



THE GLORY OF
BYZANTIUM



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Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era
A.D. 843–1261

Edited by Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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Book cover with Christ Pantokrator and the Virgin Orans, Byzantine, late 10th—early 11th century. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (cat. no. 41)

Frontispiece

Lectionary leaf with the Evangelist Mark, Byzantine (Constantinople), late 10th—early 11th century. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (cat. no. 57)

Illustration opposite Statement by the Ecumenical Patriarch

Icon with the Virgin Pammakaristos (detail). Mosaic, mid-11th century. The Patriarchal Church of Saint George, Istanbul

Illustration opposite page 1

Icon with Moses before the Burning Bush, Byzantine (Mount Sinai?), early 13th century. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

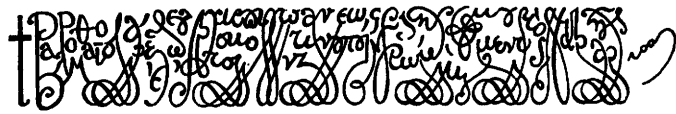
Illustration opposite page 509

The Liturgical Homilies of Saint Gregory of Nazianzos, Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1150. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

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BARTHOLOMEW BY THE MERCY OF GOD
ARCHBISHOP OF CONSTANTINOPLE, NEW ROME,
AND ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH

Τῷ Ἐντιμοτάτῳ κυρίῳ Philippe de Montebello,
Ὑπευθύνῳ τοῦ “Metropolitan Museum of Art,” χάριν καί
εἰρήνην παρὰ Θεοῦ Πατρός καί Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ.

The Most Honorable Philippe de Montebello, Director of
The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Grace and peace from
God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

Μετά πολλῆς χαρᾶς ἐπληροφορήθημεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπό τῆς
καί Νοεμβρίου π.έ. γράμματος τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγαπητῆς
Ἐντιμότητος περί τῆς ὑπό τοῦ “Metropolitan Museum of
Art” ἀναληφθείσης προετοιμασίας τοῦ καταλόγου τῆς
σπουδαίας ἐκθέσεως, τῆς ὁποίας τήν προώθησιν ἐν τῷ
συχρόνῳ κόσμῳ ἔχετε ἀναλάβει, ἥτοι τοῦ ἀεννάου
πνευματικοῦ κάλλους τοῦ Μεσο-Βυζαντινοῦ πολιτισμοῦ,
εἰς τόν ὁποῖον ὀρθῶς ἐδώκατε τόν τίτλον “Ἡ Δόξα τοῦ
Βυζαντίου”.

With great joy we learned from your letter of November 21,
1995, most honorable and beloved sir, that The Metropolitan
Museum of Art is preparing a catalogue for the important
exhibition most appropriately titled “The Glory of Byz-
antium.” This exhibition will undertake to cultivate the unin-
terrupted spiritual beauty of Middle Byzantine civilization in
the modern world.

Ἄνταποκρινόμενοι, ὅθεν, εἰς τήν εὐγενῆ παράκλησιν
ὑμῶν καί ἔχοντες τήν μεγίστην τιμήν καί εὐθύνην τοῦ
εἶναι ἡμᾶς ταπεινόν διάδοχον τῶν μεγάλων Πατριαρχῶν
τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, οἱ ὁποῖοι ποικιλοτρόπως
συνέβαλον εἰς τήν πνευματικήν ταύτην δόξαν, εἴτε
ἐμπνέοντες εἴτε ὑποστηρίζοντες τήν κληρονομίαν τῆς
ἀνατολικῆς χριστιανικῆς πνευματικότητος, αἰσθανόμεθα
ἰδιαιτέραν τιμήν καί προνόμιον ἀπευθυνόμενοι πρός
ὑμᾶς διά τῶνδε τῶν Πατριαρχικῶν ἡμῶν Γραμμάτων, ἐν
πνεύματι εὐχαριστιῶν, συγχαρητηρίων καί εὐλογιῶν
πρός ἅπαντας τοὺς συμμετασχόντας εἰς τό μνημειῶδες
τοῦτο ἔργον.

We are pleased to respond to your kind request bearing as we
do the greatest honor and responsibility of being a humble
successor to this spiritual glory in various ways, either by
inspiring or by supporting the heritage of Eastern Christian
spirituality. In a spirit of thanksgiving, congratulations, and
blessings, we consider it a particular honor and privilege to
address by way of our Patriarchal Letter all of you who are
sharing in this monumental task.

We do not doubt that the selected essays compiled by such
distinguished scholars describe the history and the immortal
value of every item on exhibition. From the depth of our
Patriarchal heart, we bless this endeavor and once again
express our congratulations and profound appreciation while
wholeheartedly bestowing upon you our paternal and
Patriarchal blessing.

January 20, 1996
Your fervent supplicant before God, B(artholomew)

Οὐδόλως ἀμφιβάλλοντες ὅτι τά ἐπιλεγέντα κείμενα,
συνταχθέντα ὑπό διακεκριμένων ἐπιστημόνων,
περιγράφουν τήν ἱστορίαν καί τήν ἐπέκεινα χρόνου
ἀξίαν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐκτεθησομένων ἀντικειμενων,
εὐλογοῦμεν ἀπό μέσης Πατριαρχικῆς καρδίας τό ἔργον
καί ἀπευθύνομεν καί αὐτίς τά συγχαρητήρια καί τήν
βαθεῖαν ἐκτίμησιν ἡμῶν, ἀπονέμοντες ὑμῖν ὀλόθυμον
τήν πατρικήν καί Πατριαρχικήν ἡμῶν εὐλογίαν.

Ἐξ Ἰανουαρίου κ'

Ἐξ Ἰανουαρίου κ'
Ἐξ Ἰανουαρίου κ'

SPONSORS' STATEMENTS

“The Western world owes an immeasurable cultural debt to a civilization which alone preserved much of the heritage of Greek and Latin antiquity during these dark centuries when the lights of learning in the West were almost extinguished.” So wrote Lord Norwich in the epilogue to his trilogy on the Byzantine Empire. “The Glory of Byzantium” provides a unique opportunity to explore both the extraordinary radiance of the empire at its apogee and the deep-rooted influence it has had on Orthodox Christians throughout the centuries down to the present day.

The exhibition also provides the opportunity for Alpha Banking Group to develop relationships in the United States, where its presence is felt through its administration with a wide range of correspondent banks. We are exceptionally pleased to be associated with this historic exhibition, in particular because it marks the first time that the Group has in America participated in the realization of such an event.

By its support for “The Glory of Byzantium,” Alpha Banking Group thus fulfills both its corporate role and its commitment as a patron of the arts.

Yannis S. Costopoulos
Chairman
Alpha Banking Group

Citibank is honored to join The Metropolitan Museum of Art in presenting “The Glory of Byzantium.” The sponsorship of this major exhibition by Citibank, a New York–based global financial institution and a worldwide supporter of arts programs, is especially appropriate. Citibank currently operates in most of the countries represented in the exhibition, which covers Greece, Turkey, North Africa, parts of the Middle East, and Central and Eastern Europe. It is with great pride that our employees in these countries join with us to bring you these masterpieces, which date from one of the great artistic eras.

On behalf of Citibank, and its employees around the world, I hope that you will share our delight in the magnificence and lasting importance of “The Glory of Byzantium.”

William R. Rhodes
Vice Chairman
Citicorp/Citibank

It is both a pleasure and an honor for Papastratos S.A. Greece to offer substantial assistance to The Metropolitan Museum of Art for its realization of an event of such magnitude and importance.

And it is with great pride that we, together with other, fellow Hellenes, support this display of treasures of Byzantium, an integral part of our national heritage.

Tasso Averoff
Vice Chairman of the Board and
Managing Director of Papastratos S.A.

The Foundation for Hellenic Culture is pleased to join The Metropolitan Museum of Art in celebrating the Second Golden Age of Byzantium, a glorious period in the history of a culture based on Greek language and learning and Orthodox Christianity.

As the purpose of the Foundation is to promote and disseminate Greek language and culture outside Greece, we are honored to sponsor the educational programs that accompany this exhibition and we congratulate the Metropolitan Museum for bringing to the public an awareness of this high point in the history of the Byzantine Empire.

Adamantios Pepelasis
President
The Foundation for Hellenic Culture

After more than a century of growth and development, the Marinopoulos Group is now in a position to offer social services and to provide assistance to cultural efforts that reflect the cultural heritage of Greece. It is within this context that we have expanded our social and cultural interests and have chosen to offer our support to this great exhibition, "The Glory of Byzantium."

Byzantium was a cultural crossroads. It is where the classical age converged with the Enlightenment of Western Europe. It was the bridge between eastern culture and classicism. And it was the cradle of modern European civilization.

For the Marinopoulos Group it has been a privilege to provide support to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in presenting an exhibition of such far-reaching cultural and historic significance.

Dimitri Marinopoulos, Dr. Sc.
Chairman
The Marinopoulos Group

Our involvement in cultural activities, and especially our interest in the Byzantine era, which has led to our active support of the restoration of historical churches, has prompted us to co-sponsor "The Glory of Byzantium."

Constantine Angelopoulos
Yeli Papayannopoulou

Halyvourgiki Inc., in accordance with its industrial and business activities, has supported countless cultural, historical, religious, and local community programs, with a particular concern for national issues.

The most important contributions made by our co-founder and honorary chairman, Panagiotis Angelopoulos, include those for the reconstruction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1989 after its destruction by fire in 1941, the restoration of the Church of Saint George, and the completion of the Phanar Library in 1993.

The efforts of Halyvourgiki Inc. on behalf of programs that focus on the Byzantine era have also been considerable. In Greece it has financed the restoration of many historically important Byzantine churches, and it gives us great pleasure to offer our support to this historic exhibition.

Constantine Angelopoulos
Chairman
Halyvourgiki Inc.

DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD

The Metropolitan Museum of Art is proud to present “The Glory of Byzantium,” the first exhibition to focus exclusively on the Second Golden Age—the critically important medieval era—of the Byzantine Empire. Twenty years ago the Museum explored the early centuries of Byzantium’s history in the landmark exhibition “Age of Spirituality.” As I wrote then in the introduction to the catalogue, it was a “didactic exhibition of the highest quality; a combination of the beauty of the relatively unfamiliar with the intellectual revelation of an extraordinary era.”

We now present similar insights into the art and culture of the subsequent Middle Byzantine era (843–1261) through the assembly of a remarkable number of works of the highest artistic and cultural standards. “The Glory of Byzantium” explores the role of the richly multiethnic empire during the centuries in which, as a world power, it influenced, converted, gained, and lost territories as diverse as Kievan Rus’, Bulgaria, Georgia, Armenia, Syria, the Holy Land, Egypt, Cyprus, Sicily, South Italy, and the Veneto, while at the same time it set a standard of artistic excellence for Christian kingdoms in the Latin West and for Islamic states in the Near East. The exhibition opens with the resurgence of the empire after the resolution in 843 of the Iconoclastic controversy and closes with the end of the empire’s role as a world power—the Latin occupation of its capital, Constantinople, from 1204 to 1261. The focus on these centuries draws attention to the critical importance of this era in which Byzantium’s “glory” led to the spread of Byzantine Orthodoxy throughout Eastern Europe, a cultural event of lasting importance.

The exploration of the complex relations between Byzantium and its neighboring states, the Islamic East and the Latin West, during this specific era of its history differs from other recent exhibitions on the empire. “Byzance,” at the Louvre in 1992, “Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture,” at the British Museum in 1994, and “Byzantium: Late Antique and Byzantine Art in Scandinavian Collections,” in Copenhagen in 1996, each focused on Byzantium’s entire history from its founding in 330 (with the transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire to Constantinople) through Constantinople’s fall to the Islamic Ottoman Empire in 1453. Each was limited to works of art available from national and local collections. In contrast, “The Glory of Byzantium” gathers together works from 119 collections in twenty-four countries to present the breadth of the empire’s art and culture and its interaction with neighboring states within a more restricted period.

The Metropolitan Museum is profoundly grateful for the generosity of the many museums, libraries, and private collectors in Europe and the Near East in granting the loan of major works of art that collectively make this an exhibition of such international significance. Such an array of splendid objects, many of which have never traveled before, has enabled the Metropolitan to re-create the “glory” of the medieval Byzantine era through a dazzling display of gold and silver liturgical objects, jewelry, ivories, enamels, icons, and other richly fabricated pieces. We very much appreciate the exceptional support offered to the exhibition by the Ministries of Culture of Bulgaria, Egypt, Greece, Italy, the Russian Federation, Syria, Turkey, and Ukraine. Each of these countries, together with Cyprus and Georgia—all states closely linked culturally and historically to the empire—have generously lent superb works of art representing their cultural connections to Byzantium.

Many church treasuries, both within and near the borders of the former empire and from the Latin West, have lent to the exhibition. Magnificent loans from three monastic complexes associated with imperial Byzantine foundations are included. For the first time in their history the sixth-century Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai, Egypt, and the Georgian Holy Monastery of Iveron on Mount Athos have lent from their collections. The Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos has lent to our exhibition, as it did to the outstanding Byzantine exhibition in Athens in 1964, “Byzantine Art: A European Art.” We are especially honored by the support that this exhibition has received from The Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew of Constantinople, now Istanbul, Turkey.

We wish to extend our thanks and gratitude to so many people for their timely assistance in regard to “The Glory of Byzantium” that a special extended list of acknowledgments follows. Nevertheless, I must single out here for special recognition Mahrukh Tarapor, Associate Director for Exhibitions, for her diplomacy and persistence over several years in securing many critical loans and for initiating a new period of collaboration between the Metropolitan and such countries as Ukraine, Bulgaria, Georgia, Cyprus, and Syria. I also want to praise the two Metropolitan curators who have so ably established the intellectual foundation and scholarly framework of the exhibition and its accompanying catalogue, William D. Wixom, Michel David-Weill Chairman of the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, and Helen C. Evans, Associate Curator of Early Christian and

Byzantine Art. In addition, I sincerely applaud all those within the Museum who have worked on this exhibition and its catalogue for their invaluable contributions to this complex undertaking.

An exhibition of this scale cannot be presented without generous financial backing. We are especially indebted to the Alpha Banking Group and its chairman, Yannis S. Costopoulos, for their distinguished and principal sponsorship. We are also grateful to Citibank, and its vice chairman, William R. Rhodes, and its president, Dimitris Krontiras, for major financial support, and to Papastratos S.A. and its vice chairman and managing director, Tassos Papastratos, and its managing director, Tasso Averoff. Additional assistance for the exhibition was received from the

National Endowment for the Humanities; the Foundation for Hellenic Culture through the president of the executive board, Adamantios Pepelasis; the Marinopoulos Group through its chairman, Dimitri Marinopoulos; Halyvourgiki Inc. and its chairman, Constantine Angelopoulos; Mrs. Yeli Papayannopoulou, and anonymous donors. An indemnity has been granted by the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities. And for its contribution to the catalogue accompanying the exhibition, we are grateful to The Hagop Kevorkian Fund.

Philippe de Montebello
Director
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

P R E F A C E

Just as the influences of modern empires can be traced far beyond their borders by the hegemony of their artistic traditions, the art of Byzantium attests to the full range of its political and cultural power. “The Glory of Byzantium” focuses on the four centuries that embrace the second great era of Byzantine culture (843–1261). To demonstrate the important role of Byzantium during this era, the exhibition and the accompanying catalogue explore four interrelated themes: the religious and secular cultures of the Byzantine Empire during its Second Golden Age, the empire’s interactions with its Christian neighbors and rivals, its relations with the Islamic East, and its contact with the Latin West. More than 350 objects have been assembled to present a significant selection of the most outstanding works of art that survive from the empire and from the countries that constitute its extended sphere of influence.

