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The Absence of Heavenly Jerusalem in Byzantine Art

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Introduction

The existence of heaven or a celestial place of sojourn reserved for the just is a cardinal component of Christian belief. However, as Pseudo-Athanasios (d. c. 1200) admitted, not a single human being was able to see heaven and report what it looked like.(1) If one has ever succeeded in doing so, what he or she may have seen must have been a mere vision. The Bible is silent on heaven's appearance, as well. Consequently, visualisation of heaven depends heavily on people's imaginations, which differs according to time and place. This paper focuses on the difference in the visual concepts of heaven between Byzantium and medieval Western Europe. How the Byzantines considered heaven is a decisive component of their ideas on life and death. The author's intention is to shed light on their yet mysterious world of death and the afterlife.

For Western Europeans, one of the major iconographic types of heaven was Heavenly Jerusalem (Rev 21: 9– 22: 5), which was frequently observed in apocalyptic manuscript illustrations and depictions of the Last Judgement. However, the situation in the Eastern sphere of the Mediterranean was very different. On the one hand, scholars have indicated, without any specific explanation, that heaven is not portrayed as Heavenly Jerusalem in Byzantine art.(2) On the other hand, Alexej Lidov argued that there are depictions of Heavenly Jerusalem in Byzantium, and that we are not conscious enough to detect the image, which differs from that in Western Europe.(3) Therefore, this study first clarifies whether the Byzantines did indeed

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Abbreviations for frequently cited works are as follows: *CPG*=Maurice Geerard, et. al. (1974-2003), eds., *Clavis patrum graecorum*, Turnhout. *PG*= J. P. Migne (1857-66), ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series graeca, Paris.

（1） *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* (*CPG* 2257) 19 (*PG* 28. 609A).

（2） Jolivet-Lévy, C. (2007), 'Premières images du jugement dernier en Cappadoce byzantine (X^{e} siècle)', in Angheben, M. et. al., *Le jugement dernier: entre Orient et Occident*, Paris, 50. Marinis, V. (2017), *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium: The Fate of the Soul in Theology, Liturgy, and Art*, New York, 70–71.

（3） Lidov, A. (1998), 'Heavenly Jerusalem: The Byzantine Approach', in Kühnel, B., ed., *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art: Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Jerusalem, 341.

make use of Heavenly Jerusalem iconography. After confirming that they relatively ignored the image of Heavenly Jerusalem, except for very few examples, it investigates why this happened. It thus seems inevitable to pursue the course of the receptional history of the Book of Revelation in Byzantium, both philologically and iconographically.

Heavenly Jerusalem: The Definition

First, we begin with the definition of the image of Heavenly Jerusalem. The term can apply to a wide range of images based on interpretations. Carolingian and Ottonian images of Heavenly Jerusalem reveal a strongly architectonic character.(4) In the 9th century *Trier Apocalypse* (Trier Staatsbibliothek, cod. 31), the vision of Heavenly Jerusalem was displayed as a circular citadel surrounded by a wall adorned with 12 piers (f. 70r, 71r).(5) It is a literal visualisation of the accompanying text: 'a great wall was raised high all round it, with twelve gates, and twelve angels at the gates, and the names of the twelve tribes of Israel carved on the lintels' (Rev 21: 12), except that the citadel is a circle, not a square as specified in the scripture (Rev 21: 16). Bianca Kühnel indicated that this ideal, but not *ad litteram* interpretation of Heavenly Jerusalem is an allusion to the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre.(6) A more literal rendering of '*civitas in quadro posita*' is preserved at the entrance vault of the basilica of San Pietro al monte in Civate (Fig. 1).(7) The Lamb (Rev 21: 22), the Tree of Life (Rev 22: 2), and Christ holding a staff inhabit a walled city. The square appearance of the city was, according

Fig. 1 'Heavenly Jerusalem', S. Pietro al monte, Civate.

(4) Kühnel, B. (1987), *From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem: Representations of The Holy City in Christian Art of the First Millennium*, Freiburg, 123.

(5) This manuscript, presumably from the environs of Tours, is the oldest illustrated Apocalypse in the entire Christendom. A digitalised version is available on 'Virtuelles Skriptorium St. Matthias', http://dfg-viewer.de/v3/?set[mets]=http%3A%2F%2Fzimks68.uni-trier.de%2Fstmatthias%2FT0031%2FT0031-digitalisat.xml (accessed 25. 07. 21). Peter Klein's comment is a classic milestone on the iconography of the manuscript. Klein, P. (1973), *Trierer Apokalypse, Kommentarband*, Graz.

(6) Kühnel (1987), 129–30.

(7) Bognetti, G., Marcora, C. (1985), *L'abbazia benedettina di Civate*, Civate, 110.

to Kühnel, conceived after illustrations of the Beatus manuscripts.(8) In other instances, Heavenly Jerusalem took on a more abstract and conceptional form. Its image in the *Valaciennes Apocalypse* (Valanciennes, Médiathèque Simone Veil, cod. 99, f. 38r, 9th century) was transformed into a purely symbolic composition of concentric circles containing the Lamb in the centre.(9)

These examples are all associated with the text of Revelation 21–22. However, the images detached from this text can also apply to the concept of Heavenly Jerusalem, as any ecclesia is a prototype of the celestial kingdom to come.(10) This allegorical understanding makes it possible to interpret almost any Christian artefact as Heavenly Jerusalem. It should be sufficient to pick only a few examples here, such as the apse mosaic of the Santa Pudenziana Church in Rome (5th century), *ampullae* with Crucifixion scenes kept in the treasury of Monza Cathedral (6th century), and the frontispiece of the *Saint Médard Gospels* from Soissons representing the Adoration of the Lamb (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, cod. lat. 8850, f. 1v, 9th century).(11) The problem while applying this conceptual definition of Heavenly Jerusalem is the difficulty encountered in identifying the image that represents heaven in a narrow sense, that is, as a place of joy and repose for resurrected mortals. Heaven integrated into scenes of the Last Judgement is no doubt a peaceful resting place that is contrasted with hell. A folio depicting the Last Judgement in the *Trier Apocalypse* portrays heaven as the Holy Sepulchre (f. 67r, Fig. 2). At the lowest-left register of the lunette that adorns the grand portal of the former Saint Vincent Cathedral (first half of the 12th century) in Mâcon, heaven is displayed as an architectural structure with towers on its sides.(12) The

Fig. 2 *Trier Apocalypse*, f. 67r.

