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Architectonic symbolism and Byzantine iconography : as studied in Ravenna at San Vitale and Sant' Apollinare Nuovo

Corinne Moran

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NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

"Architectonic Symbolism and Byzantine Iconography:
As Studied in Ravenna at San Vitale and Sant' Apollinare Nuovo"

A Thesis Submitted to the
University Honors Program
In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements of the Baccalaureate Degree
With Upper Division Honors

Department of Art

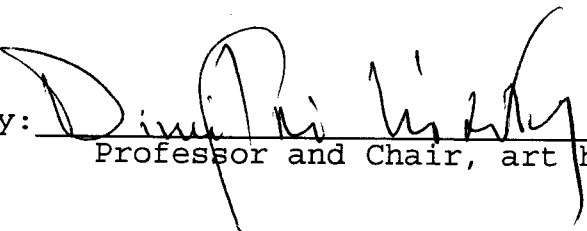
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ABSTRACT

This honors thesis will specifically be dealing with two concepts found in Byzantine art: Iconography in the art and architectonic symbolism in its buildings. The purpose of this thesis is to explore and learn more about Byzantine art and architecture. The discussion will be limited to two major churches found in Ravenna, Italy: San Vitale and Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. Minor deviations do occur but only so as to completely explore a certain facet of a particular topic.

Prior to the main conversation of the thesis, a brief history will be discussed. It was within the early Christian period, which began around 311-313 A.D. with the emperor Constantine the Great, which we see the flowering of a new type of architecture and art grow and develop. The Christians come to use their art to relay to the onlooker concepts and ideals of their new religion and do this in many different iconographical categories such as symbols, messages, pagan concepts and eastern orientalisms. We find the architecture also has this same functional reason; each building is made to represent or symbolize Christian theology and beliefs. It is within these two monuments mentioned earlier in which I will explore these two aspects of art historical study.

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout the years scholars have focused intensively and most fruitfully upon the symbolism found in art and architecture. This is found in the form of iconographic study within the visual arts or study of the architectonic symbolism that may be discerned within a specific building or structure. I have also chosen to develop in this particular route as I examine the art and architecture of the Byzantine age, specifically two monuments from the Golden Age of Justinian: San Vitale and Sant' Apollinare Nuovo.

Looking at architectonic symbolism, we find that not only the art of the Byzantine age, but the architecture also of the time is encompassed with symbolic meaning. Throughout the Byzantine period, theology continued to regard the church as a replica of heaven upon earth and each architectonic feature of the church could have significant spiritual meaning to the worshipper. Even the whole architectural design of the Christian building centered around a certain symbolic concept. Overall, this desire and necessity to celebrate architecturally a specific symbolic ideal is an outstanding characteristic within all the Christian architecture of the Byzantine age.

Looking at the mosaics within these Byzantine churches, we will specifically be examining through the methodology of iconography. We see Eugene W. Kleinbauer and Thomas P. Slavens in their work, Research Guide to the History of Western Art define

this area of art historical study as such:

"Iconography is an inquiry into the subject of an art object. The term applies to the description and classification of themes, attitudes and motifs in images. It also means the identification of texts illustrated in a given work of art, whether religious or secular."¹

As this definition clearly implies, one goal of this thesis will be to examine Byzantine mosaics in the light of their meaning. Why did the mosaicists create what they did? What is the reasoning or symbolism behind a certain motif found in a particular mosaic? Looking into this description, with regards to both architectural symbolism and the iconography of art, a specific point is pertinent to one of my main goals in this research paper: The "identification of texts illustrated in a given work." In the case of Byzantine art and architecture, the identification of Biblical references can shed great light upon the iconography and architectonic symbolism of a particular work in the Byzantine age.

When we note that the art of this period is based upon much Biblical reference and theological writings and beliefs, we begin to realize that the art and architecture of Byzantium is obviously religious in nature, not secular. In one respect, we can look at Byzantine art and architecture as a heuristic device. It is through the art and the symbolic meaning of the architecture which the common man was introduced to religion and imperial liturgy and theory. We can understand Byzantine symbolism as a convenient "shorthand" in which the artist and worshipper regarded an artwork

¹Kleinbauer, Eugene W. and Thomas P. Slavens, Research Guide to the History of Western Art. p. 60.

and the symbolism of the architecture in a highly literal and literary way. We may even go so far as to state that Byzantine art and the liturgy of the day were unfailingly the same. An obvious example is noted when we look at a very well known and sacred reference in the Bible of The Last Supper.

"And as they did eat, he said, Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me. And they were exceeding sorrowful, and began everyone of them to say unto him, Lord, is it I?...Then Judas, which betrayed him, answered and said, Master, is it I? He said unto him, Thou hast said"²

The emotion and severity of this statement is obvious. As we look at the mosaic of The Last Supper found in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna this same emotionally charged depiction is portrayed (figure 1). We see Judas and Jesus at the edge of either side of the table. Of all the twelve, it is only Judas who is not shown in full frontal view, a very foundational iconographic style of Byzantine art. This in itself tells the viewer of Judas' evil intent in that symbolically, to the Byzantine populace, the profile was regarded as an evil iconographic depiction.³ Within the depiction one can visually witness Jesus pronouncing in front of all, "Thou hast said," and Judas is taken aback expressing fear and unbelief in his eyes. This is the dynamism of Byzantine art and its architectural symbolism. Not only does it bring the Bible alive to the common man, but it brings to life the liturgy, the

²The Holy Bible, Matthew 26:21-22 and 25.

³Lecture of Dimitri Liakos, Professor and Chair of the art history division, Northern Illinois University. From the class Art 390a, Early Christian and Byzantine Art. Spring, 1993.

beliefs and traditions that become staples within their maturing Christian religion. With these understandings, we must come to the conclusion that the art and architecture of Byzantium is functional. Through it we see the liturgy of the time and also the praise which is given to their new God and religion.

Keeping in mind the definition which was discussed earlier, we note that the study of iconography is an inquiry into the subject content of an artwork. Certain "sub-categories" under the term iconography are prevalent within the art of Byzantium.

One main sub-category is symbolism. A simple yet direct definition is taking an idea, concept or ideology and investing it with a symbolic meaning or character; overall, representing something by a symbol. A well known example is the dove. As one gazes upward to the great dome of the Orthodox Baptistery or the Arian Baptistery, both in Ravenna (figure 2 and 3), we see St. John Baptizing Jesus in the Jordan river. From the shimmering blue sky a dove descends symbolic of God Himself, while simultaneously from heaven he states, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased."⁴ This appropriately brings us to the next point which is that of messages.

As one may note in this prior example, and as can be seen in the earlier example of The Last Supper, the iconography of Byzantine art very often yields to the viewer a story or message. These are specifically Biblical or apocryphal stories made known to the viewer via a visual picture of what is clearly stated in the

⁴The Holy Bible, Matthew 3:17b.

Bible and/or what current theology would like to relate to the viewer. As mentioned earlier, Byzantine art is used as a heuristic device, depicted in a convenient "shorthand" form, which then relates to the common man these Biblical and theological stories and messages.

Another sub-category found under iconography and seen in Byzantine art is the use of pagan ideals and contexts which "The early Christians merely borrowed and 'baptized' the symbolism of their pagan and Jewish neighbors to express their own beliefs and hopes."⁵ A good example of this is the use of the wine grapes and vinery of Dionysus, the Greek god of wine (figure 4). What better motif could be "borrowed and baptized" from the old pagan myth and used to symbolize and emphasize the sacred blood of Christ. The Holy Eucharist, which wine is symbolic of the blood of Christ (bread being the symbolic counterpart which represents the body) is the culmination of the new Christian religion. We read that as Jesus took his cup he states:

"And when he had given thanks, he gave it to them: and they all drank of it. And he said unto them, this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many."⁶

Even today in the Catholic mass the transubstantiation of the wine and bread into the blood and the body of Christ is the culmination of the mass, done at the end of the service. Overall, this particular motif of the grapes and vinery becomes very popular as a decorative theme which in a very early time in Byzantine history

⁵John Beckwith, Early Christian and Byzantine Art. p. 26.

⁶The Holy Bible, Mark 14:23-24.

was clearly derived from a pagan context.

A final topic which I would like to place emphasis upon under the topic of iconography is orientalism. Any scholar or student of the Bible realizes that it is nearly impossible to obtain a correct and sound knowledge of the Bible without understanding that the Bible is an eastern book. An orientalism simply stated is just that, an idea or subject pertaining to or a characteristic of the east. To the western mind, the Bible to many seems to be an array of strange sayings, concepts and customs which since they are from the Holy Bible, are not to be understood. This idea is very much false. Like any other book, it must be comprehended in the light of where it was written. To understand this concept better, a literary example from Romans 12:20 will make clear this concept:

"Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head"⁷

Obviously, to take the verse literally does not make any sense but, if we understand it in the light of oriental customs, the verse becomes clear and perfectly lucid.

This saying originated in the east and is in regards to the way in which the coals of fire are carried from one household to another in eastern villages. Early in the morning, a boy will take the recently heated coals upon a piece of pottery and carry them upon his head to the other households. This is actually very pleasing for the young boy because the morning is very cold and he

⁷The Holy Bible, Romans 12:20.

becomes warmed by the coals.⁸ In regards to the verse, we see that this is a form of admonition in that if you are kind to your enemy, you will warm him up and change his mind and heart and thus will persuade him to turn from his evil ways.⁹

As we note in this verse, and as we will later discuss this concept of orientalisms in Byzantine art, we clearly see that in many cases we must have an understanding of the eastern culture to grasp the true essence of what is being stated; either by word or within the arts of early Christendom.

Now that the foundation of this thesis regarding architectonic symbolism and methodology of iconography has been delineated, a brief explanation must be added to the introduction to discuss what specific city and which particular buildings I have chosen to restrict my discussion to; This being, the Italian city of Ravenna and its two majestic churches of San Vitale and Sant' Apollinare Nuovo.

It is well recognized that "In the Balkan Peninsula, in Thrace and Greece, the Arab invasions destroyed most buildings and mutilated the art earlier than the seventh century; only in Thessaloniki did some buildings survive"¹⁰ It is westward, in Ravenna, that we can still capture the grandeur of the early Byzantine age. Ravenna is also particularly important in that most of the monuments in Ravenna are from the "Golden Age" of Byzantine

⁸Bishop K.C. Pillai, Light Through an Eastern Window. p. 120.

⁹Pillai, p. 120.