The catalogue brings together fifty-nine scholars and art historians, most of them working in America, to explore the complex currents of Byzantine civilization. A historical overview of the period sets the context for the study of its art and culture. Byzantium’s religious and secular spheres, although closely intertwined, are presented separately in order to recognize the power and influence of its Church, still alive today, and of the state, now a memory. The religious sphere—always central and privileged in Byzantium—is explored in both the public and the private domain. Monumental reliefs, architectural elements, mosaics, and frescoes coming from many regions of the empire define the interiors of Middle Byzantine churches. Chalices, patens, and religious manuscripts represent the liturgy of the Church in these key centuries of its independent development. The popularity of the same religious images among all classes of society is explored in works ranging from monumental wall decorations to delicate objects of personal veneration. Religious images popularized during the era, such as the Anastasis (the Descent of Christ into Hell) and the Koimesis (the Dormition of the Virgin), are included in a variety of forms. Icons, of special importance in the centuries that directly followed the Iconoclastic controversy, are presented in all media, from grand panel paintings for public worship to small images for personal use.

The power of the Byzantine court as its armies both gained and lost vast territories is shown in imperial portraits of figures whose rigidly formal poses and elaborate robes of state reflect the confidence and wealth of the empire. Superbly worked

secular objects display the standard of elegance for which Byzantium was widely envied. Continuing interest in the arts and sciences of Late Antiquity is shown through objects that draw upon the classical tradition.

Byzantium was a rich, complex, multiethnic society. To counter the perception of the empire as a monolithic culture and to mark out the vast area that came under its influence, the second section of the exhibition recognizes the cultural integrity of its many Christian neighbors. Byzantine objects known to have been in these regions during the Middle Byzantine centuries have been included along with items of local production in order to suggest sources of Byzantine inspiration. Many works of art in this section and the two that follow repeat specific images and techniques familiar from the preceding Byzantine section. Special emphasis is placed on the acceptance of Christianity by the Slavic peoples through works from Bulgaria and Kievan Rus’ (now within the territories of Ukraine, Belarus, and the Russian Federation), since the conversion of the Slavs is arguably the most significant lasting achievement of the Second Golden Age. The empire’s relationship to other Christian peoples to the east and south—the Georgians and Armenians and those Christians surviving in the former imperial territories lost to Islam—are depicted in manuscripts, metalwork, and frescoes. Examples of the empire’s interaction with the Crusader kingdoms established in Islamic territories introduces the complex issue of Byzantine relations with the West.

Byzantine connections to the Islamic world should not be thought of as limited to the Christian communities in Islamic lands. The prestige of the imperial court in Constantinople set a standard that was emulated and rivaled by the great courts of the East, and these were, in turn, the only royal houses with the wealth and power to inspire admiration and envy among the Byzantines. The exploration of artistic connections between Byzantium and specific Islamic states recognizes the empire’s geographical position as a locus between the Islamic East and the Latin West; the inclusion of Islamic works in the exhibition will, it is hoped, encourage further research on this relatively unexamined area of art history.

The final section addresses the cultural exchange between the Latin West and Byzantium during the Second Golden Age. Byzantine works of art known to have been in the West during these centuries are juxtaposed with objects of local production that reflect their influence. The peaceful export of

Byzantine culture as well as its forceful expropriation is presented. As in the Islamic section, cultural interaction is explored on the basis of specific works. Attention is given to the long-established connections between Byzantine society and Italy, especially in the south, which was nominally part of the empire for much of this period, and the Veneto.

Scandinavia's role in the spread of Byzantine culture is introduced. The extended contact between Byzantium and Germanic lands is considered through works of art linked to the Ottonian court, papal diplomacy, and Crusader loot. And the regions of the present-day countries of Hungary, France, England, and Spain are shown to have had artistic contacts with the empire. Through this exploration of Middle Byzantine art and culture and its dialogue with its Christian neighbors, the Islamic East, and the Latin West, "The Glory of Byzantium" provides a comprehensive picture of the importance of the Second Golden Age of the empire in its own time and for centuries to come.

As co-curators of the exhibition, we wish to reiterate our profound appreciation, offered elsewhere in the catalogue, to the lenders, to the Metropolitan Museum staff and volunteers who have made this exhibition possible, and to the authors of the catalogue, which has been made richer by their efforts and

by the diversity of opinions offered. We would like to offer special appreciation to the Editorial Department and to the exhibition staff for their work on the catalogue, a monumental undertaking. We appreciate very much their effort, and that of the authors, to provide the reader with a consistent transliteration system in the face of multiple languages and complex historical developments. To the extent possible, we have followed the Library of Congress system, using official national-language names according to their location or their association with a location within contemporary political states.

Whenever possible, inscriptions have been provided in the catalogue entries, followed by their English translations. Greek inscriptions have been capitalized; in the place of ligatures found in the original inscriptions, the individual letters have been given. Missing letters of words in the original inscription have been provided only when essential to understanding the word.

Helen C. Evans
Associate Curator of Early
Christian and Byzantine Art
Department of Medieval Art

William D. Wixom
Michel David-Weill
Chairman of the
Department of Medieval
Art and The Cloisters

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In Austria, in Innsbruck: Gert Ammann, Director, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum; and in Vienna: Manfred Leithe-Jasper, Director, Kunstkammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

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In Bulgaria, in Preslav: Detchko Letchev, Director, *Natsionalen Istoriko-Arkheologicheski Rerservat s Muzei “Veliki Preslav;”* in Sofia: George Kostov, Minister of Culture, Alexander Palichev, Ivan Bogdanov, Georgy Stoyanoff, Deputy Ministers of Culture; Peter Balabanov, Director, and Irina Mutafchieva, Exhibition Coordinator, National Centre for Museums, Art Galleries and Visual Arts; and Margarita Vaklinova, Director, *Natsionalen Arkheologicheski Muzei; in Veliko Tŭrnovo: Petko Matshkovksi, Director, Istoricheski Muzei.* We would also like to thank Elka Bakalova, The Institute of Art Studies, The Bulgarian Academy, and Trifon A. Trifonov, Director and Head Coordinator, Cultural Heritage Program, Soros Center for the Arts.

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THE GLORY OF
BYZANTIUM

BYZANTIUM AND ITS NEIGHBORS A.D. 843 - 1261





BYZANTINE SOCIETY AND CIVILIZATION

S P E R O S P . V R Y O N I S , J R .

The period from 843 to 1261 was an important one for the Byzantine Empire. At the outset the empire began a gradual recovery from the seventh-century Arab conquests in the East, the destructive invasions of the Germanic tribes in the West, and the incursions of numerous Slavic tribes into the Balkans. From the middle of the ninth to the early eleventh century Byzantine armies and fleets expanded the imperial boundaries north to the Danube, east to Syria and to the Caucasus, and south to Crete, thus removing a vast area of land and sea from Muslim, Slavic, or Armenian control. Byzantine diplomacy and political influence expanded into an ever-widening area beyond these territories to Kiev, Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, and Rome, as did the various cultural forms created by this powerful civilization. Consequently the Byzantine Empire knew a period of prestige and cultural eminence parallel to the earlier period of Justinian the Great (r. 527–65). By the late eleventh century, however, the political and economic fortunes of Byzantium had undergone profound reversals as the Seljuk Turks in the East, the Balkan Slavs in the North, the Italian commercial cities, and the Crusades in the West subjected the empire to ever-increasing military attacks, commercial penetration, and demographic alteration.

The history of these developments is as fascinating as it is complex, involving as it does so many different worlds, peoples, and cultures. This brief introduction concentrates on the internal structure of the Byzantine civilization, its external dynamics and history, and the diffusion of its culture to other lands and civilizations.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE

The Byzantine state was regarded as a continuation of the empire of ancient Rome and as divinely ordained. The churchman Eusebios of Caesarea (ca. 260–339/340) stated that God had created the Roman Empire and the Roman

emperors in order to unite the ecumene (the inhabited portion of the earth) and so expedite the spread of Christianity. In the great chrysobull (a solemn document bearing the emperor's gold bulla, or seal) of 996, the long-lived emperor Basil II (958–1025) addressed the great landowners about their fraudulent claims as to tax and other privileges, stating that "the claims of the [imperial] treasury go back to the time of Augustus," some 996 years earlier.¹

The Byzantine emperor, the basileus, was in theory the capstone of the state. His powers, described as absolute and sacred by the Corpus Juris Civilis of Justinian, were reaffirmed by the Greek version of that document, the Basilika, of about 888. These codes declared: "That which pleases the emperor is law" and "God has sent the emperor to earth as animate law."² The eleventh-century author Kekaumenos wrote: "O holy lord [emperor], God promoted you to the imperial rule, and his divine grace . . . made you a god on earth to do and make what you desire."³ Regarded as somehow divine, emperors were nevertheless often deposed violently, but neither the theory nor the institution of divine absolutism was ever challenged.

The emperor and his government ruled from the labyrinthine halls and chambers of Constantinople's Great Palace, where he met with senators, bureaucratic chiefs, military leaders, the patriarch, and foreign ambassadors. To claim legitimate authority, a pretender had to have sat on the imperial throne.⁴

The system of law⁵ emanated from the ancient tradition of Roman law and the opinions formulated by renowned Roman jurists. In Byzantium as in Rome the emperor held the ultimate legislative and legal authority. His policies were promulgated through edicts known as *nearai* or *novellae* (novels). Byzantine law, embodying imperial utterances, regulated social, economic, and administrative relations through a vast bureaucracy.⁶ Each emperor had the right to promulgate new laws, and the body of Byzantine law was constantly subject to alteration, reorientation, and innovation under the Justinianic principle that "the newer laws prevail over the older laws."⁷

Gregory of Nazianzos. Portrait from the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (cat. no. 63), fol. 4v



Byzantine Siege Machinery. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 151r(b)



The Byzantine Fleet Attacking the Rus' Fleet with Greek Fire. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 226v

The bureaucracy that enforced imperial legislation was ab initio a large centralized mechanism in which each member was overseen by a higher authority in a pyramidal structure. Important functionaries, who held the generic title *logothetes*, presided over the armed forces, taxation, foreign embassies, the daily affairs of the capital, and so on. Beginning in the seventh century the bureaucracy became more centralized until the reign (1081–1118) of Alexios I Komnenos, who united these *logothetai* under one official, the *logothetes ton sekreton*.⁸ The *Cleterologion* of Philotheus (899), a handbook listing the most important military and civil officials who were invited to the imperial banquet table, lists fifty-nine higher and some five hundred subordinate officials who attended formal palace receptions.⁹

The bureaucracy in all its provincial extent must have numbered in the thousands. The need for literate officials made primary and secondary education essential in Constantinople and in a number of provincial towns such as Thessalonike, Chonae, and Caesarea. Since the time of the fourth-century

bishop Basil the Great, the Alexandrian version of Greek *paideia* had been adapted to the education of Christian Byzantines and had been declared essential to the comprehension of Christian mysteries.¹⁰ At the uppermost level the bureaucrats were the most highly educated people in Byzantine society.¹¹ The hybrid education—joining the ancient *paideia* to Christian dogma and ethics¹²—produced laymen who were expert in theology and clergy who were classical scholars. From the ninth to the thirteenth century government officials such as Photios, Psellos, Attaleiates, and Niketas Choniates were prominent authors in the fields of philosophy, historiography, rhetoric, poetry, and medicine.¹³ This intimate connection between bureaucracy, education, and cultivation of letters and sciences was, of course, common to Chinese and Islamic civilization as well and gave rise to the mandarin phenomenon in each of these cultures.¹⁴ The bureaucrats wrote of their pride in their position; Psellos, for example, remarked: “The Celts and Arabs came under our sway; men from the other continent journeyed here because



The Patriarch Nicholas Baptizes the Son of the Emperor Leo VI. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 112r(b)



The Patriarch of Constantinople Crowns Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 114v(b)



The Revolt against Michael V. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 220v(a)



The Emperor Theophilos Sends the Monk John the Grammarian as an Ambassador to al-Ma'mun, the Caliph of Baghdad. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 47r

of the report of our fame. And as the Nile watered the land of Egypt, so our discourses refreshed their soul. And if you happen to talk with Persians or Ethiopians, they will say that they know and admire me, and have come in pursuit of me.”¹⁵

The literary cult devoted to ancient Hellenism was particularly marked in many of them. In the tenth century the bureaucrat Niketas Magistros remarked: “We are Spartan on my father’s side and Athenian on my mother’s.”¹⁶ Two centuries later the polymath John Tzetzes proclaimed: “I descend from the most noble Iberians in my mother’s family; from my father I am pure Greek.”¹⁷ Through these centuries Byzantium drew on two cultural traditions — pagan antiquity and Christianity — and was immensely enriched by this dual heritage.

In social and often political opposition was the “class” of the high military officers, the magnate-generals, of the provincial and imperial armies who during the heyday of the theme system also controlled much of the civil provincial administra-

tion. This was an administrative-military system in which the provincial or territorial unit (usually called the theme) was under the authority of a general (strategos) who had ultimate authority in both the military and administrative spheres, with the exception of control of finances. It arose in the seventh century, declined drastically in the eleventh century, and is thought to have been an important factor in establishing the empire’s military strength. Under the theme structure generals, or more often families, not only controlled provincial armies but also had vast landed estates, serfs, and immense agricultural incomes. Often passing on the generalship of a province to their offspring in a semiheditary fashion, many shunned the great capital, remaining in their provincial strongholds.¹⁸ In the eleventh century, when the strife between bureaucrats and magnate-generals was heated, Kekaumenos advised his son to cultivate his own lands: “Plant vineyards and cultivate the earth, for she will give you her fruits and you shall be nourished. . . . Let the portals of your house stand toward the south so that they may receive



Dignitaries before the Imperial Regent Theophano and Her Sons Basil II and Constantine VIII. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 142v(a)



Theophilos Orders the Execution of the Traitors Who Plotted the Assassination of Leo V. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 43r(a)

the air. Let your livestock be fat . . . do not have a lazy servant . . . cultivate much wine, but use little."¹⁹ As to which of the two professions, that of the pen or that of the sword, his son should choose, Kekaumenos was emphatic: "Do not desire to be a civil official for you cannot be both a general and a comedian."²⁰

From the mid-ninth to the mid-eleventh century Byzantium was among the most powerful and effective military forces in the Balkans, Asia Minor, and the eastern Mediterranean.²¹ This strength, however, declined in the eleventh century, when strife between bureaucrats and magnate-generals led to the decay of traditional military institutions. The bureaucrats succeeded in dissolving thematic (territorial) armies and fleets and increasing the use of highly paid but ineffective foreign mercenaries. Kekaumenos urged the emperor to desist from the latter practice, advice that may have been an indication of a pronounced xenophobia in Byzantine society.²² The decline of the armed forces was hastened by another circumstance: in the tenth century the landowning magnates had begun to absorb the lands of the free peasantry and then the free villages themselves.²³ The free peasantry and the village community had been fundamental to the military, fiscal, and social organization of the Byzantine state. Their gradual dissolution in the eleventh century had disastrous effects on the military and tax systems and favored the magnates in their power struggle with the central state. By the time of the accession of Alexios I Komnenos in 1081, the military magnates had captured the state.

The Byzantine army and navy were in pitiful condition,²⁴ and the empire had been effectively reduced to the immediate environs of Constantinople. Alexios had to turn to the Venetians for a fleet against the Normans and to the Crusaders for assistance against the Turks, who now controlled most of Asia Minor. Despite the substantial successes of Alexios, John, and Manuel Komnenos,²⁵ Byzantine military power continued to decline.