(8) Kühnel (1987), 145.

(9) 'Patrimoine numérique', https://patrimoine-numerique.ville-valenciennes.fr/ark:/29755/B_596066101_MS_0099 (accessed 25. 07. 21).

(10) Kühnel (1987), 76.

(11) Kühnel (1987), 63–72; 93–97; 132. The *Saint Médard Gospels* can be seen via 'Gallica', https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452550p (accessed 25. 07. 21).

(12) Angheben, M. (2001), 'L'iconographie du portail de l'ancienne cathédrale de Mâcon: une vision synchronique du jugement individuel et du jugement dernier', *Les Cahiers de saint-Michel de Cuxa* 32, Fig. 11. The Saint Vincent Cathedral is the oldest example of a Last Judgement sculpture adorning a portal.

Vatican wooden panel painted by Nicolaus and Johannes (Musei Vaticani, Pinacoteca, cat. no. 40526, second half of the 12th century), though with strong Byzantine influence, also presents heaven as a wall-like structure populated by the Virgin Orans, saints, and the two donors, abbess Constantia and nun Benedicta.[13] In these three cases, a wall or an edifice is an essential element of Heavenly Jerusalem. In fact, the *Lexicon der christlichen Ikonographie* admits that 'Alle Epochen der christlichen Kunst haben dieser Erscheinung [Heavenly Jerusalem] bildliche Gestalt zu geben gesucht'.(14) In this paper, I define the image of Heavenly Jerusalem as a citadel or an edifice that is occasionally inhabited by the just.

While Heavenly Jerusalem became 'one of the most important subjects in the vast thematic range of medieval Western European art', it did not acquire the same status in Byzantium.(15) The consensus among scholars is that the Byzantines employed images of gardens in paradise—, which I hereafter refer to as the 'Paradisiac Garden'—, instead of expressing their view of heaven. This can be seen in most depictions of the Last Judgement: for example, in the Dmitrievskij Cathedral (c. 1197) in Vladimir.(16) Painted at the southern

Fig. 3 'Paradisiac Garden', Dmitrievskij Cathedral, Vladimir.

(13) This panel used to serve as a dossal of an altar in the church of San Gregorio Nazianzeno, at the centre of Rome. Garrison, E. (1970), 'Dating the Vatican Last Judgment Panel: Monument versus Document', *La Bibliofilia* 72 (2), 126–28.

(14) Kirschbaum, E. et. al. (1970), 'Jerusalem, himmelisches', *Lexicon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Bd. 2, Rome, esp. 397.

(15) Lidov (1998), 341.

(16) Plugin, V. (1974), Фрески Дмитриевского собора : выдающийся памятник монументальной живописи древнего владимира, Leningrad.

vault supporting the narthex, heaven takes the form of a garden filled with a variety of botanies (Fig. 3). The Virgin Mary, an archangel, and the Three Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob from the Old Testament sit peacefully in the garden. A hand of the Good Thief holding a huge cross is still visible in the far right. There is even a vine-trellis over the Virgin and an archangel, which recalls an orthodox tradition to allude the Virgin to grapevines.(17) Unlike Heavenly Jerusalem, the Bible provides no decisive source of the Paradisiac Garden. It is a collective image of fragments from the Bible such as the 'trees as charm the eye and satisfy the taste' (Gen 2: 9), 'Abraham's bosom' (Lk 16: 22), and the Good Thief who is promised to Paradise (Lk 23: 43), possibly expanded 'with the aid of the literary tradition of the Elysian fields'.(18)

The Paradisiac Garden has the same appearance as the Garden of Eden, which is illustrated in the *Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, cod. Vat. gr. 394, p. 179, 12th century) or *The Homily of James Kokkinobaphos* (BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 1162, f. 35r; BnF, cod. gr. 1208, f. 41r, both from the first half of the 12th century).(19) This is not surprising, because paradise was allegedly the 'historical place of Genesis' to those who sought heaven as a place in reality.(20) The identification of heaven as Eden has its roots in the readings of the *Hexaemeron* by Basil of Caesarea (c. 329–79). Though the *Hexaemeron* tradition faded after iconoclasm, Byzantine artists continued to depict heaven as Paradisiac Gardens. This is true even in the last age of the empire. In the sumptuous frescoes of the *parekklesion* of the Chora Monastery (1316–21), heaven is a reduced version of the Paradisiac Garden of the Dmitrievskij Cathedral.(21)

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(17) Strophe 5 of the Akathistos Hymn is a good example: 'Χαῖρε, βλαστοῦ ἀμαράντου κλῆμα'. Trans., Peltomaa, L. (2001), *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, Leiden, 7.

(18) Maguire, H. (2007), 'Paradise Withdrawn', in *Image and Imagination in Byzantine Art*, Aldershot, 23.

(19) The codices are all available in digitised form at 'Digi Vat Lib', https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.394, https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1162 and at 'Gallica' https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55013447b (all accessed 18. 08. 21). On illustrated manuscripts of the *Heavenly Ladder*, see Martin, J. (1954), *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, Princeton (NJ).

(20) Maguire (2007), 26. Linardou, K. (2004), 'Reading two Byzantine Illustrated Books: The Kokkinobaphos Manuscripts (Vaticanus graecus 1162 and Parisinus graecus 1208) and their Illustration', PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, Birmingham is an inclusive study on the two Kokkinobaphos manuscripts, but unpublished.

(21) Heaven is represented on the northern lunette and the adjusting pendentive supporting the vault before the bema. See the handy diagram below. Inomata, K., Okazaki, S. (2017), 'Spatial Composition of the Parekklesion in the Chora Church: Focusing on the Relationship between the Tomb and the Paintings', *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIJ)* 82 (738), 2153. In Japanese with an English summary.