¹⁰Antoine Bon, Byzantium. p. 23.

art. This particular period lies within the reign of the great Emperor Justinian (518-602). It is under Justinian that "Ravenna was made a shrine of Orthodox Christianity."¹¹ One can see this so clearly in the two monuments from the Justinian age, San Vitale and Sant' Apollinare Nuovo.

San Vitale (figure 5 and 6) was began around 529 A.D. but was not finished until under archbishop Maximian who consecrated it in 547 A.D.¹² Considering the monument's construction, it is an exemplary work of centralized architecture; which will be a main topic of symbolic discussion under this particular category. Moving inside, we see that the mosaics of San Vitale, particularly in the inner sanctum, glimmer with one main idea: "The redemption of mankind by Christ and the sacramental re-enactment of this event in the eucharistic sacrifice."¹³ It is within the symbolic depiction of sacrifice and the eucharist that we have a grand selection of Old Testament mosaics that speak to the viewer with an abundance of iconographic interpretations just waiting to be found and reflected upon.

Sant' Apollinare Nuovo (figure 7 and 8), was built by the Arian Goth Theodoric. After 540 A.D., when Justinian overthrew the Arian heresy in Ravenna, (this will be discussed in more detail later) some changes were made to the church prior to its

¹¹Otto G. von Simson, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna. p. 18.

¹²Giuseppe Bovini, The Ancient Monuments of Ravenna. p. 15.

¹³Otto G. von Simson, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna. p. 24.

reconsecration to Orthodoxy. We see in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo a fine example of another architectural design, the basilica. Looking at the mosaics of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo we see the walls of the central nave are entirely covered with mosaics divided into three horizontal zones. It is the uppermost zone in which the iconographic discussion will be focused upon. It is here in this uppermost register that we find, displayed in a narrative arrangement, 26 depictions of the life of Jesus. The main reason for the choice of this basilica is that it is now the New Testament which may be studied and will then give a complete picture of how the whole Bible, both the Old and New Testament, is thus iconographically depicted to the viewer in the grand art form of mosaics.

Regarding the whole organization of this research paper, it will be delineated into three distinct categories: history, architecture and then mosaics. It will begin with a historical overview because:

"It is a truism to say that the works of art are historical documents, that their serene faces reveal and conceal the intellectual and political life in which they originated."¹⁴

Just as one who studies the Bible must understand its eastern orientalisms and historical context, to fully comprehend the art of the Byzantine period, specifically in Ravenna, we must have a working knowledge of the historical context in which it developed. Beginning with a brief look at Constantine the Great, the emperor

¹⁴Otto G. von Simson, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna. p. 2.

who legalized Christianity and moved the capital to Byzantium in 330 A.D., we will move swiftly into a discussion specifically about Ravenna and the Golden Age of Byzantium under Justinian (518-602).

As has already been expanded upon, the next sections will then delve into the heart of the research looking first into architecture. We will be specifically looking at three Byzantine architectural forms: the basilica, the centralized church, and the cruciform style church. We will then turn the architectural discussion toward the dome and its significance and symbolic meaning.

Regarding mosaics, we will begin with San Vitale and its magnificent Old Testament mosaics which are to be found mainly within and near the inner sanctum. We will then turn to Sant' Apollinare Nuovo to study from its New Testament series of Jesus Christ's life. A selection from each has been chosen to give a full comprehension of the richness and extreme importance of the iconography seen in Byzantine art.

Overall, there will be some divination from the two main churches chosen, but only to expand and develop more clearly the thesis of this research paper. Although there will be these minor moves to other monuments, they are monuments still found in the Byzantine gem of Italy; Ravenna.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORY

As one studies the art of the Byzantine civilization, one must understand that the art is related to, and in many instances diffused with the events of the political and territorial history of the empire. "A province which passed into foreign control might be lost to Byzantine art, but where the emperor exerted strong political or religious influence...they were ready to adopt artistic forms of Byzantine inspiration."¹⁵ We can see the Byzantine influence is far reaching. If we view a map of the sixth century Byzantine civilization (figure 9), one can see how large the Byzantine civilization and thus, its control truly was. Examining the map, we come to realize that most of the empire was at one time ruled and thus was very much influenced by the classical Greco/Roman tradition of years past. Ernst Kitzinger considers this period between classical antiquity and the middle ages as a "bridge." Beginning with the disintegration of the Roman Empire as the universal power and, on the other side of this chasm, the Arab domination in the south and the Germanic empire in the north. The time between, the Byzantine period, would then practically begin around the beginning of the fourth century with the emperor who legalized Christianity, Constantine the Great, and ended by the eighth century "with the old empire finally and

¹⁵Antoine Bon, Byzantium. p. 17.

irrevocably reduced to regional status."¹⁶

"It was under Constantine that the essential and fundamental characteristics of the civilization and art which we know as Byzantine emerged and became established."¹⁷ Constantine the Great was known by this name because he made two monumental decisions within his reign which would come to shape the Byzantine world: First, he legalized Christianity. Constantine began with the Decree of Galerius in 311 A.D., also called the "Edict of Tolerance." This decree stated that the Christians were pardoned and may follow their religious convictions but still must follow and obey the government. In compliance with this and actually in reaffirmation of the first decree, the Edict of Milan was issued in 313 A.D. This gave the Christians full freedom to follow their choice completely free from persecution.¹⁸

The second resolution Constantine fulfilled was to move the capital, which was dedicated on May 11, 330 A.D., from Rome to a small colony called Byzantium (present day Istanbul, see figure 9). This city, which would come to last for almost 1000 years, was to be purely Christian. It is this capital which became "the leading city of the Mediterranean world, far and away the most important center of [Byzantine] political and cultural life; particularly in the evolution of art."¹⁹ Overall, it was beginning with

¹⁶Ernst Kitzinger, Byzantine Art in the Making. p. 2.

¹⁷Antoine Bon, Byzantium. p. 17.

¹⁸A.A. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire. pp. 50-51.

¹⁹Antoine Bon, Byzantium. p. 20.

Constantine that:

"We see Christian works of art with distinctive formal characteristics, unprecedented and unparalleled in pagan art and apparently bound up with their religious content and function."²⁰

Which we will so obviously be examining later.

Proceeding Constantine's reign, We see the new Christian empire work its way through many dilemmas regarding political and religious upheavals. We must note that "It is hardly and exaggeration to say that, in an absolute monarchy, religion assumes the role of a constitution, defending, defining...and shaping the political concepts of the people."²¹ In turn these changes in the political and religious sphere would thus effect the art and symbolism of the time, prior to and directly within the Golden Age of Justinian, which is our focus.

An excellent example of one such reform dealt with one monumental emperor who reigned a short time between 361-363 B.C. This Byzantine ruler did not have such Christian leanings as his predecessors did as a matter of fact, he was an enthusiastic adherent of paganism. Julian the Apostate tried to overturn that which Constantine had accomplished; he reinstated paganism and was ever increasingly hard on the Christians.²² It must be realized that this decision had much support, especially within the higher

²⁰Ernst Kitzinger, Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century. p. 6.

²¹Otto G. von Simson, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna. p. 7.

²²A.A. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire. p. 73.

echelon of the senate, the wealthy and the intelligencia. The surname "apostate" clearly implies that Julian went against the accepted dogma and attempted to reinstate the old pagan religion; which was quite short lived.

Another emperor who deserves study is Theodosius the Great, whose name is associated with the triumph of Christianity (379-395 A.D.). His decided preference for his chosen creed left no room for the toleration of paganism. Theodosius was an ardent believer of the Nicene Creed. Indited in 324 A.D., in the 1st Ecumenical Council held in Nicaea, this creed condemned the heresy of Arius, "which, contrary to the teachings of Arius, Jesus Christ was recognized as the Son of God, unbegotten, and consubstantial (of one essence) with his father."²³ It was Theodosius' firm stand upon the Christian religion and upon this creed which led him to issue the decree of 392 which completely prohibited any pagan customs or rituals and made absolutely illegal the practice of any pagan doctrine. The final blow to paganism came a year later in 393 B.C. when the ancient world watched for the last time the celebrated Olympic Games.

The next great ruler which rounds out this sampling and summation of early Christian history is Justinian the Great (518-602). Overall, Justinian is recognized most often for his successful expansion of the Byzantine empire and his generous patronage to the arts; which is quite apparent in Ravenna.

Turning again to the map (figure 9), we can get an idea of the

²³A.A. Vasiliev, The History of the Byzantine Empire. p. 56.

size of the empire during Justinian's reign. But the expanse of the empire was not as large when Justinian had proceeded to the throne. Especially westward, Justinian waged many wars to recapture Byzantine lands which had been seized and thus ruled by barbaric tribes. We notice that Justinian's numerous wars were partly offensive and defensive. Defensively, battles were directed against Persia in the east and the Slavs in the North. Offensively, the war was carried on against Barbarian Germanic states who, were not of the Orthodox belief but of Arian leanings. We know that of Justinian's great enterprises, none in his own eyes was more important and had a manifestly religious purpose than did his war against the German Goths.²⁴

At the head of Justinian's vast army was the young, gifted general Belisarius. It was through many campaigns, "after twenty years of devastating warfare, in the west, Italy, Dalmatia and Sicily were reunited with the empire."²⁵

The most important campaign westward which must be recognized here is the Ostrogothic campaign which lasted from 535-554. It was during this campaign that Ravenna, the Ostrogothic capital, was again transferred to Byzantium.²⁶

It was after Belisarius had wrested Ravenna from the Goths that Justinian would now execute his great masterpieces of

²⁴Otto G. von Simson, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna. p. 7.

²⁵A.A. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire. p. 137.

²⁶Vasiliev. p. 136.

Byzantine art, San Vitale and Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. It must be expressed here that the latter church was not built by Justinian but was "remodeled" and reconsecrated to Orthodoxy under him. Sant' Apollinare Nuovo was originally built and decorated by the Gothic ruler Theodoric, including the twenty-six mosaics of Jesus Christ's life. Although this is the case, this does not in anyway depreciate or belittle the iconographic and symbolic importance of the mosaics and the architectural style which will be shortly under study, on the contrary, this brief history has now given the reader a total framework to where these churches fit into history; whether Arian or Orthodox.