Central to Byzantine institutional life was the concept of *taxis* (harmonious hierarchy).²⁶ A multitude of ceremonies maintained *taxis* by sacralizing and formalizing institutional and social legitimacy. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945–59) preserved the spirit and many details of Byzantine ceremony, remarking to his son: "To neglect this ceremony, and to sentence it, as it were, to death, is to be left with a view of the empire devoid of ornament and deprived of beauty. If the body of a man were not gracefully formed, and if its members were casually arranged and inharmoniously disposed, one would say that the result was chaos and disorder. The same is true of the institution of empire; if it be not guided and governed by order, it will in no way differ from vulgar deportment in a private person."²⁷

Liutprand of Cremona (ca. 920–ca. 972), a Lombard bishop-diplomat and historian who visited the Byzantine court, described his reception by the emperor:

Before the emperor's seat stood a tree, made of bronze gilded over, whose branches were filled with birds, also made of gilded bronze, which uttered different cries, each according to its various species. The throne itself was so marvellously fashioned that at one moment it seemed a low structure, and at another it rose high into the air. It was of immense size and guarded by lions, made either of bronze or of wood covered over with gold, who beat the ground with their tails and gave a dreadful roar with open mouth and quivering tongue. Leaning upon the shoulders of two eunuchs, I was brought to the emperor's presence. At my approach the lions began to roar and the birds to cry out, each according to its kind. . . . So after I had three times made obeisance to the emperor with my face on the ground, I lifted my head, and behold! the man who just before I had seen sitting on a moderately elevated seat had now changed his raiment and was sitting on the level of the ceiling. How it was done I could not imagine.²⁸

This ceremonialization was not, of course, limited to the life and institutions of the state but was also highly developed in the ecclesiastical, economic, and military spheres. In the family an individual's life was marked, from birth to maturation, senescence, death, and afterlife, by rigidly prescribed ceremonial. Such ceremonies helped unify and homogenize Byzantine life.

During the seventh and eighth centuries Byzantium was struggling to survive. Though towns did not disappear, they probably declined in size and number.²⁹ From the ninth through the mid-thirteenth century, however, the town as a unit was very important to Byzantine political, ecclesiastical, economic, and social life.³⁰ In secular and Church administrative and historical writing the Byzantine town is characterized as having *polyanthropia* (density of population). According to Theodore Balsamon, the twelfth-century commentator on ecclesiastical canons, each town must be the seat of a bishopric, but to be a town, a community must also have *to polyanthropon* (sufficient population).³¹ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries *to polyanthropon* seems to have fluctuated between five thousand and forty thousand inhabitants.³² Constantinople³³ and Thessalonike³⁴ were, of course, exceptions, as they were much more heavily populated. These towns were characterized by the presence of imperial officialdom (civil and military), an ecclesiastical hierarchy, a specialization of craft industry, and an active local commerce.³⁵

Each town had villages and rural agricultural lands in

administrative dependence on it. The ecclesiastical administration in such towns as Ephesus was enormous and confirms the Church's extensive economic and social activities. The towns must have had sizable bodies of civil and military officials to administer tax, military, and judicial matters in the villages. Landed aristocrats seem to have had substantial houses in the provincial towns.³⁶ Villagers often came to town to sell their surplus, to buy craft products, to attend the great religio-commercial fairs, and to address their complaints to the local judges.

There are no statistics to establish the relative importance of agriculture, animal husbandry, craft industry, and commerce or to fix the relative numbers of people who derived sustenance and income from these activities. However, some general observations can be made about economic life. The state engaged in some sort of regulation of its income from taxation. Rough lines of occupational distinction were established through legislation. There were attempts to set profit margins and quality standards. The single largest source of tax income for the state appears to have been agriculture rather than animal husbandry. The village was the essential administrative and agricultural unit, and the taxation system was designed to ensure the cultivation of all arable village land. Agriculture remained relatively stable from antiquity—it was described in the sixth-century *Geoponika*, reedited in the tenth

century under Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos.³⁷ The variety of crops was largely the same³⁸—grains (primarily hard wheat but also barley, oats, and millet), fruit (most importantly grapes), and a large variety of garden vegetables—with rice possibly introduced in Late Antiquity.³⁹ For centuries Byzantine agricultural production not only maintained the empire's population but also allowed substantial demographic, especially urban, growth.

Although little is known of the organization of urban life, craft corporations or guilds appear to have flourished from the seventh to the late ninth century. The tenth-century Book of the Eparch describes some of the guilds of Constantinople, indicating a certain continuity with similar institutions in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods.⁴⁰ The guilds mentioned in the Book of the Eparch include those dealing with luxuries (silk and linen goods, jewelry, precious metals, perfumes, money changing) as well as those involved with everyday life (associations of fishmongers, beef and pork butchers, bakers, leatherworkers, grocers, tavern keepers, and the like). The state revealed an almost socialist mentality in its regulation of the craft industry.⁴¹ Prices were fixed—the guildsman was allowed to make a profit and the inhabitants of the largest city in Europe were able to afford their daily bread and fish.⁴² Quality was assured by the eparch's agents, who used the police to enforce standards and measures. Specialization was



The Landowner Danielis Being Carried on a Litter. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 102r(a)



Farming Scenes. Manuscript illustration, Byzantine, 12th century. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 394, fol. 12v

rigidly enforced, both vocationally and socially. An aristocrat could not buy more goods than he needed for personal and family use, and he could not engage in commerce. A guildsman could not trade in more than one specific type of item, and he was banned from eliminating jobbers by going directly to a commodity's source. The palace workshops held a monopoly on the production of certain luxury goods.⁴³ The manufacture of arms may have been a state monopoly, as the fifth-century Theodosian Code dictated⁴⁴ and as it was in thirteenth-century Nicaea.⁴⁵

Commerce, both domestic and international, was in part organized about the religio-commercial fair known as the panegyris.⁴⁶ This fair, which had roots in early Greek antiquity, forged economic ties between rural villages and provincial towns, between provincial towns themselves, and between Constantinople and the major towns, all of which engaged in international commerce. Church and state and urbanites and farmers profited or lost, found spiritual elevation or "sinful" recreation, at these fairs. In *Timarion*, a twelfth-century satirical dialogue, one of the greatest of these celebrations, the panegyris of Saint Demetrios in Thessalonike, is described: "The *Demetria* are a feast, much as the Panathenaea in Athens and the Panionia among the Milesians. There flow to it not only the indigenous and local throng, but from all sides all possible of the Hellenes everywhere, of the nearby dwelling Mysians and of all nations up to the Danube and Scythia, of Campanians, Italians, Iberians, Lusitanians, and Celts from beyond the Alps. And the ocean sands send, in short, suppliants and spectators to the martyr. So great is his glory in Europe."⁴⁷ The author remarks that the goods include "every type . . . of textiles and yarns for men and women, and all those that commercial ships bring to the Hellenes from Boeotia, the Peloponnese, and Italy. And also Phoenicia contributes and Egypt, Spain, and the Pillars of Hercules weave the most beautiful textiles. Merchants bring these directly from the various lands to former Macedonia and to Thessalonike. The Euxine [Black Sea region] sends its goods to Byzantium, and thence it ornaments the panegyris, many horses and mules bringing the loads from there. . . . The types and number of the animals amazed me as their loud and confused cry fell extraordinarily upon my ears. [There were] horses whinnying, oxen bellowing, sheep bleating, hogs grunting, and dogs barking."⁴⁸ He goes on to tell of the official processions led by the *doux* of the city and his retinue, followed by the archbishop and his clergy, and finally by the city's inhabitants and guests, both Byzantine and foreign.

This sketch of the important elements in Byzantine economic life from the ninth through the late eleventh century indicates that commercial life remained much the same as it had been in Late Antiquity, though the changes in city life obviously had important effects. But in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries the rise of Western forces, especially Venice

and the Italian commercial cities, the continuation of the Crusades, and the establishment of the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor⁴⁹ had highly detrimental effects on Byzantine commercial and agricultural life.

Byzantine society was a deeply religious one, in which the yearning for salvation and apprehension about the afterlife were everywhere apparent. Like the medieval Latins and Muslims, the Byzantines believed in one God, ultimately of Judaic origin, who was arbitrary and absolute and whose final judgment decided the believer's eternal fate. The Church as an institution was entwined in practically every activity of daily life.⁵⁰ By the mid-ninth century Church doctrine was firmly based on the Bible, the teachings of the Church Fathers, and the pronouncements of the seven councils that were ecumenical. (The papacy continued to regard certain subsequent councils as ecumenical, and thus the Roman and the Monophysite Churches became differentiated.) With the final defeat of Iconoclasm in 843, the last major theological dispute was settled, and thereafter the Byzantine Church chose a conservative role, maintaining established theology against change. The standard of ethical behavior for the laity and especially for the clergy was set by canon law and by teaching and homiletics; the liturgy, with its central sacrament of the Eucharist, allowed contact with the divine at least once a week.⁵¹

The Church's episcopal and sacerdotal functions generated a large bureaucracy, parallel in many ways to that of the state. Greater sees were given preference over lesser ones, although in theory they were equal. Each bishop had a large retinue of priests and lower clergy, whereas the metropolitans had their own synods. At the summit was the patriarch of Constantinople, the de facto leader of the Church. Each bishop also presided over an extensive body of lay officials who administered the Church's property and income. Charitable and educational activities were overseen by clerical administrators, who also managed the Church's large landed estates, business properties, and serfs and peasants.

The relationship between the Byzantine Church and the emperor was characterized by caesaropapism (the exercise of supreme authority over ecclesiastical matters by a secular ruler). The ultimate decisions on theology, heresy, and Church control were usually made by the emperor.⁵² In the eleventh century the relative power of *sacerdotium* (priesthood) and *imperium* (empire) was raised by the patriarch Michael I Kerularios and was promptly settled by the emperor Isaac I Komnenos. When Kerularios asserted that *sacerdotium* was superior, the emperor had him arrested and beaten, then had Psellos, the president of the senate, prepare a lengthy bill of accusations. The patriarch died before he could be brought to trial.⁵³ This episode brings to mind the law code of Justinian: "That which pleases the emperor is law."



Procession in Constantinople to Pray for Relief from a Drought. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 210v

In the Western Church the pope was the ultimate authority on dogma and other matters, but the Eastern Church professed conciliar primacy (that is, the patriarchal synod, rather than the patriarch, was decisive in Church affairs). This and other major jurisdictional differences, as well as conflicts over ritual and theological issues, culminated in the great schism between the Latin and Byzantine Churches in 1054.⁵⁴ The mutual excommunications of 1054, as well as the Crusades, began to calcify the separation between the West and the East.

The Byzantine Church had similar disputes with the Armenian Church and the Syriac Christians. Neither the Armenians nor the Syrians had approved the Council of Chalcedon in 451, which had confirmed Christ's nature as both fully divine and fully human. Instead they continued to adhere to Monophysitism (which held that Christ's nature was altogether or primarily divine). The Arab conquests of the seventh century removed most of the adherents of these two churches from Byzantine authority, and Monophysitism ceased to be an issue for the Byzantine government. The Byzantine reconquest of the tenth and early eleventh centuries, however, brought most Armenians and a large number of Syriac Christians back into the empire, and Monophysitism once more became a vexing problem. The state's ill-conceived efforts to enforce religious unity resulted in the alienation and often armed resistance of these populations just when the Seljuk invaders and Turkish settlers were appearing in Anatolia.⁵⁵

The Byzantine Church's relations with the Slavs and Georgians were complex. The conversion of the Georgians had occurred very early, whereas those of the Bulgars, Serbs,

and Rus' were the result of political, economic, and military relations, often hostile, from the ninth to the twelfth century. Autonomous "national" or ethnic patriarchates were eventually established—a course that had profound effects which continue to be evident throughout the Orthodox world.⁵⁶

The relations of the Eastern Church with the religion of Islam were determined by the political and military fortunes of Byzantium and of the Islamic world. Within three hundred years of the great Arab conquests of Byzantine Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa in the seventh and eighth centuries, most of the populations of these regions had converted to Islam. Syriac and Coptic, the indigenous languages of the once-numerous Christian populations, were becoming extinct, having given way to the prestige and political importance of Arabic.⁵⁷ The same pattern can be seen in the eleventh century with the earliest invasions and conquests by the nomadic Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor. Within three centuries a great number of Greek- and Armenian-speaking Christians had disappeared through islamization; their languages survived only in islets amid a veritable sea of linguistic turkization.⁵⁸

The world of Byzantine religion had its roots in the original encounter of a stridently victorious Christianity with, and at the expense of, the various paganisms of the Late Roman and Early Christian world. Constantine's conversion to Christianity and the ferocity of the legislation passed against the vulnerable pagans by his imperial successors⁵⁹ caused mass conversions in relatively short periods of time. This meant, in effect, that the newly christianized communities retained many of their original religious beliefs.⁶⁰ The canons

of the Council of Quinisextum (691–92) addressed this situation,⁶¹ and the survival of pagan elements, especially from the cult of Dionysos, was noted in the 1170s by Balsamon in his commentaries on the canons. Implying that these practices were current in his own time, he wrote: “And the satyrs, as also the Bacchae, were said to be part of the frenzied chorus about Dionysos. Neither are [the farmers] to utter the name of Dionysos at [their] wine-vats nor are they to laugh or to laugh aloud as the wine is poured into the pithos. Dionysos was thought by the Greeks to be a god, the keeper of drunkenness and the donor of wine.”⁶² The chronicler John Zonaras, who wrote commentaries on the Quinisextum canons some twenty years before Balsamon, made similar observations: “All these things transpire among the rustics for they know not what they do.”⁶³ In the eleventh century Kekaumenos warned his son that despite the contemporary belief in centaurs, they do not exist.⁶⁴ Alongside the Christianity of the seven ecumenical councils and the Church Fathers, there existed a massive undergrowth of popular religion, based on the pre-Christian paganisms of Anatolia and the Balkans. The persistence of these pagan elements was evident in the cults of the saints and in the vigorous survival of the panegyris.

The victory of the Iconophiles (defenders of icons) in 843 secured not only the iconic cult but also the future and prosperous development of the monasteries after the fierce war that Constantine V (r. 741–75) had waged against these establishments, their members, and their wealth. Monasticism, with a tradition going back to the third and fourth centuries, was remarkably hardy. This vitality was spectacularly manifested in the rapid growth of the Athonite communities after Nikephoros II Phokas retook Crete from the Saracens in 961; within a century Mount Athos, or the Holy Mountain, was the center of Orthodox monasticism (see illus. on p. 22). Aside from the Byzantine monasteries on Athos, there were Georgian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Romanian, and Rus’ establishments. Constantinople remained, of course, a great center of monasticism, as did areas of Asia Minor.⁶⁵ The Monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phokis (Greece), founded in the tenth century and decorated with a splendid mosaic cycle in the 1020s, exemplifies the vigor and strong patronage of the monastic movement in more remote provinces (see illus. on pp. 20 and 35).⁶⁶ The Nea Mone (New Monastery) on Chios, founded before 1042, was richly endowed by Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–55), and its church, with fine mosaics and colored marbles, seems to have been finished during his reign.⁶⁷ Another monastic church decorated with mid-eleventh-century mosaics was that at Daphni, near Athens (see illus. on pp. 25 and 33).⁶⁸

Many of these foundations included orphanages, craft schools, poorhouses, and the like. Most spectacular was Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople, founded by the

emperor John II Komnenos (r. 1118–43) and his wife, the empress Irene (this monastic complex is now known by its Turkish name, Zeyrek Kilise Camii; see illus. on pp. 23 and 29). Christ Pantokrator included two monastic churches and a chapel, accommodations for eighty-nine monks, an inn for travelers, a five-room hospital-clinic with sixty-four beds, a medical school, and a leprosarium. The lands and incomes given to the establishment by the emperor were, of course, commensurate with its size and activity.⁶⁹

In this rapid analysis of Byzantine society from the mid-ninth to the mid-thirteenth century a number of basic institutions have been depicted and their roles in the fluctuating history of the empire have been emphasized. It must be remembered that the attainment of cultural and therefore of social conformity is dependent on institutional forces strong enough to compel the adherence, conscious or unconscious, of society’s members to a common set of norms.

