ÆIMΩN

Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén
on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday

Edited by
Jan Olof Rosenqvist

UPPSALA 1996
MASSAS: A CAPPADOCIAN SAINT IN ETHIOPIAN TRADITION

EWA BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA, Uppsala University

1. THE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Among the many Eastern and Western saints who entered the Ethiopian tradition, St Mamas seems particularly interesting. He is commemorated in the Ethiopian Church twice a year, on 5 Mäskäräm (12 September) and on 27 Sane (21 June).1 Mamas was adopted as a baptismal name in Ethiopia,2 but no church or monastery dedicated to him is known to exist in the country. The story of his Life, written in Classical Ethiopic (Gölqz), appears in two different versions. The first is found in some collections of the Acts of the Martyrs (Gädlä Säma'ëstat),3 the second appears in the Ethiopian Synaxary.4 St Mamas is also present in Ethiopian art. The scenes of his life and his portraits appear in wall-paintings,

1 The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church, [transl. by] E. A. W. Budge, (Cambridge 1928; repr. Hildesheim 1976), 18-19, 1039; I. Guidi, Le synaxaire épisopien: les mois de Sanè, Hamlé et Nahasté, PO 1 (1907), 684. In most MSS of Gädlä Säma'ëstat there is a note stating that the text is to be read on Mäskäräm 5, for example in British Library, Or. 689; W. Wright, Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since 1847 (London, 1877), 159.


3 Unpublished. The following MSS can be mentioned: Paris BN Eth. 59, dated to the 13th c. by H. Zotenberg, Catalogue des manuscrits épisopiens (gheez et amharique) de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1877), 31; MS 2514, dated to 1382-1388: CatCollegeville VII (1983), 6-14; MS 1766, 14th/15th c.: CatCollegeville V (1981), 235 f.; MS 1479, dated to 1459: CatCollegeville IV (1979), 593-598; British Library, Or. 689, 14th/15th c., 686, dated to 1755-1769, and 687-688, 18th c.: Wright, Catalogue (note 1), nos. CCLIII, CCLVII, CCLVIII; the fragments incorporated into MS Tanasee 105 (Rema 16), dated to the 15th c. by E. Hammerschmidt, Athiopische Handschriften vom Tänäsee, II (Wiesbaden, 1977), 121-122, 151; Paris BN, d'Abbadie 110, 18th c.: C. Conti Rossini, “Notices sur les manuscrits épisopiens de la collection d'Abbadie”, Journal Asiatique 11:2 (1913), 36, no. 164.

4 Book of the Saints (note 1), 18 f.
in a painting on wood, in miniatures and possibly on a woven curtain recently investigated.5

Since St Mamas’ cult in Ethiopia has never been studied before, I shall try in the first place to find the textual and pictorial traditions which influenced the Ethiopian versions of St Mamas’ legend and the iconography of the saint. It will also be important to find out whether the pictorial types once accepted by Ethiopian artists remained unchanged or were adapted to local conventions.

According to early Christian tradition, Mamas was martyred and buried in Caesarea of Cappadocia c. 274, i.e. during the reign of Emperor Aurelian. The saint’s tomb and the sanctuary built nearby became the first places of his veneration.6 The festival of St Mamas was celebrated there on 1 September and on Sunday after Easter (nova dominica, dominica in albis).7 Another centre of his cult was in Mamasun, also in Cappadocia, where a large basilica dedicated to the saint was built.8

From Cappadocia the cult of Mamas expanded to all the Eastern Churches. In Constantinople alone two churches, a chapel and a monastery were founded in the name of the saint.9 The last treasured his head in a reliquary.10 St Mamas also enjoyed popularity in Greece,11 but it was Cyprus that accorded him the greatest veneration, especially when in

5 See below, p. 231–238.
7 Cignitti, “Mama”, 602.
8 According to the commentary on Gregory of Nazianzos by Niketas of Herakleia (PG 127, col. 1411), it was here that Gregory delivered his homily on Mamas; see below, note 19. On the present situation at this place, see N. & M. Thierry, Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce (Paris, 1968), 26 f.
10 J. Ebersolt, Sanctuaires de Byzance (Paris, 1921), 93, 137; Janin, La géographie ecclésiastique (prec. note), 329. See also below, note 14.
11 Marava-Chatzenikolaou, “Αγιος Μάμας”, 84 f.
the late Middle Ages fragments of his relics had been acquired and deposited at Marphou.12

St Mamas was not unknown to the Western Church either. In the 6th century, St Radegundis received a finger of the saint for her monastery of the Holy Cross in Poitiers.13 The main centre of his cult was however the cathedral in Langres, where from the 8th century on the relics of the saint were revered. It received wider recognition when the church acquired Mamas' arm from Constantinople in the 11th century and his head a century later.14 It should also be mentioned that he was venerated in Veneto, Tuscany and Milan. Some small local centres of his public cult are found in France, Spain and Portugal.15

The name of the saint can be found in most ecclesiastical calendars and collections of saints' Lives compiled in both East and West. In the Greek Church and in most of the oriental Churches he is commemorated in the first place on 2 September but also on some other days. In the Latin Church his festival is celebrated on 17 August.16

The legend of St Mamas exists in many versions and is recorded in different sources, Greek, Latin and Oriental.17 The earliest present him as a poor, young shepherd who became a Christian and suffered martyrdom as a teenage boy. According to the latest version he came from a noble, or even royal, family, and he is not always a young person.

The homily of Basil the Great delivered in St Mamas' basilica in Caesarea is a sort of panegyric on the saint devoid of factual information.18

---

14 J. Pinius, "De Sancto Mamante vel Mammente Martyre Caesareae Cappadociae", in *AASS*, Aug. III (1752), 444–446; M. Chaume, "Sur les origines du culte de saint Mammès", *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique de Langres* 9 (1927), 173. On this first occasion the Byzantines made a seal with the representation of St Mamas (in half-length, dressed in a cloak and holding a cross) and put it to the reliquary. The seal was reproduced in 1726 when a fragment of the relics was translated to the church in Sceaux near Paris: A. Coulon, "A propos d'une relique de Saint Mammès", *AnBoll* 46 (1928), 78–80.
15 R. Fry, "Exhibition of pictures of the early Venetian School at the Burlington Fine Arts Club", *Burlington Magazine* 20 (1912), 359; Cignitti, "Mama", 603 f.
16 Ibid., cols. 604–607.
17 See in the first place Pinius, "De Sancto Mamante" (note 14), 423–446; *BHG* 1017z–1022; *BHL* 5192–5196.
18 *Homilia* XXIII, Εἰς τὸν ἄγιον μάρτυρα Μάμαντα, PG 31, cols. 589–600. See also
In the 44th homily of Gregory of Nazianzos, St Mamas is only just mentioned. This text, composed for the *nova dominica*, is an ode in which the author speaks of the renewal of nature in spring and praises its creator.\textsuperscript{19} He ends the text: "One of the (martyrs) is my wreath. This is the famous Mamas, the shepherd and the martyr. Mamas used to milk the hinds who jostled one another to reach him so that the righteous could be fed with their milk."\textsuperscript{20} Although very short, this passage was quite often illustrated in manuscripts containing the liturgical edition of Gregory’s homily, and a number of scenes representing St Mamas as a shepherd were created on its basis.

The so-called encyclical *passio* develops the topic of Mamas’ pastoral life.\textsuperscript{21} We learn that he lived among animals which obeyed him and listened to his preaching, that he made cheese from milk of hinds and gave it to the poor. Accused of sorcery he was arrested and thrown to the bears, lions and leopards which however refused to touch him. He was tortured in many different ways but always survived, often with the help of animals. The cause of his death is not specified in the text. However, we find there some information locating the story in time and space. Mamas was supposed to be the servant of Thaumasio, a bishop of Caesarea. The emperor who persecuted the Christians was Aurelian, the *comes* and the *praeses* he sent to Caesarea were called Claudius and Alexander.

