

JOHN LOWDEN

John Hopkins Lowden

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by

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Summary. A historian of medieval manuscript illumination and objects, John Lowden spent his professional life at the Courtauld Institute of the University of London. He was a committed empiricist who promoted applied codicology as an alternative to the prevalent method of studying illustrations as reflections of authorial originals. Unusual in studying both Byzantine and Latin art, his publications include: *The Illuminated Prophet Books: A Study of Byzantine Manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets* (1988), *The Byzantine Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (1992), *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (1997), *The Making of the Bibles Moralises* (2000), and *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary: The Story of a Byzantine Book* (2009), as well as some ninety articles, reviews, and dictionary and exhibition catalogue entries. Lowden was the founding Director of the ‘Gothic Ivories Project’ at the Courtauld Institute. A spirited teacher as well as scholar and author, his students perpetuate his legacy on both sides of the Atlantic and in Japan.



John Michael

John Hopkins Lowden was born on 1 May 1953 to Muriel Florence Amelia Lowden, an English teacher, and Eric Walter Lowden, a pilot and then Deputy Chief Executive of the board of British Airways. Having followed his older brother Stephen to the Leys School in Cambridge, John went on to read English at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, graduating in 1974. He studied art history at the Courtauld Institute of the University of London where he earned the MA degree in 1977 and, under Robin Cormack's tutelage, the PhD in 1980. Hugo Buchthal, who had returned to London's Warburg Institute following a decade of teaching at New York University's Institute of Fine Arts, also nurtured John Lowden's intellectual development.¹ Like so many scholars of his generation, Lowden struggled to find a position in Margaret Thatcher's Great Britain. After a stint as lecturer at the University of St Andrews in 1981–82, however, he secured an interim appointment at the Courtauld to replace Cormack (on a three-year British Academy readership leave), at the same time filling in, as it were, for Christopher Hohler and George Zarnecki, the Institute's formidable western medievalists who, because of Thatcherite cutbacks, had not yet been replaced after retiring. Lowden never left. First a Lecturer and, from 1995, a Reader, he was promoted to Professor of the History of Art in 2002, and remained at the Courtauld Institute until his retirement in 2017.

At the time when Art History, like other Humanistic subjects, had been rocked by phenomenology, semiotics, critical theory, and post-structuralism, John Lowden remained a determined empiricist. Building arguments on the invincible foundations of actual works of medieval art, he refused to let theory shake his approach. He not only scrutinised his subjects' style, iconography, and texts bearing on their meaning, but he also examined their physical aspects and evidence of their making, original contexts, and subsequent use. Lowden pushed back especially hard against Kurt Weitzmann's methods, derived from philology, known as 'picture criticism', which aimed at imagining authorial archetypes.² He also rejected even such more modest undertakings to envision 'lost models' as Hans Belting's and Guglielmo Cavallo's arguments about a Justinianic pictorial source for the 10th-century Niketas Bible (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS GKS 6 2°; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS Plut. 5.9; Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, MS B.I.2).³ And, while he sometimes introduced contemporary texts to bolster his claims – Gregory the Great, Neilos of Sinai, the Second Council of Nicaea, Oulpios the Roman's descriptions of prophets and

¹ Cf. John Lowden, 'Hugo Herbert Buchthal 1909–1996', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 105 (2000), 308–36.

² Set forth most notably in K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947; rev. edn 1971) and repeated frequently.

³ *Die Bibel des Niketa. Ein Werk der höfischen Buchkunst in Byzanz und sein justinianisches Vorbild* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1979).

saints, Jean Gerson, or Dionysius of Fournas,⁴ and cited such general cultural movements as the Emperor Constantine VII's project to preserve Byzantium's classical heritage or Pope Gregory VII's Church reform⁵ – he vested creation above all in individual 'artists'.⁶ Such illuminators as Theodore of Caesarea may also have been scribes;⁷ some certainly deployed models;⁸ their individual work was distinct, however, and Lowden kept it closely in focus. Genealogical ghosts sometimes haunt his diligent interrogations of individual works of art, but Lowden never allowed them to frighten him away from the object at hand.

And *in hand*. Lowden was heir to England's tradition of studying manuscript illumination through rigorous stylistic analysis and strict text-image investigation that had been enriched and developed after the Second World War by Francis Wormald, Otto Pächt, C.R. Dodwell, C. Michael Kauffmann, Janet Backhouse, George Henderson, and others. His work was also influenced by L.M.J. Delaissé's '*archéologie du livre*',⁹ which had extended codicology's scientific description of page layout, paleography, rulings, and quire structures, i.e. evidence of how a manuscript was produced, to books' social functions and reception history. He expanded Delaissé's method beyond late medieval Western material, first to Byzantine manuscripts and then to books produced for the Capetian court. Based on intense examination, Lowden's 'applied codicology' demanded tireless measuring, diagramming, and describing – processes that he understood threatened to make his writings as difficult to read as they were for him to compose. So he consistently provided lucid introductions that set out his procedures and purposes, and in addition compelling conclusions written in crystalline prose, and frequently accompanied them with graphs and charts that clarify the analyses.

As Glenn Peers (Professor Emeritus of the University of Texas and Syracuse University) said simply, 'John Lowden was a skeptic'. Maintaining that 'every book

⁴J. Lowden, 'Transmission of "Visual Knowledge" Through Illuminated Manuscripts: Approaches and Conjectures', in C. Holmes & J. Waring (eds), *Literacy, Education, and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond* (Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 2002), pp. 59–80 at pp. 72–74; J. Lowden, 'Biblical Illustration in Biblical Manuscripts, East and West', in E.A. Matter & R. Marsden (eds), *New Cambridge History of the Bible*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), II, pp. 446–82 at p. 453.