When Constantinople came to be called New Rome, the population of the Eastern Empire became “Romans” (*Rhomaioi*). A number of factors fostered social and cultural cohesion in Byzantine society between 843 and 1261. Generally speaking, to be regarded as *Rhomaios* (belonging to the empire), an individual, a family, or a group had to acknowledge the authority of the divinely ordained emperor of the Roman/Byzantine Empire, to be faithful to the Church of Constantinople and to the seven ecumenical councils, to obey Byzantine law, to respond loyally to the state bureaucracy and its fiscal authority, and to accept the Greek language and *paideia* as the proper basis for the educational system.⁷⁰

Despite the empire’s political claims — that it was the continuator of the Roman state — its inhabitants did not speak Latin, nor were the vast majority affiliated with the Latin Church. The heart of Byzantium consisted of the lands of the ancient Greeks, the ancient Greek islands, and those parts of Asia Minor that were largely hellenized by the sixth century. Thus a *Rhomaios* was typically a Greek-speaker and Orthodox. From antiquity, however, many non-Greek peoples had been absorbed through hellenization. In medieval times, so long as the Byzantine state was politically vigorous and institutionally efficient, the empire absorbed many Armenians, Slavs, and Georgians and later Turks and Latins, whose descendants became Greek-speaking emperors, administrators, generals, authors, theologians, and peasants. More important in the cultural absorption of various ethnic groups was adherence to the Byzantine Church. This allegiance transcended linguistic barriers because the Church spoke to converts in their own vernaculars. Linguistic hellenization was effective when newcomers were thrust into the social and economic life of large Greek-speaking communities. Thus the relatively smaller population of Slavs in southern Greece learned Greek from day-to-day intercourse with the larger Greek-speaking community.⁷¹ In the central and northern Balkans, however, Slavs

were the great majority, and only those educated in the Byzantine schools or in monasteries such as those on Mount Athos learned some form of Greek, while retaining, however, their national languages.

Ethnic distinctions, animosities, and strife seem to have been common in Byzantium. Greek-speakers (*Rhomaioi*), Armenians (some belonging to the Byzantine Church), Slavs, and Georgians, as well as Latins and Turks, had a strong sense of ethnic difference, which often turned into ethnic hatred. The medieval vocabulary of ethnic opprobrium was rich and vicious.⁷² For example, when the Georgian Gregory Pakourianos, a great general of Alexios I Komnenos, founded Petritzos Monastery, he banned Greek monks from entering.⁷³

Cultural bonds grew weaker with the decline of the state's authority, which was damaged by internal centrifugal forces and by invasions of Venetians, Crusaders, South Slavs, and Seljuk Turks. The most serious ruptures were in Asia Minor. There the Byzantine state lost effective control in many regions during the eleventh through the thirteenth century; the Church was ineffective for decades at a time, and disruptive nomadism and aggressive Islamic forces removed former *Rhomaioi* or transformed them into Muslims. Similarly in the southern Balkans the commercial expansion of Italian cities and the land hunger of restless Crusaders began to rend the political and economic fabric of Byzantine society.

The most catastrophic blow to Byzantine cultural cohesion resulted from the Turkish invasions and settlements of the eleventh through the fifteenth century,⁷⁴ which profoundly changed family structure, religion, law, and political rule. In the Greek islands, the southern Balkans, and Constantinople,

the Latins who came in the thirteenth century were fewer in number than the Greek locals; they simply replaced the political leadership, took over the economic apparatus, and removed the Greek merchants from the control of economic life.⁷⁵ However, the Greek peasants stayed on the land, and Greek craftsmen continued to ply their trades in the towns, now producing for a Latin-controlled market. Though the Latin ecclesiastical hierarchs replaced many Greek bishops and metropolitans, the Greek priests remained in their places,⁷⁶ and the traditional family structure of the Greek-speaking peasantry and the older Greek aristocracy continued unchanged.

This onslaught of Muslim Turks, Italian merchants, Frankish Crusaders, and South Slavic knezes began to make the *Rhomaioi* a more and more Hellenic presence. The term *Hellene* appeared more frequently in literary Greek, and by the thirteenth century Greek authors began to refer to Byzantines as Hellenes as well as *Rhomaioi*.⁷⁷

Throughout the four centuries that are of concern here, Byzantine institutional life was sufficiently powerful, where it was not destroyed, to preserve its characteristic civilization. Even in the centuries preceding the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman sultan in 1453, the resilience of Byzantium's culture is astonishing, especially given the long series of political reversals and military defeats that the empire suffered. Throughout this melancholy period some of Byzantium's most remarkable accomplishments were achieved through its relations with the culture and society of the Ottoman Turks, of late medieval Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania, and Rus', and of Renaissance Italy.⁷⁸



The Arab Capture of Thessalonike. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 111v



Nikephoros II Phokas Takes Berroia. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 142r(a)



Nikephoros II Phokas Returns in Triumph to Constantinople. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 145r(b)

BYZANTIUM AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORLD

When Basil I began his reign as sole emperor in 867, the Byzantine Empire and its society had emerged from a long period of declining political and military fortunes occasioned by the emergence of the new Arab empire in the east, which rapidly destroyed Byzantine control in much of Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa and eventually in Sicily, Crete, and Cyprus. To the north the numerous Slavic tribes had crossed the Danube and poured into the central Balkans, destroying Byzantine Christianity and urban centers and penetrating Greece proper. Accordingly, by the mid-eighth century the empire had long been absorbed in a life-and-death struggle with the Muslim East, which began to abate only with the removal of the Arab

capital from the former Byzantine city of Damascus to the region of the Tigris-Euphrates.

In the seventh and eighth centuries the Byzantine Empire had experienced devastating Arab conquests and massive Slavic penetration of much of the Balkans.⁷⁹ By the second half of the ninth century, however, Byzantine rulers and their generals, armies, and navies gradually passed from a defensive to an aggressive posture in their relations with the Muslims and the Slavs. By the ninth century the Islamic world had begun to experience a political and religious splintering, and in the tenth and eleventh centuries Byzantine armies expelled the Arabs from eastern Asia Minor, reincorporated many of the small Armenian principalities into the empire, and recaptured the island of Crete, the city of Antioch, and much of northern Syria. In the Balkans the emperor John I Tzimiskes

The Byzantines Attack the Rus' at Preslav. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 166r



John I Tzimiskes Returns in Triumph to Constantinople with the Preslav Icon. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 172v(a)



began the subjugation of Bulgaria, which was completed by Basil II in a lengthy and devastating series of battles that inaugurated a long period of Byzantine rule over the Bulgarians. When the redoubtable Basil died in 1025, he left a Byzantine Empire whose might was feared from the Danube to the Mediterranean and from southern Italy to Syria.⁸⁰ Within fifty years, however, this political security and economic prosperity collapsed. As new political threats appeared on the empire's eastern, Balkan, and western borders, the imperial military forces were in decline, and the empire was racked by a seemingly interminable series of civil wars.

Ample written testimony records the Byzantines' awareness that state and society were undergoing ruinous transformation. In the eleventh century Kekaumenos warned the emperor against the dissolution of the army: "For the army is

the glory of the emperor, the strength of the palace, and if there is no army, there is no longer any government."⁸¹ And he urged the unnamed emperor to restore the navy: "For the fleet is the glory of the *Rhomaioi*."⁸²

On April 15, 1071, the city of Bari, the last imperial stronghold in southern Italy, succumbed to the Norman adventurer Robert Guiscard after a three-year siege. Within a decade the new Norman kingdom of southern Italy launched a devastating invasion of the Byzantine Empire, the goal of which was to destroy Byzantium and to make Constantinople the capital of a great Norman state.⁸³

On August 26, four months after the capitulation of Bari in the west, on the eastern frontier the Seljuk sultan Alp Arslan inflicted a major defeat on the emperor Romanos IV Diogenes at the Battle of Mantzikert. The next day the emperor

was brought, captive and wounded, before the astonished sultan.⁸⁴ Attaleiates, the supreme judge of the Byzantine army, a participant in the Battle of Mantzikert, and a historian, described the dramatic scene:

Wearying toward evening, however, [Romanos] submitted and was captured, oh misfortune! And on that night, yet, he fell asleep on the ground, painfully, and without honor, overwhelmed from all sides perhaps by the countless and unbearable waves from the thoughts and the troubles before his eyes. On the next day the capture of the emperor was announced to the sultan. A boundless joy and at the same time disbelief seized him. . . . The Turks accepted the success of the victory humanely and discreetly, . . . attributing the whole affair to God, because they had accomplished a victory beyond their own strength. [When] the emperor was brought before the sultan, . . . [the sultan] arose, and embracing him he said: "Do not fear, O emperor, but be hopeful before all as you shall not face bodily danger for you shall be honored worthily of the preeminence of rule. For he who does not fear reversal of unforeseen fortunes is senseless." Having ordered that a tent be prepared for [the emperor] and a fitting retinue, [the sultan] caused him to dine and associate with him, not seating him off to one side. . . . In this manner coming together and speaking with [the emperor] twice a day, and consoling him with many speeches referring to the instability of life, [the sultan] shared words and salt with him for eight days.⁸⁵

After an eight-day captivity and the conclusion of a political and marital alliance, the sultan released the emperor.

When Romanos was captured, the Doukas family in Constantinople placed Michael VII Doukas on the throne and outlawed Romanos. His freeing set off a series of rebellions and revolutions in Asia Minor and the Balkans, which during the next decade not only would consume the empire's political and military strength but also would establish the use of Turkish military bodies and tribes by the contenders in the civil wars. Through conquest or in service to Byzantine military commanders, the Turks quickly took control of most Anatolian cities and lands.⁸⁶

In the west the Norman pressure became so severe that Alexios I Komnenos, who had little of his fleet left, concluded a treaty with Venice. The Venetian navy would defend the empire against the Normans, warding off attacks by Robert Guiscard. In turn Alexios granted Venice the famous chrysobull of 1082, which gave legal, political, and economic concessions that would allow a dynamic expansion of Venetian mercantile interests in much of Byzantium. Henceforth Venetian merchants could trade throughout most of the empire without paying an *ad valorem* tax on their commercial goods, and they would be free from a host of other taxes.

Venice was thus assured a virtual monopoly of the empire's carrying trade. The doge and the patriarch of Venice were given Byzantine titles and handsome stipends, and the Venetians were granted their own quarter in Constantinople with substantial privileges of self-governance. Throughout the twelfth century the Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese increased their prominence in Byzantine economic life while becoming bitter foes of one another.⁸⁷

By the end of the eleventh century the first of the great Crusading movements arrived at the walls of Constantinople. This encounter of Byzantines and Franks would begin in friction and would lead to religious hatred and violence and finally to the brutal conquest of the imperial capital in 1204 and the shattering of the political unity of the Byzantine Empire.⁸⁸

Though the Komnenian rulers revived the empire's political power, they were not able to reestablish its former territorial extent. (Seljuks and Danishmendids remained masters of the Anatolian plateau, and the nomads concentrated on the Byzantine borders in the twelfth century relentlessly raided and devastated the western Anatolian lands.) The emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80) attempted to foil Norman and Hohenstaufen ambitions (by costly but futile projects in Italy) and to halt Hungarian expansion in the Balkans. Above all he tried to put an end to Turkish nomadic invasions in western Asia Minor. But on September 17, 1176, in the difficult mountain passes of Myriokephalon, near the Byzantine-Seljuk border, Kildij Arslan, the sultan of Rūm, and the Turkoman nomads devastated Manuel's forces and laid to rest forever the Byzantine hopes of ousting the Turks from Asia Minor. This battle was as significant as that of Mantzikert a century earlier, with this difference: it took place over seven hundred miles west of the earlier site, an indication of the great gains that the Seljuk sultan and the nomads had made in one hundred years.⁸⁹

For Byzantium the last quarter of the twelfth century was a chronicle of internal disintegration and external attack, culminating in the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204. When the imperial official Niketas Choniates wrote his lament on the pillaging of the city by the Latin Crusaders, he was recording the final transition of the Byzantine state from a powerful empire to one of the smaller Greek states (Epirus, Nicaea, and Trebizond) competing for the recapture of Constantinople.⁹⁰ Byzantium now took a more humble place among comparable Latin, Balkan, and Turkish states. Even after Michael VIII Palaiologos reconquered Constantinople from the enfeebled Latin emperor in 1261, the Byzantine Empire was nothing more than one among the various Balkan states.

DIFFUSION OF BYZANTINE CULTURE

The period from 843 to 1261 was one of considerable political,



The Exchange of Correspondence between the Byzantine Emperor and the Caliph. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 75v

military, economic, and cultural vitality, and even though there was a marked political and economic decline in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the cultural life of Byzantine civilization remained vigorous and influential. The diffusion of Byzantine culture during these centuries is of particular interest in the Islamic and Slavic worlds. The cultural relations of Byzantium and the worlds of the Armenians, Syriac Christians, Georgians, and the Latin West were not so consequential.

Byzantium's connections with the Islamic world were most important to the Byzantine state, its society, and culture.⁹¹ Ultimately the political might and religious vitality of the Muslim world posed the greatest threat to the survival of Byzantium. In the first half of the seventh century the early Arab conquests were rapid and thorough.⁹² Within a decade the Byzantine districts of Mesopotamia, much of Armenia, and Syria, Palestine, and Egypt became Arab possessions. The Byzantine provincial society in these conquered lands was not, however, destroyed. Instead Islam became the direct political, administrative, economic, and cultural successor to the Byzantine state, perpetuating much of Byzantine institutional life, although over the centuries this was gradually, but profoundly, arabized and islamized.⁹³

During the ninth through the eleventh century important elements of the Byzantine intellectual heritage were absorbed into Islamic culture, through the great work of translating classical Greek writings into Arabic.⁹⁴ Arab thinkers understood the significance of these works in their cultural life and studied, commented on, and further developed them. The early-tenth-century Arab encyclopedist al-Nadim observed:

Books on philosophy and other ancient sciences became plentiful in this country. One of the reasons for this was

that [the caliph] al-Ma'mun saw in a dream the likeness of a man white in color, with a ruddy complexion, broad forehead, joined eyebrows, bald head, bloodshot eyes, and good qualities sitting on his bed. Al-Ma'mun related, "It was as though I was in front of him, filled with fear of him. Then I said, Who are you? He replied, I am Aristotle. Then I was delighted with him and said, O sage, may I ask you a question? He said, Ask it. Then I asked, What is good? He replied, What is good in the mind. I said again, Then what is next? He replied, What is good in the law. I said, Then what is next? He replied, What is good with the public. I said, Then what more? He answered me, There is no more. . . ."

