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Byzantium and Renaissances

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Tradition and Modernity

pod redakcją

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Dickran Kouymjian

Did Byzantine Iconography Influence
the Large Cycle of the Life of Alexander the Great
in Armenian Manuscripts?

The Romance of Alexander by pseudo-Callisthenes was translated into Armenian in the late fifth century. This extremely popular text continued to be copied into the eighteenth century; some eighty Armenian manuscripts are known. The earliest illustrated version of the Armenian *History of Alexander* dates to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century; it is preserved in the Mekhitarist Congregation on the Island of San Lazzaro in Venice, V424 (figs 61, 70). Because the principal colophon is lacking, we do not know its date or place of copying and illuminating. Nearly one hundred miniatures of a much larger cycle are preserved in this magnificent, but partially mutilated, codex.[1]

From the following centuries, twelve other Armenian manuscripts (figs 65–69) with large miniatures cycles depicting Alexander's life and adventures survive. Though scholars have discussed these miniatures, their exemplars remain mysterious. The most profusely illustrated *Byzantine Greek Alexander* (fig. 64) is also found today in Venice at the Hellenic Institute for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies; it dates to the later fourteenth century. The manuscript is profusely illuminated with 250 miniatures, eighty-six of which are split in two vertically, for a total of 336 miniatures, but many of these depict more than one incident in Alexander's life.[2]

There is, however, little similarity between the Armenian and Byzantine cycle in style or iconography. There are no surviving Alexander cycles before the thirteenth century in any tradition, raising the question of just where Armenian artists got their inspiration.

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1 Its miniatures were first published by F. Macler, *L'Enluminure arménienne profane*, Paris 1928; for a recent facsimile edition with a companion text volume, see G. Traina, C. Franco, D. Kouymjian, C. Veronese Arslan, *La Storia di Alessandro il Macedone. Codice miniato armeno del secolo XIV (Venezia, ms. San Lazzaro 424)*, vol. I. facsimile edition, vol. II, text, Padua 2003.

2 All the miniatures have been published twice. A. Xyngopoulos, *Les miniatures du Roman d'Alexandre le Grand dans le manuscrit de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise*, Athens-Venice 1966; and N. S. Trahoulia, *The Greek Alexander Romance*, facsimile edition of Hellenic Institute, Venice, codex Gr. 5, Athens 1997, who also defended a doctoral thesis at Harvard in the same year, as yet unpublished: 'The Venice Alexander Romance, Hellenic Institute codex Gr. 5: A Study of Alexander the Great as an Imperial Paradigm in Byzantine Art and Literature'.

One would like to believe that when Armenians translated the *Romance of Alexander* they had access to illustrated codices, but there is no concrete information. Little tangible evidence exists in the early medieval tradition in the East or the West to securely reconstruct the large Alexander cycle.[3]

A. Pseudo-Callisthenes and the Fifth-Century Armenian Translation

Nearly 600 years after Alexander's death his life was put together in Alexandria from a variety of sources heavily augmented by legend; it was probably intentionally, though incorrectly, ascribed to Callisthenes, an historian and friend of the world conqueror, and thus became known as the Pseudo-Callisthenes Greek text.[4] It served Julius Valerius for his fourth-century Latin translation of the *Romance*,[5] giving rise to a series of European versions until the tenth century when a new translation into Latin was made by Leo,[6] arch-priest of Naples, which became the source for late medieval versions in almost all European languages. It was the third-century Greek text, called the *alpha* variant, which served as the model for the Armenian. All language traditions modified the Pseudo-Callisthenes, adding local colour and various apocryphal legends. The Armenian included a major reworking of the basic story by the addition of a large series of *kafas* or moralizing poems, usually added in red ink within the frame of the miniatures (figs 61, 70), in the late thirteenth century and again in the sixteenth century.[7] Yet the Armenian Alexander remained very faithful to the Greek in its original *alpha* version, now lost.