⁵J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs. A Study of Illustrated Byzantine Manuscripts* (University Park PA: Penn State University Press, 1992), pp. 118–19; J. Lowden, 'The Anjou Bible in the Context of Illustrated Bibles', in L. Watteuw & J. Van der Stock (eds), *The Anjou Bible* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2010), pp. 1–25.

⁶J. Lowden, 'An Alternative Interpretation of the Manuscripts of Niketas', *Byzantion*, 53 (1983), 559–74.

⁷J. Lowden, 'An Inquiry into the Role of Theodore in the Making of the Theodore Psalter', in C. Barber (ed.), *Theodore Psalter, electronic facsimile* (Champaign IL/London: University of Illinois Press in association with the British Library, 2000), [essays] pp. 1–20; Lowden, 'Transmission of "Visual Knowledge"', at p. 68.

⁸J. Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books: A Study of Byzantine Manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets* (University Park PA: Penn State Press, 1988), p. 90.

⁹A. Grijs, 'Codicology or the archaeology of the book? A false dilemma', *Quaerendo*, 2 (1972), 87–108.

has its own history',¹⁰ he pitted the physical evidence against accepted wisdom and set out to reconstruct the individual story of each object he examined. Unlike scribes who had to copy what was in front of them, particularly if the texts were religious, Lowden's 'artists' varied their models, indeed, not infrequently improving their sources.¹¹ I vividly recall Lowden's steadfast refusal – in 1980 when he was still a student – to be cowed into a debate about imagined destroyed intermediary sources under a barrage of hostile questions following a lecture he delivered at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington DC. Lowden had maintained that one or two details in the Octateuch manuscript on Mount Athos (Vatopedi Monastery, Cod. 602) established that it had been copied directly from the cognate manuscript in the Vatican (Biblioteca Apostolica, MS gr. 746) and not from a hypothetical destroyed common prototype. Albeit derived from insignificant particulars, his was not a mere technical point; it enabled his demonstration that, even while altering the basic model for reasons of economy, the copy had bettered its source.

Each of his three early books demonstrates Lowden's fundamental claims about medieval manuscript illumination by focusing on a discrete group containing the same text. His idea was to examine how the individual exemplars constituting the set treat the written source in a distinct fashion. *Illuminated Prophet Books: A Study of Byzantine Manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets* established the pattern. Focusing on the ways six surviving illustrated examples of a more-or-less given text provides evidence of how 'each of the manuscripts is unique',¹² the book begins with a clear definition of the subject followed by an analysis of each witness (including codicological diagrams), a consideration of relevant texts and historical material, and a conclusion that underscores the unique aspect of each pictorial witness of the textual family. As in his subsequent studies, the 1988 monograph shifts attention away from the group's commonalities to the individual manuscript's artists. Lowden conceded that very few names such as Theodore Hagiopeitres' are recorded and virtually nothing is known about personal careers.¹³ Nevertheless, he sought to acknowledge the contributions the painters made to envisioning words and decorating books. By 'artist', Lowden was careful not to implicate the notions of originality suggested by the 13th-century neologism. Rather, he recognised that the illuminators he imagined were trained within the medieval workshop

¹⁰ S. McKendrick, J. Lowden & K. Doyle (eds), *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination*, (London: British Library, 2011), p. 21.

¹¹ Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books*, pp. 86–88.

¹² Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books*, p. 90.

¹³ J. Lowden, 'Manuscript Illumination 1261–1557', in H.C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), pp. 258–69; J. Lowden, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary: The Story of a Byzantine Book* (New York NY and New Haven CT: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Yale University Press, 2009), p. 89.

tradition and acknowledged that that scriptorium practice, itself, had a history.¹⁴ Nor did he conceive ‘creativity’ in the ‘romantic sense’. Lowden understood that in Byzantium ‘art had to be made within very demanding parameters’ because innovation was heresy.¹⁵ Labelling it ‘deceptive creativity’, he sought mostly to reintroduce the ‘human element’ that, he contended, each painter brought to the illustration of a text.¹⁶

Following *Illuminated Prophet Books* by four years, *The Byzantine Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* refined the basic paradigm.¹⁷ A reworking of Lowden’s PhD dissertation,¹⁸ the book is not a full analysis of the five Middle Byzantine manuscripts containing the first eight books of Jewish scripture (and the Vatican rotulus illustrating a part of the Book of Joshua; Bibliotheca Vaticana, MS. Palat. gr. 431). Even though Lowden is explicit that, although a ‘heavy methodological baggage has been loaded onto’ these works, his study was not meant to be a theoretical work;¹⁹ he nonetheless expected *The Byzantine Octateuchs* to supplant the philological paradigm with his own sophisticated codicological method. Like *Illuminated Prophet Books* focused on a limited group of illustrated manuscripts, it accepts the evidence of the surviving manuscripts’ apparent derivation from a common prototype but sets out to highlight every witness’s uniqueness. Each of the Octateuchs comprehends hundreds of illustrations that for long runs are quite like one another.²⁰ The book begins by giving each manuscript its due in clear descriptions and physical analyses, including diagrams of quires and ruling patterns to establish its unique overall presence. Only then does it discuss in detail its relationship to the cognate books, offering evidence of the complex ways each artist approached the textual and pictorial sources and copied or altered them with ‘thought, intelligence, and craftsmanship’.²¹ Bissera Pentcheva (Victoria and Roger Sant Professor in Art at Stanford University) summed up Lowden’s influence through this book: ‘he was a major voice in Byzantine studies, especially in giving young generations a glimpse into the rich life of manuscript production, showing us how mistakes and discoveries were made.’

¹⁴ J. Lowden, ‘Beauty or Truth? Making a *Bible moralisée* in Paris around 1400’, in G. Croenen & P. Ainsworth (eds), *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400* (Leuven: Peeters Publishing, 2006), pp. 197–222 at p. 218.

¹⁵ Lowden, ‘Manuscript Illumination 1261–1557’, at p. 264.