Regarding Justinian's great patronage to the arts, one must just look at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (figure 10) to realize his great desire to build and create, and thus he may truly state, "I have surpassed you Solomom."²⁷ We see overall that in Justinian's reign and even prior to:

"The art of Ravenna reveals the ability to formulate theological and liturgical concepts poignantly and movingly; to give to the complicated, the subtle, the involved, a simple monumentality of expression which will be understood by everyone"²⁸

It is Ravenna's ability to formulate these theological and liturgical concepts within the iconography of its mosaics and this simple monumentality, which expresses symbolic meaning, discerned

²⁷This was stated by Justinian as he entered his newly erected Hagia Sophia. It is in Biblical reference to King Solomon who built the first temple to God (I Kings 6).

²⁸Otto G. von Simson, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna. p. 21.

in the architecture which makes Ravenna a perfect study ground for examining and discovering the Byzantine iconography and symbolism of the age.

CHAPTER TWO

ARCHITECTONIC SYMBOLISM

Studying Byzantine architecture, one comes to realize that the early Christian architects derived much of their conceptual design from a prior source; Greco-Roman. The majestic architecture of Imperial Rome, with its focus on interior spaces, for both public and private life, was the perfect place for the blossoming of the post-Constantine legal religion to meet, grow and flourish. It should also be recognized that the early Christians had to evolve their new faith primarily within the social and cultural framework of the Late Roman Empire and so thus, they were naturally influenced by the architecture of the time.

Although the early Christians did acquire fundamental characteristics of their predecessors, to say that the early Christians in some way "copied" the architecture of the earlier Roman period is in no way justifiable or correct. After the legalization of Christianity:

"A new architecture appeared almost immediately afterward, an architecture which has significantly enriched the human experience...The first Christian architects set out to compose spaces which imitated and intimated the universe in both transcendent and symbolic terms. In churches, memorials, and shrines they sought to capture and expound the central convictions of faith, and that quest set Christian architecture apart from the architecture of the past."²⁹

²⁹William L. MacDonald, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture. p. 12.

Before discussion begins regarding the three foundational church styles found in Byzantium, it is appropriate to note the exterior or "skin" of the early Christian basilicas and Byzantine domed structures were usually intended as a neutral envelope of continuous masonry walls.³⁰ Bricks, a very common building material in Roman times, was usually employed rather than ashlar masonry and the exterior decoration was minimal, except for minor decorative display such as blind elongated arches. The objective of the Christian architect was not to call attention to the exterior, so it was usually quite unpretentious in character, and in this way the Christians achieved a deliberate contrast to the rich, heavenly interior.

As we enter the Byzantine church, Christian Norberg-Schulz points out in his work, Meaning in Western Architecture, that from the very outset of Christian building, some profoundly symbolic architectonic relationships rule over the whole concept of Christian architecture. These are the concepts of center and path. It is within the church styles of the centralized building and the basilica which these symbolic meanings become more vivid and alive, each having their own unique symbolic meaning to the Christian who enters its doors.

Beginning with the symbolic function of the basilica, we see the building in a whole has its origin directly from Roman times. The function of the Roman basilica is easily defined: The basilica

³⁰Christian Norberg-Schulz, Meaning in Western Architecture. p. 63.

was a large meeting hall. Even "In Constantine's time the Christian basilica was viewed as just another monumental public meeting hall with religious overtones."³¹ Later the basilica obviously takes on much more symbolic meaning.

Structurally the basilica is divided into a nave and two or more aisles, the former, higher and wider, but not necessarily, especially in later Christian basilicas. High within, the church is lit by the windows of the clerestory. The remarkable example studied herein from Ravenna is Sant' Apollinare Nuovo.

As we examine the architecture in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo (figures 7 and 8) we feel after entering into the church, a horizontal directness and power of controlling lines bearing upon a distant end wall. As the faithful look towards this point of focus, an apsidal termination, which has been spiritually transformed into the Holy Sanctum or Holy of Holies is beheld. The walls of the central nave also direct the onlooker toward the Holy Sanctum because they are almost entirely covered with mosaics, divided into three zones, which flow in a horizontal entourage.

The "path" within the basilica is directly felt by the omnipresent power of the horizontal longitudinality. This is iconographically a message and a symbol to the faithful which becomes evident when we directly read, with much frequency, about the concept of the path in the Bible. A very good example can be seen regarding the path in Psalms:

³¹Richard Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture. p. 43.

"Show me thy ways, O Lord; teach me thy paths. Lead me in thy truth, and teach me: for thou art the God of my salvation; on thee do I wait all the day."³²

We see that it is the Lord's path in which his believers should desire to follow. This is visually concretized to the Christian as he/she is propelled toward the inner sanctum and thus simultaneously reminded of their duty to follow and obey their God. Simply stated, the path, a very prominent factor in the basilica, becomes the primary symbol of the following of Christ.³³

The next style discussed is the centralized building. Structurally, we see that the architecture hinges upon the concept of a central area, with no lengthy arms radiating outward to disturb the centralized ideal.

A remarkable example again can be seen in Ravenna, solely built and consecrated Orthodox, by Justinian the Great. "From the time of Emperor Justinian centralization became a distinguishing property of Byzantine Ecclesiastical architecture"³⁴ San Vitale (figures 5 and 6) is an octagonal building which shows its majesty of the centralized style by uplifting the onlooker vertically. It is complete spiritual elevation, upwards toward heaven, ever closer to God. This is a completely different symbolic reality than what is experienced within Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. The centralization

³²The Holy Bible, Psalms 25: 4-5. Other pertinent verses which express this symbolic concept of path are Proverbs 2:8, Proverbs 4:18-22 and Psalms 25:10.

³³Christian Norberg-Schulz, Meaning in Western Architecture. p. 71.

³⁴Christian Norberg-Schulz. p. 63.

may directly be related to God as the center of cosmic and earthly order:

"Thus said God the Lord, he that created the heavens, an stretched them out; he that spread forth the earth, and that which cometh out of it; he that giveth breath unto the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein."³⁵

As we view San Vitale specifically as an octagonal building even more spiritual symbolism can be derived as Otto G. von Simson points out in his work, Sacred Fortress.

"In Christian architecture the octagonal plan is an image of the Easter sepulcher. Liturgically and mystically, a martyr's sanctuary is both his tomb and Christ's sepulcher; and early Christian theology conceived the dignity of martyrdom as the martyr's mystical transfiguration into Christ."³⁶

As all early Christians were to enter San Vitale, they would see symbolically within the architecture the death and resurrection of Christ. Simson also notes that we may ask if the octagonal plan, "through the musical symbolism of the octave, was not meant to refer to the 'consonance' of universal peace."³⁷

Regarding the third style of architecture, the cruciform building, we must look outside of our two main examples, while still staying in Ravenna. The so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (figure 11 and 12) was built earlier than the Age of Justinian in the fifth century by Galla Placidia, the half sister of the Emperor Honorius. This cruciform building was erected for

³⁵ The Holy Bible. Isaiah 42:5

³⁶ Otto G. von Simson, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna. p. 4.

³⁷ Otto G. von Simson. p. 8.

use as an imperial chapel and was joined to the now extant Church of Santa Croce.³⁸

Cruciform architecture is usually a plan whose core, enveloped on all four sides by extending arms, forms the cross. This can either be the latin cross, in which two arms are longer in length than the horizontal arms, or the Greek cross, which forms a cross with equal or nearly equal arm length. The core may be surmounted by a dome as is true in Galla Placidia (figure 13).

The symbolism is obvious regarding the cruciform style when we note that it is the symbolic instrument of Jesus' death:

"And he bearing his cross went forth into a place called the place of the skull, which is called in Hebrew Golgotha: Where they crucified him..."³⁹

Christian Norberg-Schulz states:

"That as it is the major Christian symbol, that is not surprising. We may however, also ask why the Romans used crucifixion for the execution of traitors. Obviously the cross represented the cosmic order they had acted against. the *cardo and decumanus* of the Roman world. The reappearance of the cross in the spatial layout of the church therefore symbolizes Christ's conquest of this order."⁴⁰

As we have now examined three foundational styles of Byzantine architecture and its symbolism, we truly see that Ravenna presents to us a splendid example of a locality where early Christian architecture survives in all its variety. Another integral architectural aspect which is found in Ravenna is the dome. In

³⁸Giuseppe Bovini, The Ancient Monuments of Ravenna. p. 5.

³⁹The Holy Bible. John 19:17-18a.

⁴⁰Christian Norberg-Schulz, Meaning in Western Architecture. p. 74.

both Galla Placidia and San Vitale a dome covers the upper reaches of the church, and as in the case of any domical building, the transition is taken care of by squinches or pendentives. As an example we may look at the transcendent, starry dome of Galla Placidia (figure 13). In all domical structures, the dome symbolically represents the heaven above and below is the earthly zone. The dome is considered the most important and highly exalted part of the church and is described as "comparable to the Heaven of Heaven, and ornamented with mosaics of gold, like the firmament, with brilliant stars, while its four supporting arches are the four sides of the world."⁴¹

We see throughout Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture a cosmic world. It was through the windows above that the divine light would shine into the interior space lighting every architectural structure, each with significant and profound meaning to the Christian who entered. As one worshipped within, whatever the style the church may be, the believer was surrounded by symbolic meaning that all would understand. Overall, it was "the Christian desire to make the church an apparent 'Gate of Heaven,' an 'Impregnable Stronghold,' a 'City of God' and 'a replica of God's cosmic dwelling.'"⁴²

⁴¹E. Baldwin Smith, The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas. p. 90. This specific quote comes from the *Sougitha* which presents the domical church at Edessa. As one looks at the dome of Galla Placidia (figure 13), the dome takes on obvious similar characteristics.

⁴²E. Baldwin Smith, Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages. p. 4.

CHAPTER THREE

ICONOGRAPHY OF MOSAICS

Of our two main areas, architectonic symbolism and iconography, it is the latter which especially houses an overflowing array of artworks to study. Earlier, we examined how the early Christians architecturally structured, designed and adorned their churches to symbolize and glorify their Christian religion. As we now move inside the churches of San Vitale and Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, we will taste the majesty of the art and its tantalizing iconography which envelopes all who enters the doors. To have such a quantity and variety of Christian mosaics in one place, Ravenna, is astounding especially when we consider that it is mainly from the limited time within the fifth and sixth centuries. Overall, in "the monuments [of Ravenna] which have been preserved give us, perhaps, the most complete and vivid impression we have of the art of this period, and the mosaics constitute their chief glory."⁴³

We will begin by studying the iconography of San Vitale. Two areas of the choir will be examined. It should be noted that this is the only area in San Vitale where mosaics still exist in the church (figure 6). We will first look at the left bay area on the wall of the choir above the columns supporting the arcades of the gallery (figures 14). Here we see the sacrificial scene of Isaac

⁴³Edgar Waterman Anthony, A History of Mosaics. p. 87.

from the Old Testament and juxtaposed within the same bay area is Abraham who is entertaining some celestial visitors. Here the eucharistic sacrifice and a theological dogma is alluded to and we will see how this is done through the symbolism. We will then turn are discussion above to the vault of the choir and recognize its significance as the culmination of the eucharistic sacrifice (figure 15). Overall, when we look back upon the sub-categories of iconography, as were discussed in the introduction, we will be specifically honing in upon the symbolism and message aspects of the iconography within San Vitale.

