasts' story and occasionally in Byzantine art. Thoroughly indicatively, we quote some monuments and not all the cases that can be met with each rule, just in order to be visually approachable:

a. The large or oversized dimension of the figures nominated the significance of the persons, such as in the bronze doors of Hildesheim, where two smaller figures stand for the protoplasts, while the Creator is displayed as having an extent size. Furthermore, in densely populated scenes, there is a range, whose height assigns the importance of the person (the highest, the holiest), as for instance on the Freckenhorst ivory.

That rule probably derives from the early Christian art and the number of examples, especially in the sarcophagi, such as the Pronuba and the two *Trinity* sarcophagi, where the figures under our examination are demonstrated with undersized bodies. As it was verified in the particular chapter the sculptures on the sarcophagi reflect the resurrection of the dead, a statement that can be strengthened by the fact that in Byzantine *Anastasis*, Christ has a dominant shape in comparison with the rest of the persons participated in the scene.

b. The right part is considered to be the *good* side, in contrast to the left, which is the *malevolent* one. For instance, Eve in St. Lazarus sculpture holds with her left hand the forbidden fruit, while in Hildesheim in the *Introduction of Eve*, Logos holds Eve from her right shoulder, an encouraging gesture, full of

promise for the future salvation. Nevertheless, that rule bears a great number of exceptions and we cannot dogmatically state that the artists followed it completely.

c. Any figures of the devil or the damned are depicted outside or on the entrance of the church, in order to have severe and also memorial effects as well as to perform a kind of future guidance to the believers. That canon is artistically echoed especially on the Gothic churches and their sculptural adornment with the *Genesis* story on the outside door- friezes or the decoration of the external columns.

Moreover, the Byzantine artists followed that pictorial principle on their illustrations on the narthex. Hence, the story of the creation and the life of Adam and Eve in and out of paradise assist the viewers in a pedagogical way before their entrance into the church. Even when scenes of creation are met on the external porches, such as in Trebizond, that is an indication that the place under the porches was used as a narthex.

Yet, the Anastasis scene decidedly holds a prominent position within the Byzantine churches, due to its paramount importance. Thus, they actually follow another *rule*; the Old Testament scenes were mostly placed on the nave, in order the believers to pass through them to the New Testament and the celebration of the holy Eucharist.

d. It is also interesting to notice the combination of Western and Byzantine pictorial elements in a dense sequence within the same scene of creation. For instance, the presentation of the Creator in the Arsenal Bible and the Sicilian monuments, a prominent visual account that reflects the direct link within the Christian art and the historical environment of each era.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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fig. 3 Grandval Bible (London, British Museum, Add. MS 10546, fol. 5^v, between 834 and 843)



fig. 4 Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1, fol. 10^v, 846)



fig. 5 San Paolo fuori le mura Bible (Rome, fol. 7^v, ca. 870)



fig. 6 Hildesheim bronze doors (ca. 1007- 1015)



fig. 7 and 8 Eton Roundels (Eton College- Windsor, MS 177, fol. 1^v- 2^r, 13th c.)



fig. 9 Arsenal Old Testament (Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Paris, MS 5211, middle of the 13th c.)



fig. 10 Histoire Univerelle, Dijon (Bibliothèque Municipale)



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fig. 12 Lilienfelder Bible (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, second quarter of the 13th c.)



fig. 13 Arles sarcophagus (Museum de l' Arles Antique, around 325)



fig. 14 Vatican sarcophagus (Museum Pio Cristiano, second quarter of the 4th c.)

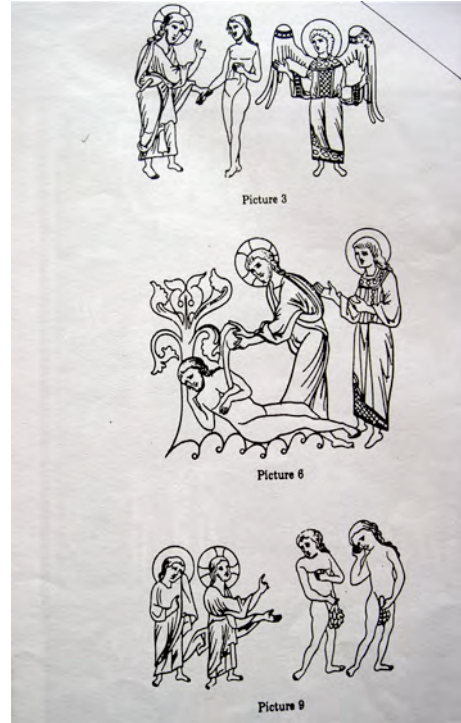
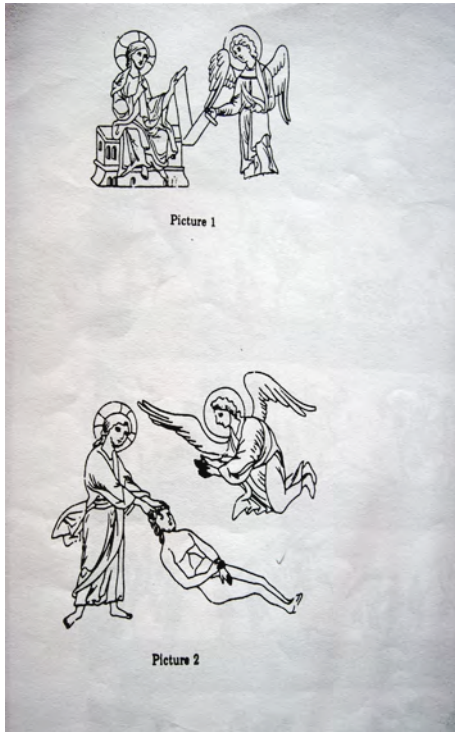