The story of St Mamas is recounted almost in the same way in the *Passio metrica* composed by Walafrid Strabon, in which however the young shepherd appears as an almost mythological personality with characteristics of Orpheus.\textsuperscript{22}

A different legend is told by an anonymous pre-Metaphrastic *passio*,\textsuperscript{23} preserved also in Syriac, Armenian and Georgian redactions.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{19} Oratio XLIV (XLVIII), \textit{Eις τῆν κοιλὴν κυριοκήν}, PG 36, cols. 608–622.
\textsuperscript{20} Translation after Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, 100.
\textsuperscript{21} The text is composed in the form of a letter addressed to the whole Catholic community in the name of the three bishops Euprepios, Kraton and Perigenes. The Latin translation of the now lost Greek original, probably written in the 4th c., is known from a MS dated to the 14th c. The text was edited by H. Delehaye, "Passio Sancti Mammatis", \textit{AnBoll} 58 (1940), 126–141.
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Vita S. Mammææ}, PL 114, cols. 1047–1062.
\textsuperscript{23} The text, still unpublished, is known from many MSS, the earliest from the 10th c.; cf. \textit{BHG} 1019.
\textsuperscript{24} The Syriac text was edited by P. Bedjan, \textit{Acta martyrum et sanctorum}, II (Paris, 1891), 1–8; IV (Paris, 1893), 431–435 and 445–458. The Armenian redaction is published in \textit{Vitae et Passiones sanctorum selectae ex Eclogaris}, II (Venice, 1874), 1–5,
ing to this version Mamas was born in Gangra as son of a senator called Theodotos and his wife Rufina. The parents died in prison and the boy was adopted by a pious woman called Ammia.\textsuperscript{25} He was brought to trial when he refused to honour the idols. The text describes in detail many kinds of tortures which the saint suffered. His martyrdom took place in two phases. After the first he was rescued by an angel and brought to the mountains where he lived among wild animals; milked them and made food for the poor of the milk. In the second series of tortures he was enclosed in a burning furnace for three days, and having survived he was thrown to the bears, leopards and lions in the arena of a theatre. He finally died with his abdomen split open and his intestines coming out. According to this text the ruling emperor is Aurelian and his governors are called Demokritos and Alexander. In the Metaphrastian menologion we find the same story but without many picturesque details.\textsuperscript{26}

In Cyprus the above-mentioned texts have been reworked in order to make Mamas a local saint.\textsuperscript{27} Gradually, as a result of many changes, a quite different figure known as Mamas was created there, and his legend is only slightly reminiscent of the passio of the Cappadocian Mamas.\textsuperscript{28} According to the Cyprian story he was born at Aloya in Pamphylia and was martyred there by the Turks. There are many versions relating how his body arrived in the Cyprian village of Marphou and why it was enshrined there. The local stories also explain why in Cyprus St Mamas is usually depicted riding a lion and carrying a lamb.\textsuperscript{29}

The most important source for the Western iconography of Mamas was his vita composed by Bishop Godefredus of Langres, which seems to be a compilation of some of the texts previously mentioned.\textsuperscript{30}

As stated above there are two Ethiopian texts recounting Mamas’ story. The shorter one is found in the Synaxary.\textsuperscript{31} The sequence of

\footnotesize
6-8. The Georgian Passio is unedited; on the MSS, see Le calendrier Palestino-Georgien du Sinaiticus 34 (X\textsuperscript{e} siècle), ed., trad., comm. G. Garitte (Brussels, 1958), 320.
25 In Syriac and Armenian there are two texts. One tells of the saint himself, the second starts with the story of Mamas’ parents who are also regarded as martyrs. In the Menologium Romanum they are commemorated together with Ammia on 31 August.
26 PG 115, cols. 566–574.
27 The Cyprian version of the pre-Metaphrastic vita was published by N. Klerides, "Προτεμογένειαι καὶ κείμεναι τῆς Ἀκαλούθιας τοῦ ἀγίου ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Μόμαντος τοῦ θωματομηγοῦ", Κυπριακικά Σπουδέις 15 (1951), 125–137.
28 Some local versions of the legend are collected in Talbot Rice, Icons of Cyprus (note 12), 166 f. See also G. Makarios, Κύπρος ἡ ἀγία νήσος (Athens, 1968), 33 f.
29 See below, p. 221.
30 See Pinius, "De Sancto Mamante" (note 14), 427 f., 432–439; BHL 5198.
31 Book of the Saints (note 1), 18 f.
events is almost the same as in the Greek texts but we also find some original details. Mamas' father is the governor of the city 'Awlatos during the reign of Emperor Yolyanos (Julian). The saint receives his name from a woman who took him from prison, but the "etymological" explanation is different: "Mamas" is supposed to mean "the orphan". When Mamas was living in the wilderness during the break between the two periods of torture, he fed on the milk of the gamus, i.e. the buffalo. As to the ride on a lion, an important element in the iconography of the saint, it is said that Mamas, when thrown to the beasts, leaped upon the back of one of the lions by the power of God. In this version Mamas dies when speared by a three-pronged iron fork.

It is difficult to decide whether these new elements of the story are of Ethiopian origin or were already present in the Coptic-Arabic Synaxary from which the Ethiopian text derives.\(^{32}\) The fragment on St Mamas in an Arabic redaction edited by R. Basset contains none of the details mentioned above.\(^{33}\) We know however that the Arabic Synaxary exists in many versions composed in various regions of Egypt. Since their archetype has not been reconstructed, the problem of the originality of the Ethiopian text remains unsolved.\(^{34}\)

The second Ethiopic text on Mamas, much longer and richer in episodes, is incorporated into Gādlā Sāma'at. As it is still unpublished, a summary of it will be given here.\(^{35}\)

The parents of Mamas, Tewodotos and Tewofina, come from the royal family of the city of Qeqla. They live as good Christians, showing hospitality to pilgrims, giving alms and helping anyone who is in dire need. They are persecuted by a powerful man called Alaskanarios\(^{36}\) because they refuse to worship Serapion and other idols. He sends them for trial to the king of Caesarea, where they are thrown into prison. There they die soon after Tewofina has given birth to a boy. These events are

\(^{32}\) The first translation was produced in the second half of the 15th c. This redaction was deficient and contained no stories about local saints, a reason for a rather limited popularity of the work in the Ethiopian Church. The second translation and re-edition was undertaken in the 17th c.; I. Guidi, "The Ethiopian Senkessar", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1911, 739–758.

\(^{33}\) "Le Synaxare arabe, jacobite: rédaction copte", ed. R. Basset, PO I (1907), moos Tout, p. 233 f.

\(^{34}\) Op. cit., "Avertissement". In the version translated by F. Wüstenfeld, Synaxarium, das ist Heiligen-kalender der koptischen Christen (Gotha, 1879), there is no text on Mamas. On 2 September St Sophia is commemorated.

\(^{35}\) On the basis of the MS 2514, CatCollegeville VII (1983), 6–14.

\(^{36}\) The name appears also in the form Ṣila Sākandāros.
announced to a Christian princess, Amāta, by an angel who commands her to bury the noble couple and adopt the boy. When he is one year old he calls Amāta *mama*, i.e. "mother", an incident that gives him the name Mamas. The boy is educated together with the children of church singers. He is the best pupil. At this time the king of Caesarea Odinyanos starts to persecute the Christians and commands that all Christian children must sacrifice to the gods. The king’s official Dōmokratos comes to Caesarea to arrange a feast for the god Dānos who is worshipped in the city. Mamas and other boys influenced by him do not obey the order, but nothing happens to them as nobody dares to offend the adopted son of the princess Amāta. The situation changes when she dies. Mamas is summoned by Dōmokratos for interrogation. He confesses his faith but the dignitary is willing to forgive him because of his youth and good looks, and even to promote him if only he will sacrifice to the gods. Mamas refuses, whereupon he is sent to Caesarea and tortured by King Odinyanos. Between successive series of tortures the boy is given chances to deny his God but every time he refuses. He is whipped, doused in naphtha and set on fire, his mouth is struck with stones. Finally he is thrown into the sea with his legs and arms bound and a heavy stone fastened around his neck. The saint is rescued against his will by an angel who promises to bring him the crown of martyrdom the next time he is tortured. Meanwhile the saint is ordered to live in the mountains among the animals. After forty days Mamas becomes hungry and asks God for help. God sends him an angel who instructs him how to produce cheese from the milk of wild animals. God also sends him a miraculous stick. When Mamas hits the earth with it a gospel book appears to him. The voice of God commands him to build an altar and preach to the wild animals, including the lions which have already gathered around. After prayers in which all the animals participate, all the males stay where they are and the females line up to be milked by Mamas. When the saint has produced a large amount of cheese he leaves for Caesarea and distributes the food to the poor. The fame of his deeds reaches Alaskanāros, the governor of the city, who accuses Mamas of sorcery and sends soldiers to the mountains with orders to arrest him. When the messengers meet the saint he does not reveal his identity but invites them to his abode. There they witness with awe his services for the lions and other wild animals. After the soldiers’ departure to Caesarea Mamas, following the instructions of the Holy Spirit, mounts the biggest lion, informs him that they are both going to death and rides to the city. The messengers meet him with reverence at the gate and go to announce his arrival to the governor. They speak on his behalf and are accused of having been bribed. The governor orders Mamas to explain the source of the power by which he bewitches animals. Mamas denies being a magician and begins to preach about the Christian God. Alaskanāros, who does not want to punish the twelve-year-old boy, asks him to renounce his faith. When all persuasions are shown to be of no effect the tortures begin. Mamas is hanged and cut with