¹⁶ Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books*, pp. 86–92; Lowden, ‘Transmission of “Visual Knowledge”’, p. 77.

¹⁷ Lowden, *The Octateuchs*.

¹⁸ J. Lowden, ‘The Vatopedi Octateuch and Its Sources’, PhD thesis (London, 1980).

¹⁹ Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 8.

²⁰ Lowden, ‘Transmission of the Visual’, pp. 66–71.

²¹ J. Lowden, ‘The Sacrifice of Isaac in the Bibles moralisées’, in B. Greiner, B. Janowski & H. Lichtenberger (eds), *Opfere deinen Sohn! Das Isaak-Opfer in Judentum, Christentum und Islam* (Tübingen: A. Francke, 2007), pp. 197–241 at p. 216.

As virtually every art historian does, he used photographs to advance his studies. Lowden's method more than others', however, depended on exhaustive examination of each actual work. Studying the two Vatican Octateuchs required normal application for a *tessera della biblioteca*, and gaining access to the manuscript in Topkapı Palace in Istanbul only slightly more initiative. To get permission to study the Mount Athos book, however, demanded heroic persistence. At the time he was preparing his study, the Vatopedi Monastery was a focus of controversy, and, indeed, Lowden got to see the manuscript only during a third trek to the remote mountainous monastic republic in northern Greece. He drew on his athleticism to achieve the scholarly feat, as he himself noted in his inaugural address as Professor at the Courtauld Institute: '[my] training in stamina and endurance would prove invaluable when I came to tackle intellectual projects whose bulk and complexity had deterred all but the most determined'.²² Once he had been granted permission to study the manuscript, moreover, the *bibliothekarios* would not tell him how much time he would allow him to study the book. Unlike most scholars who, under such circumstances, might work through the entire manuscript hastily and then gradually dig deeper if time were granted, Lowden started at the front and studied each folio and every quire systematically and thoroughly. Even under stressful circumstances, he refused to conjecture what he would find when he turned to the next folio. Determination paid off in the uncovering of blank pages (usually omitted by photographers of manuscripts) and the small details that secured a new understanding of the Vatopedi Octateuch's relationship to the earlier exemplar in the Vatican, yielding valuable insights into how the illuminators and scribes had worked. Significantly, the anomalous depiction of the Destruction of Jericho he noted allowed Lowden to deduce the 'artist's desire to produce a better illustrated Octateuch than his model'.²³ The broader implications were considerable. They enabled a critical alteration of Weitzmann's stemma and, in turn, an alternate understanding of the famous and exceptional Vatican Joshua scroll.²⁴

Prompted in part by his teaching at the Courtauld Institute, Lowden undertook a switch that few scholars are brave enough to attempt and fewer still ever accomplish. Although he had from the beginning attended to medieval art from western Europe and never ceased publishing Byzantine material, he now redirected his attention from Greek monasteries to Western courts. His magisterial *The Making of the Bibles Moralisesées* focuses on manuscripts produced in 13th- and 14th-century France.²⁵ The method mirrors

²² 'Towards an Understanding of the *Bibles moralisées*' (unpublished).

²³ Lowden, *Octateuchs*, p. 52.

²⁴ K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll: A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), p. 38.

²⁵ J. Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralisesées, Volume I: The Manuscripts and The Making of the Bibles Moralisesées, Volume II: The Book of Ruth* (University Park PA: Penn State University Press, 2000).

that of the studies of Byzantine manuscripts, but in the Bibles moralisées the pictures are primary and texts – in French or Latin – largely ad hoc; and the family comprehends some 24,000 pictures and roughly the same number of text snippets. Lowden adapted his paradigm accordingly by arranging his study in two volumes. The first treats ‘every *Bible moralisée* as a distinct artifact’,²⁶ even though, as he makes clear, ‘the detailed codicological investigation ... is emphatically not an end in itself. Rather, it is *the* essential prerequisite ... vital to viewing and reading the *Bible moralisées* as part of a historical investigation’. Volume II is a tranche through the Book of Ruth in all seven surviving manuscripts.²⁷ As Dr Antonia Martinez Ruiperez (Ambizione Project [Swiss National Science Foundation] Leader and Project Manager) notes of the magnificent publication:

Lowden’s work brilliantly addresses cross-cutting aspects and specific issues, such as the treatment of a biblical theme and the process by which these manuscripts were created moving from the common to the distinct [providing] an overview of the shared characteristics and highlighting the differences between each manuscript. It challenges the image of moralized Bibles as a vast, uniform, and boring collection and prompts a reconsideration of the visual nature.

Indeed, Lowden demonstrates that the *mise-en-page* comprising eight roundels set in parallel rows preceded the filling-in of pictures and that the images were designed *before* the accompanying texts. Pictures, in other words, were foremost from the start; and, while the written moralisations are ‘unscholarly’, the ‘visual arguments are ingenious’, though he emphasises the manner in which they ‘operate in harmony’.²⁸

Like the Octateuchs, the Bibles moralisées had already been authoritatively analysed following the paradigm of picture criticism, in this instance by Reiner Hausscherr.²⁹ Lowden dismissed Hausscherr’s stemma (and revision of it) and proceeded, instead, from careful first-hand examinations of each exemplar. As in the case of the Vatopedi Octateuch, this undertaking, too, demanded he use his diplomatic skills and perseverance. The three-volume edition in Toledo ‘remained carefully – even jealously – preserved and guarded in the cathedral’;³⁰ moreover, it was protected further by recent publication of a facsimile.³¹ Lowden appealed to the Cardinal

²⁶ Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, I, p. 9.

²⁷ Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, II, p. 2.

²⁸ Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, I, p. 509.

²⁹ R. Hausscherr, *Bible moralisée: Codex Vindobonensis 2554 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Graz 1992).

³⁰ Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, I, p. 137.