The dream was one of the most definite reasons for the output of books. Al-Ma'mun . . . wrote to the Byzantine emperor asking him permission to obtain a selection of old scientific manuscripts, stored and treasured in the Byzantine country. . . . Al-Ma'mun sent . . . a group of men [who] brought the books selected from what they had found. . . . He [then] ordered them to translate [the manuscripts]. . . . Among those who were concerned with the bringing of books from the Byzantine country there were Muhammad, Ahmad, and al-Hassan, the grandsons of Shakhir al-Munajjim [grandsons of al-Ma'mun's astrologer and great patrons of culture]. [They sent] Hunayn ibn Ishaq and others to the Byzantine country to bring them rare books . . . about philosophy, geometry, arithmetic, and medicine, [and they] supported a group of translators. . . . Each month the translation and maintenance amounted to about 500 gold coins.⁹⁵

The dream in this account should perhaps be left to adepts in oneiromancy, but the cultural importance of the text of al-Nadim is obvious. By the late ninth century the caliphs and the powerful members of the caliphal court had made the momentous decision to begin translating a major portion of the ancient Greek texts, via Syriac, into Arabic. This ancient Greek legacy had profound effects on Islamic civilization over the next three centuries. The Arabs came to have great respect for the Byzantine forms of education, medicine, tax administration, mathematics, and geography. The wealthy caliphs and their advisers saw the advantages of a more advanced school of medicine. A better knowledge of geography would benefit those who administered a vast empire stretching from Spain to India, which included a bewildering variety of climates, topographies, and human societies. Most important were the intellectual vitality and the Byzantine school system of the Syriac Christians in the caliphate who continued to follow much of the curriculum of the late Alexandrian school,⁹⁶ in which the medical texts of the Greek physician Galen and of the Organon of Aristotle remained central. This Byzantine tradition, in the realm of education, survived the Arab

conquests and continued a rather vigorous life under the new political conditions. Thus the contacts with and trips to Byzantium combined with the preexisting Byzantine-Syriac school of Hellenism in the caliphate. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Islamic ruling class placed its political and economic power behind this important enterprise of translation by founding the Bayt al-Hiqmah (literally, “House of Wisdom”; an establishment where Greek texts were translated)⁹⁷ and by supporting scholars dedicated to the study and translation of ancient Greek texts.

The ancient Greek authors who were translated were those who would be useful in Islamic society. Both the translators (the majority of whom were Syriac Christians) and the patrons made careful selections. Ancient Greek poetry was thus excluded, as the tenth-century Arab philosopher Abu Sulayman al-Mantiqi as-Sijistani explained: “Stephan has translated part of the Homeric poems from Greek into Arabic. It is known that poems lose most of their special splendour in translation and that ideas expressed in them become largely corrupted when the artistic form of the poetry is altered.”⁹⁸ Nothing offensive to the Islamic religious conscience would be translated, and thus most Byzantine religious literature was excluded, as well as the ancient texts that dealt with paganism. The translators and their patrons concentrated on Greek texts that dealt with medicine, geometry, arithmetic, musical theory, astronomy, geography, science, and philosophy. The break between Greek belles lettres and scientific-philosophic works was clear. Thus the 129 medical treatises of Galen were translated into Arabic, as were all of Aristotle’s works except his dialogues and the *Politics*. Of Plato only the *Timaeus*, *Republic*, *Laws*, *Phaedo*, and *Crito* were translated, though the titles of all his dialogues were mentioned. Despite these limitations the large-scale importation of Greek knowledge into Islamic civilization had important effects on the brilliant achievements of Arab medicine and hospitals, mathematics, geography, musical theory, and even philosophy. (Aristotle and Galen were introduced to medieval Western Europe by the Muslims in Spain.)⁹⁹ Any conflict between human logic and divine revelation was settled in favor of the latter.

The ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries were similarly fundamental in the change of relations between the Slavs and Byzantium. Previously much of the Slavic world had, at least from the sixth century, when they were first mentioned in Byzantine sources, lived in a kind of decentralized system of tribalism, following a pagan religion, and without an alphabet or an educational system.¹⁰⁰ With the creation of a Bulgarian state south of the Danube in 681, there arose eventually a Bulgaro-Slavic state, which expanded southward, intensifying its contacts with Byzantium.¹⁰¹ By the ninth century many Slavic groups started to coalesce into larger political units and states.¹⁰² Their leaders began to look to the adjacent Byzantine



The Serbs, Croats, and Other Slavs Beseech the Byzantine Emperor for Aid. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 96r

and Carolingian states for models to follow in their transition from tribalism to a state with a central ruler. The Moravians, Bulgars, Serbs, Croats, and Rus’ eventually converted to Latin or Byzantine Christianity, the earliest to do so being the Moravians and the Bulgaro-Slavs. Moravians were christianized by the Byzantine brothers Constantine the Philosopher (Cyril) and Methodios, who were sent by the emperor in response to a request from the Moravian prince. This choice of missionaries reflected the old Byzantine principle that Christianity should be preached in the language of the converts (Constantine and Methodios spoke not only Greek but also a Slavic tongue). They translated Christian books into the local Slavic dialect, creating the first Slavic alphabet, the first Slavic literary language (Old Church Slavonic), and the first Slavic literature. They brought to Moravia the core of



The Conversion of the Bulgarian Khan Boris to Christianity. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 68v



The Conversion of the Rus' Prince Volodymyr to Christianity. Illustration from the Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes (cat. no. 338), fol. 103v(a)

Byzantine Christian writings, translating them for the local Slavic community of Christians.¹⁰³

Soon after the death of the two brothers in the late ninth century, their disciples were expelled from Moravia. However, the Bulgarian khan Boris, who had converted to Byzantine Christianity by 870, welcomed these missionaries. It was here that the legacy of Constantine and Methodios took root and was later exported to other Slavic lands.¹⁰⁴ Boris's son and successor, Symeon, was educated in Constantinople to prepare him to become the head of the new Bulgarian Church.¹⁰⁵ He adopted in toto the politico-cultural model of Byzantium, eventually assuming the title of basileus, with all the Byzantine trappings, and acquired from Byzantium the right to have a Bulgarian patriarch as well. Thus the Byzantine model of *basileia*/Orthodoxy was appropriated, and with it there followed the influx of Byzantine religious culture, monasticism, theology and ecclesiastical literature, schools, painting, and architecture. Symeon transformed his capital at Preslav¹⁰⁶ into a political, religious, literary, and artistic center, at the head of which stood the new Bulgarian ruler himself.

The extensive riverine system connecting the Baltic and Black Seas was a political arena in which eastern Slavs and Scandinavian warrior-adventurers coalesced to create the political and commercial bases of the medieval Rus' states, at the heart of which was Kiev.¹⁰⁷ Like the Bulgarians, the Rus' pursued commercial advantages in Byzantium, often through force of arms. The *Pověst vremennykh lét* (Tale of Bygone Years) asserts that the Rus' first attacked Constantinople in the middle of the ninth century and that detailed commercial treaties were concluded between Kiev and Constantinople during the tenth century.¹⁰⁸

The Rus' princes were attracted to the great wealth of Constantinople early on. Through treaties they became an integral part of the city's commercial scene, and their warriors

regularly sought employment in the Byzantine armies. By the tenth century the first conversions had been made in Kiev, and Byzantine material and political culture had become familiar to the Rus'. The final conversion of the Rus' was precipitated by a Byzantine political crisis. When Basil II and the Macedonian dynasty were threatened with extinction by the revolt of the brilliant Byzantine general Bardas Phokas,¹⁰⁹ he appealed to Volodymyr, the prince of Kiev, for military assistance. In return for this help the emperor promised Volodymyr the imperial princess Anna in marriage, on condition that he be baptized a Christian. With the support of Volodymyr's Varangian Guard, Basil was able to put down the rebellion at the Battle of Abydos (989). Volodymyr was baptized and then became the brother-in-law of the Byzantine emperor.¹¹⁰ Though originally a fervent pagan, Volodymyr henceforth assumed his obligations as a Christian prince and set out to eradicate paganism in Rus' and to replace it with Christianity. The *Pověst vremennykh lét* relates: "When the prince arrived at his capital, he directed that the idols should be overthrown, and that some should be cut to pieces and others burned with fire. He then ordered that [the idol] Perun should be bound to a horse's tail and dragged down to the street. He appointed twelve men to beat the idol with sticks, not because he thought the wood was sensitive, but to affront the demon who had deceived man in its guise. . . . While the idol was being dragged along the stream to the Dnieper, the believers wept over it. . . . After they had thus dragged the idol along, they cast it into the Dnieper."¹¹¹

The conversion of the Kievan Rus' in 989 and their entry into Byzantine civilization was similar to that of the Bulgarians in the political, economic, social, and cultural realms. But unlike the Greeks, Bulgars, and Serbs, who were conquered by the Turks and endured centuries of subjugation under the Ottomans, the Rus' remained politically independent and carried Byzantine civilization from the Volga throughout Siberia to Alaska.

The glory of Byzantium resided in its ability to create a civilization that was distinct, original, and vibrant and in its power to influence not only the inhabitants of the empire but also its neighbors. Byzantium was decisive in much that happened in the world of the South and East Slavs and of the Balkans and made these peoples intimate participants in and creative contributors to its civilization; such border peoples as the Georgians, Armenians, and Syriac Christians had varying degrees of appreciation for Byzantine culture. Byzantium passed on to Islamic civilization an important portion of the ancient Greek heritage. The West took elements from Byzantium's religious and legal systems and during the Renaissance became the direct heir to that part of ancient Greek literary culture which Byzantine scribes, scholars, and libraries had preserved for some one thousand years.



RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION AND CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

THOMAS F. MATHEWS

Religion was the soul of Byzantine culture, permeating all aspects of life. The days of the year were counted by the feasts of the saints; every important landmark in one's life, from birth to death, was blessed with a sacrament; business was transacted with coins carrying the stamp of Christ's face; and battles were waged behind icons with the image of the Virgin.

The Byzantine religious mentality is a complex and difficult subject, embracing doctrine, practice, and Church organization.¹ While the Byzantines shared with other Christian communities most of the same basic beliefs and observed the same sacraments, their religious experience was somewhat different.² Orthodoxy and Catholicism offer contrasting but somehow complementary modes of realizing the Christian way of life. Our task is to examine how the distinctiveness of religious life in Byzantium accounts for the special character of Byzantine art.

ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION

In theory the Church of Christ—that is, the community of the saved—was an egalitarian body. From the start, however, it had an institutional form that organized its members according to the functions they performed, and in Byzantium the structure of the Church differed markedly from that in the West. These differences are deeply rooted in history, beginning with the founding of Constantinople by Constantine I in 324. Constantine's transfer of the imperial seat from Rome to his new capital on the Bosphorus made Constantinople the emperor's city par excellence; the Rome that he abandoned became the papal city.³ Gradually, the pope filled the vacuum in political power created by the emperor's move, as he assumed an increasing variety of secular roles. Indeed, the clergy in the West transgressed frequently into the secular arena. Bishops administered large feudal domains. They served their kings as chancellors and secretaries. They even led armies in combat.

Hosios Loukas, Phokis, Greece, early 11th century. Photo: Bruce White

In Byzantium the situation was the reverse. It was the emperor who freely crossed boundaries into matters that were properly those of the Church. Byzantine law defined the state as consisting of two bases of authority: *sacerdotium* (priesthood) and *basileia* (imperial power).⁴ The collaboration of these two powers was expressed in the city plan of Constantinople by the antithetical placement of the imperial palace and the cathedral complex on either side of the Augustaion, the main square (see plan on p. 194).⁵ The two were expected to be equal partners in promoting Orthodoxy and regulating human affairs.⁶ But from a practical standpoint the emperor's responsibilities for the peaceful operation of the state included many duties of ecclesiastical management.⁷ His was the obligation of summoning the general council and of promulgating its decisions. Further, it was legislation by the emperors, in particular Justinian I (r. 527–65) and Leo VI (r. 886–912), that established the legal parameters for monastic and other Church foundations. The establishment of new bishoprics was also an imperial prerogative. Finally and decisively, the emperor had the option of appointing the patriarch from a roster of three candidates submitted by the metropolitan bishops, and he had the honor of conferring the regalia of office on the candidate of his choice. This also meant that he might remove patriarchs who resisted his will. Thus the margin for imperial involvement in Church affairs was wide indeed. In the realm of doctrine, however, there were few issues other than Iconoclasm on which the emperor was in direct conflict with the Church. And in the great struggle of Iconoclasm, the most serious of the contests between Church and state, the imperial side was, as we shall see, eventually forced to capitulate.

On his side, the patriarch of Constantinople made much more modest claims to autocracy than the pope of Rome.⁸ However, three great historical events gave him a special position in Christendom. Originally the Byzantines regarded the universal Church as a pentarchy of patriarchs—the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem—who were theoretically equal in rights and in apostolic authority. The Islamic conquest of the seventh



The Great Lavra, Mount Athos, Greece, founded in 963. Photo: Thomas F. Mathews

century, however, absorbed the last three sees, leaving the patriarch of Constantinople as the de facto leader of Christendom in the East. In the tenth century another historic realignment, the conversion of the Slavs, gave the patriarch a vastly increased role. When the Slavs converted to Christianity they chose the Orthodox form over the Latin, giving the patriarch authority that extended well beyond the actual boundaries of the Byzantine state. The bishop of Constantinople thus became the spiritual father of Christians in Bulgaria, Rus', and Serbia; the ecclesiastical literature of Byzantium was translated into Slavonic; and metropolitans were appointed by the patriarch of Constantinople. The third decisive event was the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453, which extinguished the line of Byzantine emperors but made the patriarch responsible for the entire Christian population of the new Ottoman Empire. As a result, although the civil administration of the Byzantine Empire vanished, the patriarch and his chancellery survived, and to this day in Constantinople (now Istanbul), the patriarch remains the leading spokesman for the entire Orthodox communion.

The clergy in Byzantium never constituted so rigid a sociological entity as they did in the Latin world, where they set themselves in antithesis to the laity.⁹ In Byzantium lay

archontes, or nobles, participated in episcopal elections and could themselves be elected bishops and even patriarchs. Clergy were not separated from the laity by celibacy, except for bishops, who normally came from the ranks of monks. The clergy did not hold high state office, and they had no monopoly on education, as did their Western counterparts, since a secular educational system continued to exist. The ordinary clergy and the episcopate tended to be weak, their financial base eroded by the popular appeal of monasticism. The village priest typically was a married man, supporting his family, as did his neighbors, by farming.

MONASTICISM

Monasticism, by contrast, assumed an extraordinary importance in Byzantium. "He who is a monk keeps himself apart from the world and walks forever with God alone," said Symeon the Theologian (ca. 949–1022).¹⁰ Esteemed for their celibacy and high moral standing, monks were in constant demand for their advice, and their monasteries were the beneficiaries of frequent gifts. As the historian Joan M. Hussey expressed it, "The clue to the understanding of Byzantine church history is the realization that, in matters of individual



Monastery of Christ Pantokrator, Constantinople, founded in 1136. View from the west, showing (from left to right) the Churches of the Virgin, of Saint Michael, and of Christ Pantokrator. Photo: Thomas F. Mathews

spiritual development, emperor and secular clergy could only stand aside and share, or envy, the reverence which rich and poor alike gave to those monks whom they could recognize as holy men.¹¹

Byzantine monasticism was characterized by great flexibility.¹² Although monasteries were legally subject to the episcopate, exemptions commonly made them independent in most of their operations. Unlike the hierarchical organization of Western monasticism into international orders, such as the Benedictines and the Franciscans, in Byzantium each house was a unit unto itself.¹³ Monasteries were built at the discretion of their lay founders. A monastery could be constituted with as few as three monks for a relatively small endowment. Large monasteries, however, were often imperial foundations, generously supported with permanent income from properties attached to them.