Heavenly Jerusalem: The Byzantine Way

Did the Byzantines never come up with an idea to represent heaven as Heavenly Jerusalem? This was the fundamental question which Lidov asked in his essay, 'Heavenly Jerusalem: The Byzantine Approach'. While Lidov admitted that 'Byzantine and the Eastern Christian iconography of Heavenly Jerusalem appears almost neglected', he pointed out our lack of methodology to interpret the Byzantine version of the image correctly.(22) Supported by the idea that any decorated church can be a visual embodiment of the eternal church and Heavenly Kingdom realised on Earth, Lidov did not subscribe to the conventional iconographic type of Heavenly Jerusalem. Thus, the five types of Heavenly Jerusalem he succeeded in identifying differed greatly from our definition of the image.(23) The only exception would be illustrations of Holy Zion appearing in the 10 folia (fols. 6r, 9r, 26v, 44r, 51r, 61r, 78v, 79r, 86v, 100v) of the *Khludov Psalter* (Moscow Historical Museum, cod. 129д, 9th century).(24) One of the illustrations that Lidov determined as 'most remarkable' depicts an ecclesiastical complex elevated on a high platform (f. 86v). To the side of the platform is a large opening with a staircase leading up to it. King David stands on a 'floating' suppedaneum before the platform, praying to a *Nikopoios* icon of the Virgin and Child.(25) The illustration accompanies Psalm 86 [87], in which the city of Holy Zion is praised. The Holy Zion is an allegory to the Heavenly Kingdom. However, it originally referred to the actual Temple Mount in Jerusalem. The transition from earthly to Heavenly Jerusalem is not yet complete in the *Khludov* illustrations.(26) Images of Heavenly Jerusalem in Byzantium do not correspond uniformly to a particular text.(27) To sum up Lidov's study, the Byzantines occasionally used allegorical images of Heavenly Jerusalem,

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(22) Lidov (1998), 341.

(23) These are the mosaics of the Hagios Georgios Rotunda in Thessaloniki, some examples of the Communion of the Apostles (e.g. at the apse of the Surb Astvatsatsin Church of Akhtala Monastery), the 12th century Annunciation icon from Sinai, and the frontispiece of the *Vatican Kokkinobaphos* (f. 2v). *Ibid*., 341–51. The edifice represented in the frontispiece of the *Vatican Kokkinobaphos* is commonly understood as the façade of the Hagioi Apostoloi Church in Constantinople.

(24) *Ibid*., 343–44. For reproductions of the manuscript folia see Ščepkina, M. (1977), **Миниатюры хлудовской псалтыри: греческий иллюстрированный кодекс IX века**, Moscow.

(25) On the accompanying inscriptions and the meaning of the architectural complex, see Ćurčić, S. (2009), 'Representations of Towers in Byzantine Art: The Question of Meaning', in Hourihane, C. (ed.), *Byzantine Art: Recent Studies. Essays in Honor of Lois Drewer*, Turnhout, 17–19.

(26) That the concept of earthly Jerusalem gradually becomes overlaid on that of Heavenly Jerusalem is explained clearly in Kühnel (1987), 34–48.

(27) Lidov (1998), 353.

but not as distinct figurations of Heaven, especially in Last Judgement iconography.

However, there are at least two depictions of Heavenly Jerusalem in our definition, which Lidov left out. The first is found in the margins of a renowned manuscript of the *Sacra parallela*, BnF, cod. gr. 923, f. 68v (9th century, Fig. 4).[28] At the topmost register of the illustration, Christ opens his hands in a gesture of Judgement. Beneath him are two archangels venerating the divine throne. Below the foot of the archangels are a group of the elected, encircled by a golden wall. The wall is furnished by a double-doored portal in the front and roofs of aedicules at the back. Under the representation of this holy citadel, the damned are shown consumed in eternal fire. One of the righteous inside the wall leans out with his right arm directed towards the phrase '**δώσοντες δίκας τῶν πεπραγμένων** ([everybody] will give over their own judgement)'.[29] This passage is from a chapter titled 'On Resurrection and the Day of Judgement and Eternal Punishment'.[30] Kühnel suggested that Heavenly Jerusalem in the *Sacra parallela* was modelled after a representation of the celestial hierarchy shown in Cosmas Indicopleustes' *Christian Topography* (BAV, cod. Vat. gr. 699, f. 89r).[31]

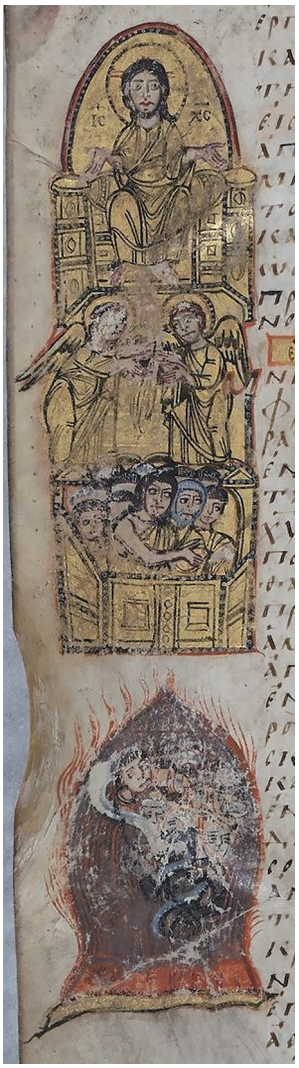

Fig. 4 *Sacra parallela*, f. 68v.

The second example of Heavenly Jerusalem appears in Church 2b, which is located in the necropolis of Göreme, Cappadocia. This church is far more interesting because of the juxtaposition of Heavenly Jerusalem with the Paradisiac Garden. The only downside is the heavily damaged state of its murals. As there were too many scratches on the walls to discern any

(28) 'Gallica', 'https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525013124' (accessed 26. 07. 21). For general descriptions see Weitzmann, K. (1979), *The Miniatures of the Sacra parallela: Parisinus graecus* 923, 169–70.

(29) *Sacra paralella* 348 (*PG* 95, 1185CD). Translation and square brackets by the author.

(30) The chapter starts on f. 63r. Evangelatou, M. (2008), 'Word and Image in the "Sacra Parallela" (Codex parisinus graecus 923)', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 62, 195.

(31) Kühnel (1987), 154. For the digitalised manuscript see 'Digi Vat Lib', https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.699 (accessed 26. 07. 21). For general information on illustrated manuscripts of the *Christian Topography*, see Kominko, M. (2017), 'The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indikopleustes', in Tsamakda, V. ed., *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*, 395–406.