³¹ *Bibel Ludwigs des Heiligen*, facsimile edition (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1995–96); J. Lowden, ‘The Bible of Saint Louis as a Bible moralisée’, ‘The Artists of the Bible of Saint Louis’, in *The Bible of Saint Louis/La Biblia de San Luis*, ed. R. González Ruiz (Barcelona: M. Moleiro Editor, 2001–04), II, pp. 119–55, 323–46.

Archbishop of Toledo and the cathedral chapter and ultimately gained unlimited access to the manuscript. Tenacity again paid dividends. He discovered pressure-traced underdrawings, which led him to hypothesise the counter-intuitive (particularly for him) existence of a 'complete workshop model' and to conclude that the Toledo volumes and the Bibles moralisées now divided between Oxford (Bodleian Library, MS 270B); London (British Library, MS. Harley 1526–7) and Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat 11560) had likely been rushed to completion because of a short deadline.³² Examining 18th-century silk textiles sewed onto some folios also prompted Lowden to study the prickings on other leaves 'some of which retain small pieces of red thread', leading him to argue that the miniatures were, like those in the Vienna Bible moralisée (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1179), protected by veils from the start.³³ For all the particular relationships his studies revealed between members of the family, Lowden nevertheless rejected the 'validity of a stemma of any sort to represent the relationship between the Bibles moralisées'.³⁴ He argued, instead, that the manuscripts 'are not products of a process of transmission that presupposes a single authoritative original and obliges those involved in production to attempt to reproduce that original without error. They are the result of an additive process that ensued in search of "improvement"'.³⁵

In sum, evidence, not theory, consistently governed Lowden's research. As he advised students: 'Whenever you get lost, return to the object.'

That counsel guided Lowden's last book, *The Jaharis Gospel Lectionary: the Story of a Byzantine Book*.³⁶ The manuscript produced c. 1100, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, contains a liturgical rather than biblical text, enabling Lowden to demonstrate once again how illuminators adhered to no norms but rather varied inherited traditions according to individual decisions. The painters, Lowden maintained, would have worked in settings in which they saw each other's work and exchanged ideas. He had drawn a similar conclusion about the stained-glass windows in the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, preferring to understand compositional parallels with the Bibles moralisées, not as the products of copying, but rather as the result of 'shared visual formulae ... deployed perhaps by craftsmen who previously worked' on the manuscripts.³⁷ That kind of working mode reached back to the very beginnings of

³² Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, I, pp. 167–80; J. Lowden, 'Making a pair of *Bibles moralisées* in thirteenth-century Paris: the role of underdrawing', in H. Verougstraete & C. Janssens de Bisthoven (eds), *The Quest for the Original, Underdrawing and Technology in Painting* (Symposium XVI, Bruges, September 21–23, 2006) (Leuven/Paris/Walpole MA, Peeters Publishers, 2009), pp. 158–66.

³³ Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, I, pp. 100–01.

³⁴ Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, I, p. 205.

³⁵ Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralisées*, II, p. 206.

³⁶ *Jaharis Gospel Lectionary*, p. 89; Lowden, 'Beauty or Truth?', at p. 218.

³⁷ J. Lowden & A. Bovey (eds), *Under the Influence: The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 169–85 at p. 178.

medieval art in Lowden's view. From the start, he believed, Christian artists 'were able to create complex images by combining simple visual formulae' they inherited from pagan traditions; and they then repeated the process again after Iconoclasm disrupted the Early Christian flourishing.³⁸

Patrons, too, sometimes played active roles in bringing about the work. They not only provided economic support but also, on occasion, suggested content and guided aesthetic decisions. Lowden was particularly interested in women's roles in the process, Blanche of Castille for instance,³⁹ or Theodora Raoulaina.⁴⁰ Although he warned of the tendency in Art History to redirect attention from the artist to the sponsor of works, he included patrons, too, as part of his overarching agenda to reduce radically the number of imagined 'lost' models whenever the evidence indicated, drawing specific connections.⁴¹ Thus, Robert of Anjou may actually have had access to the great Carolingian pandect known as San Paolo Bible (Rome, Monastery of San Paolo fuori le mura).⁴² Alfonso X 'El Sabio' likely inherited the Toledo *Bible moralisée* from his cousin King Louis IX.

Lowden studied books not only for their pictorial and textual contents but also as objects actively used in church liturgy and court diplomacy.⁴³ In a notable 2007 article,⁴⁴ he turned from the illuminations inside to bindings, beginning with simple leather coverings, progressing to painted wood, silver, and gold examples, and attending particularly to covers fitted with ivory plaques which he examined with typical understanding of materials and things. Basing his query in part on patterns of damage,⁴⁵ he considered the relationship of the outsides to the books' contexts and use – such as altars, pulpits, and liturgical objects – to render orthodox beliefs publicly available. He also noted technical differences various media imposed, between metal repoussé and carved tusk, for

³⁸ *Early Christian & Byzantine Art* (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), p. 59 (later revisions and translations into Greek, Japanese, French, and Korean).

³⁹ Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralises*, I, p. 199.

⁴⁰ Lowden, 'Manuscript Illumination 1261–1557', p. 261.

⁴¹ Lowden, 'Beauty or Truth?', at p. 202.

⁴² Lowden, 'Anjou Bible'.

⁴³ J. Lowden, 'Luxury and Liturgy: the Function of Books,' in R. Morris (ed.), *Church and People in Byzantium* (20th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Manchester 1986) (Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman, Modern Greeks Studies of the University of Birmingham, 1990), pp. 263–80; J. Lowden, 'The Luxury Book as Diplomatic Gift?', in J. Shepard & S. Franklin (eds), *Byzantine Diplomacy* (London: Variorum, 1992), pp. 249–60. J. Lowden, 'On the Purpose of the Sutton Hoo Ship Burials', in D. Buckton & T.A. Heslop (eds), *Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture* (Festschrift Peter Lasko) (London: Stroud, 1994), pp. 91–101; Lowden, 'Manuscript Illumination 1261–1557', p. 262.