fig. 15 Millstatt Genesis (Klagenfurt, Rudolfinum Museum, late 12th c.)



fig. 16 Cathedral of Monreale (ca. 1183)

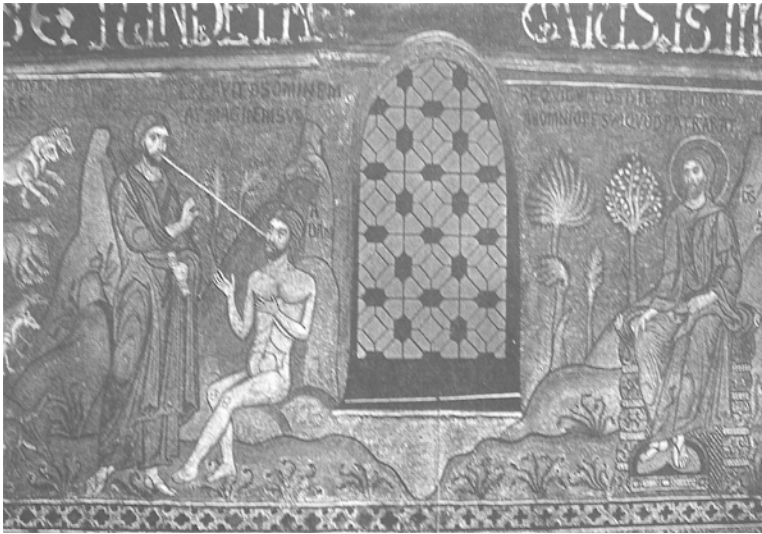


fig. 17 Chapel of the Palace in Palermo (1160- 1180)



fig. 18 *Hortus Deliciarum* Bible (fol. 17^r, 12th c.)



fig. 19 Seraglio Octateuch (Constantinople, cod. 8, (?)12th c.)



fig. 20 Monreale (detail)



fig. 21 Capella Palatina (detail)



fig. 22 Salerno ivory (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 11th c.)



fig. 23 Cologne ivory (12th c.)

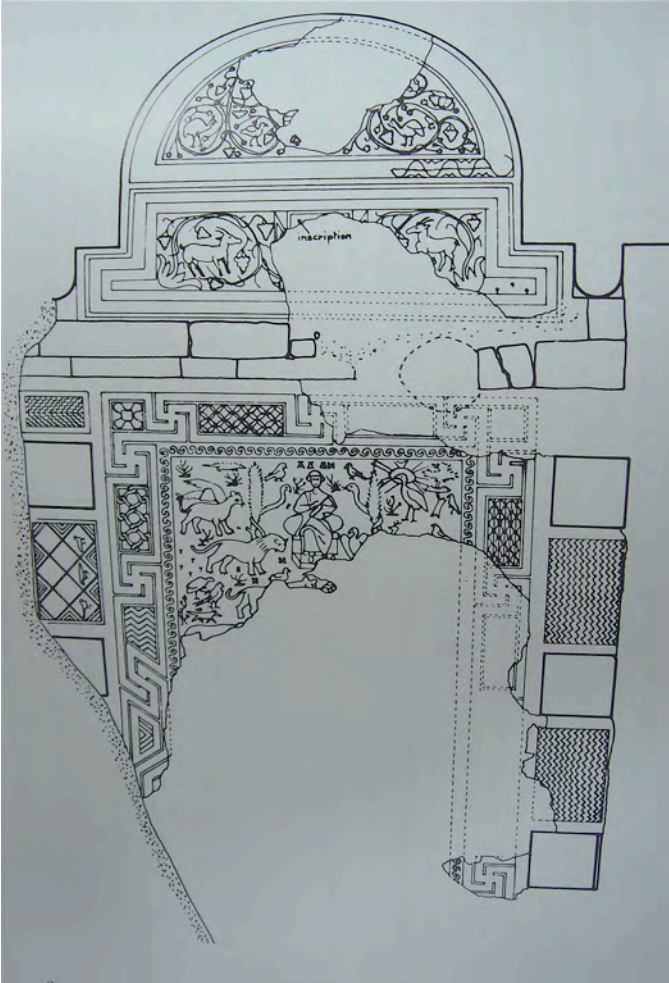


fig. 24 Floor mosaic in Huarte (472 or 487)