In the countryside, monasteries functioned as agricultural communes, subsisting on the land, like the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, which the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas founded in 963 for his friend the abbot Athanasios.¹⁴ The monastery flourishes to this day, preserving intact much of its medieval treasure of manuscripts and icons. In the cities, on the other hand, monasteries served important public and

social functions, running schools, hospitals, orphanages, and homes for the aged.¹⁵ When in 1136 John II Komnenos founded the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople, he provided for an old men's home and a fifty-bed hospital divided into ten wards for different diseases, including one for women that had a female medical staff.¹⁶ In addition to the *katholikon*, the main church, the monastery had a chapel for the burial of members of the imperial family and a public church of the Virgin, which was serviced by secular clergy and was the home of a processional icon of the Virgin. The triple church of the monastery still survives, converted during Turkish rule into a mosque, though the monastery itself and the hospital have vanished.

Monastic governance was less regimented than in the West. The contrast between Benedict's *Regula* and Basil's *Regulae* is instructive. The Western document is a concise and systematic statement on how a monastic community is to conduct itself, whereas the Byzantine one is a series of questions and answers on a random set of problems posed by monastic life.¹⁷ In the period after Iconoclasm, however, Theodore (759–826), the *hegoumenos*, or abbot, of the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople, established a hierarchy of functionaries with well-defined duties, and his constitution, or

typikon, served as a model for the founding of many subsequent monasteries, such as those on Mount Athos.¹⁸

Life in the monastery revolved around the worship of the liturgy. Interrupting their sleep in the middle of the night, the monks would repair to the *katholikon* for *orthros*, or matins, which consisted of six psalms and lessons. They would then return to their cells for private prayer until the time of the Divine Liturgy, or Mass. Music played a large part in the celebration of the daily hours, with new hymns and new melodies continually introduced. According to the typikon of the Monastery of the Theotokos Euergetis in Constantinople (1054), monks were expected to take communion one to three times a week, while Symeon the Theologian urged daily communion.¹⁹ Meals had to be taken in common under the watchful eye of the abbot; one ate in silence, listening to the reading of some edifying book. The day's work, which might include farming and necessary trading, concluded with vespers.

Monasteries for women operated on the same basic principles as those for men, except that a male religious (occasionally specified as a eunuch) had to conduct the Divine Liturgy.²⁰ Women might enter the religious life for a variety of reasons, embracing the discipline of virginity and seclusion out of a sense of personal calling. But a great many took vows after being widowed or if their husbands had entered monasteries. Literate nuns took part in chanting the Divine Office, while those who could not read were assigned humbler tasks. The mother superior was elected by the sisters and had control of the convent. Like their male counterparts, nuns might be involved in social works, like the Georgian sisters to whom the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118) entrusted the orphanage of Saint Paul in Constantinople.²¹

The ideals of monastic life were, of course, sometimes compromised. In the twelfth century Eustathios of Thessalonike criticized monks who pretended to be fainting from asceticism while in reality they were bloated from overeating, as one could see by looking at their hands and faces.²² Monasteries, whether for males or females, were favorite places of retirement for the wealthy, whose lifestyles were often at variance with the monastic ideal. Furthermore, lay ownership or lay administration (*charistikion*) of monastic property often provided opportunities for personal gain at the expense of the monastery.²³

Nevertheless, monasticism thoroughly penetrated Byzantine Christianity, to the extent that one might say the Byzantine Church was primarily monastic. Monks took the lead in theological development, in the cultivation of icons, and in shaping the piety and religious practice of Byzantium in general. This gave Byzantium a liturgy-centered Christianity, a piety in which cult, ritual, and symbolism were paramount. And this was what motivated the commissioning of religious artworks, as benefactors, to express their parti-

cipation in the rite, wanted to furnish the churches with plate of gold and silver, with silken vestments and bronze lamps. People came to church to be somehow transformed, and the art became their means of communication with the divine.

DOCTRINE AND BELIEF

The principal dogmas of the Christian faith—a trinity of persons in a single godhead, the incarnation of the second person in Christ, who remained completely God while becoming perfectly human, and the divine motherhood of Mary—were refined in the subtle theological debates that accompanied the first ecumenical councils of the Church.²⁴ These dogmas represented a basically Greek intellectual achievement, the bishops of Rome having had only minor involvement in the process, but both Latin and Greek communions agreed on the fundamental positions. In the interpretation of these positions, however, the two Churches tended to differ in many nuances, and in two important doctrines the Greek Church differed substantially from the Latin.²⁵ An understanding of these doctrines is the key to understanding the spiritual dimensions of Byzantine art. One is the Orthodox doctrine of salvation through *theosis*, or divinization, and the other is the doctrine of icons. The two are closely related.

While in the West the doctrine of salvation is closely tied to the idea of a “satisfaction” for sin made to divine justice by the sacrifice of Christ’s death, in the Orthodox view salvation was accomplished by the Incarnation itself.²⁶ God the Son, by taking on human nature, effected a change in human nature as such. This is summarized in the famous dictum of Athanasios (295–373): “He became man that we might be made divine.”²⁷ *Theosis* is the work of God’s ineffable philanthropy toward mankind; the goal of this process is the intimate union between God and the soul. Orthodox theologians Dionysios the Areopagite and Maximos the Confessor developed this doctrine in the sixth and seventh centuries, respectively, but it received vivid expression in the writings of Symeon the Theologian in the eleventh century.²⁸ In Symeon’s words, “God was undivided in substance before Christ, my God, took upon him human limbs. For when he assumed the form of a human body, he bestowed his Holy Spirit, and by this means is united in substance to all the faithful; and this unity is inseparable and indissoluble.”²⁹

Symeon, born in Pathlagonia about 949 to a wealthy family, entered the Stoudios Monastery there and was later abbot of the Monastery of Saint Marina, just outside Constantinople. His sense of *theosis* was exceptionally personal and direct: “I know that He who remains immovable descends. / I know that He who is invisible appears to me. / I know that He who is separated from all creation / takes me within Himself and hides me in His arms / and I am completely



Christ Pantokrater. Dome mosaic, late 11th century, Church of the Monastery at Daphni, Greece. Photo: Thomas F. Mathews

outside of the whole world. / But I, so mortal, so insignificant in the world, contemplate in myself completely the Creator of the world. / And I know that I will not die / because I am inside of life, / and that I have the entire life that completely flows out from within me.”³⁰

Although the dichotomy in Christendom between East and West can be exaggerated, a difference of emphasis must be acknowledged. It is significant that the image which dominated the church building in the West was a crucifix placed above the choir screen at the crossing of nave and transept—a painful image of Christ’s body stretched out in sacrifice. In the Byzantine world, by contrast, the church was conceived as an intimate vessel in which a personal assimilation into God might be realized. The dominant image was the Christ Pantokrator in the circle of the dome, such as that seen at Daphni. The circle itself is a symbol of unity, and the blessing figure of Christ embraces the faithful in the nave below.³¹

The second major doctrinal difference lies in the very understanding of the role of images in worship. As John Meyendorff has observed, “Of all the cultural families of Christianity—the Latin, the Syrian, the Egyptian, or the Armenian—the Byzantine was the only one in which art became inseparable from theology.”³² The presence of icons is the most striking feature first noticed upon entering an Orthodox church (see illus. on p. 26). This did not come about all at once but over time and with a great deal of controversy. In the end, however, the result was a special wedding of art and faith that is unique in the history of religions.

The term *icon* in its strictest sense identifies a painted panel of a sacred subject intended for veneration. In a broader sense the term can be applied to sacred images in general, whether in smaller, personal objects, such as ivories and enamels, or in larger, permanent mural decoration. Panel paintings, because of their scale and mobility, entered readily into the ebb and



Icons in the Church of the Portaitissa (Virgin of the Gate), 1680–83, Holy Monastery of Iveron, Mount Athos, Greece. Photo: Bruce White

flow of public life.³³ They could be brought out for veneration on special occasions, carried about in processions, even used as palladia to protect a city in time of war. Candles were lighted before them, incense was offered, and petitions were made to them.

In Greco-Roman antiquity—that is, in pre-Christian times—cult images were customarily statues of the gods, and great temples were built to house them—the Parthenon in Athens, for example, which contained Phidias’s gold-and-ivory statue of Athena. Alongside such public and official cult images, however, there also existed painted panels of the gods, which one might call “pagan icons.”³⁴ Less expensive and more intimate, they were used in private, especially in the domestic realm, and they show many correspondences with later Christian icons. Single or grouped figures in static poses, carrying emblems of their special power, they stare directly at the beholder, their heads ringed with halos. In the home such images were placed in niches, which were at times provided with triptych doors to close them. Lighted candles were set before the images. The Christian introduction of icons represented continuity with this pagan religious usage.

Initially venerated in private and only gradually introduced into the church, the Christian icons posed problems both because of their pagan connections and because of the

absence of a Christian theological rationale to justify them.³⁵ By the sixth century churchmen were offering excuses for them, even while admitting their dangers. “We permit simple folk [incapable of a more intellectual approach] to learn . . . things in an introductory manner by means of sight,” said the bishop of Ephesus, one Hypatios.³⁶ Others reflected on the possibilities of icons as a means to religious experience. The sixth-century poet Agathias composed a set of verses to enframe an encaustic icon of the archangel Michael in which he refers to the image expressly as an instrument of contemplation: “The wax, greatly daring, has represented the invisible, the incorporeal chief of the angels in the semblance of his form. Yet it [the work of painting] was no thankless [task], since the mortal man who beholds the image directs his mind to a higher contemplation. His veneration is no longer distracted; engraving within himself the archangel’s traits, he trembles as if he were in the latter’s presence. The eyes encourage deep thoughts, and art is able by means of colors to transmit [to its object] the prayers of the mind.”³⁷ The contemplation of the image put one in the immediate presence of the angel, and the reciprocal gaze of the figure—the direct eye contact—allowed one to send forth prayers to him.

The number of icons that have survived from the sixth and seventh centuries testifies to the popularity of the cult in the period before Iconoclasm.³⁸ But the lack of theological support was a distinct weakness, something the Iconoclast movement of the eighth century took advantage of.³⁹ Arguing that the divine nature could not be circumscribed in a picture and that Scripture forbade the making of images, the emperor Leo III (r. 717–41) initiated a policy against icons by removing the image of Christ from the gate of the imperial palace in 726. His son and successor, Constantine V (r. 741–75), expanded the campaign against icons into a broad attack on monasticism, in which the cult of images was especially ingrained. In 754 he even convoked a council that endorsed his position, asserting that the making of icons of Christ effectively cleaved Christ in two, separating his human from his divine nature, because only his human body could be represented. It was this challenge that provoked Orthodox theologians to formulate a theology that might justify the use of icons.⁴⁰

The defense of images was presented first of all as a corollary to the doctrine of the Incarnation. As the theologian (later saint) John of Damascus (ca. 675–753/54) expressed it, “When he who is bodiless and without form, immeasurable in the boundlessness of his own nature, existing in the form of God, empties himself and takes the form of a servant in substance and in stature and is found in a body of flesh, then you may draw his image and show it to anyone willing to gaze upon it.”⁴¹ Images of Christ, then, became a way of reasserting the full humanity of Christ. In the second place, the Orthodox appealed to a Neoplatonic theory of the image,

affirming its transparency as a medium of communication with God. In 787 the empress Irene convoked another council, known as the Second Council of Nicaea, which reversed the decisions of the Council of 754. The transparency of the image was explained in the following terms: “The honor that is paid to the image passes on to that which the image represents, and he who does worship to the image does worship to the person represented in it.”⁴² The eventual demise of the imperially sponsored Iconoclast policy is a sign both of the strength of monastic resistance and of the powerful hold that icons had on the imagination of the people.

Armed now with the logic of an exalted theology of icons, the Church began an unparalleled expansion of the use of images in the period after Iconoclasm.⁴³ In 843 the Feast of Orthodoxy was introduced into the calendar, marking the defeat of Iconoclasm with a procession of icons from the Church of the Virgin in Blachernai to the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia. In 843 Michael III (r. 842–67) restored the figure of Christ over the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace in Constantinople and in 856 he placed an image of Christ Enthroned above him in the Chrysotriklinos (Golden Hall). As the emperor had led in the campaign against icons, he now led in their reinstatement. In 867 Michael III and Basil I (r. 867–86) began the decoration of Hagia Sophia with a program of mosaic images, starting with the image of the Virgin in the apse, which was a signal for the redecoration of churches throughout the empire.

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

The primary locus of the Byzantine religious experience was the church building. Whether it was a city’s cathedral, the *katholikon* of a monastery, or a private domestic chapel, the church was where people went for their religious needs — for baptisms, communions, weddings, and funerals, for Sunday gatherings of the community or for solitary moments of private prayer. The church was also the most important arena for Byzantine art, and the art within the church building was closely related to the religious experience that took place there.

The Byzantine is one of the great schools of medieval architecture.⁴⁴ Like the Gothic, it is a school of international dimensions, reaching from Rus’ in the north to Mediterranean Cyprus in the south, and from Armenia in the east to Italy in the west. Its principles, however, are radically different from those of the Gothic. In contrast to the tunnel-like naves of the medieval churches in the West, which draw one forcefully toward the sanctuary at the end, Byzantine churches are centripetal, lifting one’s gaze heavenward toward the central dome. Based on the cross, the circle, and the octagon, the central unit is as symmetrically designed as a flower or a crystal. The scale tends to be modest. Whereas



Virgin and Child. Apse mosaic, 867, Cathedral of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. Photo: Thomas F. Mathews

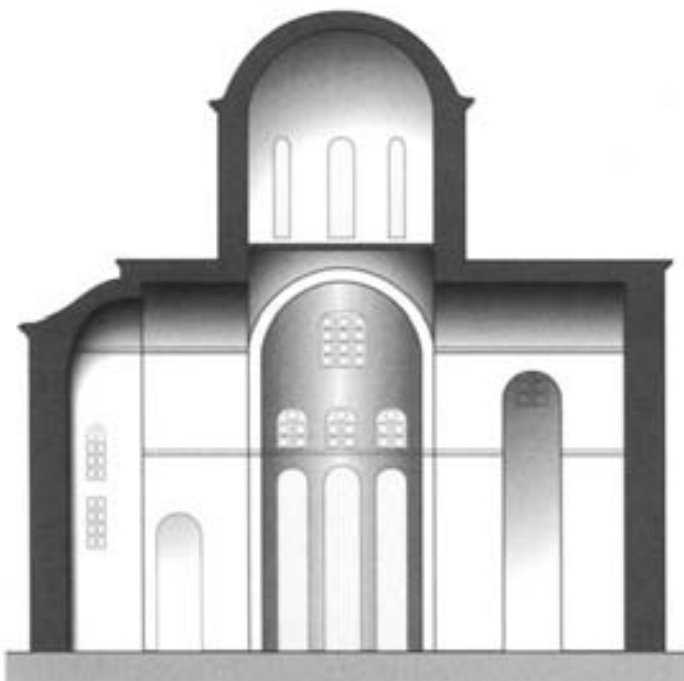
Gothic architecture is intimately tied to the structural advances involved in making walls ever lighter and vaults ever higher, Byzantine architecture displays its virtuosity in subtlety of design and refinement of detail.