B. Early Alexander Iconography

Even though the *Alexander Romance* was among the most popular secular books in the west, the art historical study of the evolution of its miniature cycle is handicapped by a hiatus of nearly a thousand years between the Alexandrian text of the third century and the thirteenth-century illustrations in Greek, Latin, Armenian, and French versions. Thanks to David Ross and his indispensable handbook *Alexander Historiatus* (see note 3)

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3   Though if one were to aggregate all the miniatures from all late thirteen-century French manuscripts that contain in whole or in part the *Alexander Romance*, they might collectively make up a large cycle part of which was no doubt surely borrowed from models going back to paleo-Christian centuries; the raw material is in D. J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, *a Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature*, London 1963, 2nd ed. revised, Frankfurt am Main 1988. To some extentd this has been done for the oriental tradition for all manuscripts of Nizami's *Iskandar nameh*, 127 subjects in all: Л. Н. Додхудоева, *Поэмы Низами в средневековой миниатюрной живописи*, Москва 1985. See also David Ross's remarks quoted in the Conclusion of this study.

4   D. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus...*, p. 6, and A. Abel, *Le Roman d'Alexandre*, Brussels 1955, pp. 56–57 for details.

5   *Res gestae Alexandri Macedoniais*, in three books: birth, acts, death.

6   *Historia de Preliis*, about its various recensions, see Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, pp. 9–10; A. Abel, *Le Roman d'Alexandre*, pp. 47–54, which covers the Latin tradition.

7   On the *kafa* tradition and its main practitioners, see H. Simonyan, *Hay mijnadaryan kafaner (x-xvi dd.)* [Medieval Armenian *Kafas* (10th–16th Centuries)], Erevan 1975. On the function of the *kafas* within the miniature cycle of the Armenian Alexander, see Ch. Maranci, 'Word and Image in the Armenian *Alexander Romance*', *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*, XIII, 2003–2004, pp. 19–28.

some order has been brought to the mass of illustrative and textual material from medieval and post medieval manuscripts in all western language traditions including that of the Christian Near East.

1. Classical & Late Antique

Images of Alexander and his exploits survive from the classical and late antique periods through stone sculpture, mosaics, frescoes, coins, and even occasional scenes in illustrated texts of classical authors. This material has been exploited to fill in the lacunae in the manuscript tradition, but has thus far been insufficient to reconstruct an early cycle.[8]

Of fundamental importance is the late fourth or fifth century mosaic found in a villa in Soueidié near Baalbek in Lebanon[9] (fig. 62), which, though damaged, clearly represents a few episodes from Alexander's early life according to the fabulous account in the Pseudo-Callisthenes. Ross assigned the scenes to a pictorial cycle of the *Alexander Romance* dating to the late fourth century and brought other evidence to show that by the time the Armenian translation was made in the fifth century a large series of miniatures portrayed the various episodes in the Greek version.[10]

2. Byzantine

There are only two illustrated Byzantine manuscripts of the *Romance of Alexander the Great*. The earliest is also the oldest illuminated version of the text, a mediocre codex with thirty-one crude illustrations and eighty-nine empty emplacements for others never executed. The manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, Barocci 17 (fig. 63), dates to the early thirteenth century and is of provincial origin.[11] The much more famous and lavish example in Venice, with its richly painted cycle (fig. 64), was perhaps commissioned or at least owned by the Emperor of Trebizond Alexis III Comnenos (1349–1390).[12] Theoretically these manuscripts should serve as a guide for understanding the sources

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8   David Ross on several occasions tried to show the way of reconstructing the lost cycle, in his *Alexander Historiatus*, and in a number of articles on individual subjects. Those that relate particularly to Armenian illuminations are: 'Olympias and the Serpent: The Interpretation of a Baalbek Mosaic and the Date of the Illustrated Pseudo-Callisthenes', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVI, 1963, pp. 1–29, reprinted in D. Ross, *Studies in the Alexander Romance*, London 1985; idem, 'A Funny Name for a Horse – Bucephalus in Antiquity and the Middle Ages', *Bien dire et bien apprendre*, VII, 1989, pp. 51–76. K. Weitzmann had already started this work in his *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, revised second edition of original of 1947, Princeton 1970.