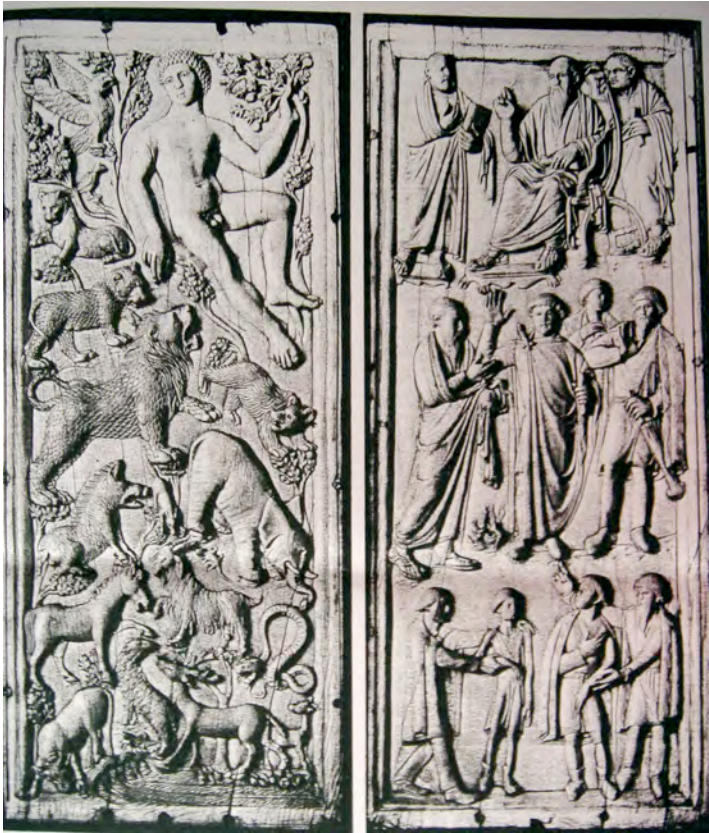


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fig. 27 Sourzdal Cathedral (13th c.)



fig. 28 Pronuba sarcophagus (Vatican, Museum Pio Cristiano, beginning of the 4th c.)



fig. 29 Pio Christiano Museum (detail, second quarter of the 4th c.)



fig. 30 Museo Pio Cristiano (Vatican, inv. 31496, ca. 300- 320- detail)



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fig. 32 Monreale (detail)



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fig. 35 Ivory (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 11th c.)



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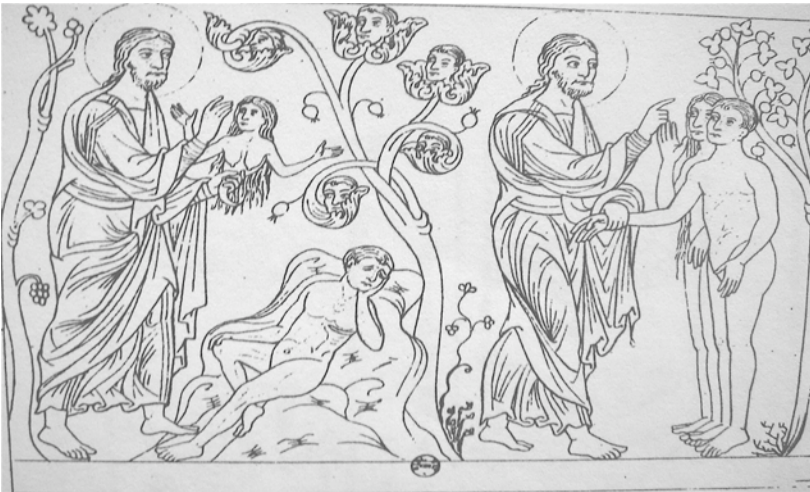


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fig. 38 Manuscript from St. Emmeram in Regensburg (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, MS lat. 14339, fol. 74^v, 12th c.)



fig. 39 Manuscript in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 20125, 13th c.)



fig. 40 Oxford Moralized Bible (Bodleian Library, MS 270b, fol. 6^r)



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fig. 52 Cemetery of Maggiore (end of the 3rd- beginning of the 4th c.)



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fig. 54 Velletri fragment (ca. 300)



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fig. 56b Via Latina- room A (4th c.)



fig. 56c Via Latina- room C



fig. 56d Via Latina- room M



fig. 57 Vienna Bible (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex vindobonensis theol. gr. 31, ca. first third (?) of the 6th c.)



fig. 58 Exultet Roll (Pisa, Museum Civico, early 12th c.)