⁴⁴ J. Lowden, 'The Word Made Visible: the Exterior of the Early Christian Book as Visual Argument', in W.E. Klingshirn & L. Safran (eds), *The Early Christian Book* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), pp. 15–47.

⁴⁵ Lowden, 'The Word Made Visible', 36–40.

instance, and the structural demands of each. The following year, Lowden published the entries on ivories in the catalogue of the Thomson Collection, co-authored with John Cherry.⁴⁶ His attention to ivory carving made Lowden aware of a need to update Raymond Koechlin's fundamental corpus, *Les Ivoires gothiques français*,⁴⁷ so he convened an ivories working group at the Courtauld with Paul Williamson and James Robinson and other medievalists. He published *Medieval and Later Ivories in the Courtauld Gallery: Complete Catalogue*, and also got funding for an online 'digital Koechlin'.⁴⁸

Although Lowden was critical of scholars whose findings and methods he questioned, he usually shunned ad hominem attacks, relying instead on a mischievous sense of humour punctuated by a twinkle of the eyes. In what his students called 'Lowdenisms', he reduced his criticisms to such epigrammatic quips as 'ignore the similarities – difference is what matters in the end.' Deploying a diagram of the French monarchy for the flyleaves of *The Making of the Bibles Moralisesées* exemplifies Lowden's naughty wit – a playful refutation of Hausserr's 'powerful, if specious [*stemma*] that may have led him to overlook the evidence'⁴⁹, i.e. actual dynastic lineages.

Kurt Weitzmann was the exception. Weitzmann was an Aunt Sally at the beginning of Lowden's career and his continually invoked straw man. Lowden surely had Weitzmann in mind when he remarked that he preferred to look *at* a manuscript rather than *through* it.⁵⁰ Steadily, however, Weitzmann became Lowden's *bête noir*,⁵¹ his anger erupting in the review he wrote of Weitzmann's and Bernabò's *The Byzantine Octateuchs*,⁵² in which he concluded bitterly that 'Weitzmann was an indefatigable proponent of his own work, who preferred to banish doubters and dissenters to obscurity, usually by the simple practice of ignoring their publications'.⁵³ Surely that judgment was too harsh, and deserves an extended comment because it bears potently on Lowden's own work. As a student of Kurt Weitzmann and then collaborator, and also John Lowden's admirer and devoted friend, I believe I am able to provide a singular perspective.

⁴⁶ J. Lowden & J. Cherry, *Medieval Ivories and Works of Art, The Thomson Collection at the Art Gallery of Ontario* (Toronto: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2008).

⁴⁷ R. Koechlin, *Les Ivoires gothiques français* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1924).

⁴⁸ www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk.

⁴⁹ Lowden, *Bibles Moralisesées*, I, p. 19.

⁵⁰ Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralisesées*, I, p. 6.

⁵¹ Lowden, *Octateuchs*, pp. 109, 116; and even in an obituary, J. Lowden, 'Hugo Herbert Buchthal 1909–1996', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 105 (2000), 308–36 at 328.

⁵² J. Lowden, 'review of Kurt Weitzmann and Massimo Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs, The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint 2, 2 vols.*, Princeton, 1999', *Burlington Magazine*, 142 (2000), 502–3.

⁵³ Lowden, 'review of Kurt Weitzmann and Massimo Bernabò', 503.

Lowden's antipathy was rooted, first, in his deep aversion to the *stemmata codicum* Weitzmann imagined to explain relationships among illuminated manuscripts. Of course, Weitzmann was not the only scholar of his generation who had postulated 'lost' models to explain surviving works.⁵⁴ Nor was Lowden alone in pushing back against the principles Weitzmann had set down in *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* and later writings.⁵⁵ Weitzmann's increasing willingness (using photographs) to dismember manuscripts and even 3rd-century mural paintings and to reassemble the narratives as imagined book illustrations rankled many medievalists.⁵⁶

Like Lowden, it should be noted, however, Weitzmann was also an avid hands-on investigator. Beginning in the 1930s, he spent about a year on Athos during five excursions at a time when the Holy Mountain was reachable only by boat and its guest accommodations altogether squalid.⁵⁷ Weitzmann's photographs and notebooks attest to his folio-by-folio examination of every one of Athos's illuminated manuscripts. Lowden, in his turn, also did not deny the likelihood of 'lost' models; indeed, he argued that the five known Byzantine Octateuchs shared a common source.⁵⁸ Conceding that surviving manuscripts 'represent only a small proportion of those made over the long period', he noted that value was a factor in what got preserved,⁵⁹ even suggesting that the famous 10th-century Joshua Roll may have been copied from a small-scale triumphal column made for the 7th-century Emperor Heraclius.⁶⁰ Lowden's intensive examinations of the Toledo Cathedral manuscript of the Bible moralisée and the cognate Oxford/London/Paris manuscript revealed the use of pressure-traced underdrawings, confirmed by high-tech photos he commissioned.⁶¹ He did not 'question the extent of our losses of material from the first millennium, but I do question our ability to reconstruct this material in a

⁵⁴ For example, W. Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen* (Berlin: Deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1933); C. Nordenfalk, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Turonischen Buchmalerei', *Acta Archaeologica*, 7 (1936), 281–304.

⁵⁵ For example, David H. Wright's quip that God had fashioned archetypes of illuminated manuscripts on the eighth day of creation; review of K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela (Parisinus graecus 923)*, *Art Bulletin*, 66:2 (1984), 322–9.

⁵⁶ I myself was sufficiently affronted by the rearrangement of the mural cycles in the Dura Europos synagogue to push back against it when I read a draft of Weitzmann's book. Weitzmann's reaction was accommodating, not defensive: 'then you write that part'; and he included my analysis as a separable chapter in K. Weitzmann & H.L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1990).