Turning our study to Sant' Apollinare Nuovo we will view its upper register of 26 mosaics of the Life of Christ (figure 16). On one side, the miracles, and upon the other, the passion. To grasp a sound understanding of the whole layout of the mosaics, we see that the Life of Christ mosaics are positioned in the upper register evenly distributed between a decorative shell display which has within each a crown of martyrdom. Below them then one would believe the next register of 32 figures to be martyred saints. Edgar Waterman Anthony states that they may "represent prophets and authors, of the Bible, in all probability, although there is no direct evidence of this."⁴⁴ And finally, the lowest register contains an entourage of male and female saints, the former heading toward Christ and the latter, toward Mary. Overall, we see that the mosaics of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo are Christologic in nature and are a grand example of New Testament scripture and

⁴⁴John Edgar Waterman, A History of Mosaics. p. 91.

theology. We find that during the fifth and sixth centuries, in Italy and the east, artists occasionally recorded Christ's life and death but the scenes from Sant' Apollinare Nuovo are the oldest surviving in mosaic.⁴⁵ In Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, we will be looking more for the two other sub-categories mentioned in the introduction: The use of pagan contexts and examining the eastern orientalisms. An array of the mosaics will be surveyed to pull out prominent aspects of iconography in the two areas mentioned above.

As we now look within San Vitale,

"The different symbols and images all convey one main idea: the redemption of mankind by Christ and the sacramental re-enactment of this event in the eucharistic sacrifice. The compositions must thus be understood as the setting for the right."⁴⁶

Looking directly into the choir of San Vitale we first look to the left bay and see Abraham and the Angels and the Sacrifice of Isaac (figure 14). Within this mosaic I would like to express two aspects: First the symbolic depiction of the dogma of the Trinity, and second, the Biblical message of the sacrifice of Isaac and its allusion to the true sacrifice.

The three angels which came to visit Abraham and Sarah (Genesis, chapter 18) represent more than the Biblical visit and Abraham's hospitality toward these celestial guests (figure 14). To the early Christian the three angels, sitting behind the altar-like table with the three round loaves of bread, represent the

⁴⁵John Beckwith, Early Christian and Byzantine Art. p. 107.

⁴⁶Otto G. von Simson, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna. p. 24.

theological dogma of the Trinity. The Trinity here is "in the guise of the three mysterious visitors who came to Abraham under the oak of Mamre."⁴⁷ Andre Grabar notes symbolic reference to the Trinity within these three angels is accentuated by having the central figure distinguished by the positioning of arms. The middle angel has his left arm up in the sign of the benediction, the trademark sign of Jesus scene in bust portraits. With Jesus symbolically portrayed in the center then, around him would thus be only God the Father and God the Holy Spirit. Even upon the table we see the number three alluded to within the three loaves of bread, which also then remind the onlooker of the whole theme within the church, that of the eucharist and sacrifice.

Juxtaposed within the same pictorial frame is another scene of the Old Testament prophet Abraham. Abraham holds a knife, raised in his right hand, and in his left, he holds down his only son Isaac. From above we see a hand coming down from the clouds, "The traditional symbol of the divine presence and of God's acceptance of the sacrifice."⁴⁸ From the heavens an angel of the Lord simultaneously states:

"Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him: for now I know that thou fearest (respect) God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son from me."⁴⁹

⁴⁷Andre Grabar, Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins. p. 114.

⁴⁸Otto G. von Simson, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna. p. 25.

⁴⁹The Holy Bible. Genesis 22:12.

We see here in the mosaic of Abraham and his son Isaac a depiction being used as a heuristic device; to tell the Biblical story to the common early Christian. We also have a message being relayed. Here within this Old Testament mosaic, we see a symbolic illusion to the One, the true sacrifice of Jesus Christ which will not happen for many hundreds of years, and found written in the New Testament.

As has been remarked, the whole theme found within San Vitale is the redemption of mankind by Christ and the sacramental reenactment of this by the depiction of the eucharistic sacrifice. It is within a medallion located in the center of the vault of the choir, the highest point of this vertically directed architecture, in which we find the culmination of the eucharistic sacrifice symbolically depicted as the *Agnus Dei* (figure 15). It is the Lamb which is symbolic of Jesus Christ himself. The lamb is the common sacrificial animal of the Judeans, and Jesus Christ is "The" Sacrifice for all believers when he died for the Christians upon the cross.

We find that the decoration around the *Agnus Dei* is also symbolic:

"The groins of the vault have pyramidal garlands of foliage and fruit descending to the corners where there are peacocks with spreading tails...The field between the garlands...have various birds and other animals; peacocks, partridges, herons, doves, gazelles, antelope and so on."⁵⁰

The peacock mentioned is symbolic of immortality which all will

⁵⁰Edgar Waterman Anthony, A History of Mosaics. . p. 96.

have who believe that Jesus Christ was raised from the dead (Romans 10:9-10). The fauna and animals give us an image of paradise and the life to come. Thus, Within the vault of San Vitale the symbolism is complete; With the sacrifice of Jesus Christ comes eternal life and a life in paradise.

Andre Grabar notes that New Testament subjects are "insignificant in number, more monotonous, less dramatic and often less adaptable to iconographic interpretations."⁵¹ Whole hearted disagreement will be declared by all once entering the basilica of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo and viewing the zone of the 26 depictions of the life of Christ. Focusing upon the two main categories, the use of pagan ideals and contexts and extracting from the mosaics eastern orientalisms, we will begin our discussion in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo with the former.

As we view the whole array of images within the 26 mosaics, we see that there is a specific and well planned organization to their placing. Upon the left wall we see the miracles done in Jesus' life and upon the right wall is the passion scenes of Christ prior to his crucifixion and after he is raised from the dead (see figures 8 and 16 for an idea of their organization). It is when we look at the left side and view the miracles of Jesus that we notice that Jesus appears youthful and beardless (figure 17) and within the passion scenes he is bearded and older. Otto G. von Simson states that this distinction alone "must have made a profound

⁵¹Andre Grabar, Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins. p. 145.

impression upon Christianity of the sixth century."⁵² Some reasons for this may be as thus: This depiction of Jesus is commonly used and is known as the "youthful, Apollonian Jesus." By the title alone we see that this specific depiction comes straight from antiquity, reminding us of the young, masculine depictions of the Greek god Apollo. I believe there is a deliberate comparison between these two figures. That Jesus, as Apollo was known for, was also considered an extremely handsome man while still in his youth and Apollo, also known as the god of the sun and light, reminds the Christian that Jesus also calls himself the "Light of the world" (John 8:12). One final comparison that truly shines forth is when one considers that Apollo was a god (although pagan) and in so comparing Jesus with a god he then is also of the same title, a God, the God Almighty; and thus in whole propounding the dogma of the Trinity.

Another pagan context found within these Christian depictions is seen within the architecture depicted within the mosaics. When we view the mosaic of the Raising of Lazarus, we see that his tomb has ashlar masonry, red clay tiles upon the roof, and a typical temple style architecture from the Hellenistic age. These three attributions emanate from the Greco-Roman tradition. This also shows us that the mosaicists could and did deviate from the true depictions and show what would be a currently seen architecture in his time. Another mosaic in which the architecture displays a

⁵²Otto G. von Simson, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna. p. 73.

pagan context is within the passion cycle, The Maries at the Sepulchre of Christ. Here we see the depiction is "dominated by the rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher, which is entirely Classical in appearance."⁵³

Our final category is that of orientalisms. We see as we look at the mosaic, The Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes, that as the disciples around Jesus hold forth the bread and fish, they seem to have been depicted without any hands. This obviously was not an accident but was purposely done and portrays to us, as westerners, a specific orientalism of the east. In the east when one is presenting a king with something, whatever it may be, he is to cover and conceal his hands as he presents the item.⁵⁴ As Jesus also is "King of Kings, and Lord of Lords," he obviously, to the Orthodox mosaicist, deserves this eastern form of respect and benevolence as any other king would receive.

Overall these 26 episodes in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, much to the disagreement with Andre Grabar's statement, "are presented with a concentration and clarity, and with a sense of revealing gesture and dramatic conception of the event which we will not again see in Western art until the frescoes of Giotto."⁵⁵

⁵³Andre Grabar, Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins. p. 124.

⁵⁴Lecture of Dimitri Liakos, Professor and Chair of the art history division, Northern Illinois University. From the class Art 390a, Early Christian and Byzantine Art. Spring, 1993.

⁵⁵Edgar Waterman Anthony, A History of Mosaics. pp. 91-92.

CONCLUSION

Overall we see that even by the fifth century early Christian architecture and art was highly complex, logical in application and rich in its artistic heritage.⁵⁶ As we have now examined both architectonic symbolism and the iconography of the mosaics, the obvious comparison comes when we understand that both have the same function; that of relaying a specific Christian aspect to the observer. But before even beginning to discern the symbolism and iconography, it is appropriate to have a knowledge of the history of this period so one may begin to understand the reasoning behind the art of the same time. It would be a similar problem with comprehending the depictions upon Greek vases if one did not know anything about Greek history and their religion which was steeped in myth. So thus, by understanding some of the political and especially religious upheavals of the Byzantine age it becomes easier to understand why certain aspects of the art and architecture become standard styles and depictions.

Only in Ravenna, as we discerned in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, San Vitale and also in the earlier Galla Placidia, could we find such a variety of architecture that contained such a diversity of architectonic symbolism. We examined within the architecture a desire by the Christian to make their place of worship a replica of heaven on earth. Whether it was the basilica, the centralized or

⁵⁶John Beckwith, Early Christian and Byzantine Art. p. 35.

the cruciform church, all specifically relayed a significant Christian meaning. As the worshipper looked toward heaven, there too was a significant architectural structure, the dome. It is the dome which is a symbolic imitation of the celestial heavens above. As the Christian worshipped within, he may look upward in praise to his God, and above see a shimmering kaleidoscope of color, from the spiritual light which filtered in, dancing upon the dazzling mosaic decoration within the sphere.