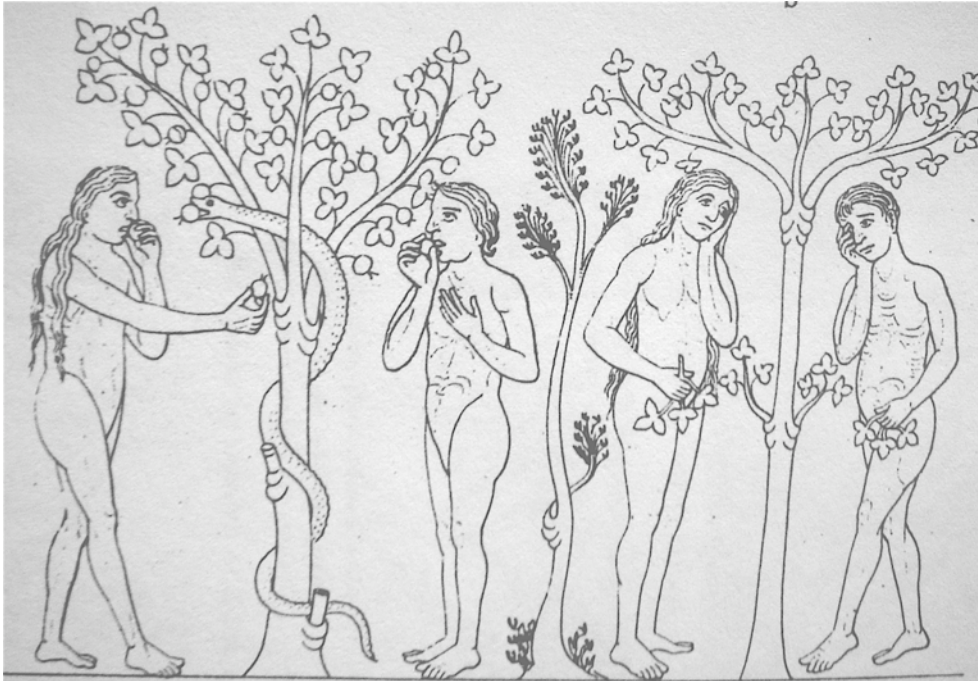


fig. 59 Hortus Deliciarum (Strasbourg, Bibliothèque de la Ville, fol. 17^v, second half of the 12th c.)



fig. 60a *Junius 11* (page 20)
(Cædmon Genesis, Oxford, Bodleian Library, first quarter of the 11th c.)



fig. 60b *Junius 11* (page 28)

(Cædmon Genesis, Oxford, Bodleian Library, first quarter of the 11th c.)



fig. 60c *Junius 11* (page 24)

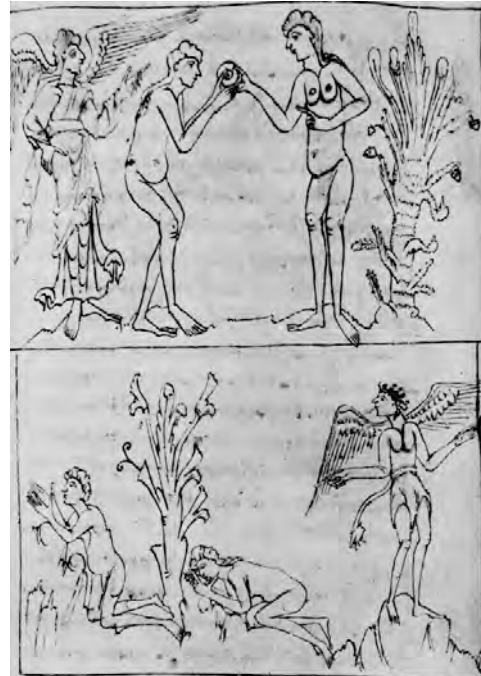


fig. 60d *Junius 11* (page 31)



fig. 60e *Junius 11* (page 36)



fig. 61a Escorial- *Beatus* manuscript, Escorial, Bibliotheca del Monasterio, II. 5, fol. 18^r (11th c.)



fig. 61b Silos- *Beatus* manuscript (London, British Library, add MS 11695, the illustrations were made on 1109)