9   M. Chehab, 'Mosaiques du Liban', *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, XIV-XV, 1958–1959, pp. 46–50; recent authorities have suggested a fifth or early sixth century date.

10   D. Ross, 'Olympias and the Serpent...', passim.

11   Idem, *Alexander Historiatus*, p. 43; many of the miniatures have been published in I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften II/2 Oxford, Bodleian Library*, Stuttgart 1978, pp. 33–36, 116–23, some are also available online on the Bodleian Library webpage.

12   The identification was made by L. Gallagher, 'The Alexander Romance in the Hellenic Institute at Venice. Some notes on the Initial Miniature', *Thesaurismata*, XVI, 1979, pp. 170–205. The entire corpus of illustrations has been published by both Xyngopoulos (1966) and Trahoulia (1997).

and development of the Armenian Alexander cycle since they date within a half-century before or after the first Armenian version, the Venice 424, which I date to no later than the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

The major handicap to a comparative analysis between the Oxford and the Venice Byzantine *Alexanders* and the Mekhitarist Congregation Venice 424 is that though the latter illustrates the Armenian translation of the original *alpha* version, as do all Armenian manuscripts, the Barocci 17 is an *epsilon* recension and the Hellenic Institute manuscript, a *gamma* recension, with accretions and deletions in both cases.[13] For example the Oxford and Venice Greek manuscripts have multiple depictions of Alexander's entry into Rome (figs 63, 64) whereas the Armenian *alpha* text never mentions the city, though it speaks of Alexander's campaign from Sicily to Italy where he is greeted by "the generals of the Romans".[14]

3. Armenian

Fr. Nerses Akinian[15] and more recently Hasmik Simonian[16] have separated the texts of the numerous Armenian manuscripts into three groups: 1) the original translation following the *alpha* recension, 2) the reworked *alpha* version by Khachatʻur Kecharetsʻi in the late thirteenth century with the addition of his moralizing poems, *kafas*, and 3) a shorter, popular epitome. Of the thirteen manuscripts of the Armenian *Alexander* containing a miniature cycle,[17] all are from the second textual group reworked with *kafas*. They date from around 1300 (Venice 424) to 1712; a fourteenth example of the nineteenth century has no miniatures but was laid out with frames for 101 illustrations (Erevan, Matenadaran = M8003). The average size of the cycle in these manuscripts (counting the unfilled picture spaces) is about 120, but the number of discreet subjects is well over 160. Until recently, no study has been devoted to the interrelationship of these illustrated manuscripts or the style and iconography of their miniatures except remarks in passing, mostly by Sirarpie Der Nersessian.[18] The larger question of the source or sources for the Armenian series has not much changed from the similarities found fifty years ago by David Ross between the three or four scenes in the Soueidié mosaics and late medieval European and Armenian manuscripts.[19]

No serious hypothesis has been put forth on how a cycle of miniatures reached Armenian scriptoria of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Yet, just as the old-

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13 D. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, pp. 43–44 for a brief discussion.
14 A. M. Wolohojian, *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes*, translated from the Armenian version with an introduction, New York-London 1969, p. 47.
15 N. Akinian, 'Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der armenischen Übersetzung des Alexanderromans von Pseudo-Kallistenes', Byzantion, XIII, 1938, pp. 201–206.
16 H. Simonyan, *Patmutʻiwn Agheksandri Makedonatswoy (History of Alexander of Macedon)*, Erevan, 1989; she lists and briefly describes 69 manuscripts, including ten that are illustrated.
17 D. Kouymjian, 'L'Iconographie de l'Histoire d'Alexandre le Grand dans les manuscrits arméniens', in *Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures occidentales et proche-orientales, Actes du Colloque de Paris, 27–29 novembre 1997*, ed. L. Harf-Lancner, C. Kappler, F. Suard, Nanterre 1999, pp. 95–112, especially pp. 97–100.
18 S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, London 1978, pp. 230–33.
19 Especially D. Ross, 'Olympias and the Serpent...'.

est Greek and Armenian texts, also of the thirteenth century, had to have had a series of exemplars for the copyists, it is reasonable to assume that existing miniature cycles depended on a chain of illustrated versions of the important events described in the *Romance* going back to the third or fourth century.