37 From this point in the text they are called *qaddusan* (holy ones) and *bāsuʿan* (blessed ones).

38 Contrary to the Synaxary version the text does not specify the kind of animals. See also below, p. 232.

39 The animals which praise God with their voices are mentioned many times throughout the text. See also p. 225 f. and figs. 11, 12.
an iron comb to the depth of his bowels and kidneys. All the time he is consoled and strengthened by a voice from heaven, audible only to the Christians. After the first round of the tortures the saint is thrown into prison where he is honoured by forty prisoners. He feeds them with milk and honey sent by Jesus by means of a dove. During the night the gates of the prison are miraculously opened and all the prisoners escape except Mamas. The next day he still refuses to sacrifice to the idols and the tortures continue. When the saint is put into a furnace which has been prepared by burning for three days, the fire is first extinguished, then a dove descends from heaven like a wind and cools the heat. After five days the furnace is opened and the governor finds Mamas alive, in a halo of light, praising God together with a host of angels. Alaskandaros makes another attempt to kill Mamas. He gives orders for him to be thrown to the wild beasts, first to the bears, then to the leopards, but they do not harm the saint. At last he is shut in together with a hungry lion in the arena of the city’s theatre, but instead of killing Mamas the beast honours him and kills the people who come to watch the spectacle. The governor and his soldiers, protected by Mamas, are rescued. The same story is repeated with another lion. Finally the boy is put into a deadly machine constructed of nails and knives which, when the machine moves, cut and tear the saint’s body to death. By an order of the governor the body of Mamas is disposed of but the Christians of Caesarea find it, buried in the mountains, and arrange a festival for the saint. This happened in the 345th year of grace on the 24th of the month of Ṭeqâmāt.41

We may observe that the Ethiopian recension of the Life of Mamas as summarized above differs from the Greek and Latin ones. The text is long and includes many episodes not found elsewhere. As already mentioned, this version of Mamas’ legend is often included in Ethiopian collections of Gādlā Sāma’ātāt (Acts of the Martyrs).42 Such collections were translated from Arabic into Ethiopic in the course of the 13th century.43 Moreover, in the same period the acts of other individual saints were translated separately as well and were then, probably at the beginning of the 15th century, gradually included in some of the collections of Gādlā Sāma’ātāt.44 The Arabic text of the Acts has not been published but the known manuscripts include the story of Mamas.45 Taking this fact into consideration we can surmise that the long version of Mamas’

40 This time they are named Apolon, Harqalas and ṣāḥay (Sun).
41 AD 248, 31 October.
42 The components of the collections differ greatly. The story of Mamas is not always included in them but appears quite often.
43 F. M. E. Pereira, Historia dos martyres de Nagran (Lisbon, 1899), xxxvii. The list of the books belonging to the abbot Iyyāsus Mo‘a of Hayq (1214?–1291) contains two copies of Gādlā Sāma’ātāt, cf. MS 1832, CatCollegeville V (1981), 296.
45 G. Graf, Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, I (Vatican City, 1944), 520.
story found its way to Ethiopia not as a separate text but as part of a work already compiled in Arabic.

2. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ST MAMAS IN EAST AND WEST
Among the images of St Mamas, three main iconographical types may be distinguished: the conventional standing portrait of the saint, Mamas the shepherd milking a hind, and Mamas riding a lion. Besides there are narrative scenes showing either single episodes from his life and martyrdom or entire cycles of events.

The first type has two variants. The saint, always depicted en face, may be represented half-length or full-length. Sometimes he is empty-handed but usually he holds the conventional sign of the martyrs: a cross. The other common attribute of Mamas is a stick. It either refers in a general way to his life as a shepherd or should be connected with the miraculous stick sent to him from heaven. The images of the saint holding a trident or carrying his intestines are of a later date. 46

The earliest example of the first type is a wall-painting in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome dated to the 8th century. Of the whole figure of the saint only his head remains, with short hair, encircled by a halo and a piece of his yellow clothing. 47 Since all the martyrs depicted in the church wear a chlamys and hold a cross in their right hand and a diadem in their left, we may suppose that the iconography of Mamas did not differ very much from this pattern. 48

The same kind of portrait often appears in the Cappadocian rock-cut churches, the wall-paintings of which are dated to the period between the 10th and 13th centuries. In chapel no. 6 of Göreme, decorated in the second half of the 10th century, Mamas, together with another saint, is represented on the arch of the southern apse. Both are depicted full-length, but it is impossible to discern the details because the painting is in a very bad condition. 49 In the chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and Sts John and George, Mamas is one of the fourteen saints represented in half-figure in the medallions which decorated the ceiling of the nave. He

46 As examples, the alabaster statue made about 1340 can be mentioned here, as well as the painting by J. Tasset in the 17th c. (both in Langres Cathedral), and the miniature in the Missale of Besançon, dated between 1463–1467, where Menas is accompanied by a lion; V. Lerouquis, Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France (Macôn, 1940–1941), pl. 131.
47 J. Wilpert, Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert, IV (Freiburg i. Br., 1916), fig. 166:2.
48 W. de Grünneisen, Sainte Marie Antique (Rome, 1911), 113, 491.
49 Jerphanion, Cappadoce, 1:1, 96; Restle, Kleinasien, no. VIII.
is young and beardless and wears an embroidered tunic and a chlamys with a tablion.\textsuperscript{50} A very similar painting dated to the 10th century appears in El-Nazar. The medallion with Mamas is one of eight which decorate the arch between the central and the northern nave of the church. A half-figure of the saint wearing a chlamys with a clasp is shown against a blue, red and green background.\textsuperscript{51} The painting in Kılıçlar Kilise on the arch of the southern arm is dated to the 9th century. The saint is represented full-length, young and wearing a dark chlamys without a tablion.\textsuperscript{52} In the church of the Archangels, in Zindanomüdere Valley, decorated about the mid-10th century, Mamas is represented in full-length. He is young with short hair and wears a red-brown cloak. With a cross in his right hand he holds his left palm open at chest level.\textsuperscript{53} On the painting in Saklı Kilise from 1073, which occupies the half-pillar next to the door in the northern aisle, he is represented three-quarter length.\textsuperscript{54} A half-length variant from the end of the 10th century is found in Belli Kilise in the group of four martyrs painted on the arch between the left aisle and the apse.\textsuperscript{55} The portrait of Mamas in the Bellek Kilise, painted in the southern aisle on the wall near the door, is almost completely destroyed.\textsuperscript{56} In Elmali Kilise, the paintings of which date from the 12th century, the full-length portrait of Mamas is very well preserved (fig. 1). The saint, with short hair and his head surrounded by a large nimbus, wears a short flowered tunic, a dark cloak and sandals with the fastening below the knees. He displays two attributes: a cross in his right hand and a short stick in the left.\textsuperscript{57} Finally, in the Church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in Sövis, the paintings of which date from 1216/17, a three-quarter-length portrait of the saint decorates the middle arch dividing the aisles. He wears a tunic, a dark cloak, and holds a hand-cross. His head with shoulder-long hair is surrounded by a big halo.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{50} Jerphanion, \textit{Cappadoce}, 1:1, 124; Restle, \textit{Kleinasien}, no. XII.
\textsuperscript{51} Jerphanion, \textit{Cappadoce}, 1:1, 180; Restle, \textit{Kleinasien}, no. I, fig. 18.
\textsuperscript{52} Jerphanion, \textit{Cappadoce}, 1:1, 210, fig. 46:1; Restle, \textit{Kleinasien}, no. XXIV.
\textsuperscript{54} Restle, \textit{Kleinasien}, no. II. It seems that the painting has never been published.
\textsuperscript{55} Jerphanion, \textit{Cappadoce}, 2:1, 276; Restle, \textit{Kleinasien}, no. XLVII.
\textsuperscript{56} Jerphanion, \textit{Cappadoce}, 2:1, 256.
\textsuperscript{57} Jerphanion, \textit{Cappadoce}, 1:2, 436-437, fig. 117:1.
\textsuperscript{58} Restle, \textit{Kleinasien}, no. XLV, figs. 414, 421.
A similar standard portrait of Mamas was popular in Cyprus. It appears on wall-paintings in the Church of the Virgin of Kophilou from the 12th century,59 and in Panagia Amasgou near Monagri from 1564.60 Sometimes he holds a lamb in his hands, for instance in the paintings of the Church of St Herakleidios, Monastery of St John Lampadistes, Kalo-panayiotis, from the second half of the 15th century, or in the Dormition Church in Kourdali painted at the beginning of the 16th century (fig. 2).61 This attribute has as its basis one of the local legends which recounts how Mamas, on his way to Nicosia to be tried, saw a lion in the woods attacking a lamb, took it in his arms, mounted the lion and rode to the city.62

Also in Greece and in Serbia and Macedonia portraits of Mamas are found. On a painting in the Metamorphosis Monastery at Meteora from the 15th century he is represented half-length in a medallion (fig. 3). He wears an embroidered tunic and a cloak covering his left arm and holds a cross in his right hand.63 A similar composition is found in the paintings of St Demetrios’ at Mistra, in Staro Nagoričino, in Pečka patrijaršija as well as in Spili Satinos Christi on Crete, but here the saint’s attributes — a stick and a lamb — seem to derive from the Cyprian iconography.64

We also find the standing figure of Mamas on some so-called menologion icons from Sinai dated to the 11th and 12th centuries.65 In the sticherarion of Lavra monastery on Mt Athos, Λ 164 (17th c.), fol. 5r, he is depicted half-length holding a shepherd’s stick and a little lamb.66