⁵⁷ K. Weitzmann, *Sailing with Byzantium from Europe to America: The Memoires of an Art Historian* (Munich: Editio Maris, 1994), pp. 126–43; cf. Kurt Weitzmann Archive at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC.

⁵⁸ Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, p. 121.

⁵⁹ Lowden, 'Anjou Bible', p. 1.

⁶⁰ Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, pp. 107, 118; Lowden, 'The Word Made Visible', at p. 14.

⁶¹ Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralises*, I, pp. 167–80; Lowden, 'Making a pair', p. 165.

way that is helpful to future study.⁶² What troubled him, especially, was the inherent risk that the drawing up of pictorial *stemmata* would obscure refinements in the relationships among the several manuscripts and deflect attention away from the complex artifacts themselves. The last line of his penultimate publication sums up the lesson Lowden learned already from his dissertation: 'It is not, in the end, what makes illustrated biblical manuscripts similar to one another that should be the prime focus of attention, but the extraordinary extent of their difference.'⁶³

There were, of course, more substantive incompatibilities. While Weitzmann believed that Christian manuscript illumination had deep roots in the (almost entirely disappeared) Hellenistic and Jewish traditions of text illustration, Lowden held that it was, instead, largely rooted in 5th-century responses to pagan traditions,⁶⁴ and followed organic patterns of growth. Likewise, the two scholars had distinct views about the nature of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance.⁶⁵ Such scholarly divergences were reasonable and might even have been productive – except for timing. At the very moment Lowden was completing his PhD dissertation during the late '70s, Weitzmann had decided to enlist colleagues to help complete projects he had pushed aside because of his Sinai discoveries.⁶⁶ He asked me to work with him on the Cotton Genesis;⁶⁷ a little later he enlisted Gary Vikan to help him finish the volume on the Octateuchs (an agreement that Vikan eventually retracted for professional reasons). In some ideal world, Weitzmann might have approached John Lowden to finish the work; instead, he enlisted Massimo Bernabò to complete what Lowden himself acknowledged was 'one of the most remarkable scholarly undertakings of the twentieth century'.⁶⁸ Nearly blind and his health failing, Weitzmann, however, simply did not have the stamina to digest Lowden's work and re-enter the text he had been preparing for half a century. His Preface is dated November 1991, the year before Lowden's book appeared.⁶⁹

⁶² Lowden, 'review of Kurt Weitzmann and Massimo Bernabò', 502.

⁶³ J. Lowden, 'Observations on Illustrated Byzantine Psalters', *The Art Bulletin*, 70:2 (1988), 242–60; Lowden, 'Biblical Illustration in Biblical Manuscripts', p. 479.

⁶⁴ Lowden, 'Beginnings', 125–6. J. Lowden, 'Concerning the Cotton Genesis and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of Genesis', *Gesta*, 31 (1992), 40–53.

⁶⁵ Cf. Lowden, *The Octateuchs*, pp. 116–18.

⁶⁶ Lowden's claim that 'Weitzmann's desire to see this study [*Octateuchs*] published, even posthumously, is a sure indication of its key position within his scholarly œuvre' should, in my opinion, be understood in this context; Lowden, 'Visual Knowledge', 66.

⁶⁷ K. Weitzmann & H. L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

⁶⁸ Lowden, 'review of Kurt Weitzmann and Massimo Bernabò', 502.

⁶⁹ Weitzmann surely did know J. Lowden, 'The Production of the Vatopedi Octateuch', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 36 (1982), 115–26. The Weitzmann/Bernabò book manuscript was submitted to the Princeton University Press in September 1994, and Lowden wrote a generous letter of support. Having inherited Weitzmann's nearly finished project, Bernabò engaged Lowden's work only in some notes annotating it 'mostly on codicological grounds'; Weitzmann & Bernabò, *Byzantine Octateuchs*, pp. 9–10.

Bad timing, not ‘erasure’, caused the imperfection and engendered the raw feelings.⁷⁰ If Lowden mistook senectitude for malice, however, he was also expressing a lifelong resistance to theory. For him, specificity, concreteness, and individuality were the very essence of the art-historical enterprise: they alone engender ideas about the rich contexts in which works were produced and later used.

Unlike Weitzmann, Lowden knew when to retire. Diagnosed with Parkinson’s Disease in 2006, he managed two decades of the debilitating malady with characteristic tenacity and noble dignity. At first, he speeded up research while he was still able to travel, even while undergoing treatment. Then he accepted the limits the disorder imposed, which must have been particularly stressful for an avid long-distance runner, mountain climber, and sailor. Lowden continued to garden until the end and to climb the stairs of his house in Amersham. At our last encounter at the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms exhibition in the British Library in 2018, even though I could see how impaired the Parkinson’s had rendered him, I reflexively inquired about his work. He replied without a trace of self-pity, ‘I have stopped writing; my legacy is set.’

What is that legacy?

It is, first of all, personal. Lowden’s poignant quoting of the famous line from the Book of Ruth (1.16), ‘quocumque perrexeris pergam’ [where you go I will go], as the dedication of *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées* to Joanna Cannon, is a tender sigil for his wife of forty-five years. The couple had met when they were students at the Courtauld and both fulfilled successful careers at the Institute. Although focused on different materials and areas – Cannon largely on Trecento Italian painting – there were also significant intersections between their work. Lowden’s study of the Bibles moralisées touches on Franciscans and Dominicans, for example, patronage networks about which Cannon is expert. With Robin Cormack and then Antony Eastmond and the architectural historian Paul Crossley,⁷¹ the pair constituted the unsurpassed team of medieval scholars of their generation. Cannon’s unwavering devotion enabled John Lowden to manage his physical disorder, but the death of their daughter Caroline in 2015 was, understandably, an incalculable blow to their resistant spirits. Joanna Cannon survives John Lowden, as do their son Greg Lowden, daughter-in-law Nady Naydenova (Lowden), and grandchildren Adriana and Aaron.