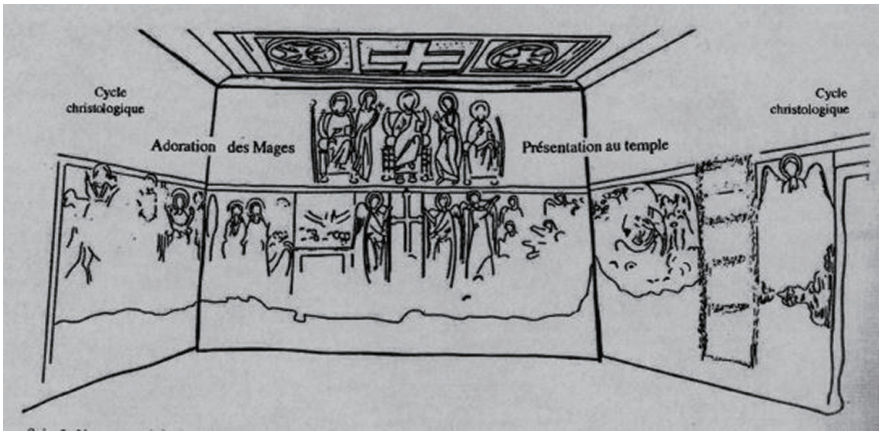

Fig. 5 'Last Judgement', Church 2b, Göreme, Cappadocia.

motif when the author surveyed the church in 2018, Nicole Thierry's description has been relied on.(32) The western wall of the nave is entirely dedicated to the scene of Last Judgement, except for the right and left ends of the upper register (Fig. 5).(33) The *Deesis* forms the central structure of the upper register. Göreme 2b is by no means a standard example of a post-iconoclastic iconographic scheme, especially when one looks at the Apostolic Tribunal flanking the *Deesis*, which is reduced to Peter and Paul. Peter's seating is more lavishly decorated than that of Paul's, which is not even a chair: it is a stool with no backrest.(34) Whether this preference over the 'Western' apostle is a meaningful element in the entire programme of this church is a difficult question to answer at this point. A large cross is displayed against a white background on the same central axis, but at the lower register. It is revered by archangels holding a red staff. Catherine Jolivet-Lévy identified this motif as the *Hetoimasia*, although its vertically elongated composition rather agrees with the image of the Adoration of the Cross, as Yves Christe assumed.(35) Mortals resurrecting from their tombs are seen on the right side of the lower register. Though barely visible, an angel is seen sounding the trumpet to let the deceased come

(32) Thierry, N. (2003), 'L'église au Jugement dernier de Göreme (Göreme N. 2b)', in Bardabaki, M. ed., Λαμπηδών: Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη της Ντούλας Μουρίκη, v. 2, Athens, 815–28. Thierry speculated that the church was painted by the same workshop as the El Nazar Church (Göreme 1, 10th century). Besides her paper, Göreme 2b was published insufficiently despite its importance in iconography. For a plan of the church, see Wallace, S. (1991), *Byzantine Cappadocia: The Planning and Function of its Ecclesiastical Structures*, v. 2, 487 (Fig. 67. 1).

(33) These spaces are reserved for the scenes of Adoration of the Magi and Presentation at the Temple, respectively. Both scenes are part of the Christological cycle extending on the southern and northern walls.

(34) Thierry (2003), 823; sch. 4.

(35) Jolivet-Lévy (2007), 50. Christe, Y. (1999), *Jugements derniers*, Saint-Léger-Vauban, 23.

out of their sarcophagi. The now-lost fresco of the Surb Poglos-Petros Cathedral of Tatev Monastery provides a good parallel, which was completed by 930. The lower tier of the *katholikon's* western wall was filled with images of the dead crawling out of their sarcophagi. Attention must be paid that the Tatev fresco was accomplished by 'draftsmen and painters of images' who were invited from the Frankish nation.(36) Indeed, the entire arrangement of the scene shows a strong affinity with Ottonian manuscript illustrations, such as f. 53r of the *Bamberg Apocalypse* (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, cod. Bibl. 140, c. 1010), a monumental achievement of the Reichenau School.(37) The most interesting part of the frescoes of Göreme 2b is the appearance of heaven spreading from the left side of the triumphal cross to the right side of the southern wall. Thierry and other researchers identified the image to the left of the cross as Heavenly Jerusalem. Jolivet-Lévy's description 'a group of the elected surrounded by a wall-like structure' calls to mind the triumphal arch of the basilica of Santa Prassede on the Esquilino Hill in Rome.(38) The three curved lines before the trees painted in the fresco of Tatev may be the walls of Heavenly Jerusalem, as Sahoko Tsuji observed.(39) The representation of Heavenly Jerusalem alone makes Göreme 2b a rare testimony to the employment of the motif in

(36) Step'anos Orbelian, *History of Syunik* 49. Brosset, M. (1864), trans., *Histoire de la Siounie*, 150. The 'franks', as were in Byzantium, simply meant 'Western European' in medieval Armenia. Whereas Nicole and Michel Thierry believed that the artists employed at Tatev came from Rhineland, Franconia, or Saxony, Manukyan proposed an Italian origin. Thierry, N., Thierry, M. (1968), 'Peintures murales de caractère occidental en Arménie: Eglise Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul de Tatev (début du X^{me} siècle). Rapport préliminaire', *Byzantion* 38, 239. Manukyan, S. (2015), '**Фрески Татева** (930 г.)', in Yerevan State University Faculty of History Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of NAS RA,"*Genesis Forest": Collected Articles in Memory of Felix Ter-Martirosov*, Yerevan, 299. In Russian. For a sketch of the fresco see Der Nersessian, S. (1977), *L'art arménien*, Paris, 93.

(37) 'Digitale Sammlungen der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg', https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:22-dtl-00000 87130 (accessed 24. 07. 21). The *Bamberg Apocalypse* has been the subject of several publications, but the most informative for art historians must be Suckale-Redlefsen, G., Schemmel, B. (2000), eds., *Das Buch mit 7 Siegeln: Die Bamberger Apokalypse. Eine Ausstellung der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte*, Luzern.

(38) Jolivet-Lévy (2007), 50. On the mosaics around the *bema* of Santa Prassede see Bordi, G. (2020), 'Con i santi nella Gerusalemme nuova: il presbiterio di Santa Prassede tra pittura e mosaici', in Bordino, C., Croci, C., Sulovsky, V. eds., *Rome on the Borders: Visual Cultures during the Carolingian Transition*, Turnhout, 206–37 and Thunø, E. (2015), *The Apse Mosaic in Early Medieval Rome: Time, Network, and Repetition*, New York, 164–70.