59 Marava-Chatzenikolaou, “Αγιος Μάμας”, 92, fig. IVb; S. Gabelić, “Predstave”, 69, fig. 1.
60 Gabelić, “Predstave”, 71, fig. 11; S. Boyd, “The Church of the Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, Cyprus and Its Wallpaintings”, DOP 28 (1974), 327, fig. 4.
62 Talbot Rice, Icons of Cyprus (note 12), 166 f.
65 G. & M. Sotiriou, Εἰκόνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινά (Athens, 1958), 119–120, fig. 132.
66 OI Θησευροί τοῦ Ἄγιου Ὀρους, ed. S. Pelekanides et al., 3 (Athens, 1979), 254, fig. 130.
Both full- and half-length portraits of Mamas are used in the illustration of liturgical books. For instance, in an Oxford menologion, Bodleian Library, Barocc. 230 (11th c.), containing readings for September, he stands, dressed in a tunic, a cloak and high sandals and holding a hand-cross, among thirty-six saints in the frontispiece miniature (fol. 3v). 67

The second pictorial tradition representing St Mamas as a shepherd may be connected in the first place with the illustration of manuscripts containing the so-called liturgical edition of selected homilies by Gregory of Nazianzus. The relatively abundant repertory of miniatures illustrating the homily on St Mamas belongs to six different types. The first type usually juxtaposes Gregory with Mamas the shepherd. In the manuscripts Istanbul, Patriarchal Library, 16, fol. 27r, and Sinai, gr. 346, fol. 27r (fig. 4), dated to the 11th century, the initial E, at the beginning of the text, is composed of both figures standing one in front of the other. Since Gregory distinctly makes an orator-like gesture and Mamas is a small figure at his feet, they look like a teacher and his pupil. 68 We may suppose that this picture was created with the purpose of illustrating the homily in question.

This is not the case with the other types. Their more or less narrative character cannot be explained by reference to the text of the homily. G. Galavaris, who has studied the problem in detail, supposes that these scenes were taken over from a large cycle which once illustrated one of Mamas' Lives, most probably a text incorporated into a Metaphrastian menologion. 69

The first type, which is the most portrait-like one and only slightly connected with the text, represents Mamas in a very general way, in a shepherd's attire and surrounded by a flock of deer. In a miniature in an Oxford manuscript, Bodleian Library, Roe 6 (11/12th c.), fol. 18r, his large figure is flanked by a complex of buildings, probably representing Caesarea, and a hill on which some hoofed animals are grazing. 70 A similar representation of the saint decorates two other manuscripts dated to

---

67 N. Patterson Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago, 1990), 17, fig. 1A3.

68 Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, 103, fig. 64.


the 11/12th century: Florence, Laur. VII 32, fol. 14v, and Athos, Dionysiou 61, fol. 17r, where however they are part of a larger composition. 71 In the first Mamas wears a short clothing resembling a military costume. His flock and the background are almost invisible due to the poor condition of the miniature. To its right we can identify the milking scene which will be discussed below. In the second miniature (fig. 5) the standing figure of the saint is also connected with the milking scene displayed against an architectural background with two towers. The frontal figure of Mamas is the central point of the miniature. He wears a short-sleeved red chiton, a blue chlamys and boots and holds a shepherd’s stick. At his feet two hinds, one lying and one standing, are discernible only from underdrawing. The supplementary elements of the scene — personifications of the Church and the Synagogue — are added on top of the towers, each accompanied by an angel. Mamas raises his left hand and points to the figure of the Church. The meaning of the scene is not very clear and can be explained neither by reference to the sermon of Gregory nor the passio of Mamas. Perhaps the artist wished to allude to the determined attitude of the saint with respect to his belonging to the Christian Church.

The miniature in the manuscript Mt Athos, Vatopedi 107 (11th/12th c.), fol. 28r, which represents Mamas as a shepherd, has almost nothing in common with the previous ones (fig. 6b). We see here a genuinely pastoral scene, rich in details. Unfortunately not all of them can be discerned. 72 Mamas in a long tunic and a cloak is sitting on a hill. Behind him in the right-hand margin of the folio a bush or a tree is depicted, with small birds sitting in a nest. Above we see two big birds and traces of vegetation. In front of Mamas a group of animals is visible: two birds in a bush, a doe and two stags, two other birds in a bush, a couple of hoofed animals in the shadow of a tree and above them a family of birds with three chickens eating worms. Since the scene develops from right to left we can be sure that the image on the adjacent folio 27v is its continuation (fig. 6a). 73 It represents one person ploughing with two oxen, another sailing and a third fishing. The composition is made complete by a tree with branches full of small birds.

The representation is one of the scenes which seem to compare Mamas with mythological figures like Attis or Orpheus, associated with


72 Galavaris, Liturgical Homilies, 103.

73 Galavaris, Liturgical Homilies, does not connect these scenes.
pastoral life, nature and its annual renewal. Many details of the representation show that the artist wanted to express this particular idea. Among the animals gathered around St Mamas we can see birds in a nest, a family of birds with chickens and a pair of deer. The ploughing-scene also belongs to the image of spring. We can suppose that this kind of scene may very well be influenced by Gregory's homily on Mamas, which in fact could be compared to a classical ode to nature.

Another iconographical tradition illustrating the theme of St Mamas the shepherd represents him milking a doe. Two manuscripts — of Florence and Athos, Dionysiou — in which this scene appears have already been mentioned. The first is very indistinct. A pair of animals is standing side by side and Mamas, bent down, is milking one of them. The details of the landscape in the background cannot be identified. In the second scene, in which buildings are used as a background, Mamas, dressed as a shepherd, is sitting on a stool and milking one of the animals in front of him (fig. 5).

A miniature in a manuscript of Moscow, State Historical Museum, gr. 146 (11th c.), fol. 29v, is repeated in detail a century later in a manuscript of Sinai, gr. 336, fol. 53 (fig. 7). In both Mamas is kneeling and milking one of the graceful deer to a vase. He wears a long robe and sandals. His head is encircled by a large halo. The scene is represented in front of a mountain with a cave and framed by vegetation. A simplified version of this scene decorates the initial E in the manuscript Paris, BN gr. 550, fol. 30r: Mamas dressed in a long tunic is kneeling and milking a sheep (fig. 8).

The milking scene with the addition of the figure of a soldier appears in two manuscripts of the 11th century: Vatican Library, gr. 1947, fol. 13r, and Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Hag. Taphou 14, fol. 27r, but it is not rendered in the same way. In the first manuscript Mamas, dressed in a long tunic, is sitting and milking a doe to a vase. Behind him the outline of a mountain is visible but no cave is clearly indicated. The head of Mamas with a nimbus is slightly turned as if he was listening to the soldier standing behind him. He extends his left arm toward the saint and in his right hand he holds a spear. In the Jerusalem manuscript, Mamas is fully concentrating on milking a large deer (fig. 9). He wears a short

---


75 Galavaris, Liturgical Homilies, fig. 5.

76 Galavaris, Liturgical Homilies, fig. 123.
tunic and his head is encircled by a halo. He sits on a faldstool and streams of milk are running into a vase standing on the ground. To the right two gazelles are grazing on rocky mountains covered with decorative vegetation. To the left a soldier carrying a spear, a shield and a sword is energetically walking towards Mamas. An unsuccessful detail in this otherwise naturalistically depicted scene is the cave in the form of a door set in the rock.

The milking scene, especially the variant of it in which this episode is represented alone (the manuscripts of Florence, Moscow and Paris), could undoubtedly be based on the text of Gregory which tells us about this event. However, the miniatures which introduce more details must have had another source. The cave where Mamas, instructed by an angel, found the equipment for making cheese is mentioned in the pre-Metaphrastic passio included in the Ethiopian recension. It relates however nothing about a soldier seeing Mamas milk a doe but, as G. Galavaris remarked, the passage explaining his presence will be found in the Metaphrastic passio: when the soldiers received by Mamas are eating their meal in his abode, a doe comes to him in order to be milked.

Another iconographical type showing Mamas as a shepherd is represented in two manuscripts of the 11th century: Athos, Panteleimon 6, fol. 38v (fig. 11) and Paris BN, Coislin. 239, fol. 27v, as well as in one of the 12th century, Sinai, gr. 336, fol. 53r (fig. 10). All three show him in a shepherd’s attire sitting on a hill. In his left hand he holds his staff, his right is lifted in an oratorical gesture. In front of him some does and stags are standing. The Sinai manuscript in which this picture, presented in a decorative frame, is the title miniature, adds the figure of St Gregory.

According to G. Galavaris these scenes contain no narrative elements. Consequently they cannot derive from the text of the passio but from an independent frontispiece representation. However, a more detailed analysis of the miniature permits us to draw a different conclusion. St Mamas with his right hand raised is sitting in front of some animals which seem to listen to him. The scene is certainly reminiscent of the episode of preaching to the animals developed in the pre-Metaphrastic passio. Our supposition seems to be confirmed by the Sinai miniature. It seems that

---

77 Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, 100 f.
78 PG 115, col. 571.
the illustrator decided to draw a parallel between St Mamas the shepherd and teacher of animals and St Gregory the shepherd\textsuperscript{81} and teacher of people. Moreover, the raised head of one doe in the Athos miniature may allude to another episode found in the same text, namely that in which some animals after Mamas’ teaching lifted their heads and loudly praised God. With the same pictorial tradition should be connected the initial M which opens the text on Mamas in a menologion in Venice, Marc. gr. Z 586 (660), fol. 35\textsuperscript{r} (fig. 12). This is composed of two does with their heads raised and standing on their hind legs, their front legs resting on a plinth set on a low column.\textsuperscript{82} One immediately gets the impression that they are praying with an altar between them.