Lowden’s legacy is also institutional. During a time when Jonathan J.G. Alexander and Nigel Morgan (before he repatriated), then William Noel, Michael Camille, and other British scholars of manuscript illumination left the United Kingdom for positions in the United States, Lowden had, from his prominent perch at the Courtauld Institute,

⁷⁰ Weitzmann did not mention Lowden in his *mémoires*; Weitzmann, *Sailing with Byzantium*.

⁷¹ See: Tim Ayers, ‘Paul Crossley, 1945–2019’, *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy*, 23, 253–70.

adjudicated the empiricist traditions prevailing in English art history and German *Kunstwissenschaft* already planted in UK soil by emigrants from Nazi Germany. As Jás Elsner (Professor of Late Antique Art at the University of Oxford, Humfry Payne Senior Research Fellow in Classical Archaeology and Art at Corpus Christi College and Visiting Professor of Art History at the University of Chicago), who was a student at the Courtauld Institute and then in the 1990s a member of the faculty, explains:

partly because he was not in the United States but anglophone, Lowden was the one scholar to be able to question the immense influence of the Byzantine manuscripts legacy from Germany and America with relative dispassion and some acuity, which effectively set up his career and determined much of his research.

With his innate ebullience, Lowden from the start welcomed scholars and students from abroad, as John Osborne (Distinguished Research Professor at Carleton University, Ottawa Ontario, Canada) recalls:

John worked hard to develop a sense of community among Robin Cormack's Courtauld research students, organizing group lunches for those of us who worked daily in the Warburg library and regularly volunteering to drive us up to Birmingham for Byzantine-themed events at Anthony Bryer's institute there.

He built the Institute into a vibrant centre of study of both Byzantine and Western medieval art. He was a source of energy and inspiration, serving in many posts including as convenor of the Medieval Work-in-Progress seminar. He was always welcoming. Vladimir Ivanovici (Mendrisio Academy of Architecture) recalls that Lowden was 'very kind to me when I was invited to present at the Courtauld in 2016, exhibiting an almost childlike joyful curiosity'.

His personality also inspired several generations of young medievalists who studied with him. Elsner notes his pedagogical 'care, skills, repeated looking', which is a part of the legacy that is richly documented in the *Festschrift* honoring him, presented in 2020.⁷² Jack Hartnell (Head of Research at The National Gallery, London) sums up his enduring impact:

John Lowden was someone who routinely sent young undergraduates down unexpected yet exciting pathways towards medieval art and many were inspired not only to explore the riches of the field but to go on to make medieval art a cornerstone of their careers. Now scattered around the world and across disciplines, we are proud to continue exporting his unique and playful blend of curiosity, rigour, and humour, hopefully continuing to build a new generation of soon-to-be medievalists.

I witnessed Lowden's electrifying teaching persona and evocative imagination in 2005 when (accompanied by Rainer Stichel, Professor für Byzantinistik, Universität Münster)

⁷² L. Cleaver, A. Bovey & L. Donkin (eds), *Illuminating the Middle Ages: Tributes to Prof. John Lowden from his Students Friends and Colleagues* (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

I stood with him in front of the fascinating 4th-century Egyptian ‘*Bemalte Behang*’ in the Abegg Stiftung in Riggisberg (Switzerland).⁷³ Contrasting with his controlled and delicately reasoned writings, Lowden’s brilliant explications of the painted cloth’s illustrations from the Books of Genesis and Exodus were mesmerising, and his spontaneous extrapolations rich and provocative: What might the hanging’s original context and function have been? Were the some twenty-eight episodes, unfolding in horizontal registers, also to be read vertically as a triptych? What was the cloth’s original religious context – Jewish or Christian, perhaps proselytising for pagan converts? Art vivified Lowden; art history was, for him, fun. Audience laughter punctuated his lectures and classes.

Foremost, John Lowden’s legacy endures in his scholarship. From the start, his scientific investigations were recognised and supported. He was a Junior Fellow at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington (Harvard University) (1979–80), and Grinfield Lecturer at the University of Oxford (1996–98). The Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University awarded *The Making of the Bibles Moralisesées* its 2002 Otto Gründler Prize for the ‘best book in medieval studies’. An Honorary Fellow of Emmanuel College Cambridge (2011), Lowden held visiting positions at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, section des sciences religieuses, Paris (2000–01), the University of Utrecht (2006), Waseda University (Kajima Foundation) Tokyo (2007), and Catholic University, Leuven (2008). His achievements were recognised by election as a member of the Academia Europaea (2006), Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London (2009), Corresponding Fellow of the Medieval Academy of America (2011), and Fellow of the British Academy (2013). He was a member of the editorial boards of the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* and *Perspective: La revue de l’INHA*.

Lowden confessed to being cautious in his written work, even ‘intentionally unimaginative’.⁷⁴ For all the insistence on the rigorous examination of surviving monuments, however, his publications abound in stimulating intuitions of the sort Lowden voiced in Riggisberg. In a recent article I dedicated to him, for example, I developed a notion that Lowden had written down almost in passing decades ago, namely, that the 5th-century Cotton Genesis had recast the biblical account as a kind of Hellenistic romance.⁷⁵ From the discovery of prickings in the vellum of the Toledo manuscript, he

⁷³ L. Kötzsche, *Die bemalte Behang in der Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg. Eine alttestamentliche Bildfolge des 4. Jahrhunderts* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2004).

⁷⁴ J. Lowden, ‘The Beginnings of Biblical Illustration’, in J. Williams (ed.), *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible* (University Park PA: Penn State University Press, 1999), pp. 9–59 at p. 11; Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralisesées*, I, p. 200.