Unfortunately, we have no Armenian representations of Alexander in any medium before Venice no. 424 (figs 61, 70); therefore, we must speculate on what the models were for the large cycle found fully developed in the Mekhitarist manuscript. Were they based on earlier Armenian manuscripts now lost or did the neighbouring Byzantine-Greek tradition serve as the source?

The five illustrated manuscripts in a second group of illuminated Armenian *Alexanders* date from 1526 to 1544 (figs 65–69). Two of them, Kurdian no. 280 of 1526[20] (fig. 66) and Jerusalem (=J), Armenian Patriarchate J473 of 1536 (fig. 68), were copied and painted by the same team, the scribe Margare of Ardjesh and the painter Grigoris Catholicos of Aght'amar (1512–1544).[21] Two others, Erevan, M5472 of 1538–1544 (fig. 67), and Manchester, Rylands no. 3 of 1544 (fig. 65), were both copied and painted by Bishop Zak'aria Gnuni.[22] The pair of *Alexanders* by Grigoris was executed in the Van region, those of Zak'aria in Rome and Constantinople. The fifth example dated 1535, Berlin, Staatsbibliotek, Or. 805, was copied and painted by Hovasap *sargavak* in Sebastia in a naïve style relying on line drawings filled in with washes of bright colours. The manuscripts of 1535 and of 1544 have iconographic resemblances to the Venice manuscript.[23]

An analysis of the cycles of the five manuscripts–style, iconography, and composition of the scenes–suggests that at least two separate and different exemplars were used. One of these was perhaps the Venice Armenian Alexander, since at least two of the five codices share common features with it. Another model, however, had a different iconography, evident in certain subjects, and contained somewhat different episodes. Even if the following demonstration points to multiple earlier versions, there is still the problem of determining if the models were Byzantine or older Armenian ones.

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20 The *Alexander Romance* formerly in the Harutiun Kurdian Collection, no. 82, in Wichita, Kansas, now in Venice, has never been properly published, though six illuminated leaves from it, now in the Garrett Collection, Princeton University, have been described by A. Sanjian, *A Catalogue of Medieval Armenian Manuscripts in the United States*, Los Angeles 1976, no. 94, pp. 406-08; see also T. F. Mathews, and R. S. Wieck, editors, *Treasures in Heaven. Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York-Princeton 1994, no. 77, p. 201, fig. 151. The Kurdian manuscript has been discussed with illustrations in an electronic journal: F. Lollini, 'Alessandro il Grande come Cristo in due manoscritti armeni', *La Rivista di Engramma*, XXXIX, February 2005.

21 N. Pogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts* [in Armenian with English title], vol. II, Jerusalem 1967, pp. 460–66, fig. 24–26. For a study of the miniatures: D. Kouymjian, 'Jerusalem Manuscript no. 473, *History of Alexander the Great* Dated 1536: Remarks on Its Iconography', in *Armenian Art History and Culture (10ᵗʰ – 20ᵗʰ Century), Acts of a conference held in Jerusalem, July 2011*, forthcoming.

22 For details on these manuscripts see D. Kouymjian, 'The Miniature Cycle of the *History of Alexander the Great* and Matenadaran Manuscript No. 5472', in *Acts of the conference 'Celebrating the 1650ᵗʰ Anniversary of Mesrop Mashtots', Erevan, September 2011*, forthcoming.

23 S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art*, p. 233.

D. Specific Scene: Bucephalus

Alexander's horse was called Bucephalus because on its thigh it had a scar that looked like the head of a bull [figs 1, 7]. His father King Philip had been given the horse with a prediction that whoever could control and ride it would be a world conqueror. But the horse had a mean disposition and killed and ate all would-be tamers [fig. 7]; it remained locked up. When Alexander was fourteen he heard the loud, violent neighing of the horse and inquired what it was. When the horse heard Alexander's voice he became calm and docile and Alexander mounted him without reins. The two became inseparable.[24]