The last and at the same time most complex representation decorates the title miniature in the famous manuscript of Gregory’s homilies, Paris BN, gr. 550 (12th c.), fol. 30\textsuperscript{r} (fig. 8). This scene, presented in a very decorative frame which includes four medallions with birds (a pelican and a rasp hen) and animals (does and goats), shows Mamas wearing a short, belted tunic, laced sandals and a small bag. Two stags and a hind are standing in front of him. The saint raises his hand and looks to heaven where the figure of Christ in half-length appears. The connection of this miniature with Mamas’ passio is evident. All the redactions of the legend state that Mamas spoke to God. As a result of this conversation he received a miraculous stick, a Gospel book and instructions concerning the production of cheese and the teaching of animals.

The third iconographical type shows Mamas riding a lion. Usually limited to these two figures it represents a portrait formula in which the animal may be considered the attribute of the saint. The type originates from a narrative scene but we do not know if it was extracted from the illustration representing Mamas’ ride to Caesarea or from the episode in the amphitheatre. The earliest representation is known from a 6th-century lead eulogia (Athens, Byzantine Museum) (fig. 13). Mamas wears a long tunic and his head is encircled by a halo. He is sitting “side-saddle” on a lion whose head shows anthropomorphic features.\textsuperscript{83}

A very similar representation appears on the gilded tondo from Gelati (Tbilisi, Museum of Art), an object which has been controversially dated

\textsuperscript{81} Gregory having been bishop of Constantinople was referred to as \textit{ὁ μέγας πουμεν- ἄρχης}; I. Andersson, “The Illustration of Cod. Sinai Gr. 339”, \textit{Art Bulletin} 61 (1979), 167–168.

\textsuperscript{82} Patterson Ševčenko, \textit{Metaphrastian Menologion} (note 67), 175.

\textsuperscript{83} Marava–Chatzenikolaou, “Εὐλογία τοῦ ἁγίου Μάμα”, \textit{Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας} 2 (1960/61), 131–137; Velmans, “Déisis” (note 74), 139.
to the period between the 6th and 11th centuries\textsuperscript{84} (fig. 14). The saint wears a long tunic and a cloak, his head is surrounded by a halo. Holding a cross in his right hand he sits astride a lion which by its mane, its decoratively traced tail and almost griffin-like paws reminds one of representations of lions in Iranian art.

In the church of the Holy Cross in Manglissi, dated to the 11th century, a picture of Mamas appears on the south-eastern part of the dome. He sits “side-saddle” on a lion which seems to be marching energetically with lifted tail. It belongs to the same type as the Gelati lion with its human face and its griffin’s paws. There is however an important difference between these two representations. In Manglissi, Mamas holds, instead of a cross, a cornucopia. He is depicted without a halo. The figure of the saint is surrounded by a multicoloured mandorla and shown against a starry heaven.\textsuperscript{85} T. Velmans remarks that St Mamas, identified by an inscription, is here represented as an allegory of the Sun. Originally the painting also contained a now destroyed personification of the Moon.\textsuperscript{86} The explanation why such a peculiar iconography of Mamas was created lies apparently in the combination of his legend with the pagan myths concerning the gods of fertility and annual renewal.\textsuperscript{87}

The third Georgian representation of Mamas is found in a manuscript containing the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, A 109; 12th c.) (fig. 15).\textsuperscript{88} The saint, wearing a long purple garment showing one arm naked, is riding his lion “side-saddle”. His empty hands are raised to chest level and his head is surrounded by a halo. The lion is depicted quite realistically, with big paws, the tail hanging down and the mouth open, showing a big red tongue. The background represents a summer landscape which may be compared to the miniature of the manuscript Athos, Vatopedi 107, described above. The riding saint passes green trees and bushes inhabited by birds. Here we can also see a nest with the nestlings and their mother coming with an

\textsuperscript{84} To the 6th/7th c. by S. Amiranashvili, \textit{Kunstschätze Georgiens} (Prague, 1971), 40-41; to the 11th c. by G. Čubinašvili, \textit{Čekannoe iskusstvo} (Tbilisi, 1959), 373, and A. Alpago-Novello, V. Beridze, J. Lafontaine-Doigne, \textit{Art and architecture in medieval Georgia} (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980), 37.
\textsuperscript{85} T. Velmans, “DÉISIS” (note 74), fig. 12.
\textsuperscript{86} Op. cit., 137–139.
\textsuperscript{87} The mythologists of the Usener school wished to see in him the incarnation of Cybele.
\textsuperscript{88} S. Amiranashvili, \textit{Grazinskaja miniajtura} (Moscow, 1966), 31 f.; \textit{Georgian Manuscripts}, intr. H. Machavariani (Tbilisi, 1970), 34.
insect in her beak. On the left, a shepherd sits on a hillock watching his flock and playing the flute. Two people are working in the field.

The formula which shows Mamas riding a lion acquired particular popularity in Cyprus where it developed a specific variant: the saint sitting on the back of the beast holds a shepherd’s crook and a lamb, two attributes characteristic also of the Cyprian standing portrait of the saint. S. Gabelić supposes that this new iconographical type came into being by the fusion of two older motives: Mamas riding a lion and Mamas the shepherd. Its popularity was probably enhanced by the local legend mentioned above, which explains the presence of all the elements of the representation. St Mamas the shepherd riding a lion is the subject of numerous wall-paintings and icons dating from the 14th century onwards. Since most of them closely follow the already discussed formula, only a few examples which differ from it in some details will be mentioned here.

In the Church of the Holy Cross of Agiasmati, the paintings of which date back to 1495, Mamas, riding a human-faced lion and holding his two typical attributes, is shown against the background of a schematically traced landscape. In the right corner a fragment of sky is depicted with the figure of Christ blessing. A similar representation appears in the church dedicated to St Mamas in Louvras, but here he is represented under a rainbow. On a particularly beautiful icon, dated to the beginning of the 16th century, from the Church of the Holy Cross in Pelendari, Mamas is riding a lion which looks at him as might a faithful dog (fig. 16).

Narrative scenes representing various episodes of Mamas’ life are rare before the 15th century but, as G. Galavaris concluded, there once exis-

---

90 See also: Galata, St Sozomenos, from 1513, Vizakia, St Michael, 16th c., Gabelić, "Predstave", figs. 9, 10; Nikitari, Panagia tis Asinou, 14th c., Bishop of Gibraltar, V. Seymour, W. H. Buckler, Mrs. W. H. Buckler, “The Church of Asinou, Cyprus and its Frescoes”, Archaeologia 83 (1933), 337, pl. XCVI; Gabelić, “Predstave”, fig. 2; Paleochorio, Church of the Transfiguration, c. 1420; Marava-Chatzenkolaou, Αγιά Μάξημος, fig. XIIc, Gabelić, op. cit., fig. 4; Stylianou, Churches of Cyprus (note 61), fig. 161; Pedoulas, St Michael, 1474, Gabelić, op. cit., fig. 3; church in Morphou, Marava-Chatzenkolaou, op. cit., fig. IX. With donors he is represented on a painting in the church of Chrysalinotissa in Nikosia, Talbot Rice, Icons of Cyprus (note 12), fig. 78, and on a relief in the church in Leukosia, Marava-Chatzenkolaou, op. cit., fig. XIIb; Stylianou, op. cit., 137, 290, 346, 405, 484.
91 Gabelić, "Predstave", fig. 5; Stylianou, Churches of Cyprus, 206, fig. 118.
92 Gabelić, "Predstave", fig. 6.
ted a whole series of scenes, most probably created in order to illustrate St Mamas' passio incorporated into a menologion. The milking scene with a soldier, decorating some homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos mentioned above, seems to be one of them. Another, which belongs to the cycle of the martyrdom, is preserved in the Menologion of Basil II of the 10/11th century (fig. 17). The saint, who wears a blue tunic with golden embroidery and sandals, holds his hands over the wound in his stomach from which blood is flowing. In this miniature, which contains a rocky landscape and the gate of a city as its background, the painter most probably depicted the final, fatal torture of Mamas as it is described in the Metaphrastic passio. The same scene, although represented on a neutral background, appears in the already mentioned Venice menologion, fol. 35r (fig. 18) and in a menologion icon from Sinai, while the wall-painting in Dečani (1346/47) dramatizes the formula found in the Menologion of Basil II.