One can imagine the spiritual intoxication a Christian of the fifth or sixth century felt when walking into any Byzantine church. As soon as the believer would enter they were quickly entranced by the majestic display of mosaics upon the walls. Today we can still experience this as we walk into the Holy Sanctum of San Vitale or the nave of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. The marvelous Old Testament mosaics of San Vitale are rich in design and naturalism. As one discerns all the mosaics within, you have no doubt that the whole iconographic scheme deals with the sacrifice and eucharist. The mosaics of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo have a beautiful, simplistic design but nevertheless they bring about its iconographic meanings in a clear and direct fashion. Within the 26 scenes of the life of Christ, we examined the New Testament miracles and passions of Jesus' life and death; each charged with iconographic meaning just as in San Vitale and any other Byzantine church of the age.

Whether it be symbols which relate a certain idea or topic; messages, Biblical, apocryphal, theological or any other; pagan contexts or ideals; or even a more secular concept such as common

eastern orientalisms; each brings forth from the mosaic an intended and purposeful meaning to the viewer; and the mosaicist, patron or emperor desired just this.

We must remember that both the architectonic symbolism and the iconography within the arts is functional; it serves a purpose. One of its main purposes is as a heuristic device; so all who enter any Christian church will learn, understand and be reminded of the ideals and concepts of the Bible, theology or dogma of their new, growing religion.

Overall, one can only revere the art and architecture of the early Christian and Byzantine age. Not only for its undeniable beauty and dazzling display, but for the purposeful reason they had in creating it. These churches and mosaics were not only to look at and admire but they were made and designed for their new God, the God Almighty and for his people so that they, "May grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. To Him be glory both now and forever. Amen."⁵⁷

⁵⁷The Holy Bible, II Peter 3:18.

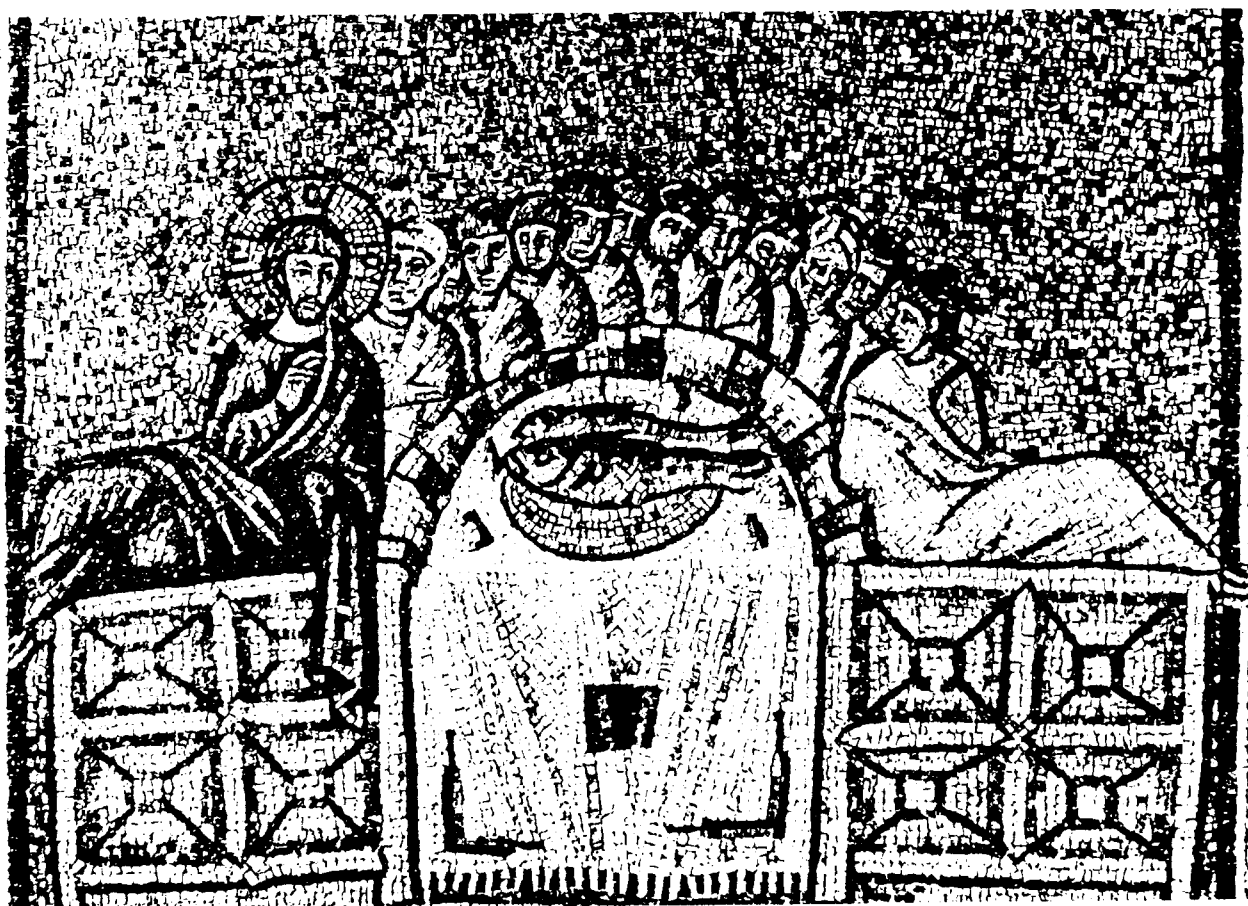


Figure 1. The Last Supper mosaic, San Apollinare Nuovo. From Andre Grabar, Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968) plate 237.



Figure 2. View of the dome of the Orthodox Baptistery showing the depiction of St. John baptizing Jesus in the Jordan River. From Ernst Kitzinger, Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952) plate 103.

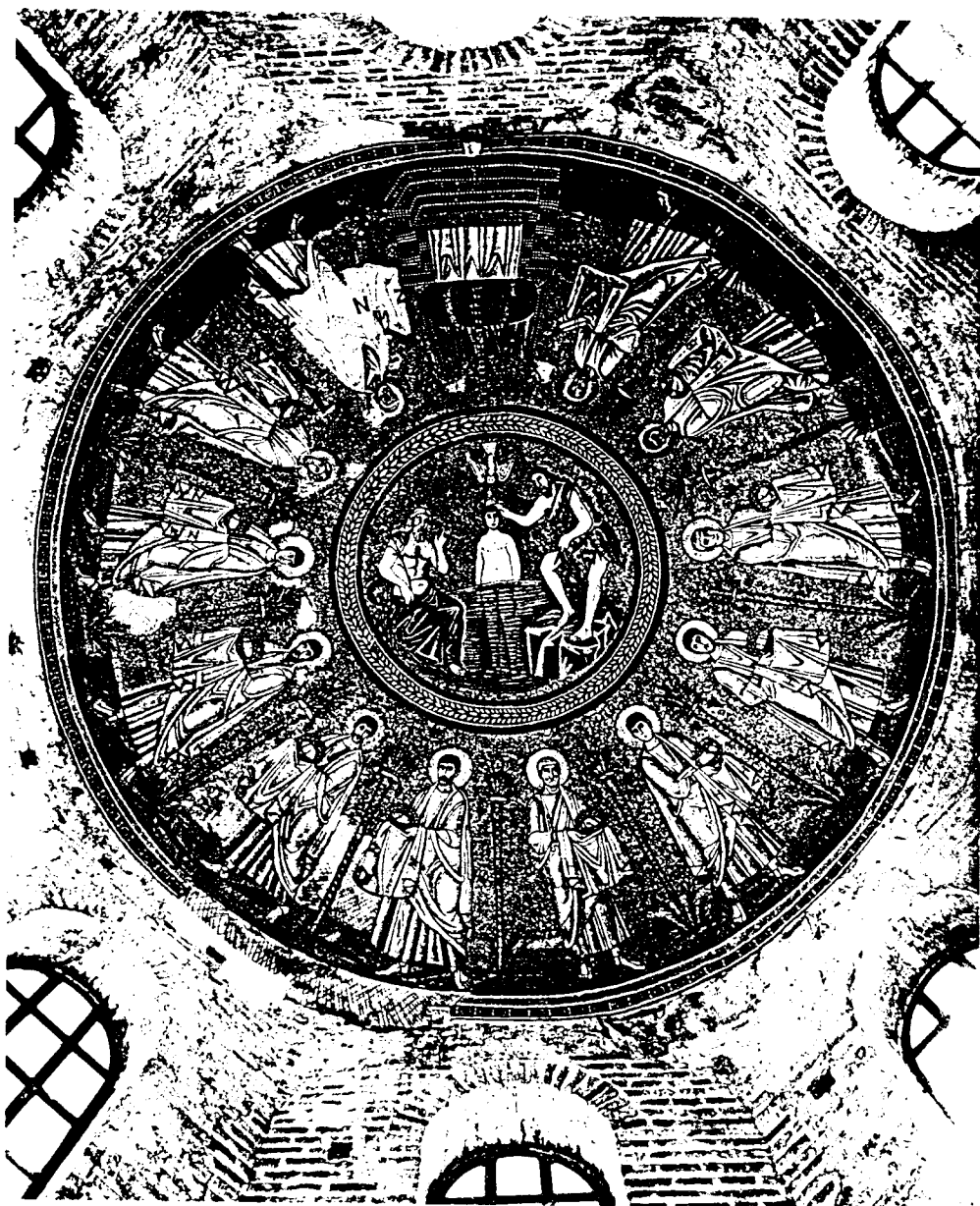


Figure 3. View of the dome of the Arian Baptistery showing the depiction of St. John baptizing Jesus in the Jordan River. From Ernst Kitzinger, Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952) plate 104.