(39) Tsuji, S. (1993), 'The Standardisation and Diversification of Last Judgement Iconography in Middle Byzantium', in *The Imageable World of Byzantine Art*, Tokyo, 302. In Japanese.（辻佐保子（1993）、「中期ビザンティン世界における『最後の審判』図像の定型化と多様化」『ビザンティン美術の表象世界』、岩波書店、302頁。）Although it is puzzling that the image is to the left of Christ the Judge, should the image truly be Heavenly Jerusalem.

Byzantine Last Judgements. However, the motif next to Heavenly Jerusalem is all the more surprising because it is the 'usual' Byzantine interpretation of heaven as the Paradisiac Garden. The Three Patriarchs stand to the left of Heavenly Jerusalem. The figure of the Virgin in Orans is located further to the left, on the connecting southern wall. This image of the Virgin in the Paradisiac Garden faces the presumable burial chamber behind the northern wall, the opening of which is blocked with tuffs today. To the best of the author's knowledge, the juxtaposition of Heavenly Jerusalem and Paradisiac Garden has no counterpart in any Byzantine and Western European rendering of Last Judgement before the 14th century.

The *Sacra parallela* and Göreme 2b suggest that the Byzantines somehow knew the iconography of Heavenly Jerusalem and that they did not have a coherent iconographic scheme of heaven. However, they never repeated these 10th-century depictions of Heavenly Jerusalem, except in 14–15th century Crete. These are the Panagia kai Sotir Church (1390/91) in Roustika and Hagios Ioannis Church (15th century) in Seli, Rethymnon, the Panagia Church (14th century) in Lithines, Lassithi, Hagios Prokopios Church (14–15th century) in Livada, the Panagia Church (14-15th century) in Anisaraki, and the Hagios Georgios Church in Plemeniana (1409–10).(40) The last three are situated in the region of Chania.(41)

A large image of the Last Judgement is preserved in the twin-basilica of Panagia kai Sotir in Roustika, on the western wall of its northern nave.(42) Heavenly Jerusalem is incorporated into the Last Judgement on the southern part of the barrel vault over the western bay (Fig. 6). It is a walled city accompanied with an inscription on the top left that reads: 'Η ΠΑΡΑΔΙ(sic)COC (paradise)'. The Good Thief, the Virgin, and the Three Patriarchs are seated within the walls. There is a meadow covered with undergrowth and lilies under their feet. This Heavenly Jerusalem

Fig. 6 'Heavenly Jerusalem', Panagia kai Sotir Church, Roustika, Rethymnon.

(40) Karapidakis, L. (1984), 'Le Jugement dernier de l'église de Saint-Jean-de Séli', in Velmans, T., ed., *Contribution à l'étude du Jugement dernier dans l'art byzantin et post-byzantin*, 65–106.

(41) Bougrat, M. (1984), 'Trois Jugements derniers de Crète Occidentale', in *Ibid*., 13–65.

(42) Spatharakis, I. (1999), *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete*, v. 1, London, 179–224, esp. 195; figs. 240–77.

is compounded with the Paradisiac Garden. Peter is about to enter the portal of the city, which is always represented as a free-standing door guarded by a Cherub in usual depictions of Byzantine Last Judgements. Here, the guardian Cherub is seen hovering above the heavenly gateway. Another Cherub is disguised as branches and leaves of a tree and is seen standing atop a watchtower of the walls, which is a very unusual feature in the history of Byzantine art. The tree carries an inscription that reads thus: 'ΤΟ ΞΙΛΟΝ ΤΗC ΓΝΟCΕΟC (Tree of Knowledge)'. The Tree of Knowledge (Gen 2: 9) signifies that the Garden of Eden is contained within the walls of this Heavenly Jerusalem. From the base of the watchtower the four rivers of Eden, namely Phison, Geon, Tigris, and Euphrates flow (Gen 2: 10–14). This depiction of the four rivers reminds us of the river flowing from the globe that Christ sits on inside Heavenly Jerusalem of Civate (Fig. 1). However, the river of Civate should not be confused with the rivers of Eden as it is *a* river of Heavenly Jerusalem 'whose waters give life' and flows 'clear as crystal, from the throne of God' (Rev 22: 1). The painter of Roustika chose not to follow the narration of Revelation, but rather to adopt the iconography of the four rivers that is favoured in Paleo-Christian and Early Byzantine apse decorations.(43) Nevertheless, the influence of Italian art cannot be dismissed while considering why Heavenly Jerusalem is depicted in this church. Preserved at the pointed arch before the *bema* is the Throne of Mercy, an extremely rare image in the Orthodox East.(44) God the Father holds the cross in front of him on which his only begotten Son is crucified. This theme embodying the dogma of the Holy Trinity was famous in Western Europe, as one can see in the 12th century missal of Cambrai (Médiathèque d'agglomération de Cambrai, cod. 234, f. 2r, c. 1120).(45) Spatharakis' argument that the image of the Throne of Mercy was transferred from Veneto to Crete through means of portable altarpieces is convincing.(46) If this is so, the lilies flowering on the ground of Heavenly Jerusalem are reminiscent of the *Hortus conclusus*, one of the favourite Marian motifs of late medieval

(43) For example, the Mausoleum of Santa Costanza (Rome, 4th century), Hosios David Church (Thessaloniki, 5th century, Fig. 7), San Vitale Church (Ravenna, first half of 6th century), etc. Belting-Ihm, C. (1992), *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart (originally published in 1960), 127–30; 163–65; 182–84.

(44) Spatharakis (1999), 182; Fig. 242.

(45) A partially digitalised version is published online: 'Bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux', https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr//resultRecherche/resultRecherche.php?COMPOSITION_ID=4814 (accessed 25. 07. 21). For a catalogue entry, see 'Catalogue collectif de France', https://ccfr.bnf.fr/portailccfr/ark:/06871/004D23010685 (accessed 25. 07. 21).

(46) Spatharakis (1999), 199. He further speculated that the parish of the church was Catholic under Venetian rule.

iconography in Western Europe.