⁷⁵ Lowden, ‘Concerning the Cotton Genesis’. H.L.Kessler, ‘The Cotton Genesis’s Pictorial Poetry,’ in *La Bibbia da tardo antico all’alto medioevo* (LXXII Settimana di Studio) (Spoleto, CISAM, 2026), pp. 1115–52.

imagined a user's experience lifting cloths in the Bibles moralisées, but he left 'systematic investigation' until later of 'the way such curtains affected the experience of viewing a manuscript in the Middle Ages'.⁷⁶ Lowden conjured up the breathtaking experience of seeing Exultet scrolls in 'amazingly flickering light';⁷⁷ and at the end of 'Word Made Flesh', he merely noted that when the 'gospel text was written on vellum, the word became flesh' and through the cover, the word's *doxa* that is, the Incarnate God's glory shone, striking insights with implications he never played out. Likewise remarkable is Lowden's aside that the making of the Bibles moralisées was itself 'an exercise that carries one from the temporal and mundane to the eternal and divine' and hence, the royal palace to heaven.⁷⁸ He also noted that the paired roundels characteristic of the Bibles moralisées had been preceded by the Winchester Cathedral Bible and Nicholas of Verdun's Klosterneuburg Altarpiece, as well as by stained glass windows; but never reductionist, he preferred to open up the origins and reception rather than to narrow them to source tracing.⁷⁹ Lowden profoundly deconstructed the opposition of text and image: 'the more we look at these images, the more complex and ill-defined the "reading" becomes ... It is we who do the saying.'⁸⁰ And, in a few lines of the conclusion of the *Making of the Bibles Moralises*, he untangled the usual dichotomies of public/private, visible/invisible, lay/cleric, patron/user that structure much art historical analysis:

The royal viewers of these books could certainly have studied [the Bibles moralisées] alone at times, but most probably, in my view, they were made in the expectation that some royal chaplain, confessor, or favored religious would provide guidance and instruction, image by image and text by text and quite likely according to the whim of the owner. It was figures like these who probably assisted in the creation of the BM and may themselves have supervised the craftsmen who brought together (or in some

⁷⁶ Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralises*, I, p. 101. See now: C. Sciacca, 'Raising the Curtain on the Use of Textiles in Manuscripts', in B. Baert & K.M. Rudy (eds), *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 161–90; M. Evangelatou, 'Textile Mediation in Late Byzantine Visual Culture Unveiling Layers of Meaning through the Fabrics of the Chora Monastery', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 73 (2019), 287–341; A. Bücheler, *Ornament as Argument. Textile Pages and Textile Metaphors in Early Medieval Manuscripts* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019).

⁷⁷ J. Lowden, 'Illuminated Books and the Liturgy: Some Observations', in C. Hourihane (ed.), *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy* (Princeton NJ, Princeton University Department of Art and Archaeology, 2003), pp. 17–53 at p. 26.

⁷⁸ He generously dedicated an important article to his avant garde colleague, Michael Camille: J. Lowden, '"Reading" the Bibles moralisées: Images as Exegesis and the Exegesis of Images', in M. Hageman & M. Mostert (eds), *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication* (Papers from the third Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, 7–9 December 2000) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 495–525.

⁷⁹ Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralises*, I, p. 209.

⁸⁰ Lowden, '"Reading" the Bibles moralisées', at p. 506.

cases continued to work in their shops) on the making of these books. Such books are quintessentially royal, absorbing Augustinian, Victorine, mendicant, and many other ideas, but not seeking to be 'official' products of some distinguished center of learning.⁸¹

What the several manuscripts shared with one another, in his view, was a common character 'royales et françaises par excellence'.⁸²

Caution camouflaged Lowden's 'deceptive creativity'.

In one of the two obituaries Lowden published for Hugo Buchthal, he wrote: 'The broad empirical foundation of his work has helped to ensure its continuing relevance.'⁸³ The characterisation applies equally to his own scholarship, which will endure as long as historians study Byzantine illuminated manuscripts and other surviving works produced by medieval craftsmen. John Lowden had eschewed the fashionable 'turns' derived mostly from literary criticism because he believed that art historians should examine and interpret the unique contributions artists made to the fashioning of the physical images that we have inherited from the Middle Ages. In the end, intellectual fashion circled back to his work which, *avant la lettre*, had paced not only the material and object turns, but also historiography,⁸⁴ and even ecocriticism.⁸⁵ Albeit sometimes dependent on texts and models or tethered to historical circumstances, occasionally the result of patrons' interventions, medieval art was, for Lowden, distinct. It embodied what he characterised as 'visual knowledge',⁸⁶ understandable exclusively through energetic concentration on the objects themselves which, in his words, 'always merit close scrutiny and detailed analysis because of the visual imagination that brought them into being'.⁸⁷

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⁸¹ Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralisesées*, I, p. 281.

⁸² Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralisesées*, II, p. 209; also J. Lowden, 'Les rois et les reines de France en tant que "public" des Bibles moralisées: une approche tangentielle à la question des liens entre les Bibles moralisées et les vitraux de la Sainte-Chapelle,' in C. Hediger (ed.), *La Sainte-Chapelle de Paris : Royaume de France ou Jérusalem céleste?* Actes du Colloque (Paris, Collège de France, 2002) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 345–62.

⁸³ J. Lowden, 'Hugo Buchthal (1909–96)', *Burlington Magazine*, 139 (1997), 198–9.

⁸⁴ See, for instance, the discussion of the implications of Alexandre de Laborde's *La Bible moralisée illustrée conservée à Oxford, Paris et Londres* (Paris: La Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures, 1911–1927) in Lowden, *Making of the Bibles Moralisesées*, I, pp. 57–63; and Dionysius of Fournia's *Hermentia tes zographikes technes* in Lowden, 'Transmission of "Visual Knowledge"', p. 72.

⁸⁵ Lowden, 'Manuscript Illumination 1261–1557,' pp. 262–4.

⁸⁶ Lowden, 'Beauty or Truth', p. 217.

⁸⁷ Lowden, 'Transmission of "Visual Knowledge"', p. 77.

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