This is not to say that Byzantine builders had lost the ability to erect grand structures. In Constantinople a great many grand churches of Early Christian date were maintained and repaired throughout the Middle Ages. These were the spacious, galleried basilicas, such as the Theotokos Chalkoprateia, or the grand domed churches of the emperor Justinian, such as the Church of the Holy Apostles and the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia (see illus. on p. 28). In the 750s the ponderous vaults of the Church of Saint Irene were rebuilt after an earthquake, and in the 780s the Hagia Sophia of Thessalonike, the largest church of that city, was erected. In the period after Iconoclasm, however, there was not much call for new building on this scale in Constantinople. The largest new Byzantine churches, often modeled after the venerable Early Christian edifices of the capital, were erected in newer cities. The Venetians, for example, in their San Marco, copied the five-domed Holy Apostles, and the Bulgarians adopted an Early Christian plan for Hagia Sophia in Ohrid.

It was not only the rich heritage of earlier churches that discouraged large-scale new building in Constantinople; it



Cathedral of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, 532–37. Photo: Thomas F. Mathews



Plan, Church of Saint Elias, Constantinople, rebuilt in the 870s by Basil I. Restored section. Redrawn from Ebersolt and Thiers 1913

was also a matter of a new aesthetic in which subtlety and intimacy came to be valued over sheer size. In part this may have been a consequence of a liturgical shift toward a more interior worship.⁴⁵ While the ceremonial of the fifth and sixth centuries involved a great amount of processional movement within the church, the medieval liturgy was structured instead around a series of appearances—dramatic moments when the clergy would come forth from the sanctuary for the showing of the book and the sacrament. Accordingly, the long processional layout of the earlier churches was abandoned for a more compact plan. The reduced scale may also have had something to do with the new domestic context of church architecture. It is significant that all of the churches erected by Basil I, who was a very energetic builder, were private churches within the imperial palace.⁴⁶ Churches and chapels were also regularly part of the houses of the well-to-do, their splendor matching in reduced scale that of their residential settings.

The plans of the new churches may also owe something to their domestic context. It was not unusual in domestic architecture for reception rooms or even bedrooms to be centrally planned domed structures.⁴⁷ In church design three kinds of domed plans gained popularity. These plans presented

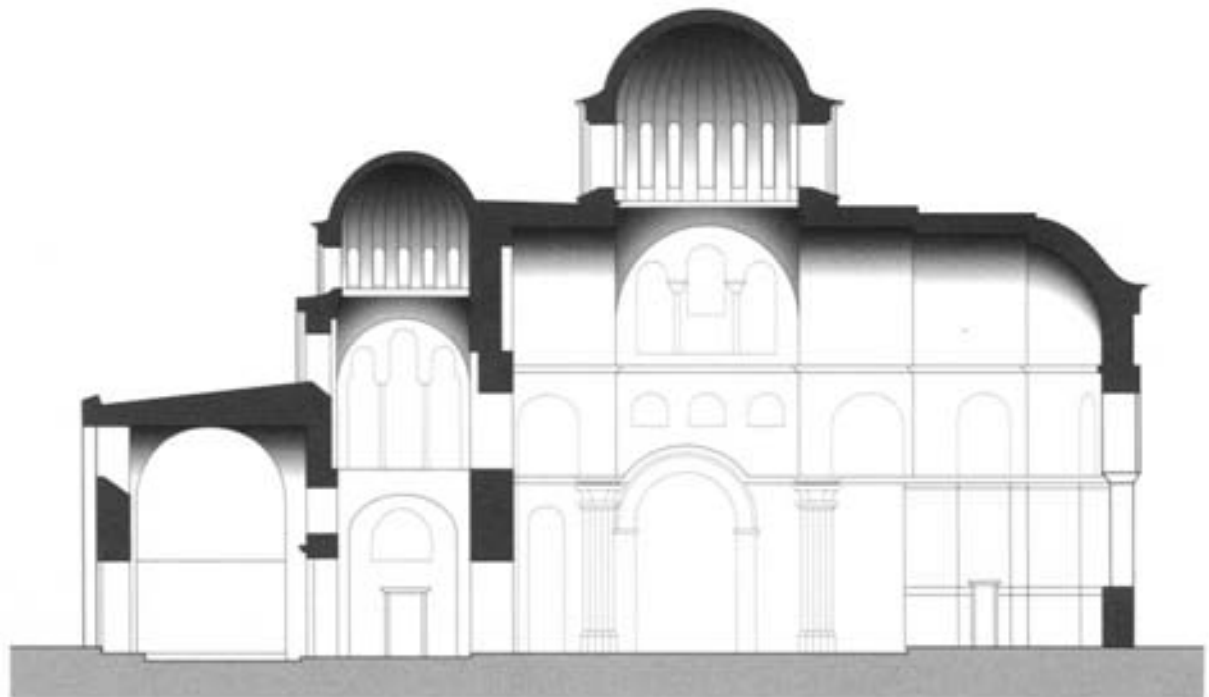
alternatives for the design of the nave, or central unit of the building, each of which could be varied by the symmetrical addition of side bays and conchae, so that the possibilities were endless.

The simplest of the three plans was a dome over a cross-shaped ground plan.⁴⁸ The Church of Saint Elias in Constantinople, called the Atik Mustafa Pasha Camii, rebuilt in the 870s by Basil I, is one of the earliest examples of this kind.⁴⁹ This type could be erected one or two stories high, and it had the advantage of presenting large, flat wall surfaces for painting. Builders in Rus' were especially fond of this type, which they varied by changing the proportions or by adding bays.⁵⁰

In Constantinople, however, and in the Aegean basin, the most popular plan was a dome resting on four columns placed within a square.⁵¹ This was the plan used by Emperor John II Komnenos (r. 1118–43) in his Church of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople (1136), with its twenty-three-foot dome. In the vertical sequence of volumes the corner vaults above the four columns transform the square into a cross; and above the cross four barrel vaults and pendentives effect a transition to the circle of the drum and dome. Hence the building consisted of a subtle succession of forms — from square to cross to circle. This four-column unit could be expanded with apses on the ends of the cross, resulting in the roseate plan of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Athens. This building type presumed the availability of monolithic marble columns — reused from older buildings, since the quarrying of marble had ceased in the sixth century. The color



Spasa na Nereditse Church, near Novgorod, Russia, erected by Prince Iaroslav, 1198. Photo: Thomas F. Mathews

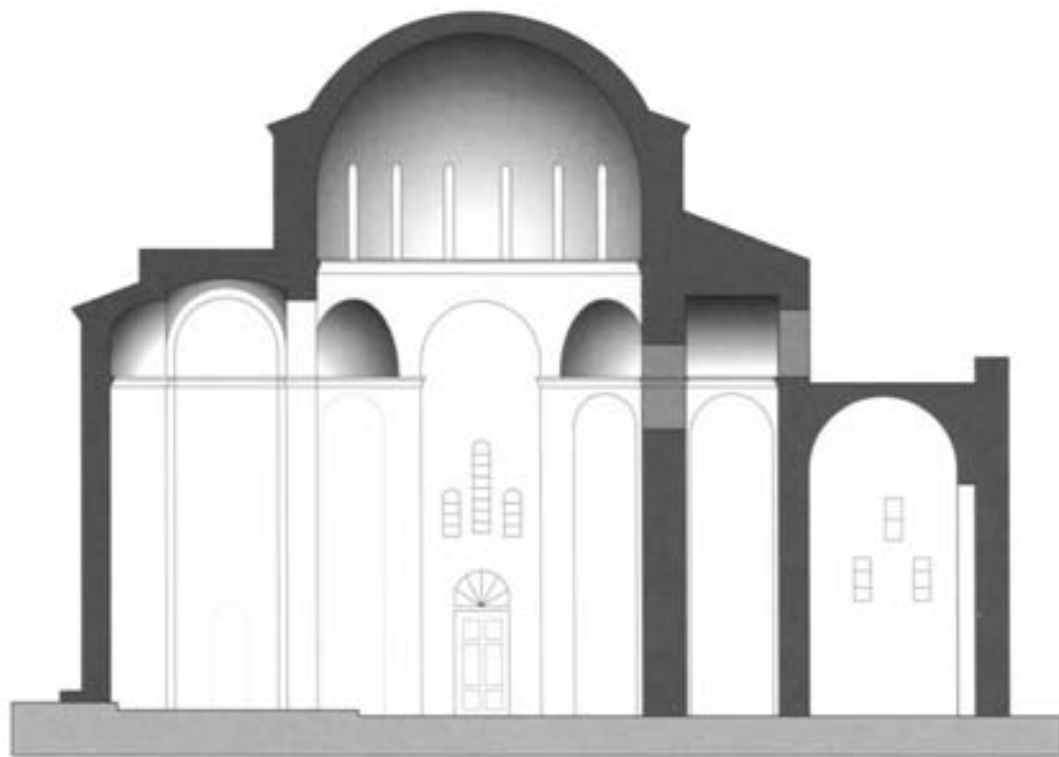


Plan, Church of Christ Pantokrator, Constantinople, erected in 1136 by John II Komnenos. Restored section. Redrawn from van Millingen 1912



Church of the Holy Apostles, Athens, 11th century. Photo: Bruce White

Church of the Monastery at Daphni, Greece, 11th century. Restored section. Redrawn from Millet 1899



and finish of the columns set the tone for the decoration of the interior with marble revetments, and the vaults presented interesting surfaces for mosaic or fresco at different heights.

The third nave plan was the most elegant, consisting of a dome on eight arches.⁵² This plan is seen in Phokis, Greece, in the early-eleventh-century Church of Hosios Loukas, where a cubical nave was crowned with eight arches, on which was placed a broad twenty-eight-foot dome (see illus. on p. 20). This design offered a more unified and more spacious nave than the four-column plan. The central cube at Hosios Loukas was extended in cruciform shape, presenting a marvelous complexity of angled views from lighted to shadowed spaces around the nave.

The domed unit, called the naos, or nave, constituted the midpoint of the church, the congregation's space. It was one of three parts that made up the church as a whole. The entrance was located on the west side, and it led directly into an outer church, or narthex, that preceded the nave. This was a transverse hall used for baptisms and funerals or for the chanting of the night hours in monasteries. On the east side of the nave lay the sanctuary, or bema, which consisted of three apse spaces side by side. The larger, central apse contained the celebrant's throne and the altar on which the bread and wine were consecrated; the left apse housed the *prothesis* table, for preparing the bread and wine; and the right apse contained relics and church utensils. This triple sanctuary, the holy of holies, was off limits to the laity and was separated from the nave by a templon barrier, which consisted of a

parapet surmounted by colonnettes carrying an epistyle. The addition of icons to the templon created the iconostasis, or icon screen, an opaque wall that served to separate the clergy from the laity.⁵³ The laity occupied the nave itself, men on the right and women on the left. This was their place of encounter with the divine; here they received instruction through the reading of sacred scripture; and here they received the Lord himself in the sacrament of communion. Each part of the church thus had its own functions, and these functions in turn affected the decoration of the building.

CHURCH DECORATION

Art in the church may be divided into three large categories: the permanent decoration of the walls and vaults in fresco or mosaic; icons, which could be either mobile or permanently attached to the templon; and the portable vessels, vestments, books, and reliquaries used in Church ritual. Because no Byzantine church survives in its medieval state, considerable imagination is required to picture the full effect of this concentration of art in the church interior. The great majority of churches were despoiled of their treasures, whether by the Venetians (the church at Daphni, for example, in 1207) or by the Mongols (Sviata Sofia of Kiev in 1240) or by the Turks (the churches of Cappadocia in the twelfth century and those of Constantinople in 1453). Moreover, those churches that have remained in continuous Orthodox use (as on Mount Athos) have been repainted and refurnished a number of



Dome of the central crossing, Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio (the Martorana), 1143–51, Palermo. Photo: Bruce White

times since their founding. The loss is most lamentable in the capital of the empire: not one Middle Byzantine church in Constantinople retains its original decoration. Outside the city, however, several churches preserve the greater part of their mosaic programs: Hosios Loukas, Phokis (ca. 1025; see illus. on pp. 20 and 35); Sviata Sofiia, Kiev (1046; see illus. on p. 272); Nea Mone, Chios (ca. 1050); Daphni, near Athens (ca. 1080); and Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio (the Martorana), Palermo (1143–51).⁵⁴ In addition, frescoes remain in a great many more churches; to name only a few: Cavuşin, Cappadocia (963–69); Panagia ton Chalkeon, Thessalonike (1028); Hagia Sophia, Ohrid (ca. 1050); Saint Panteleimon, Nerezi (1164); and Panagia tou Arakos, Lagoudera, Cyprus (1194).⁵⁵ Icons and other portable treasures have fared much worse; hardly any remain in their original situation. The richest icon collection, that of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai, and the church treasuries of the Great Lavra, Mount Athos, and of San Marco, Venice, may suggest to our imagination the splendid furnishings of the medieval Byzantine church.⁵⁶

The permanent mural decoration of the Byzantine church nave followed a special iconographic system that made opti-

imum use of its compact design.⁵⁷ The decoration and the architecture complement each other so nicely that the buildings seem made for the images rather than vice versa. The impression of the images that surround one on all sides at Nea Mone and Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio is unlike the experience of painting in the Renaissance tradition. Otto Demus formulated the classic description of this experience: "The image is not separated from the beholder by the 'imaginary glass pane' of the picture plane behind which an illusionistic picture begins: it opens into the real space in front, where the beholder lives and moves. His space and the space in which the holy persons exist and act are identical . . . The Byzantine church itself is the 'picture-space' of the icons . . . the beholder feels himself witnessing the holy events and conversing with the holy persons. He is not cut off from them; he is bodily enclosed in the grand icon of the church; he is surrounded by the congregation of the saints and takes part in the events he sees."⁵⁸

The immediacy of this experience is demonstrated the moment the Orthodox enter the church. They begin by circulating to venerate the images of the saints, whether in



Crucifixion. Detail of an 11th-century mosaic, Church of the Monastery at Daphni, Greece. Photo: Thomas F. Mathews

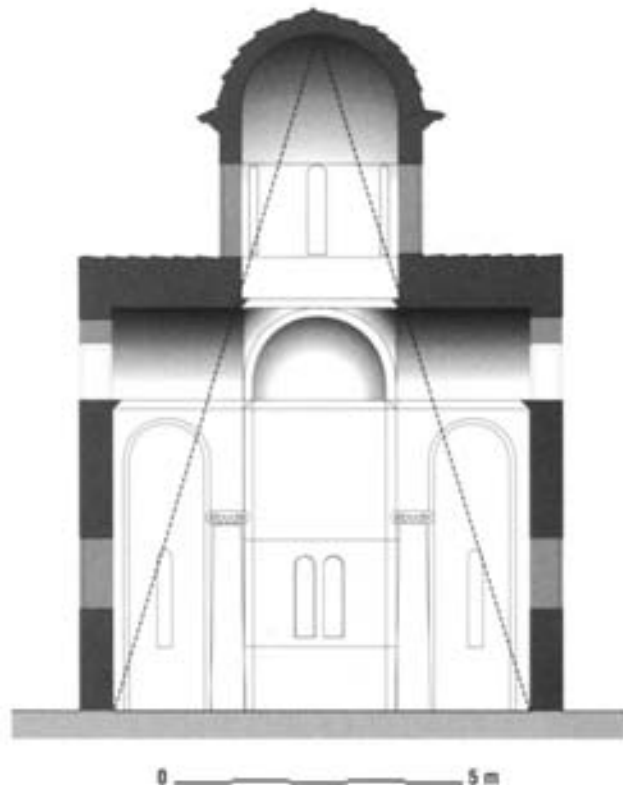
panel icons or in mural decoration. The traditional greeting of the icon begins with *proskynesis*, a thrice-repeated deep bow in which one touches the ground with one's right hand and makes the sign of the cross. Next one touches and kisses the icon, or *aspasmos*, and lights a candle. Finally one converses with the saint, addressing one's prayers to the holy figure. Entering the church means entering the communion of saints and joining their ranks.