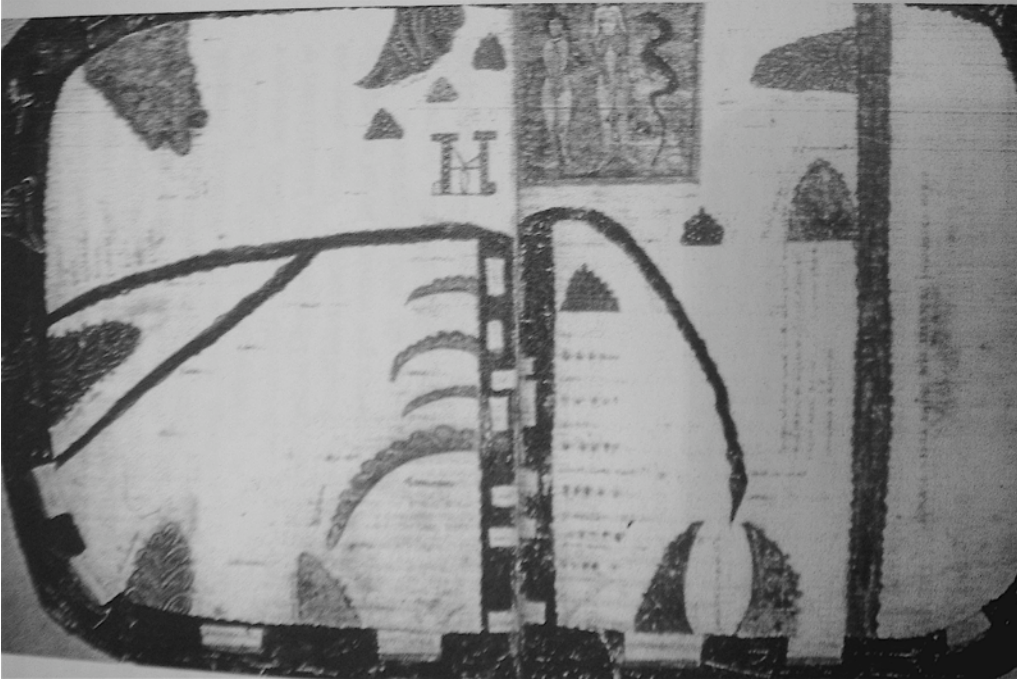


fig. 61c Valladolid- *Beatus* (Valladolid, MS 433, fol. 34^v- 37^r, 10th c.)



fig. 61d St. Sever *Beatus* manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8878, fol. 6^v, between 1028 and 1072)

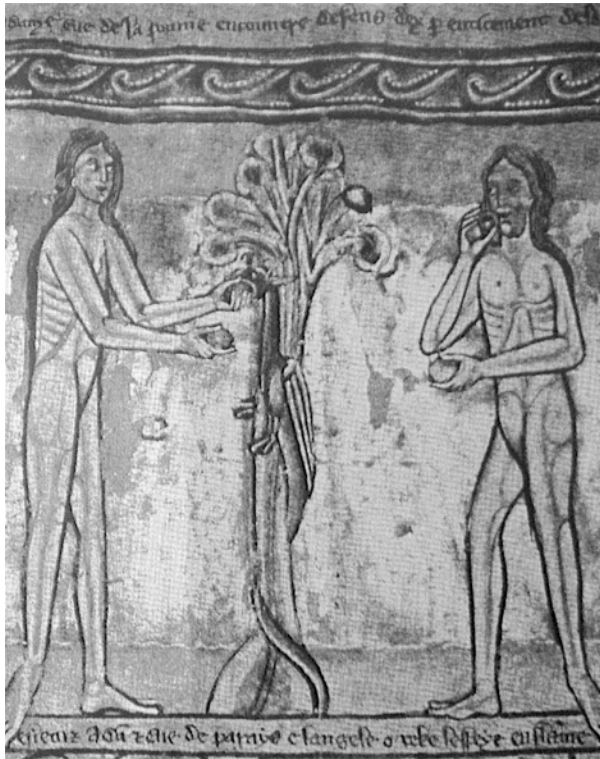


fig. 62 Huntingfield Psalter (Mendham Priory, now in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ca. 1170)



fig. 63a Codex Vigilanus (Escorial Museum, 976)



fig. 63b Burgos Bible (Municipal Library, beginning of the 12th c.)



fig. 63c Sagars panel Solsona (Musée diocésain, 13th c.)



fig. 64 Seraglio Octateuch (detail)

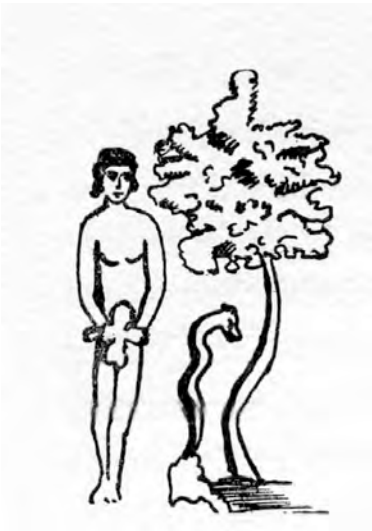


fig. 65 St. Priscilla catacomb (3rd c.)



fig. 66 Vienna Bible (detail)



fig. 67 Seraglio Octateuch (detail)



fig. 68a Monreale (detail)





fig. 68b Capella Palatina (detail)



fig. 69 Hortus Deliciarum (detail)



fig. 70 Vienna Bible, fol. 1^r



fig. 71 Salerno Antependium (detail)