Bucephalus is widely depicted in all versions of the *History* [figs 1, 3, 4, 6, 7]. In the Mekhitarist *Alexander*, we can see on Bucephalus's hind side the scar or more probably a brand of the head of a bull on seven miniatures [fig. 1].[25] Two centuries later we find the same motif, the bull's head, in the manuscript painted in Rome by Bishop Zak'aria, M5472, between 1538 and 1544; the brand in these miniatures is in relief as though horns were sprouting out of the left side of his rump, and Bucephalus has very long and pointed horns for ears [fig. 7].[26] The second manuscript of the *Alexander Romance* illuminated by Zak'aria in Constantinople in 1544, Rylands no. 3, also shows the bull's head on the left flank, but normal tail and ears.[27] The feature does not exist in either of the Byzantine manuscripts of the *Romance*, the crudely painted Oxford manuscript of the thirteenth century or the very elegant fourteenth-century codex in the Hellenic Institute [figs 3, 4]. How did the motif get into Armenian manuscripts? Was it already used in illustrations of the Pseudo-Callisthenes from the early centuries, an artistic borrowing from a now lost, late antique or middle Byzantine manuscript, or an iconographic invention of the Armenian artist of the Venice 424? The earlier assumption seems the most probable; on the other hand we can point to a clear example of an Armenian invention surrounding the representation of Bucephalus.

In the 1526 manuscript, Catholicos Grigoris painted, in addition to the normal rendering of Bucephalus, a near full-page picture of a massive composite quadruped with an eagle's beak; within its body is an amalgam of animal and human figures arranged haphazardly with a lion-like beast leaping onto the horse's back [fig. 6].[28] To my knowledge it is unknown in any other language-tradition of the Alexander story, and it is clearly identified as Bucephalus (*Ts'laglukh*, in Armenian literally "Bull-headed"). A decade later Grigoris painted another, only slightly different, version of the animal in a manuscript

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24 A. M. Wolohojian, *The Romance of Alexander*, pp. 33, 38–39, for the details of the Armenian version of the account.

25 Because of the damaged state of the Venice 424, the expected pictures of the confinement and eventual taming of Bucephalus are totally missing. For the surviving illustrations, G. Traina, C. Franco, D. Kouymjian, C. Veronese Arslan, *La Storia di Alessandro*, fols 53v, 57r, 62v, 67r, 88r, 89v, 100v [our fig. 1], respectively pls 106, 113, 124, 133, 175, 178, 200; in F. Macler, *L'Enluminure arménienne profane*, the order of the reproductions is inaccurate after his fig. 66. D. Ross, 'A Funny Name for a Horse', p. 57, speaks only of five occurrences instead of seven, probably relying on Macler.

26 Erevan, M5472, pp. 26 [our fig. 7], 37, 38, 53, 64, 121, 127, 141, 184. Bucephalus's tail in this manuscript ends with the head of a wild beast with open mouth.

27 Manchester, John Rylands Library, Arm. no. 3, fols 13r, 66 (right flank), 71v (right flank), 113.

28 Venice, Mekhitarist Congregation, San Lazzaro, Kurdian no. 280, *History of Alexander the Great*, fol. 75v.

now in Jerusalem.[29] The unmistakable association with Alexander's mount is clearly demonstrated or reinforced by the painting of the creature by Bishop Zakʻaria, a student of Grigoris, in the *Alexander* codex of 1544 executed in Constantinople where we see that Zakʻaria has transformed the head of the composite animal into that of a horse.[30] The figure is lacking in the oldest Armenian Alexander, the Venice 424.