The single-nave church of the Panagia in Lithines has a large composition of the Last Judgement on its western wall.(47) On the lower left of the composition is a wall-like structure that draws an arc, and is supplied with watchtowers. The choir of saints is behind this wall and contains bishops, kings, martyrs, and nuns. A wall enclosing the choir of saints should be a reference to Heavenly Jerusalem populated by the elected. The wall extends to the lower part and holds what looks like a ground covered with foliage. Though rather faded, the Good Thief, the Virgin Mary, and another seated figure, most probably Abraham, are still visible on this foliated background. Thus, this church has a similar apposition of Heavenly Jerusalem and the Paradisiac Garden as that in Göreme 2b and Roustika. Unlike Roustika, images aside from Heavenly Jerusalem in Lithines do not display an obvious influence of Western Europe. The details of the other Cretan churches will be not discussed here. However, all in all their depictions of heaven follow the scheme in Panagia kai Sotir in Roustika and Panagia in Lithines. The Paradisiac Garden enclosed in Heavenly Jerusalem seems like a common iconography in Venetian Crete.

The above analysis shows that the people of Byzantium were not entirely unfamiliar with the iconography of Heavenly Jerusalem, although the eight examples are exceptional in the entire legacy of Byzantine art. We cannot emphasise the Western influences through Venice for the depictions in Crete enough. The main remainder of the empire chose not to, or did not know the convention to envision heaven as Heavenly Jerusalem.

Philological and Iconographic Reception of Revelation in Byzantium

In the following section, I investigate why Heavenly Jerusalem was not chosen as a representation of heaven in Byzantium. As the source of this motif is Revelation 21: 9–22: 5, it should be reasonable to start by examining the receptional history of the text of John's Revelation in the empire.

Angela Volan's remark is a primer for this topic: 'Despite its influence in the apocalyptic thought of the medieval West, the Apocalypse of John was for centuries ignored in the Byzantine East as a theologically insignificant and unsanctioned text.'(48) There is plenty of evi-

(47) Lymberopoulou, A., Duits, R. (2020), eds., *Hell in the Byzantine World: A History of Art and Religion in Venetian Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean*, v. 2, Cambridge, 817–18 (no. 102).

(48) Volan, A. (2005), 'Last Judgments and Last Emperors: Illustrating Apocalyptic History in Late- and Post -Byzantine Art', PhD thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago, 3.

dence to support her view. Revelation was first officially renounced at the Council of Laodicea (363-64), and successively at the Council of Trullo (692), owing to doubts against its authority.(49) This is a striking antithesis to the situation in the Catholic West, where the text was credited in a list of canons, the *Gelasian Decree* (6th century).(50) The Orthodox church insisted on rejecting the Revelation until the 16th century, aside from a few counter-arguments by John of Damascus (d. 749) and Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (d. c. 1335?).(51) The Byzantines never considered the Book of Revelation as canonical scripture. Naturally, lesser attention was paid by theologians to the book: not a single homily delivered by Greek fathers on it survive. Still, the commentaries written by Oikoumenios (6th century), Andrew (563–614) and Arethas of Caesarea (d. after 932), and Neophytos Enkleistos (1134–d. after 1214) should not be overlooked.(52) Among these, Andrew and Arethas' works are largely rehashed verisions of Oikoumenios' work.(53) Andrew and Arethas' commentaries still survive in a considerable number of manuscripts, which means that Revelation did receive some, if not any, attention in the Orthodox sphere.(54) Paul Magdalino was conscious that previous scholarship may have underrated the impact of this book on Byzantine eschatological thoughts. Yet at the same time, he convincingly displayed that a certain level of attention does not prove precise understanding, as 'one of the eschatologists in question, Basil of Neopatras, reveals a highly superficial and inaccurate knowledge of the text.'(55) Overall, from a philological point of view, it can be said

(49) By canon 60 in Laodicea, and by the *Apostolic Canons* approved in Trullo.

(50) *Decretum Gelasianum* 2. 4. The previous attribution of the decree to Pope Gelasius I (r. 492–96) is now refuted.

(51) John of Damascus, *Expositio fidei* 4. 17 (*PG* 94. 1176B–1180C). Watson, E., Pullan, L. (1899), trans., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*, v. 9, 90 (note that page numbers do not continue from the first part of the book dedicated to works by Hilary of Poitiers). Kominis, A. (1988), ed., *Patmos: Treasures of the Monastery*, Athens, 295 admits the argument made by Xanthopoulos but does not specify in which work.

(52) Oikoukemnios, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (*CPG* 7470), Andrew of Caesarea, *Commentarii in Apocalypsin* (*CPG* 7478), Arethas of Caesarea, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (*PG* 106. 493A–786D). Neophytos Enkleistos' work is not included in *CPG* nor *PG*, but published in Englezakis, B. (1995), 'An Unpublished Commentary by St Neophytos the Recluse on the Apocalypse', in *Ibid*., ed., *Studies on the History of the Church of Cyprus, 4th-20th Centuries*, Aldershot, 105–45.

(53) Mango, C. (1984), 'Le temps dans les commentaires byzantins de l'apocalypse', in Leroux, J., ed., *Le Temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age: IIIe-XIIIe siècles: Paris, 9-12 mars 1981*, Paris, 431.

(54) Iijima, K. (2013), 'Arethas of Caesarea's *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* and the Idea of Eschatology in 10th Century Byzantium', *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* 45, 134. In Japanese.（飯島克彦（2013）、「カイサレイアのアレタス『ヨハネの黙示録注解』と10世紀ビザンツにおける終末意識について」『聖書学論集』第45号、134頁。）

(55) Magdalino, P. (2002), 'The Year 1000 in Byzantium', in Magdalino, P., ed., *Byzantium in the Year 1000*, Leiden, 249.

that the Book of Revelation had a marginal status in Byzantium.

Our next step is to examine whether Revelation also continued to be a marginal source for the visual arts. One bottleneck in investigating this is that studies on the iconographic reception of Revelation in Byzantium are very scarce. Thierry's essay 'L'Apocalypse de Jean et l'iconographie byzantine' is unique and inspiring in this respect.(56) In line with her view, the influence of the Book of Revelation on Byzantine iconography will be discussed below.

According to Volan, 'Byzantine art before 1453 has nothing to compare with the many richly-illustrated manuscript commentaries on Revelation by Beatus and Berengaudus'.(57) In a letter written by the chronicler Epifanij Premudrij (d. c. 1420), there is a mention of a mural of Revelation painted by Theophanes the Greek (fl. 1378–1405) in the old Blagoveščenskij (Annunciation) Church of Moscow.(58) Unfortunately, the mural has not survived because of the demolition of the church in 1484. The extensive cycle of Revelation imagery, which exists to this day was first established in 1500 on an icon that is still preserved in the Uspenskij Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin.(59) If the aforesaid fresco by Theophanes the Greek has survived, it must have supplied an interesting comparison to the Moscow icon. The trapezas of the Dionysiou and Xenophontos Monasteries on Mount Athos were also decorated with a cycle of Revelation in the 16th century, but in a very different way from the one in Moscow.(60) They are only copies of a series of engravings by Albrecht Dürer.