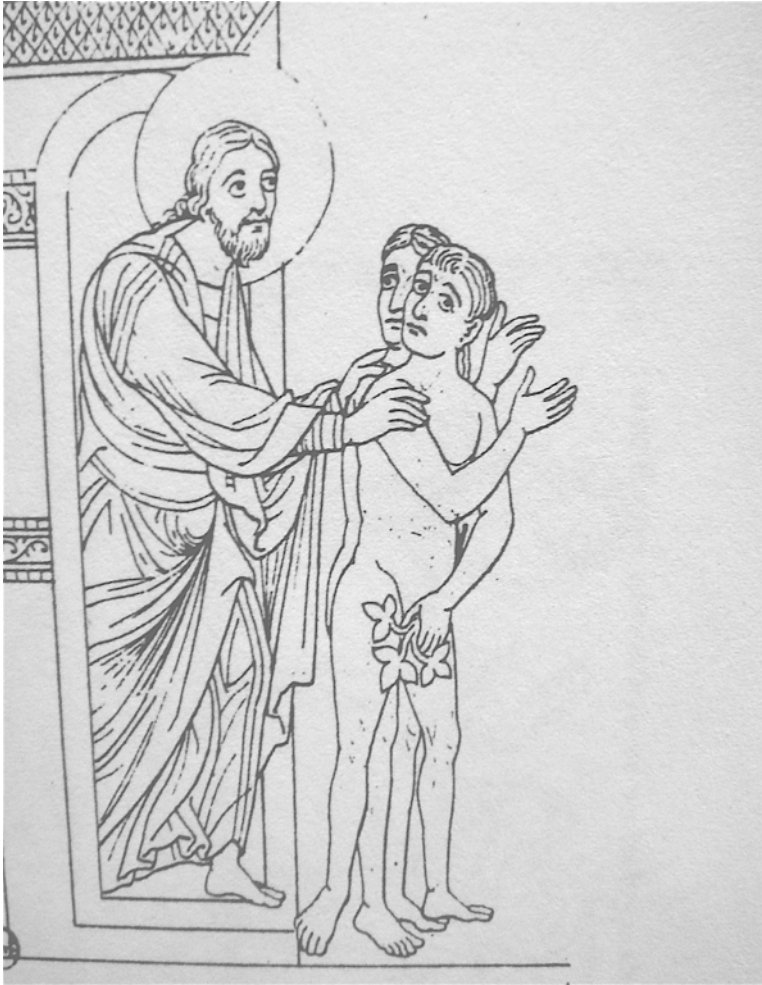


fig. 72 Hortus Deliciarum (detail)



fig. 73 Homilies of Jacob Kokkinophavaphou, Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1162, fol. 35a (1125- 1150)



fig. 74 Capella Palatina (detail)



fig. 75 Monreale (detail)



Fig. 76 Ashburnham Pentateuch (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2334, fol. 6^r, late 6th c.)

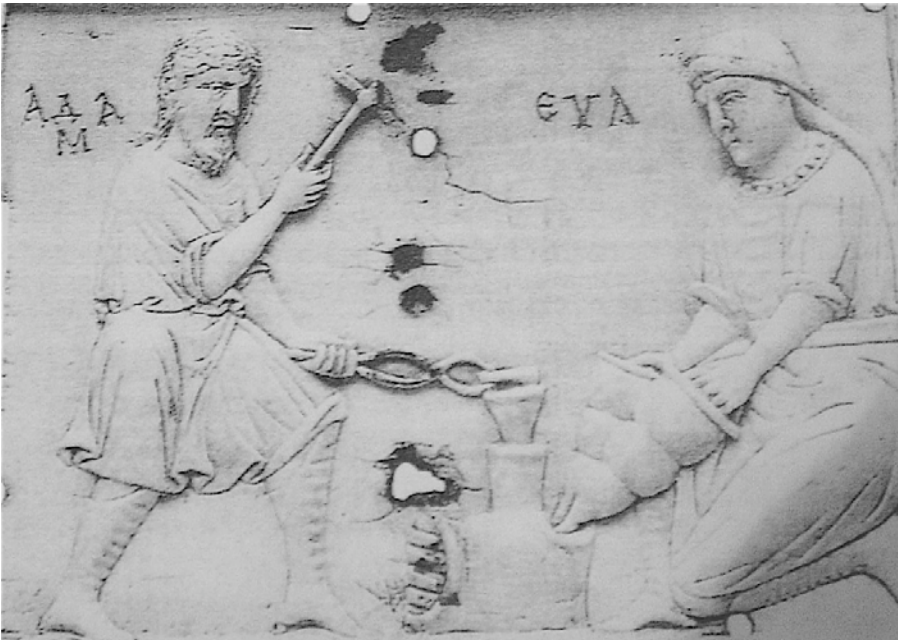


fig. 77 Ivory casket, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (10th c.)



fig. 78 English Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8846, fol. 10^r)

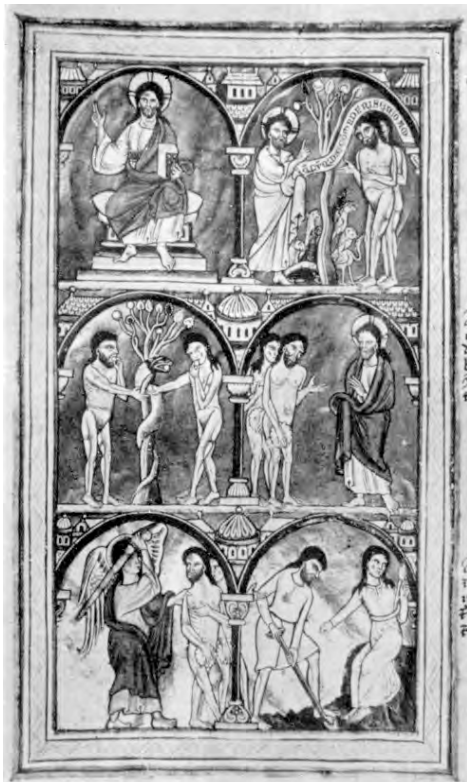


fig. 79 Munich (Staatbibliothek, lat. 835, fol. 8^v, ca. 1220)



fig. 80 Junius 11 (page 49)