Later the same episode became the subject of wall-paintings in two monasteries of Meteora. In that of the Metamorphosis, from 1552, St Mamas is stabbed in the stomach by a soldier holding an iron fork. In that of Barlaam, painted in 1637, Mamas is already dead and his intestines are being devoured by three lions (fig. 19). In both a rocky landscape and a building indicating Caesarea is depicted in the background.

The popularity of St Mamas in Italy, particularly in Tuscany and Veneto, resulted in a group of paintings which represent his martyrdom and death. To Michele Giambono of Venice (1420–1462) is attributed a portrait of Mamas in which he is depicted riding a lion, holding a martyr's palm and a book (Verona, Museo municipale), as well as a series of panels whose subject is the last days of his life (New Haven, University of Yale [previously A. Bryce's collection], and Venice, Museo Correr).

---

94 Il Menologio di Basilio II (Cod. Vaticano Greco 1613), I: Testo (Turin, 1907), col. 5.
95 See above, note 82.
96 Soteriou, Μονὴ Σενᾶ (note 65), 121–123, fig. 138; Gabelić, “Contribution” (note 64), 578, fig. 5.
97 G. Soteriou, “Βυζαντινά Μημείω τῆς Θεσσαλίας ΙΓ και ΙΔ οἰόνος”, EEBS 5 (1928), 396, 411; Marava-Chatzienkolou, “Αγιος Μάμας, 98–99, figs. VII, VIII. We can observe that the scene from the Metamorphosis Monastery corresponds in details with the directives given in the manual of Dionysios, The “Painter's manual” of Dionysius of Fourna, transl. P. Hetherington (London, 1978), 71. See also the dramatic scene in the narthex of Pećka patrijaršija from 1565, Gabelić, “Contribution”, 579, fig. 7.
(fig. 20 a–d). In the first, he is preaching to a flock of lions and watched by a group of terrified soldiers. The second seems to represent the moment of the death sentence: on the left the praeses Alexander speaks to an old man, probably the judge; in front of the building Mamas with a lion lying at his feet entrusts himself to God visible in heaven over a portico. The next scene shows Mamas in a court house. He stands in front of the governor while a torturer sticks a spear in his stomach. On the left we see him in the distance, having left the city, carrying his entrails with him. In the last panel Mamas, kneeling in front of his shepherd’s hut, consigns his soul to an angel while his intestines are falling out on to the ground.

Mamas is one of four saints who flank the Trinity on the central panel of the altar made by the Florentine painter Francesco Pesellino (1422–1457), London, National Gallery. Young, with almost feminine features, he wears a short tunic, a cloak and sandals and holds a palm of martyrdom. The saint is represented again on the altar’s predella, praying in the prison and accompanied by a lion.

The 16th-century painting by Francesco Frigimelica in the church dedicated to St Mamas in Belluno, represents the saint in a mountain landscape holding his shepherd’s crook and with a lion lying at his feet. An angel carrying a martyr’s crown is descending from heaven, and a vision of the crucified Christ appears on the rocks.

Mamas’ story became the subject of eight arrases ordered in 1543 by Claude de Longwy, bishop of Langres, from J. Cousin. Only three have survived. Two are still preserved in the cathedral of Langres; the third found its way from a private collection to the Louvre. The first displays five episodes from Mamas’ life as a shepherd. The story starts at the second level in the centre of the textile. Mamas, kneeling, speaks with an angel who hands him the stick. On the left he is sitting in the forest in front of his dwelling surrounded by a group of animals. He

99 According to Fry, “Exhibition of pictures”, 351, this person who also appears in the next panel between the torturers of the saint may be the priest of Serapis at whose altar Mamas refused to worship.
100 G. Kafial, Saints in Italian Art: Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting (Florence, 1952), figs. 750, 751; Cignitti, “Mama”, fig. on p. 599.
101 Cignitti, “Mama”, fig. on p. 594.
milks one of them which seems to be a lioness.\textsuperscript{104} On the right, under a large portico, he distributes cheese to the poor. Finally, to the right in a mountain landscape he meets equestrian messengers. The main scene, which occupies the first level of the picture, shows Mamas sitting on a rock and reading from the Gospel book to a flock of animals which even includes a unicorn, probably a symbol of his virginal youth. The story is carried on in the Louvre textile, which includes five more episodes.\textsuperscript{105} In the background, to the left, the saint shows hospitality to the soldiers who have been frightened at the sight of the wild animals gathering around him. Also to the left they bid farewell to him, and in the background they ride to Caesarea. The next scene, placed in the foreground, shows them at the gate of the city meeting the saint who is accompanied by a big lion. The last episode is represented in the middle of the textile on the second level. Under a large portico, the saint, bound to a column, is stabbed with a fork while an angel is coming to him with a martyr’s crown. The second textile of Langres depicts the episodes preceding the saint’s death. To the left, the prisoners are flying from a miraculously opened prison, represented as a round building with a colonnade. The main scene, in the middle of the picture, shows Mamas, accompanied by angels, in a huge burning furnace. Some other angels coming from heaven seem to be extinguishing the glow. To the right, Alexander gives commands to torturers occupied in maintaining the fire.\textsuperscript{106}

3. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ST MAMAS IN ETHIOPIA
The earliest example appears in a wall-painting in the Gännätä Maryam Church near Lalibela.\textsuperscript{107} The murals\textsuperscript{108} can be dated to the last quarter of

\textsuperscript{104} According to one of the Cyprian legends, Mamas milked lionesses, not hinds; Talbot Rice, \textit{Icons of Cyprus} (note 12), 167.
\textsuperscript{105} Roy, “Tapisseries” (note 102), pl. II, and Cignitti, “Mama”, fig. on p. 595–596.
\textsuperscript{106} Roy, “Tapisseries”, pl. III.
\textsuperscript{107} I want to express my gratitude to Paul B. Henze who generously supplied me with his excellent slides and photographs which helped me to study the iconography of the painting as well as to read the inscriptions.
the 13th century by the dedicatory inscription of king Yəkuno Amlak (1270–1285) which accompanies his portrait.\(^{109}\)

In the case of Mamas we are dealing with three scenes distinctly separate from each other: two are placed on either side of a window, the third close to them on the front of a half-pillar.\(^{110}\) Reading the pictures from left to right we see first in a painted frame a flock of brown and white hoofed animals with humps on their backs (fig. 21a). Some of them are standing, some lying. The animals must be female since at the side of each a calf is depicted. In the upper part of the scene\(^{111}\) the following inscription is found: wä-wähaabo ṣagzi'ab̰ab̰er lä-Mamas ʿarawitā bā-gādam kāmā yəstāy halibomu, i.e., “And God gave Mamas animals in the wilderness\(^{112}\) that he might drink their milk”.

In the second picture (fig. 21b) two young men wearing long garments, very similar to shirts, are linked arm in arm. The inscription concerning these figures reads: kəl'ehomu lä'kanā nəguš ḥabā Mamas kāmā yəhṣəwəwə wabā hallāwā gādamː rākābəwə tādīnə dibā ʿənsəsə wə-ʿamnu botu kəl'ehomu, i.e., “The two messengers of the king (sent) to Mamas in order to find where (his) wilderness (dwelling) was. They found him riding a lion and both of them believed in him.”

Finally, the third picture, framed as the first one, represents Mamas riding a lion (fig. 21c). The saint, half-naked, is wearing a kind of shirt. He holds a cross in his right hand. His head is surrounded by a halo. The lion is very similar to a horse. In fact only its upraised tail allows us to identify it correctly. The inscription above the figures reads: qəddus Mamas sāma'ətu lä-Krəostos səəl wə-yəllī bə-yınte kōnā, i.e., “Saint Mamas, martyr of Christ, intercede and pray for us”.

We can surmise that the story of Mamas as depicted in Gännätä Mar-yam has no direct parallel in the Eastern and Western iconographical

---


\(^{110}\) The paintings are located in the southern nave, on the wall of the 2nd travée and on the half-pillar between the 2nd and 3rd travée.

\(^{111}\) Above the picture one can recognize the feet of a person wearing a long garment. Since the upper part of the figure is destroyed we do not know if it should be connected with the scenes painted in the lower row. The comparison with other, better preserved parts of the paintings tells against this possibility. The figures depicted in the upper rows of the walls have no connection with the figures in the lower rows.

\(^{112}\) It should be observed that the inscription does not mention the kind of animals depicted. They are not named in the text of the Gəddät Sāma'əstat either. On the contrary, in the Synaxary they are called gamus, “buffalo”, i.e. animals very similar to the creatures represented in the painting.
material reviewed above. Although the Ethiopian painter illustrates the same episode of the legend which most often inspired other artists, i.e. Mamas' life as a shepherd and his meeting with the soldiers, he approaches the subject in a very individual way. Most striking are the omissions he decided to make in the composition of the scenes. In the two first, Mamas is not represented at all. Moreover, the figures depicted are so conventionally presented that we can hardly associate them with the actual episode of the legend. In fact, it is not the pictures that tell the story, but the accompanying inscriptions.