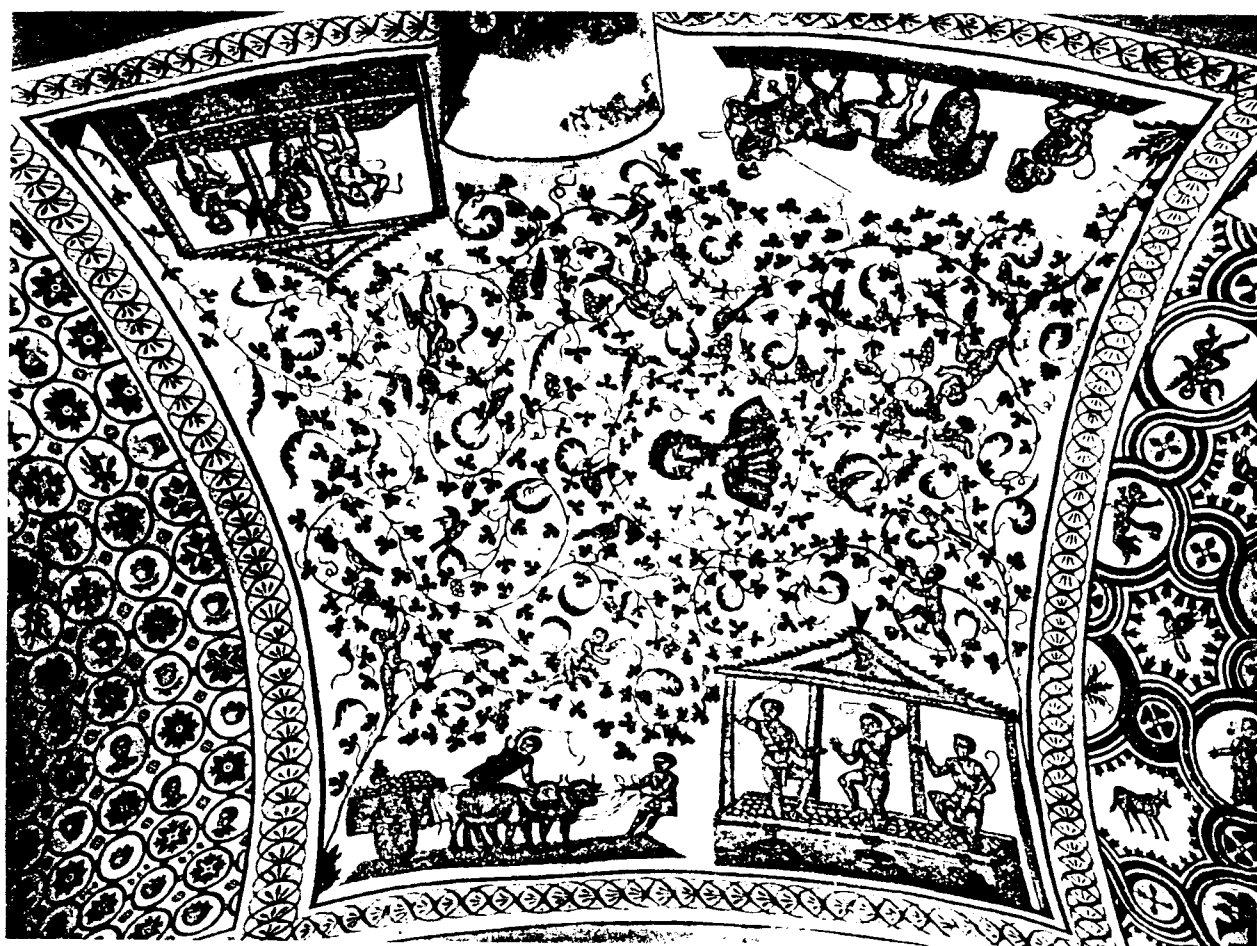


Figure 4. Putti harvesting grapes surrounded by vinery. Located upon the ceiling of one of the barrel vaults in the Church of Santa Constanza, Rome. From Andre Grabar, Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968) plate 76.



Figure 5. Exterior of San Vitale showing centralized, octagonal architecture. From William L. MacDonald, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1962) plate 40.



Figure 6. Interior of San Vitale showing section of choir. From Giuseppe Bovini, The Ancient Monuments of Ravenna (Milan: "Silvana" Editoriale D'Arte, 1964) plate 36.

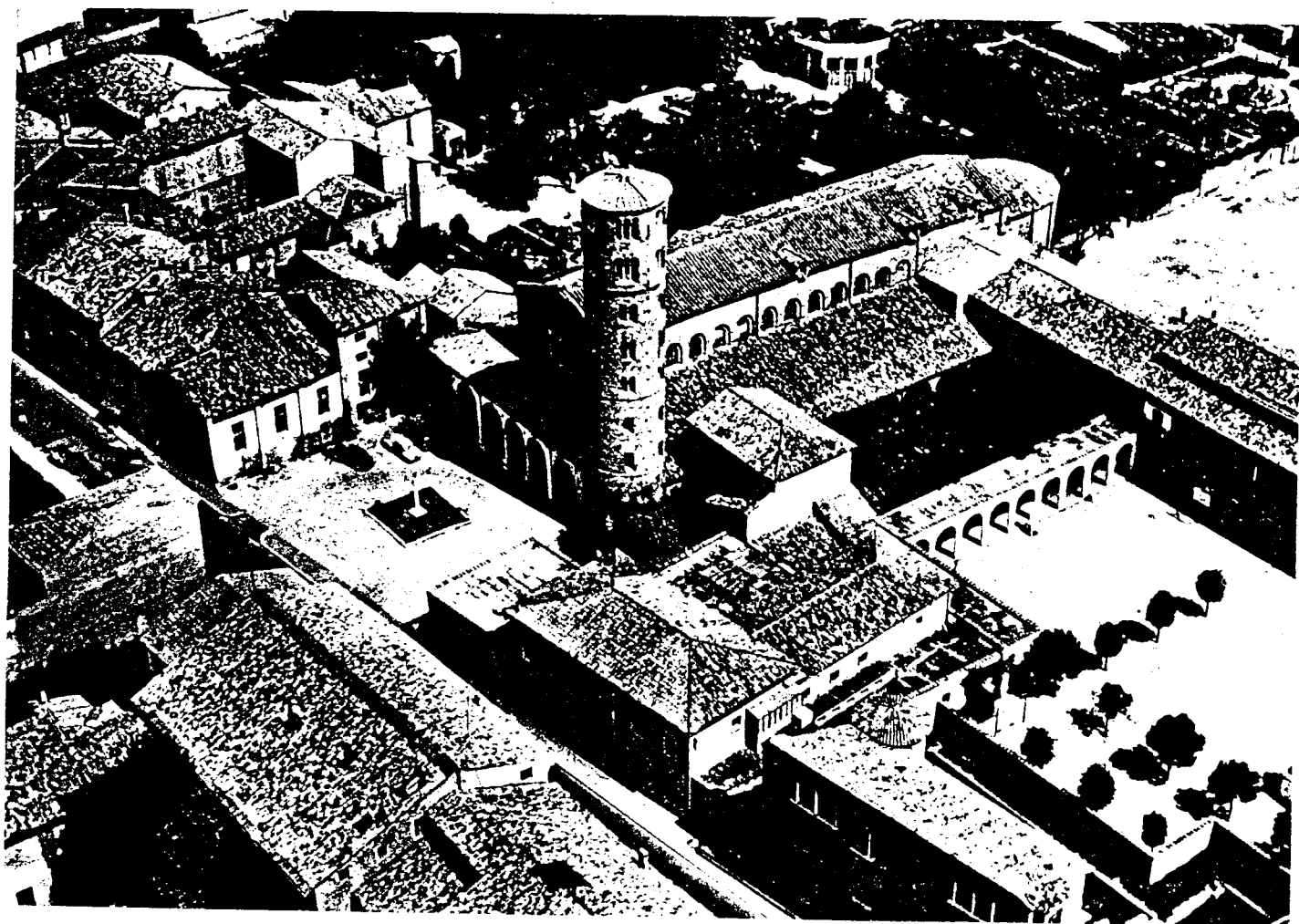


Figure 7. Basilica of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. From Giuseppe Bovini, Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Milan: "Silvana" Editoriale D'Arte, 1961) plate 1.



Figure 8. Interior of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. From Giuseppe Bovini, The Ancient Monuments of Ravenna (Milan: "Silvana" Editoriale D'Arte, 1964) plate 26.

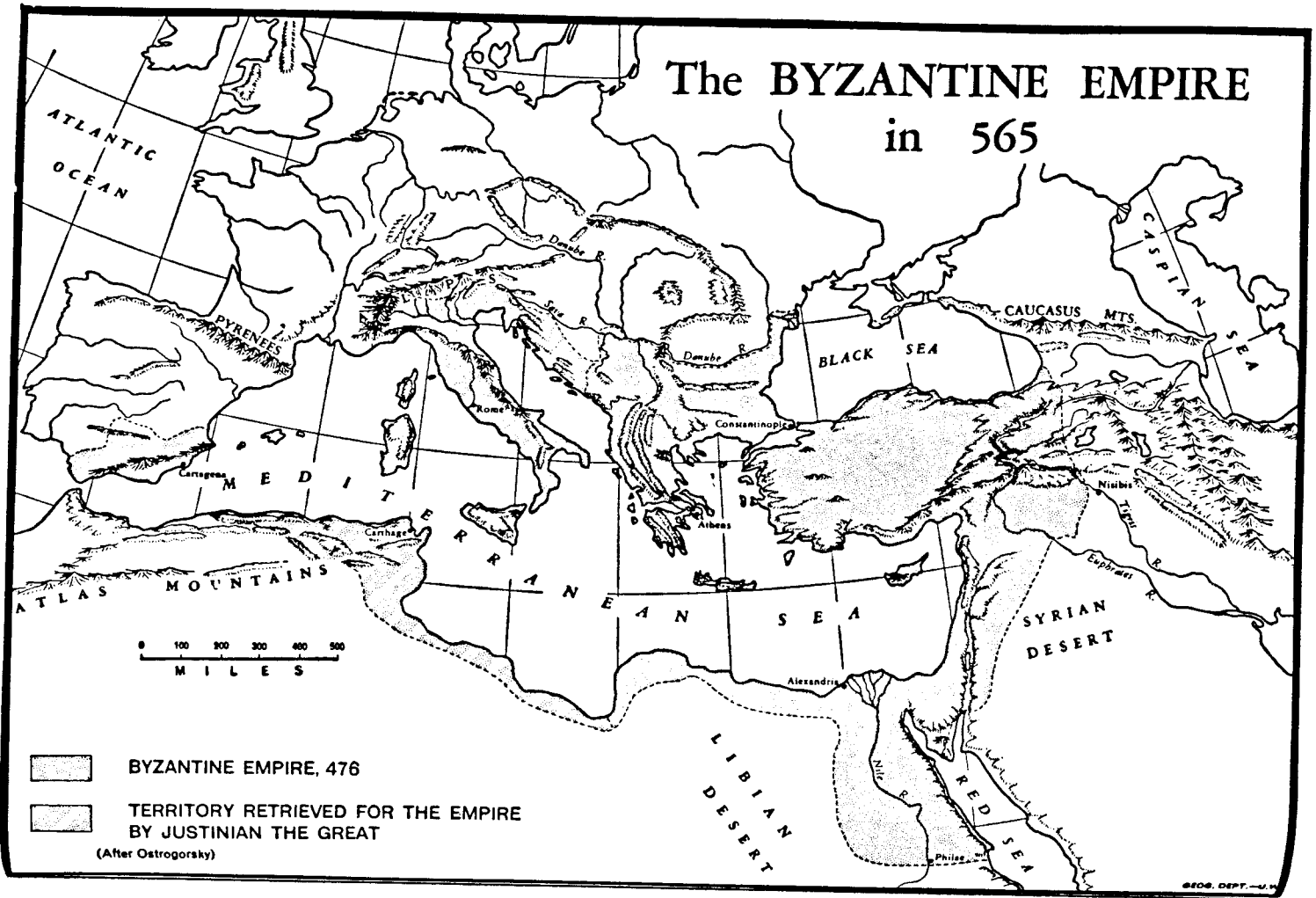


Figure 9. Map of the Byzantine Empire, sixth century B.C. From A.A. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, vol. 1 (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952) 164.