Anastasis:



fig. 81ab S. Maria Antiqua, Chapel of the Forty Martyrs and doorway to the Palatine ramp (first decade of the 8th c.)



fig. 82 St. Zero, S. M. Prassede (817- 824)



fig. 83ab S. Clemente (9th c.)



fig. 84 Fieschi- Morgan reliquary (Metropolitan Museum of New York, first quarter of the 9th c.)



fig. 85 Ivory door diptych (Dresden, middle of the 10th c.)



fig. 86 Byzantine Psalter (fragments of which are in Paris, 10th c.)



fig. 87 Jacob the Monk of the Monastery of Kokkinobaphos (Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1162, fol. 48^v, 1125- 1150)



fig. 88 Stuttgart Psalter (ca. 820- 830)

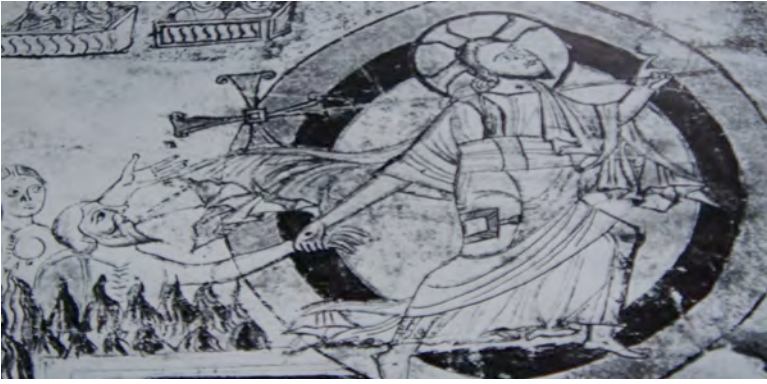


fig. 89ab Exultet Roll (Gaeta Cathedral, around 1100)



fig. 90 Miniature from Reichenau (now in Hildesheim, 1018)



fig. 91 S. Angelo in Formis (Italy, 1072- 1087)



fig. 92 Metallantependium, Oelst, National Museum of Copenhagen (12th c.)



fig. 93 Liutold Gospel (Wien, 12th c.)



fig. 94 Altar of the monastery of Neuburg (1181)



fig. 95 Fresco in the crypt of St. Nicolas in Tavant (middle of the 12th c.)



fig. 96 Fresco in St. Maria Lyskirchen (Cologne, 1250)



fig. 97 Cotton Psalter (London, British Library, C. 6, fol. 14^r, 1050)



fig. 98 Psalter, Thüringen (1210- 1220)



fig. 99 Albanipsalter, Hildesheim (first half of the 12th c.)

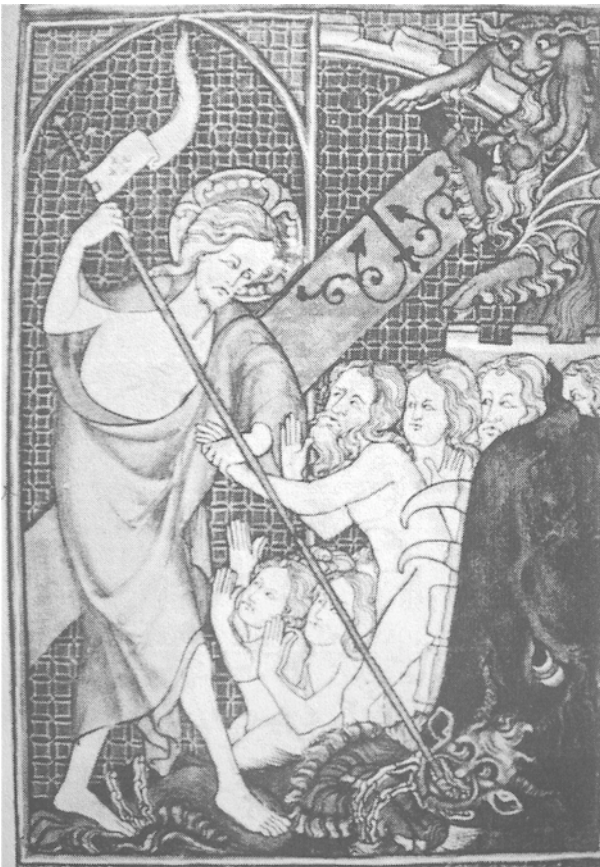


fig. 100 Arundel Psalter (London, British Museum, end of the 13th c.)