The absence of a comprehensive cycle alone before the fall of the empire makes us want to conclude that Revelation never had any impact on Byzantine art. But before drawing that conclusion, attention must be paid to random motifs from Revelation appearing in different contexts. Motifs such as the 'book of life' (Rev 20: 12), the 'weighing of the soul' (*Ibid.*) and the Tetramorph (Rev 4: 6–8) appeared in Last Judgement scenes and theophanic images. These motifs are unwittingly attributed by scholars to the Book of Revelation in many instances, without acknowledging that the book was mostly neglected in textual history. Keeping in mind the inconsistent knowledge Basil of Neopatras (fl. 10th century) had on Revelation, it should be reasonable to suspect that the above motifs were taken from sources other than Revelation.

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(56) Thierry, N. (1979), 'L'Apocalypse de Jean et l'iconographie byzantine', in Petraglio, R. et. al., eds., *L'Apocalypse de Jean: traditions exégétiques et iconographiques IIIe-XIIIe siècles*, Genève, 319–39.

(57) Volan (2005), 10.

(58) Lazarev, V. (1961), Феофан Грек и его школа, Moscow, 86.

(59) Christe (1999), 49–51.

(60) Renaud, J. (1943), *Le cycle de l'Apocalypse de Dionysiou: interprétation byzantine de gravures occidentales*, 1–2.

Thierry was unarguably keen to call into question the authority of Revelation 4: 6–8 as the source of Tetramorph figures seen in Byzantine renderings of *Majestas domini*. To her eyes, it seemed 'ce soit par abus de langage que l'on qualifie «*d'apocalyptiques*» ces avants-corps de taureau, de lion, d'aigle et d'homme, qui ne répondent guère plus précisément au texte de Jean qu'à celui d'Ezéchiel (Apoc. 4 : 6–8; Ezéch. 1: 5–14).'(61) She emphasised the difference between the Tetramorphs of Revelation and Ezekiel, and concluded that the Byzantine Tetramorphs were products of the latter. There are several differences between the two types of Tetramorphs. The one appearing in Revelation has six wings, with one head for each 'living figure', eyes all over, and no hands. In the other type, from the vision of Ezekiel, each 'living figure' has four wings, heads and hands, and eyes only on wheels running along with them. According to Thierry, the Tetramorph glorifying the Lord around his throne came from Ezekiel because they could move to 'ever one of the four ways' (Ezek 1: 17). She also pointed out that they do not have six wings covered with eyes, for example at the apsidal conch of Haçlı kilise (10th century) in Kızıl Çukur, Cappadocia.(62) However, Thierry's effort was only partially successful, as the Tetramorphs of Revelation and Ezekiel were difficult to distinguish one from another when visualised in art. For instance, the Tetramorph illustrated in the famous Ascension scene from the *Rabbula Gospels* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. Plut. 1. 56, f. 13v, 6th century) has eyes all over, which creates the first impression that it reflects passages from Revelation.(63) Yet its other features such as the four wings, the hand sticking out from under the wings, and most of all the fiery wheels at the sides suggests that the illustrator was rather faithful to the description given by Ezekiel. The Tetramorph of the apse mosaic of Hosios David Church (former *katholikon* of the Latomou Monastery, 5th century, Fig. 7) has only two wings for each living figure, a feature that does not match either source.(64) Therefore, the Tetramorph is not so much a motif that is appropriate to demonstrate that certain images do not necessarily require the Book of Revelation to explain their existence in Byzantine art. To the author's eyes, it seems that the reason the four living figures

(61) Thierry (1979), 320.

(62) *Ibid*., 321; Fig. 3.

(63) 'TECA Digitale', http://mss.bmlonline.it/Catalogo.aspx?Shelfmark=Plut.1.56 (accessed 28. 07. 21). For studies dedicated to the manuscript see Bernabò, M., Arduini, F. (2008), eds., *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula: Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 1.56. L'illustrazione del Nuovo Testamento nella Siria del VI secolo*, Rome.

(64) On the apse mosaic of Hosios David, see James, L. (2011), 'Images of Text in Byzantine Art: The Apse Mosaic in Hosios David, Thessaloniki', in Krause, K., Schellewald, B., eds., *Bild und Text im Mittelalter*, 255–66.

Fig. 7 Apse mosaic, Hosios David Church, Thessaloniki.

are 'separated' around the Lord's throne is only technical, rather than a mystical interpretation of Ezekiel's mention that they could move in four ways. Most apses have more lateral rather than vertical space, which is not fitting for a Tetramorph to be represented under the Lord's foot.

There are other motifs that can be re-attributed more easily to sources other than Revelation. For example, the 'book of life' is oftentimes explained as coming from Revelation 20: 12, but it could also take root in Daniel 7: 10, which speaks of βίβλοι unrolled before God the Judge. Similarly, the 'angel sounding the trumpet' (Rev 8: 6) can be found in Matthew 24: 31. The 'angel folding up the sky like a scroll' can be explained by Isaiah 34: 4 instead of Revelation 6: 14, considering that this motif is unusual in Western European Last Judgements.(65) Finally, the 'weighing of the soul' (20: 12) also appears in Job 31: 6 and Daniel 5: 27. There is no reason to insist that the above motifs necessarily derive from the Book of Revelation, taking into account that it makes use of many motifs from Old Testament prophecy books.

Nevertheless, there is a particular motif that requires caution: the 'resurrection from land and sea' (Rev 20: 15). This is unique to Revelation, without any parallel in other scriptures. Yet the 'resurrection from land and sea' is represented in not a few examples of Byzantine versions of the Last Judgement, such as in the *Paris Gospels* (BnF, cod. gr. 74, f. 51v, Fig. 8) and Timotesubani Monastery (13C).(66) In Western Europe, where Revelation had a considerable

(65) Tsuji (1993), 301.