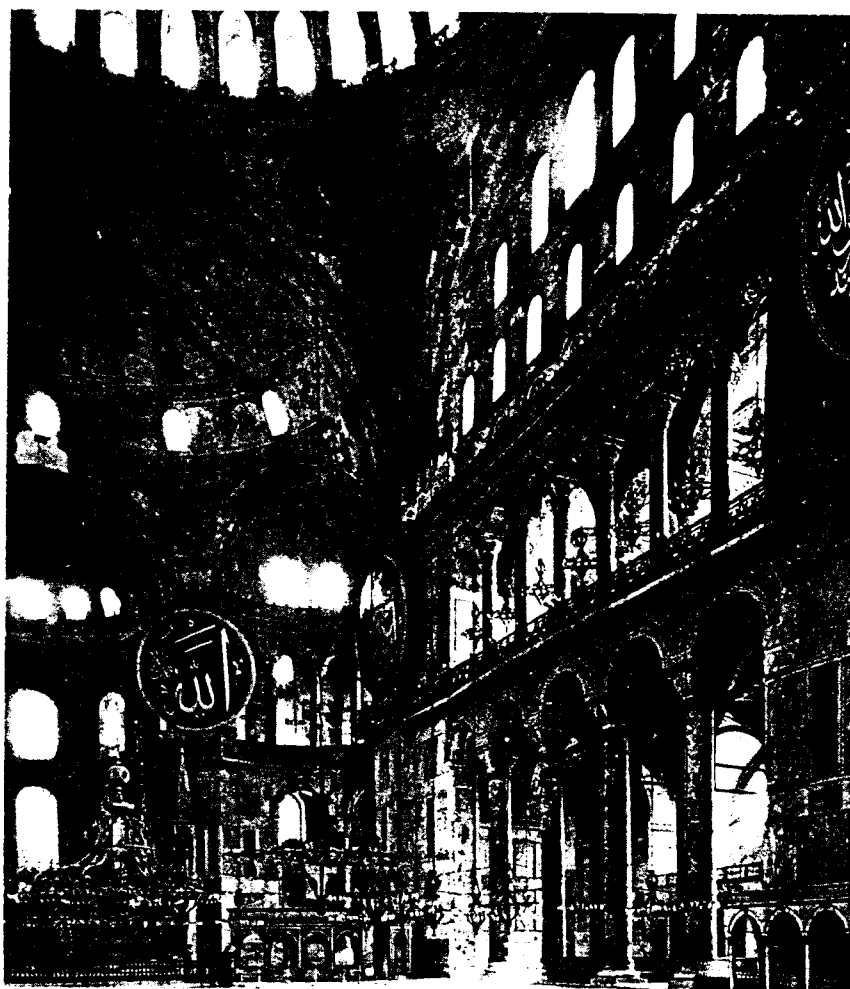


Figure 10. View of the interior of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. Consecrated in December, 537 A.D. From Christian Norberg-Schulz, Meaning in Western Architecture (New York: Rizzoli Publications, Inc., 1980) 68.

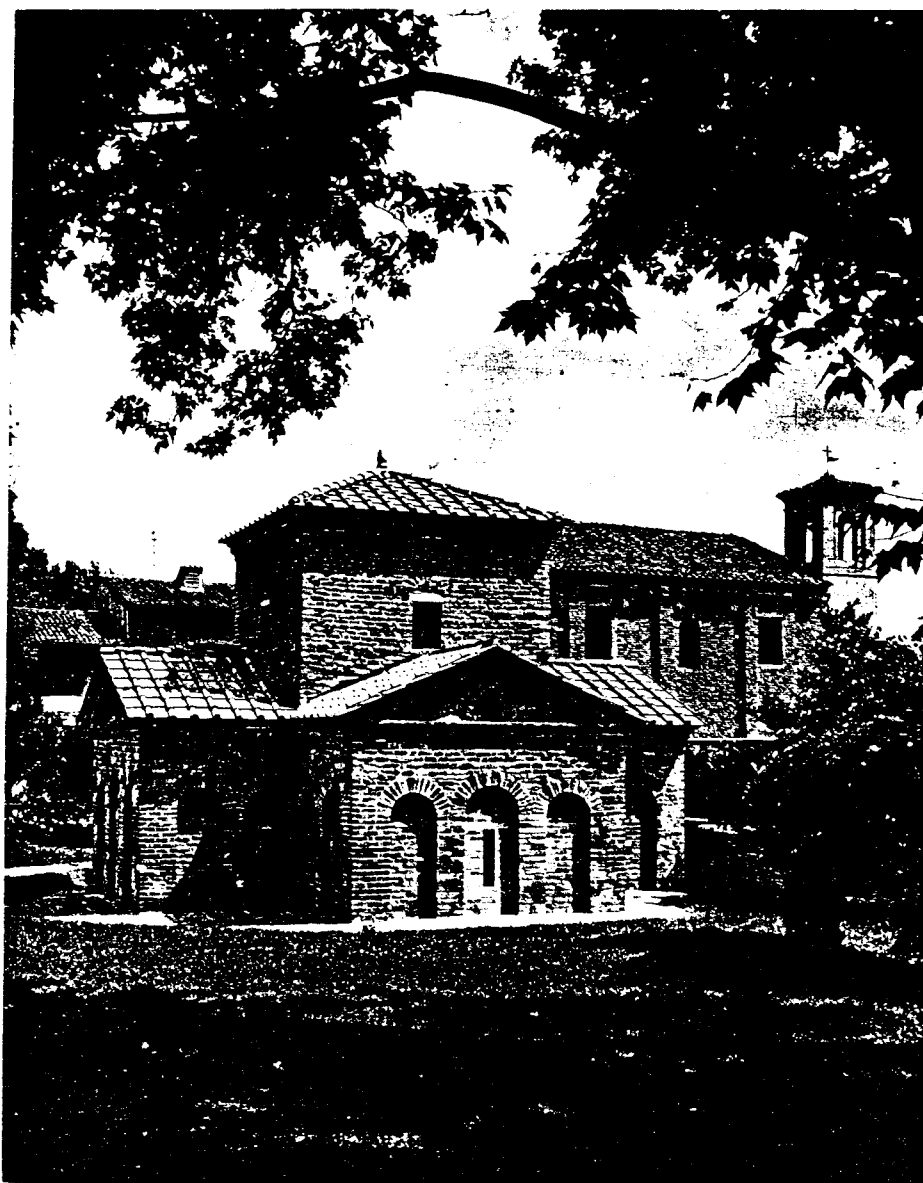


Figure 11. Exterior of Galla Placidia showing cruciform architecture. From Giuseppe Bovini, The Ancient Monuments of Ravenna (Milan: "Silvana" Editoriale D'Arte, 1964) plate 5.



Figure 12. Section of the interior of Galla Placidia. View to the south. From Ernst Kitzinger, Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952) plate 53.

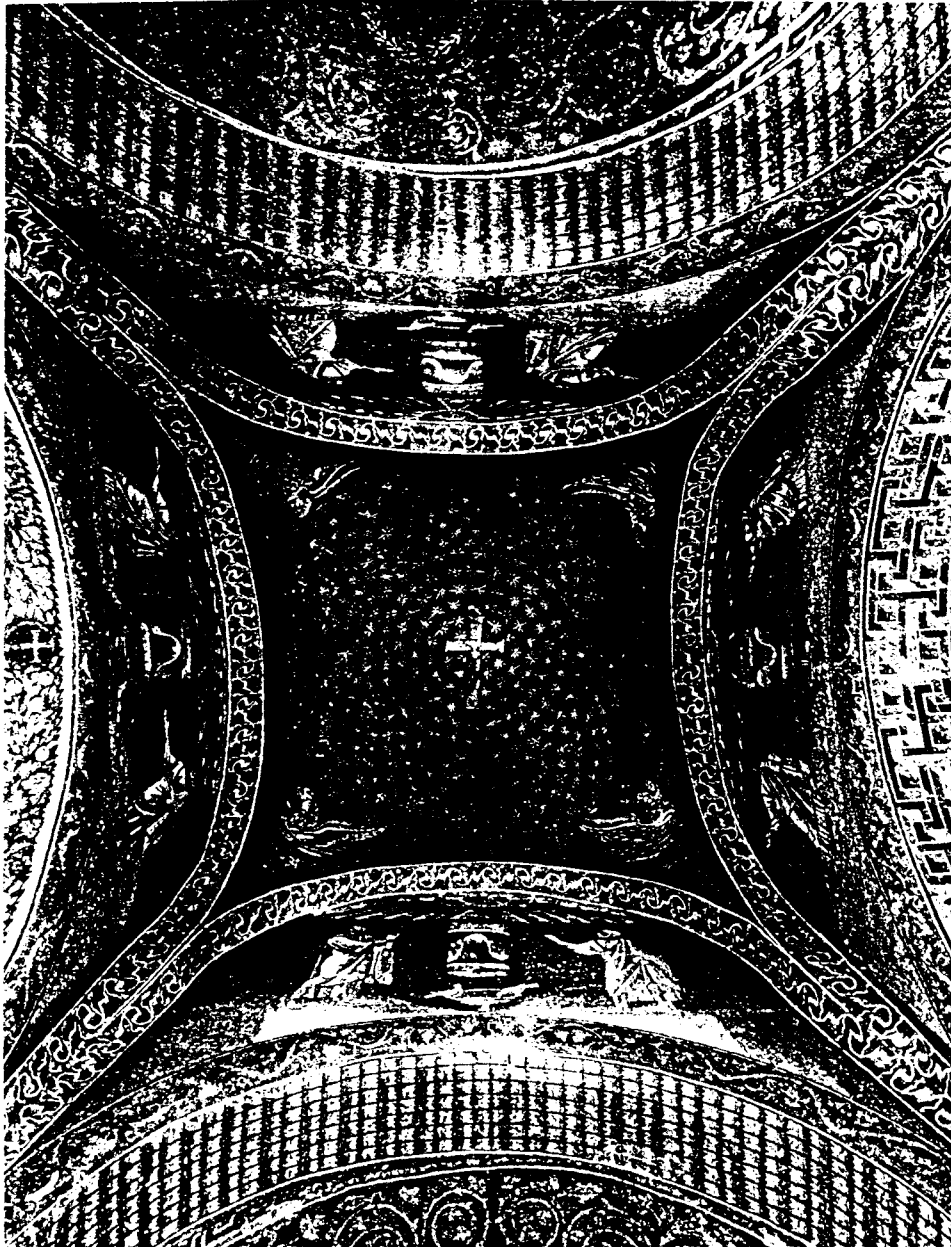


Figure 13. Dome of Galla Placidia. The use of semi-defined pendentives is noted and within each is the symbol of each gospel writer. From Ernst Kitzinger, Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952) plate 98.