Visual language on the protoplasts' story:



fig. 101 Fresco in Bawit (ca. 5th- 6th c.)

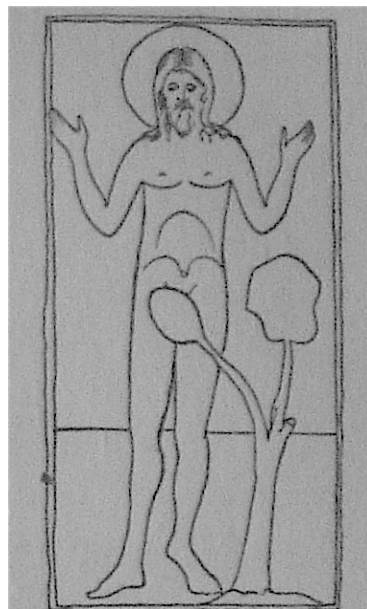


fig. 102 Fresco in the church of Sophia, Kiev (12th c.)



fig. 103 Fresco on the former church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Spoleto (by Albert Sotio, 1187)



fig. 104 Sculpture on the north portal of the Cathedral of Saint- Lazare (Autun, now in the Musée Rolin, between 1130- 1140)



fig. 105 Church of Vera Cruz in Segovia (now in Prado Museum, 12th c.)



fig. 106a Miniature on Aelfric's Anglo-Saxon paraphrase (London, British Museum, Cotton MS Claudius B. IV, fol. 7^v, second quarter of the 11th c.)



fig. 106b Southeast choir portal, Heiligkreuz Minster (Schwäbisch Gmünd, ca. 1351- 1360)



fig. 107a Trebizond (detail of the Genesis frieze- right side)

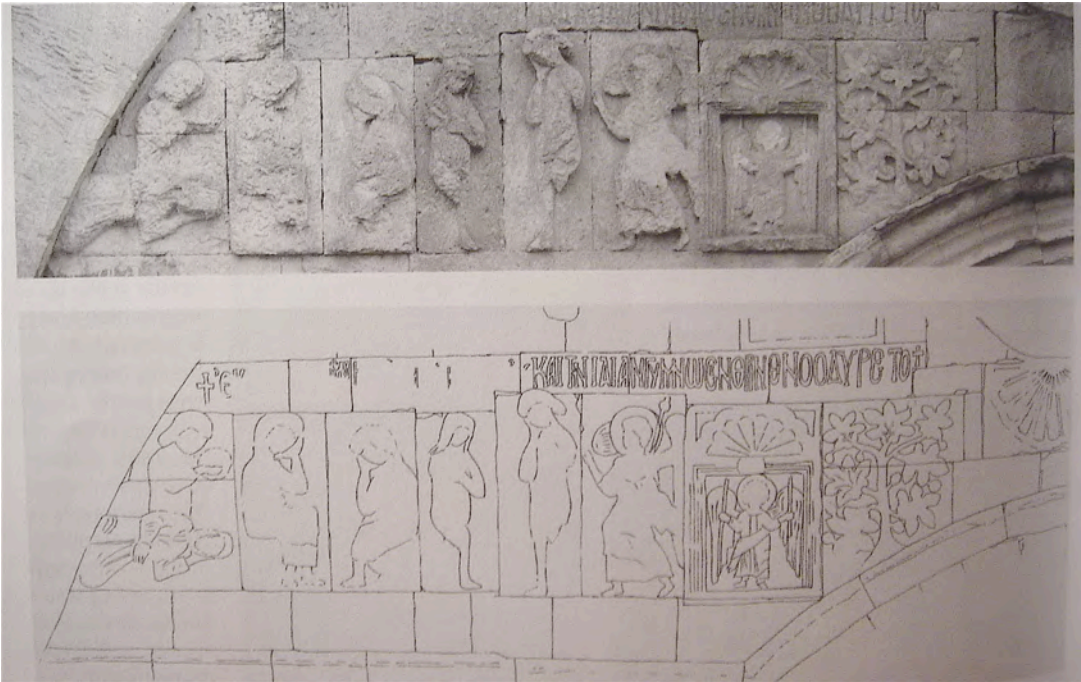


fig. 107b Trebizond (detail of the Genesis frieze- left side)



fig. 108 Miniature on the *Homilies of st. Gregory the Theologian* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 510, fol. 52^v, 14th c.)



fig. 109 Souvigny Bible (Moulins, MS 1, fol. 4^v, 13th c.)



fig. 110ab Miniatures depicting in a unity the theme of paradise and of Pentecost.



fig. 111a Lid on the Byzantine ivory (Cleveland Museum, 1924. 747, 11th- 12th c.)



Fig. 111b Front scenes (and in details) of the Byzantine ivory (Cleveland Museum, 1924. 747, 11th- 12th c.)



Fig. 111c End scene on the Byzantine ivory (Cleveland Museum, 1924. 747, 11th- 12th c.)



Fig. 112 Ivory plaque and details (Musée des Beaux- Arts de Lyon, D 312, 11th c.)