This example is a clear invention of an iconographic motif added into whatever traditional Alexander cycles were at the disposal of the Armenian artist. I have discussed the possible origin and meaning of this fabulous creature elsewhere,[31] but it may be appropriate here to point out that the model for its composite nature seems to be an illustration in the only surviving Armenian modelbook for miniaturists, also preserved at San Lazzaro, Venice.[32] Again, without entering into details, I have also tried to trace the origin of composite animals in the history of art and found the most convincing earlier inspiration (not at all resembling the Bucephalus creature) in a decorated headpiece of a thirteenth-century Armenian Gospels from the Cilician kingdom.[33]

E. Specific Scene: The Birth of Alexander

In an earlier study, I also tried to demonstrate that some scenes among Armenian manuscripts of Alexander display different iconographic models. Among the most obvious is that of the birth of Alexander,[34] rendered in some manuscripts in a fashion similar to the Nativity of Christ and in others showing Alexander's mother Olympias using what was known in Egypt as a birth chair (figs 68, 69). Each has an origin in the Alexandrian tradition: the Egyptian birth chair and the early Baalbek mosaic (fig. 62, which used a classical birth scene later adopted in Christian iconography.[35]

Conclusion

In attempting to answer the question in the title of this paper: "Did Byzantine iconography influence the cycle of the life of Alexander the Great in Armenian manuscripts?" one can only reply that it must have, but the links or connections are still a mystery and

29 Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, J473, *History of Alexander the Great*, fol. 10v.
30 Manchester, Rylands Arm. 3, fol. 42v, reproduced in C. Mutafian, ed., *Arménie. La magie de l'écrit*, Marseille-Paris 2007, p. 172.
31 See Kouymjian, 'Jerusalem Manuscript no. 473', as in n. 21.
32 Venice, Mekhitarist Congregation, V1434, fols 11v–12; the modelbook has been discussed by S. Der Nersessian, 'Le carnet de modèles d'un miniaturiste arménien', in idem, *Études byzantines et arméniennes. Byzantine and Armenian Studies*, 2 vols, Louvain 1973, pp. 665–72, (originally published in *Armeniaca, Mélanges d'études arméniennes*, San Lazzaro-Venice 1969, pp. 175–83), fig. 433, and fig. 434 for the miniature in J473, fol. 10v. A discussion of this representation of Bucephalus is on pp. 670–71.
33 Erevan, M9422, fol. 4, illustrated in L. A. Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures*, New York 1961, figure on p. 123. S. Der Nersessian had independently come to the same conclusion, see the previous note.
34 Already pointed out by D. Ross, 'Olympias and the Serpent...', pp. 7–10, pls. 2b-d, 3a, 3c, 5b, 6c.
35 For details see: D. Kouymjian, 'Jerusalem Manuscript no. 473...', passim, and concerning the influence of Christian iconography on the illustrated Armenian *Alexander*, D. Kouymjian, 'Illustrations of the Armenian *Alexander Romance* and Motifs from Christian Iconography', in *Jos Weitenberg Festschrift* (=Hebrew University Armenian Studies series), Louvain 2012.

one wonders just how the question will be resolved. Fifty years ago David Ross was convinced that the Armenian cycle was derived from the original one fashioned in Alexandria in the late third or fourth century, though he made it clear that the Armenian was not the only tradition to have preserved at least in part the primitive series. Speaking about the large cycles in illustrated copies of the Armenian *Alexander Romance*, he says:

> The picture-cycle illustrating these manuscripts is of great interest and antiquity. It was originally devised to illustrate the Greek Pseudo-Callisthenes, probably in Alexandria, and is found not only in surviving Greek manuscripts of the *e*[*psilon*] and *g*[*amma*] traditions and in the Armenian manuscripts, but also in Latin manuscripts of the *Historia de Preliis* of the Archpriest Leo of Naples in all three interpolated versions, in the *Old French Prose Alexander*, in a fragmentary *Italian Alexander*, in the *Byzantine Alexander poem* and in manuscripts both Balkan and Russian of the *Serbian Alexander*. ... The pictures were designed within a century of the appearance of the text of Pseudo-Callisthenes as three distinct scenes from the cycle are traceable in a fourth-century mosaic from a villa near Baalbek. Other traces of the cycle occur in an early eleventh-century manuscript of Pseudo-Oppian in Venice [Marciana, Gr. 479] and in a fourteenth-century illustrated Solinus in Milan [Ambrosiana lat. C246].[36]

Two possible approaches present themselves. The first would be to try to retroactively reconstruct the cycle of the unknown exemplars used by Armenian artists for their series by classifying scenes common to the surviving manuscripts. The second would be to try to fuse this information with the scenes depicted in the two surviving Byzantine manuscripts with the Alexander cycle as well as Latin and other language versions whose illustrations reflect familiarity with the primitive tradition. Perhaps the approaches are just two facets of a single investigation. To complete the analysis one would have to examine closely the scenes found in the Islamic illustrations of the life of Iskandar.[37] This will no doubt require a team of specialists trying to rationalize, or at least present, the episodes in each of these traditions to see which of the miniatures might have descended from an illustrated late antique manuscript or manuscripts of the Pseudo-Callisthenes.