The third scene, on the other hand, closely follows Eastern iconographical tradition. The lion's strong resemblance to a horse is most probably the result of a general assimilation of Mamas to other equestrian saints represented in the church. It may also be remarked that the picture seems to have a double function. Firstly, it can be regarded as the third scene illustrating Mamas' legend: after meeting the messengers of the governor the saint is going to Caesarea riding his lion. Secondly, it is a conventional portrait of the saint similar to many others painted in the church. This devotional function is accentuated by the short prayer appended to the main inscription.

Since the paintings of the Gännätä Maryam Church are dated to the end of the 13th century, we may surmise that Gädlä Sāma‘stat, translated into Gədəz about that time, became the source of inspiration for the cycle of saints represented in the church. The question arises, however, whether the painter had at his disposal an illustrated manuscript or a manuscript containing only the text. Was it a Coptic–Arabic or an Ethiopic manuscript? It seems that we have to take into consideration all these possibilities, keeping in mind the fact that the earliest Ethiopic manuscripts of Gädlä Sāma‘stat either do not have any miniatures at all, or are only decorated with conventional portraits of the saints.

The first possibility is that the painter was inspired by the miniatures of a Coptic–Arabic manuscript, perhaps the one used for the translation into Gədəz. In addition to individual portraits of the saints it probably contained narrative cycles illustrating their legends. For Mamas the Eth-

---

113 Sts Mercurius (Lepage, "Paintures" [note 108], fig. 5), George and Cyriacus.
114 We may consider a third function, the apotropaic, as well. The painting occupies the half-pillar next to the door of the southern aisle towards which the saint is turned. Such a location suggests that he may be considered as the guardian of the door, like other equestrian saints represented in the church, Lepage, "Paintures", 81.
115 The portraits of most of the saints in Gännätä Maryam are accompanied by the same supplication prayer as the portrait of St Mamas.
116 See, for example, below, p. 234.
opian painter chose, as he thought, the three most important scenes, which however, deprived of their narrative context, partly lost their significance. The second possibility is that the painter had obtained a manuscript without illuminations, containing an Ethiopian translation of the Lives of the martyrs. Confronted with the story of an unfamiliar saint the painter created a pictorial narrative by himself. He did this in a very personal way, bringing to the fore animals and secondary figures of the legend. In both cases however another problem remains: why did he pay so much attention to St Mamas and honour him with a whole series of paintings? 

A later representation of Mamas is a miniature in the manuscript of *Gādlā Śämäṣṭat* from the church Astit Kidanä Məhrät in Ankobär dated to 1382–1388. The full-page miniature (fig. 22) represents three figures standing under an arch formed of a stylized branch of acanthus. The first figure on the left is a man with a white beard, wearing a long tunic, a cloak and a small, triangular cap. He is holding a processional cross attached to a long pointed stick. His head is surrounded by a halo. The second figure is depicted in the same way, the only difference being his short, black beard. The third figure is a woman wearing a long tunic and a maphorion. She has neither a halo nor an attribute. Above the arch there is an inscription which reads: *sə̠lə̠ qa̠ddus Mamas wā-’abahuw Tewodotos wā-’ummu Tewofinaː: Šulotomu wā-barākätomu tukan ma’əkālə kwaln lā’alāmə ‘alām amen wā-amen*, i.e., “The picture of saint Mamas and his father Tewodotos and his mother Tewofina. May their prayer and blessing be with all of us for ever and ever; amen and amen”.

The miniature serves as frontispiece for the text about Mamas introduced by the title *zəntu zənuh lā-qa̠ddus Mamas wā-’abahuw Tewo-***

---

117 Many kinds of animals and birds are represented in the church without any special reason, Lepage, “Peintures”, figs. 1, 2, 6.
118 The dedication of the church cannot be the reason. Originally the church was dedicated to Mața, the founder of Dābrä Libanos of Śimāzana; Kinefe-Righ Zelleke, “Bibliography” (note 2), 80. The present name of the church is Gānnätä Maryam, “Paradise of Mary”. We may remark that none of the numerous saints represented in the church has three episodes of his life depicted.
120 The manuscript was commissioned by Mārqorewos, a military official of king David (1382–1413) during the episcopate of metropolitan Šālama (1348–1388), op. cit., 13.
121 Stylistically the miniature is connected with the miniatures of the Gospel book of Abbot Krastos Tāsfnā of Hayq, Addis Abeba, National Library, MS A.5. Cf., for example, the triangular caps, the schematically traced folds of the garments, ears similar to bows, *Éthiopie: manuscrits à peintures* (Paris, 1961), pl. I–V.
Mamas: a Cappadocian Saint in Ethiopian Tradition  235
dotos wä-'ommen Tewofina, i.e., "This is the story of the holy Mamas and his father Tewodotos and his mother Tewofina". The text starts with the story of Mamas' parents who are also regarded as saints, a fact which explains their presence in the miniature.

In the repertory of representations of Mamas reviewed above there is no example of such a triple portrait. We may surmise that the composition was invented to illustrate this particular version of Mamas' gädìl, probably already incorporated into the large collection of the Acts. It is however difficult to know when and where this collection was first illuminated: before it reached Ethiopia or in that country?

The representation belongs to the full-figure portrait type, well established both in Eastern and Western pictorial tradition. It has however one peculiar detail unknown from elsewhere. Mamas, who is always represented as a boy or as a youngster, has in the miniature received a beard, making him a middle-aged man. This curious detail can be explained in different ways. Either the painter was unfamiliar with the story of the young saint and depicted him in the most conventional way, or, less probably, we have to do here with influences from the Cyprian tradition which makes him a mature or even old man.

St Mamas riding a lion is one of fourteen saints represented on two panels which were originally the wings of a triptych (IES, no. 4053) (fig. 23). On stylistic grounds they should be dated to the middle or the second half of the 15th century. The decorative uniformity, which is characteristic of the painting, affects the figure of Mamas as well.

---

122 See above, p. 217, note 37.
123 See, for example, Painter's Manual (note 97), 57.
124 The following saints are represented: on the left panel (reading from the upper left): Aboli, George, Mamas, Ņentawos (Anteus), Nob, Gäbrä Krastos (Alexius), Galadewos (Claudius). On the right panel: Theodore, Fasilidás (Basil), Cyriacus, Stephen, Mercurius, king Lalibâla, the head of Prodromos.
125 The painting is probably the work of the same artist who provided two other paintings on wood: the triptych IES 4186 and the diptych IES 3930; for colour illustrations see Religiöse Kunst Äthiopiens (exhibition catalogue) (Stuttgart, 1973), figs. on pp. 97, 99. The problem is discussed by S. Chojnacki, Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting: indigenous developments, the influence of foreign models and their adaptation from the 13th to the 19th century (Wiesbaden, 1983), 415-427.
126 The pictures on both panels are composed in mirror symmetry, i.e. each figure on the left panel has its mirror-image on the right one. On both panels the figures are divided into three registers. The saints are represented in the same position. Their horses make the same movement. The attributes are repeated with two exceptions. The moon-faced saints wear the same kind of dress arranged in the same way. The decorative as-
Similarly to the other mounted saints depicted on the panel he is young,¹²⁷ with a halo around his head, and wears the Ethiopian dress: a tunic reaching to the knees (qâmis), large trousers (surri) and a piece of material thrown over the shoulders (šamma).¹²⁸ The lion, drawn quite realistically,¹²⁹ seems to gallop like a horse and Mamas holds his mane as he might hold reins. In fact the only difference between him and the other riders is his attribute, a cross on a long stick.

It remains to remark that the iconographical programme of the two panels undoubtedly depends on the text of Gâdlâ Sâmâ'atât. There are manuscripts which contain collections of the Acts of exactly the same saints that are represented in our painting.¹³⁰

The figure of St Mamas riding a lion appears once again in the wall-painting of the Yadibba Maryam Church in Dawât, dated, with reservations, to the 16th century.¹³¹ The representation is known only from D. Buxton’s drawing (fig. 24)¹³² and seems to be similar to that on the wooden panel just described. The lion has a human face and huge paws armed with exaggerated claws. Mamas wears an Ethiopian dress, as in the previous case. His head is encircled by a patterned halo reminiscent of a turban. In his left hand he holds the lion’s mane as if holding reins and in his right hand a lance. The change of attribute from the usual cross to a weapon is due to the process, already described, of the assimilation of Mamas to equestrian saints which seems to have taken place in

¹²⁷ On the right panel, however, all the equestrian figures are depicted with mature, bearded faces.
¹²⁹ We may observe, however, that it still has the human face and the griffin’s paws originating from the Sassanian models.
¹³⁰ The explanation by E. Heldman, who speculates about a supposed representation on a non-existent central panel, is not convincing. Also we can hardly accept her allegation that “Mamas riding a lion symbolizes anachoretic life and the monastic ideal”, see African Zion: The Sacred Art of Ethiopia (New Haven – London, 1993), nr. 81. No version of his legend nor his iconography allows such a conclusion.
¹³² The photographs of the fragments published by Buxton, op. cit., figs. 84, 85, and O. Jäger & I. Pearce, Antiquities of North Ethiopia (Stuttgart, 1974), figs 14–16, give us an idea of the style of the paintings.
Ethiopian art. In fact, as the description of the programme of wall-paintings in Yadibba Maryam shows, here too Mamas is placed among the military saints.\textsuperscript{133}