Figure 14. Within the Choir of San Vitale. Mosaic of the Hospitality of Abraham and the Sacrifice of Isaac. From Otto G. von Simson, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1948) plate 14.

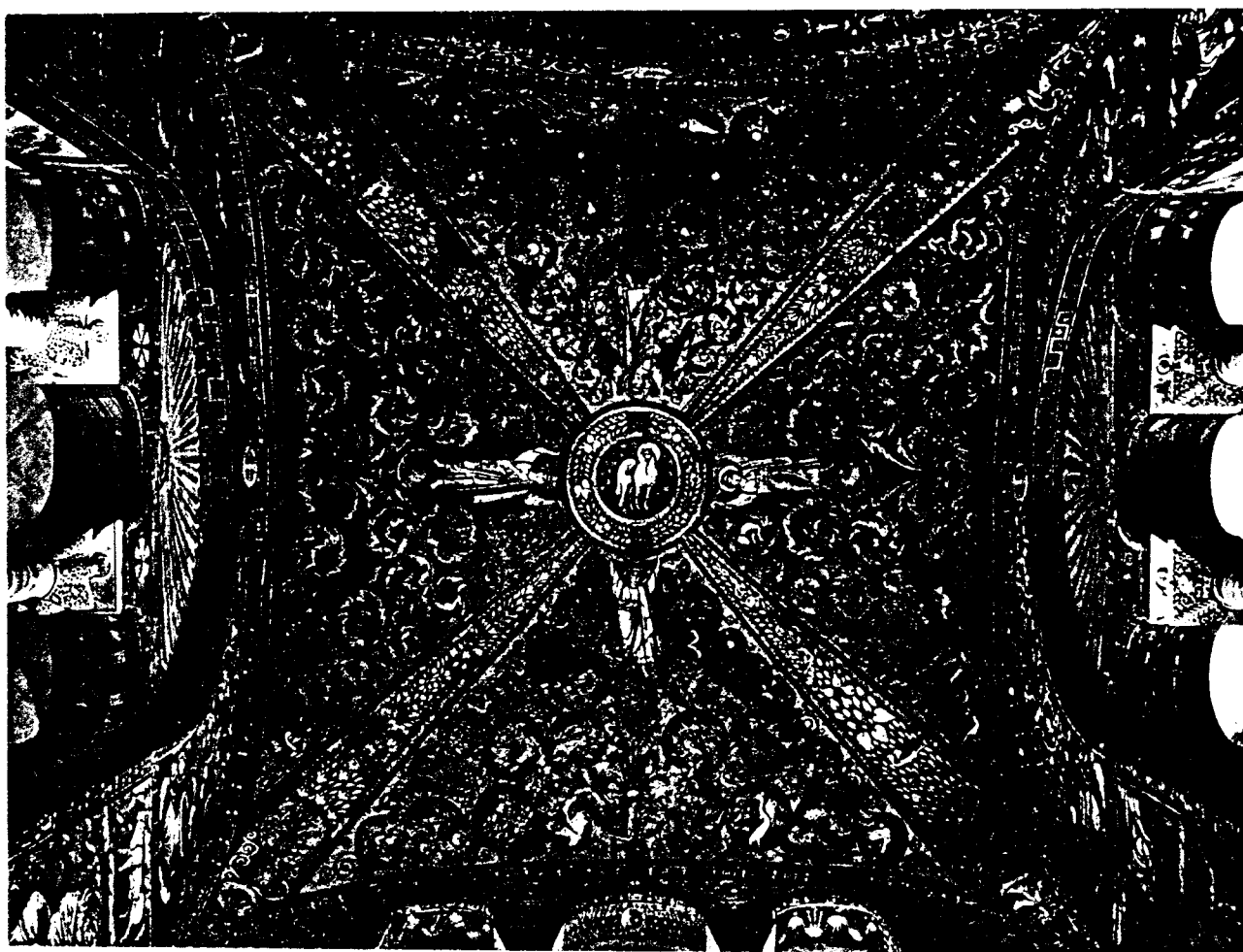


Figure 15. The *Agnus Dei*, found in the vault of the holy Sanctum, San Vitale. From Otto G. von Simson, Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1948) plate 8.

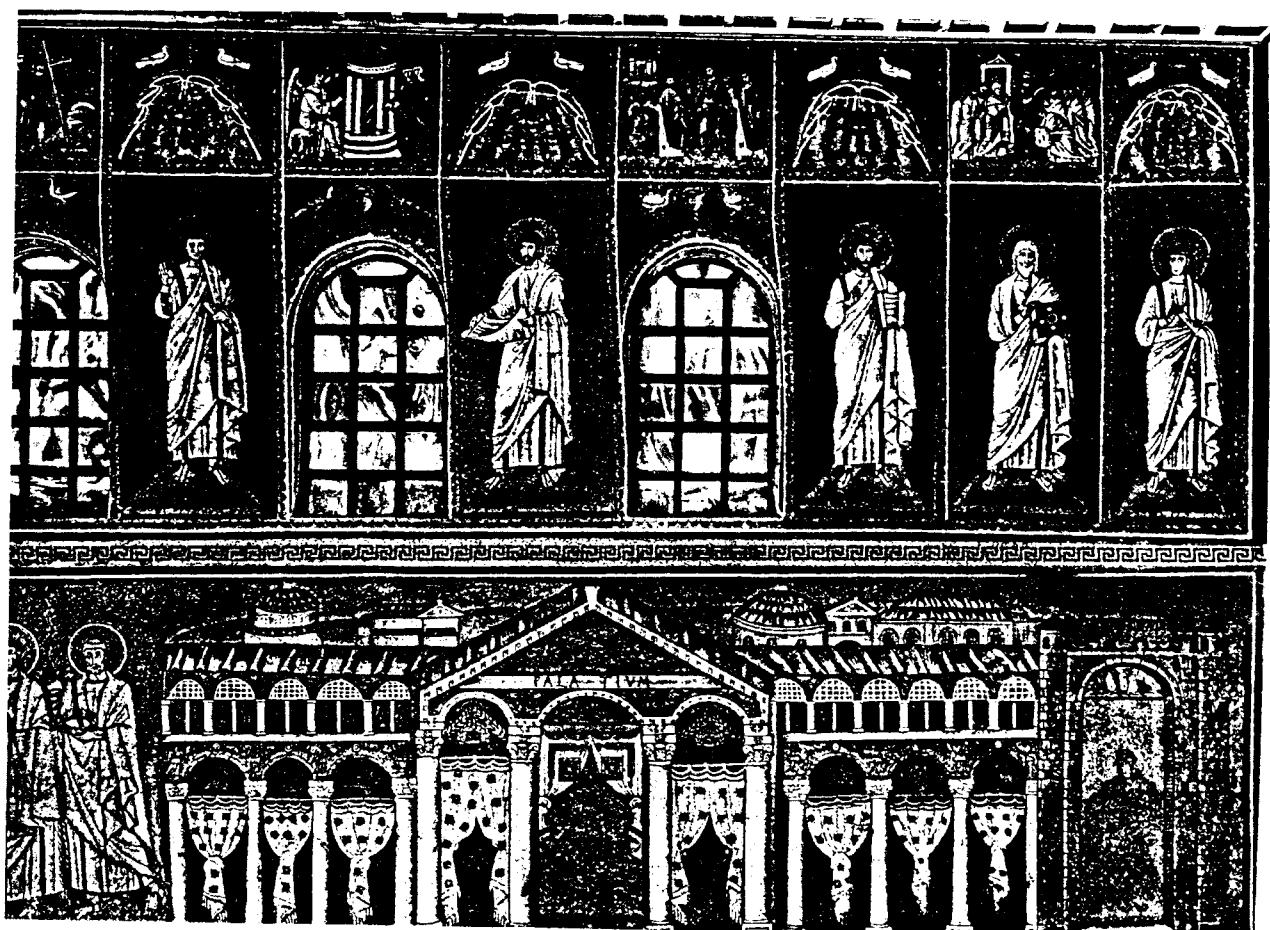


Figure 16. Section of the three zones of mosaics in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. From Ernst Kitzinger, Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952) plate 107.



Figure 17. Christ as Judge separates the Sheep from the Goats. The "Apollonian Jesus." From the Life of Christ mosaics, the "miracles." Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. From Giuseppe Bovini, Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Milan: "Silvana" Editoriale D'Arte, 1961) plate 24.



Figure 18. Pagan tomb in the Raising of Lazarus mosaic, from the Miracles of Christ Series. Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. From Giuseppe Bovini, Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Milan: "Silvana" Editoriale D'Arte, 1961) plate 19.



Figure 19. The Classical rotunda. The Maries at the Sepulchre of Christ in colloquy with the Angel. The Passion Series, Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. From Giuseppe Bovini, Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Milan: "Silvana" Editoriale D'Arte, 1961) plate 41.



Figure 20. The Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes. Oriental presentation to Christ. The Miracles Series, Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. From Giuseppe Bovini, Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Milan: "Silvana" Editoriale D'Arte, 1961) plate 20.

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