Fig. 8 'Resurrection from land (top right) and sea (low left)', *Paris Gospels*, f. 51v.

impact on art, the same passage is depicted as people resurrecting from their sarcophagi, as in the aforementioned *Bamberg Apocalypse* (f. 53r). The Western composition of Revelation 20: 15 does not include the sea and sea monsters vomiting the dead.(67) That the 'resurrection from land and sea' appears in Byzantine Last Judgement scenes has caught the attention of scholars. Itsuji Yoshikawa supposed that a Revelation-related motif appeared in Byzantine Judgements because the Byzantines resorted to a hymn by Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306–373).(68) This hymn

(66) 'Gallica', https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105494556 (accessed 27. 07. 21). The *Paris Gospels* is insufficiently studied regardless of its importance in Byzantine manuscript illustrations. To this date Tsuji, Sh. (1975), 'The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29, 165–203 is the most inclusive monograph. On Timotesubani Monastery, see Privalova, E. (1980), **Роспись Тимотесубани: исследование по истории грузинской средневековой монументальной живописи**, Tbilisi.

(67) One prominent exception is the aforesaid wooden panel by Nicolaus and Johannes. Although the entire Judgement composition of this panel is genuinely Western European, it does show a strong influence from Byzantine iconography in parts: it is the 'resurrection from land and sea' painted on the second-lowest border.

(68) Itsuji, Y. (1982), *Peintures de l'Église de Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe*, Tokyo, 137. In Japanese. Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymni de Paradiso*. Lavenant, R. (1968), trans., *Ephrem de Nisibe, Hymnes pour le Paradis*, Paris.

was reputed by Wilhelm Paesler and other researchers as a standard source for Last Judgement scenes, though the text's credibility as a source was refuted by Démocratie Hemmerdinger-Iliadou.(69) In the meantime, it is safe to say that secondary texts like commentaries and homilies—not Revelation itself—could have served as sources of Byzantine Last Judgements, which will be touched upon later with the example of Yılanlı Kilise in Cappadocia.

Finally, I indicate that the images that cannot refute the influence of Revelation is confined within a restricted period and place, namely inside pre-10th century Cappadocia. In this respect, the author's view differs fundamentally from that of Thierry, who denied the apocalyptic aspect of Cappadocian frescoes.(70)

In Cappadocia, one can find motifs derived from Revelation other than the 'resurrection from land and sea'. One of them is the 'twenty-four elders' (Rev 4: 4) at God's tribunal. This motif, seen as early as in the 9th century on the triumphal arch of Santa Prassede, was repeatedly represented in numerous Romanesque and Gothic churches. The fact that the 'twenty-four elders' is depicted in Yılanlı Kilise (10th century) of Ihlara valley should not be minimised as an unusual image appearing in art from the periphery. The 'twenty-four elders' align on the upper tier of the vault of the western bay, on both sides of a decoration band that runs at the centre of the vault.(71) Some of their names can be identified by inscriptions: Melchizedek, Adonae(sic), Damenael, Azel and Thsabo(sic).(72) Their 'gnostic' names represent a trait of Judaeo-Christian tradition.(73) The 'twenty-four elders' differ from Western European iconography in that they are not crowned: each of them holds a codex with a Greek alphabet instead. According to Thierry, these alphabets correspond to a compilation of texts on Revelation that were passed on to us through Andrew of Caesarea.(74) Taking into consideration that the same alphabetic practice can be observed in Coptic iconography of the 'twenty-four elders', I am tempted to think that reverence towards Revelation once shared (but perhaps not in the metropolitan area

(69) Paesler, W. (1938), 'Die römische Weltgerichtstafel im Vatican', *Kunstgeschichitliches Jahrbuch der Bibliothek Hertziana* 2, 322. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, D. (1962), 'Les données archéologiques dans la version grecque des sermons de St. Ephrem le Syrien', *Cahiers archéologiques* 13, 30.

(70) Thierry (1979), 322; 324.

(71) Thierry, N., Thierry, M. (1963), *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce. Région du Hasan Dagı*, Paris, 94–98.

(72) *Ibid*., 96.

(73) Warland, R. (2020), 'When the Visual Order was Established: The Last Judgement and Punishment in Hell in Byzantine Cappadocia', in Lymberopoulou, A., Duits, R. (2020), eds., *Hell in the Byzantine World: A History of Art and Religion in Venetian Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean*, v. 1, Cambridge, 241–52.

(74) Thierry (1979), 327.

of later Byzantium) in the ecumenical Christendom survived in Cappadocia and Coptic Egypt, rather than to emphasise a mysterious correspondence between Cappadocian and Western European art.(75) It is not by chance that the two authors of the commentaries on Revelation, Andrew and Arethas, are both natives of Caesarea, the heartland of Cappadocia. The 'twenty-four elders' were depicted only in pre-10th century Cappadocia. They were completely neglected in other parts of the empire.

Conclusion

Following an examination of the findings in previous scholarship, it was reconfirmed that the most of Byzantines neglected the iconography of Heavenly Jerusalem. The only exceptions were found in pre-10th century artworks and 14-15th century murals in Venetian Crete. The Byzantines' ignorance of Heavenly Jerusalem could be explained by their reluctance towards accepting the source of the image, namely the Book of Revelation. In other words, this was the negative reason for their choice of heavenly image. The positive grounds for the Byzantines's decision to employ the image of Paradisiac Garden goes beyond the scope of this paper. Bearing in mind that the imagery of heaven did not attract Byzantinologists' attention when compared to that of hell, tracing the development of the image of Paradisiac Garden should be a worthwhile task.

[Figure Credits]

Fig. 1: Bognetti, Marcora (1985), 110.

Fig. 2: 'Virtuelles Skriptorium St. Matthias', http://dfg-viewer.de/v3/?set[mets]=http%3A%2F%2Fzimks68.uni-trier.de%2Fstmatthias%2FT0031%2FT0031-digitalisat.xml (accessed 25. 07. 21).

Fig. 3: Photo taken by Dr Prof Tomoyuki Masuda.

Fig. 4: 'Gallica', 'https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525013124' (accessed 26. 07. 21).

Fig. 5: Thierry (2003), Sch. 3.

Fig. 6: Spatharakis (1999), Pl. 21a.

Fig. 7: Photo taken by the author.

Fig. 8: 'Gallica', https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105494556 (accessed 27. 07. 21).

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(75) Meinardus, O. (1968–69), 'The Twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse in the Iconography of the Coptic Church', *Studia orientalia christiana* 13, 141–55.