In the church at Guh, the murals of which are painted in a style similar to that in Yadibba Maryam, the figure of Mamas is painted in the lower part of the southern dome. This time it is the conventional portrait of the saint.\textsuperscript{134} Young and haloed he stands together with the Egyptian saint Abib.\textsuperscript{135}

The manuscript of \textit{Gädlä Säma'ätat}, British Library, Or. 687, was written towards the end of the 18th century and its decoration belongs to the so-called second Gondar style. The text on Mamas is illustrated with two miniatures. The first, which occupies an entire page, fol. 8\textsuperscript{v} (fig. 25a), is a kind of frontispiece miniature to the text which starts on the opposite page, fol. 9\textsuperscript{r}. It represents a king sitting on a throne under an arch and accompanied by a person shown in profile. Standing in front of the ruler another person, clothed in a tunic and a toga (?) with gray, carefully dressed hair, shows him a vase. On the right side of the picture we can see a boy who seems to be immersed in brownish water and a cherub in the sky. The meaning of the miniature is not very clear and unfortunately it has no inscription. We can surmise, however, that the painter here wished to depict two early episodes of the Mamas legend. On the left, it may be the princess Ammia asking the king for permission to bury Mamas' parents and adopt the boy, or the governor \textit{ Ella Säkändaros} accusing the saint before king Odërënyanos and exhibiting the offerings which the boy refused to make to the gods. On the right, Mamas, thrown into the sea with heavy stones bound to his body, is about to drown, but an angel comes to rescue him.

The second miniature is placed at the end of the text (fig. 25b). On the right, Mamas, with his hands and feet bound, is sitting in front of a building of several storeys. Under an arch appears a person shown in profile. On the left, two lions are depicted under a tree. One of them seems to bow before Mamas or to lick his feet. It is not easy to decide which of the last episodes of Mamas' life are represented here. It could be the moment when he is put in prison or perhaps thrown to the lions in an arena, which, however, do not devour him.

Finally one more representation should be mentioned. On the card-\textsuperscript{133} Buxton, \textit{The Abyssinians}, 146.

\textsuperscript{134} The only photograph of the painting, published in Gerster, \textit{Churches in Rock} (note 108), fig. 184, is cut and shows only the head of the saint.

\textsuperscript{135} Gerster, \textit{Churches in Rock}, 136.
woven silk curtain of the Royal Ontario Museum, one of five scenes represents a person with a lion (fig. 26).\textsuperscript{136} It seems to be a young man, beardless and with short hair. He wears a long tunic and does not display any attribute. The lion has its tail raised and its paws have distinctly marked claws. An advanced degree of stylization prevents us from deciding the exact relation between these two figures; the person may be standing behind the lion but may just as well be riding it. The group is flanked by two long-legged water birds which can be identified as open-billed storks.

A preliminary study of the textile has not given a definite answer as to who the person with the lion is.\textsuperscript{137} The presence of this animal suggests a hermit or a monk. According to the Lives of the saints many of them kept tame lions. In some cases the theme was adopted by the iconographers.\textsuperscript{138} In Ethiopia two saints are usually represented with a lion: Gāb-rā Mānfās Qeddus and Samuel of Wāldābbā. Since the iconography of the latter is very similar to the picture on the textile it was natural to take him into consideration in the first place.\textsuperscript{139}

However, our research has proved that Mamas may also be the person intended. Even if he is not a local saint, his legend, included in two popular texts, was very well known. Also his iconography in Ethiopian art shows considerable variation. When in the 16th century Ethiopian artists started to decorate manuscripts, wooden panels and churches with long series of saints,\textsuperscript{140} St Mamas appeared very often among them. The fact that the lion-rider on the textile is flanked by two birds also provides an argument for this identification. The picture may be a simplified version

\textsuperscript{136} The whole textile is composed of three pieces sewn together. The main scene which occupies the central strip represents a king and a queen accompanied by courtiers and ecclesiastical dignitaries. On the right strip there is a liturgical scene and the Crucifixion, on the left a person with a lion and a group of church paraphernalia.


\textsuperscript{138} See, for example, representations of St Paul the hermit, St Onuphrius, St Geramius, St Jerome.

\textsuperscript{139} Gāb-rā Mānfās Qeddus is usually represented with lions and leopards lying at his feet, see for example \textit{Religiöse Kunst Äthiopiens} (note 125), nos. 13, 18, 20, 32. Samuel riding a lion, \textit{Mensch und Geschichte in Äthiopiens Volksmalerei} (Innsbruck, 1985), no. 72; Chojnacki, \textit{Major Themes}, fig. 133.

of the pastoral scene with St Mamas, of the kind known from the Greek manuscript of Vatopedi, Mt Athos, and the Georgian one of Tbilisi (figs. 6, 15).

We must however remark that a correct identification of the figure with the lion depends on other factors as well. It is important to establish its relation to the other scenes on the curtain, as well as its place in the whole iconographical programme of the curtain, problems which have yet to find a satisfactory solution.

CONCLUSION

In the present state of research on the Ethiopian texts of the Acts of Martyrs and the Synaxary it is difficult to decide how close they are to their Arabic Vorlage. The introduction of Ethiopian innovations into the story of Mamas is more probable in the case of the Synaxary reworked in the 17th century in order to be adapted to local needs. The legend in Gādlā Sāmaʿstat may very well closely follow an Arabic text of the Acts.

Returning to the pictorial representations of Mamas it may be noted that in the Ethiopian tradition both types of portraits of him are present (the standing figure and Mamas riding a lion), as well as narrative scenes of his life.

The bearded face of the saint and the addition of the figures of his parents make the picture in the miniature in Gādlā Sāmaʿstat of Astit Kidanā Mēhrāt unique. However, it is difficult to decide whether it is really a creation of the Ethiopian painter, as we know of no relevant comparative material.

The portraits of Mamas riding seem to derive from the early Christian tradition, characterized by the griffin-like appearance of the lion and its human face. Ethiopian contributions to the iconography of this type are limited to the introduction of the local dress of the saint.

The origin of the paintings in the Gānnātā Maryam Church is uncertain and decisive conclusions have to be suspended until the whole complex has been studied in a more systematic way. However, in the scenes with Mamas one is tempted to see an echo of the original extensive pictorial cycle of his legend which apparently has not been preserved anywhere else.

The explanation why the “Gondarene” miniatures in the British Library manuscript Or. 687 are so difficult to interpret seems to be the lack of interest on the part of the painter in the story of a less familiar saint. He most probably copied the pictures from another manuscript without reading the text and was not careful enough in depicting the details.
As to the representation on the curtain of the Royal Onatario Museum, the conclusive identification of the figure riding a lion will have to await a more exhaustive study of its iconographical programme.

ABBREVIATIONS


IES = Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies.


Fig. 1. Cappadocia, Elamh Kilise.

Fig. 2. Cyprus, Kourdali, Church of the Dormition.
Fig. 3. Meteora, Monastery of the Metamorphosis.

Fig. 4. Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, cod. gr. 346.
Fig. 5. Athos, Dionysiou, cod. 61.

Fig. 6a. Athos, Vatopedi, cod. 107, fol. 27v.

Fig. 6b. Athos, Vatopedi, cod. 107, fol. 28r.
Fig. 7. Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, cod. gr. 339, fol. 53r.

Fig. 8. Paris, BN, gr. 550.
Fig. 9. Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, cod. Hag. Taphou 14.

Fig. 10. Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, cod. gr. 339, fol. 42v.
Fig. 11. Athos, Panteleimon, cod. 6.

Fig. 12. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. Z 586, fol. 35f.
Fig. 13. Athen, Byzantine Museum.

Fig. 14. Gelati tondo, Tbilisi, Museum of Art.
Fig. 15. Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts, cod. A. 109.

Fig. 16. Cyprus, Pelendari, Panagia Katholiki.
Fig. 17. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Menologion of Basil II.

Fig. 18. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. Z 586, f. 35r.

Fig. 19. Meteora, Monastery of Barlaam.
Fig. 20b-c. Michele Gambisoni, Venice, Museo Correr.
Fig. 21 A-B. Giemiq Maryam Church near Lalibela.
Fig. 22. Gāddāli Sīmāʿat, Ankobä, Astīt Kidanā Mēḥrit Church.

Fig. 21 c. Gāmmätā Maryam Church near Lalibela.
Fig. 23. Addis Abeba, IES.

Fig. 24. Yadibbä Maryam Church.
Fig. 25a–b. Gādlä Sāmaʿətat, British Library, Or. 687 (Fig. 25a, fol. 8v; Fig. 25b, fol. 15r). By permission of the British Library.
Fig. 26. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.
By permission of the Royal Ontario Museum.
ERRATA

p. 225, line 22: for “fol. 53”, read “fol. 42”.
p. 250: figures should be in reverse order.
p. 251: for “Fig. 20 b–c”, read “Fig. 20 c–d”.
p. 252: figures should be in reverse order.