36 D. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, p. 6.
37 In part undertaken in the study of Л. Н. Додхудоева, *Поэмы Низами...*

61 Alexander mounted on Bucephalus advance against the Bebrycians, *Alexander Romance*, ca. 1300–1325, Venice, San Lazzaro, Mekhitarist Library, V424, fol. 101v (photo: Mekhitarist Congregation)
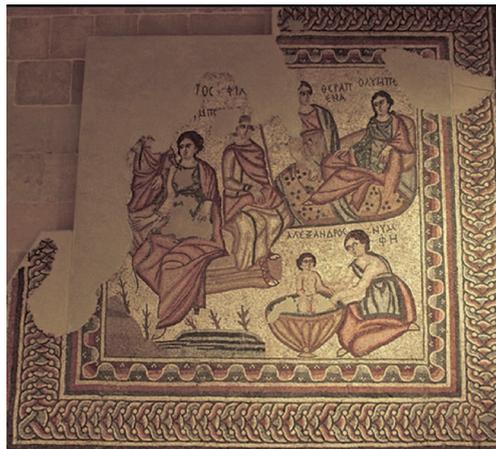
62 Mosaic found in a villa at Soueidié near Baalbek showing the birth of Alexander and fragments of other scenes from the Pseudo-Callisthenes, 4th–5th century, Beirut, National Museum (photo: National Museum of Beirut)

63 Alexander enters Rome riding Bucephalus, *Alexander Romance*, Byzantine, early 13th century, Oxford, Bodleian, Barocci 17, fol. 28 (photo: Bodleian Library website)
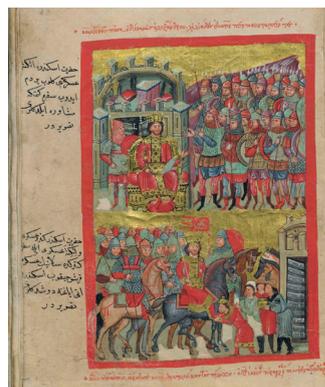
64 Alexander counts his troops and below mounted on Bucephalus he enters Thessalonica, *Romance*, mid-14th century, Venice, Hellenic Institute, fol. 36v. (photo: Hellenic Institute, Venice)

65 Besos and Zarivardan, the assassins of Darius, crucified by Alexander, *Romance of Alexander*, 1526, Princeton, Garrett 23, fol. 33v (photo: Princeton University)

66 Bucephalus represented as a composite quadruped. Note under the figure the Armenian *ts'laglukh*, bullheaded, i. e., Bucephalus, Van region, 1526, Venice, Mekhitarists Library, Kurdian 280, f. 75v (photo: Mekhitarist Congregation)

67 The wild horse Bucephalus brought before King Philip with the horns of the bull on his hind, *History of Alexander*, Erevan, M5472, fol. 26; copied and painted in Rome 1538–1544 by Zak'aria Gnuni (photo: The Matenadaran, Erevan)

68 Catholicos Grigoris artist, Birth of Alexander with his mother Olympias and Nektanebos looking on, *Romance of Alexander*, 1536, Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, J473, fol. 17 (photo: author)

69 Olympias on the birth chair bearing Alexander with midwives & Nektanebos, Constantinople, 1544, Manchester, John Rylands Lib. 3, fol. 11v, (photo: John Rylands, Library, Manchester)

70 Alexander enthroned, *History of Alexander the Great*, ca. 1300, Venice, Mekhitarist Library, V424, fol. 19v (photo: Mekhitarist Congregation)