While these sanctoral icons are located closest to the churchgoer, the great events of the life of Christ are represented higher up, in the vaults surrounding the nave. The narratives, reading from left to right around the nave, picture the same events commemorated by the liturgy, and hence they are called the festival icons. But the set was not fixed and might be greater or smaller depending on space or selection of material. The program at Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio, for example, shows the life of Christ from the point of view of the Virgin through a presentation of just four scenes: the Annunciation, the Presentation, the Nativity, and the Dormition.⁵⁹ In a world where only the educated few were literate, the power of pictorial narrative must have been felt

much more forcefully than it is today. But the intent was more than informational; the scenes and images invited the spectator to experience the event represented. As the patriarch Tarasios remarked at the Second Council of Nicaea, "If we saw an image showing our Lord crucified, would not we also have wept? . . . For therein is recognized the extent of the abasement of God who became man for us."⁶⁰

The climax of the nave program is the larger-than-life half-length image of Christ Pantokrator in the dome. While the proportions of a Byzantine nave are flexible—some are steeper than others—it has been shown that they are governed by an inscribed isosceles triangle, the apex of which is the summit of the dome and the base of which is the width of the nave.⁶¹ The crown of the dome, therefore, is visible from wherever the viewer stands; or, to put it another way, the Christ in the dome can see all those whom he blesses below. This is important in view of the ritual purpose of the nave, for here the Gospel book that Christ holds is read, enlightening the souls of the believers, and here they receive his ultimate blessing, the sacrament that transforms them into Christ.

These three zones—the sanctoral cycle, the festival icons, and the Pantokrator—constituted the formal nave unit. This unit was complemented by the decoration of the bema and the narthex with images that made reference to the particular uses of those parts of the church. The bema program was concerned with the clergy and the Eucharist.⁶² Its walls were often decorated with scenes of the bishops of the church



Portion of dome visible from the nave of a Byzantine church. Redrawn from Mutsopoulos 1962



Bishops Celebrating the Liturgy. Sanctuary apse fresco, ca. 1230, Church of Saints Peter and Paul, Veliko Tŕrnovo, Bulgaria. Photo: Bruce White

assisting at the liturgy, while in the apse above, the Incarnation was represented by the Virgin holding her child, foreshadowing Christ's reincarnation in the Eucharist. In the narthex the Last Judgment was often represented, alluding to the use of the forechurch for funerals.

The program of mural decoration was the mother of countless smaller programs. The decoration of the icon screen and of portable objects used in the church tended to recapitulate or quote from the program described above. Thus a set of the festival icons became a standard part of iconostasis decoration, placing before the gaze of the faithful the mysteries that surrounded them in the vaults.⁶³ Indeed, the festival subjects were extremely popular in Byzantium as a compendium of the life of Christ and were used on smaller portable objects, such as ivory icons, books, and reliquaries. The sanctoral set of the church's program also lent itself to excerpting; the enamels that

decorate chalices and reliquaries presented the saints in sets, such as the apostles, the Church Fathers, or the military saints. Separate images of Christ Pantokrator or the Virgin were suitable to a wide variety of situations. In this way the practice of icon use was carried to its logical conclusion, providing an image for intercession wherever one was engaged in prayer.

All of these separate elements added up to a total experience of special intensity. Whether peasant or landowner, foot soldier or emperor, the Byzantine found his or her religious center in an ambience of oriental richness, in a church teeming with gilded images, and in a ritual that attached great importance to the symbolism of candles, incense, vestments, reliquaries, and gold and silver utensils of all sorts. Entering the church, one entered a very different world from the fields and streets of everyday life, and that special world was the creation of the Byzantine artist.



Virgin and Child. Apse mosaic, early 11th century, Hosios Loukas, Phokis, Greece. Photo: Bruce White



1. Fragment of a Panel from a Templon Screen

Byzantine, 9th–10th century
Marble (possibly from Thassos)
79 × 110 cm (31½ × 43¼ in.)

CONDITION: The slab was found with one end missing; adjoining a circular cut (from previous use?), a chipped-off corner has been reattached; the back is uncarved and unfinished.

PROVENANCE: Excavated from a fallen position in the Middle Byzantine church at Synaxis, on the coast of Thrace.

Archaeological Collection, Kavala, Greece
(HMS/86.21)

The history of this panel, from a small monastic church situated in the foundations of a large Early Christian basilica on the site of a pagan shrine, is eloquent of the fortunes of Byzantine Thrace.¹ Carved as a Middle Byzantine homage to fifth- or sixth-century models, like the Pranghi capital (cat. no. 4), it was slotted between the colonnettes of the templon screen and left behind, cut down for reuse, when the building was abandoned in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The screen's other panel, sawed in two, recapitulates a different early prototype, in a pairing that favors contrast over symmetry.²

The pattern of linked quatrefoils filled with acanthus rosettes was popular in marble relief in both the Early and Middle Byzantine periods across the Adriatic, as well as at eastern Mediterranean sites; it appears in variations

in other media.³ Headpieces of luxury manuscripts such as the Morgan Lectionary (cat. no. 60) hint at the possible medieval color of the carvings and imitate the patterns of related screens and marble frames.⁴ The repeat quatrefoils with circular loops between them that affix them to the frame appear in Constantinople in 1118–24, in the inlaid marble of the opus sectile floor in the south church of the Pantokrator, built by the empress Irene.⁵

Only this double-strand framework and its recessed background are precisely finished; the lobed and trefoil units that radiate out from the ringed, buttonlike studs within the quatrefoils show tooling and drill work in a random sequence, suggesting an unfinished state. The two multiarmed crosses and the incomplete design beside them may originally have been balanced by other, similar motifs before the slab was cut down.⁶

E D M

1. Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Thrace," 1994, pp. 167–71.
2. Bakirtzis 1991, pp. 82, 121; for the often-short life of such installations, see C. Bouras 1982, p. 122.
3. Orlandos 1952, p. 524, and figs. 484, 485; Milan 1994, no. 132; Rotili 1966, no. 41, pl. xvib; Glass 1991, p. 105, fig. 111.
4. For radial quatrefoils, see fol. 9v in Galavaris 1990, p. 316, fig. 16, and the back of cat. no. 58. Compare with A. Grabar 1976, pl. LXXIIIb, and, for a marble icon frame in situ, *ibid.*, pp. 53–54, no. 44, pl. XIXa.
5. Mango, *Byzantine*, 1978, p. 134, fig. 193.

6. For Early Byzantine comparisons in sculpture, see Kautzsch 1936, p. 17, no. 240, and Harrison 1986, figs. 130, 177; for medieval comparisons, see A. Grabar 1976, p. 85, pl. Lxb, and Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Thrace," 1994, p. 169, and, for a ceramic version, Bakirtzis 1991, p. 127.

LITERATURE: Bakirtzis 1988; Bakirtzis 1991, pp. 59–99; Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Thrace," 1994, pp. 165–71.

2. Two Transenna Panels

A. Griffin

Byzantine, 10th–11th century
Marble

90 × 72 × 8 cm (35½ × 28¾ × 3¼ in.)

CONDITION: The left vertical edge is missing; the surface has flaked away in places.

PROVENANCE: Reused in the sanctuary screen of the *katholikon* of Vlatadon Monastery.

The Holy Monastery of Vlatadon, Thessalonike, Greece (MB 93)

Within a frame consisting of a flat border of differing widths on each side, a griffin is shown facing left. The animal is conventionally described, with one wing extended and the tail raised. The schematic depiction is in low relief, with a sharp, rough outline. Details of the head and wing are indicated by scoring.

Although the theme of the griffin—known to the Byzantines as a *hippalectryon*—was Eastern in origin, the animal is represented in Christian art as a guardian of tombs and churches and, because it is part eagle and part lion, as a symbol of the dual nature of Christ. Drawing upon this same symbolism, images of griffins became widespread in Byzantine art—especially in sculpture—adorning the architraves and plaques of sanctuary screens and sarcophagi.

The stylized representation of the griffin and the flat, linear execution of the panel relate it to a group of animal reliefs in Constantinople; Stara Zagora, Bulgaria (now in the National Archaeological Museum, Sofia); and the Little Metropolis in Athens. These works, which date from the tenth to the eleventh century, are entirely lacking in plasticity—almost as if the Macedonian renaissance, which saw a renewed emphasis on the three-dimensional quality of sculptural forms, had left no lasting effect whatsoever on the artists who carved them.

This panel was one of a pair of confronting griffins. Reused in the original sanctuary screen



2A



2B

of the *katholikon* (main church) of Vlatadon Monastery, they were placed on either side of the “Beautiful Gate.”

T N P

LITERATURE: Xyngopoulos 1952, pp. 58–59, fig. 28, pl. D2; Pazaras 1977, p. 75, no. 42, pl. XXIII.

B. Cross

Byzantine (Thessalonike), 10th–11th century

Marble

89 × 81 × 7 cm (35 × 31 7/8 × 2 3/4 in.)

The Holy Monastery of Vlatadon, Thessalonike, Greece (MB 92)

The central compositional element of this panel constitutes an iconographic type of the Resurrection. Within an arch supported by two columns is a cross that stands on a plinth with three steps. To the left and right of the cross is a symmetrical foliated anthemion pattern, which together with the cross forms a lyre-shaped ornamental motif. This central decoration is surrounded by a broad, flat outer border enclosing a narrower border with a twisted-rope design interrupted by a series of three rings halfway along each side.

The leaf-bearing cross, a variation on the tree of life, was a favorite theme in Byzantine art. While this motif is found on Early Christian tombs and was a popular subject both during and after the Iconoclastic period, its use became particularly widespread on Byzantine sculpture — above all on sarcophagi, since it so aptly conveys the concept of the Cross as the symbol of redemption and life.

That the relief was executed with great care is underscored by the extreme attention to symmetry, the rhythmic pattern of the ornamentation, and the highly decorative nature of the design. It is these characteristics that relate the panel to other relief carvings and sarcophagi known to have come from Thessalonike and dating from the tenth to the eleventh century.¹

T N P

1. See Pazaras 1977, pp. 48–51, 81–86, pls. xvii, xviii; Pazaras 1988, no. 22, pl. 17b, and no. 24, pl. 18.

LITERATURE: D. Rice, *Byzantine Art*, 1968, p. 516, fig. 469; Pazaras 1977; Pazaras 1988; Thessalonike 1994, pp. 12, 14.



3

3. Parapet Relief Slab

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th or 11th century
Marble
68.5 × 80 cm (27 × 31½ in.)

CONDITION: Some of the border is lost on three sides; two small losses along the right side are restored.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Fletcher Fund 1947 (47.100.47)

In this simple abstract design a three-strand ribbon enframes the panel, twists into a lozenge, and finally knots around a star rosette in the center; the corners are decorated with delicate interlaced stars and encircled leafy crosses. This style of crisp carving in shallow relief, with a definition of forms in sharp little valleys, appears in 907 at the Church of the Virgin in the Lips Monastery in Constantinople. On the basis of parallels with the ribbon-lozenge design at the Church of Hosios Loukas, Phokis, Greece has been suggested

as the place of origin.¹ But closer parallels can be cited in Constantinople, at the Vefa Kilise Camii and the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul.² The Musée du Louvre has a related piece, also assigned to Constantinople.³

Marble plaques of this kind were commonly used in churches to form the templon, which separated the sanctuary from the nave. From time immemorial, knots and stars have had auspicious and apotropaic associations; such associations would not have been inappropriate on the sanctuary barrier.

T F M

1. Brenk 1978, p. 87.
2. See Firatli 1990, nos. 302b, 334b; and, for the reliefs in the facade of the Vefa Kilise Camii, Pulger 1878–80, pl. viii; Mathews 1976, pl. 40.14.
3. Louvre, Département des Sculptures, inv. R.F. 2188; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 227.

LITERATURE: Brenk 1978, pp. 85–88.

4. Fragment of a Colonnette Capital

Byzantine (probably Thrace), 12th–13th century
Marble
DIAM. 21.5 cm (8½ in.)

CONDITION: With only two of its four faces preserved, this fractured capital was left behind when corresponding pieces were removed; the marble has yellowed and calcified on the carved faces; a pattern of accentual drill holes remains, and a boxlike lead fitting suggests that the piece was formerly part of a column.

PROVENANCE: Excavated from a church at Pranghi, Evros (Thrace).

Archaeological Collection, Didymoteichon, Greece
(EPR/1978.M16)

This distinctively Byzantine, postclassical acanthus capital, excavated at the site of a medieval church west of Constantinople, is a Komnenian adaptation of sixth-century

models to a simpler carving technique.¹ The capital was possibly made of reused marble cut down from an earlier work; the self-contained profile and compact shape, distilled and modified from true Corinthian capitals, were the result of practical necessity.²

With a square abacus and two leaves on each face screening the entire surface, the scheme matches Justinianic capitals in the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and in “Basilica B” at Philippi, as well as ones reused in the Fatih Camii at Trilye in Bithynia.³ The tall leaves that define the corners of Corinthian capitals are here shifted in position, with the ribs marking the center of each face. As on the monogram capitals in Hagia Sophia, the leaves curve outward to accentuate the central swelling of the surface, without projecting from it.⁴ A more schematic, reductive version of the leaf—with arching, smooth-edged lobes flanking a pointed tip at the top and subsidiary acanthus palmettes above the neck ring—appears on the stuccoed capitals for the church that the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos built at Bera (present-day Pherrai) in the mid-twelfth century.⁵

This small and precious capital probably supported the beam of a templon screen. Such capitals, framing icons as holy presences at their heavenly gate, would have honored the holy images with a refutation of time, evoking an earlier period when the empire’s new churches, fitted with marble, invited heaven and earth to meet.

E D M

1. Bakirtzis 1978; Bakirtzis, “Byzantine Thrace,” 1994, pp. 151, 156, 180, 205, 209. For related capitals, see Kautzsch 1936, pl. 39, nos. 646, 649, pl. 40, nos. 670, 672; Mathews 1976, p. 3, fig. 1-14; A. Grabar 1976, pp. 52–53, no. 44, pl. XIXa.

LITERATURE: Bakirtzis 1978, pp. 327–29; E. Maguire 1989, p. 171; Bakirtzis, “Byzantine Thrace,” 1994, p. 169.

2. For the origins of the design, see E. Maguire 1989, pp. 163–66; Kitzinger 1977, pp. 78–80; Strube 1984; see also note 5 below.
3. Mathews 1976, figs. 31-51, 31-73; E. Maguire 1989, pl. XLVI; Mango, *Byzantine*, 1978, pp. 97–98, fig. 139, right.
4. Mathews 1976, fig. 31-51.
5. Bakirtzis, *Byzantine Thrace*, 1994, pp. 48, 50; Bakirtzis, “Byzantine Thrace,” 1994, pp. 189–99, illus. p. 191; Mango 1978, pp. 136–37. For the history of the leaf type, see Strube 1983, pp. 86–94, pls. 20a (end face) and 20c, and 21c (lower registers); Grabar 1976; Bakirtzis, “Byzantine Thrace,” 1994, p. 204, at Pranghi; Zekos 1989, fig. 5; Buchwald 1956, figs. 7, 12, 14, 20, 22, 24, 48.



4

5. Architrave Fragments from a Byzantine Church

Byzantine (Mosynopolis, Western Thrace), second half of 11th century
Marble

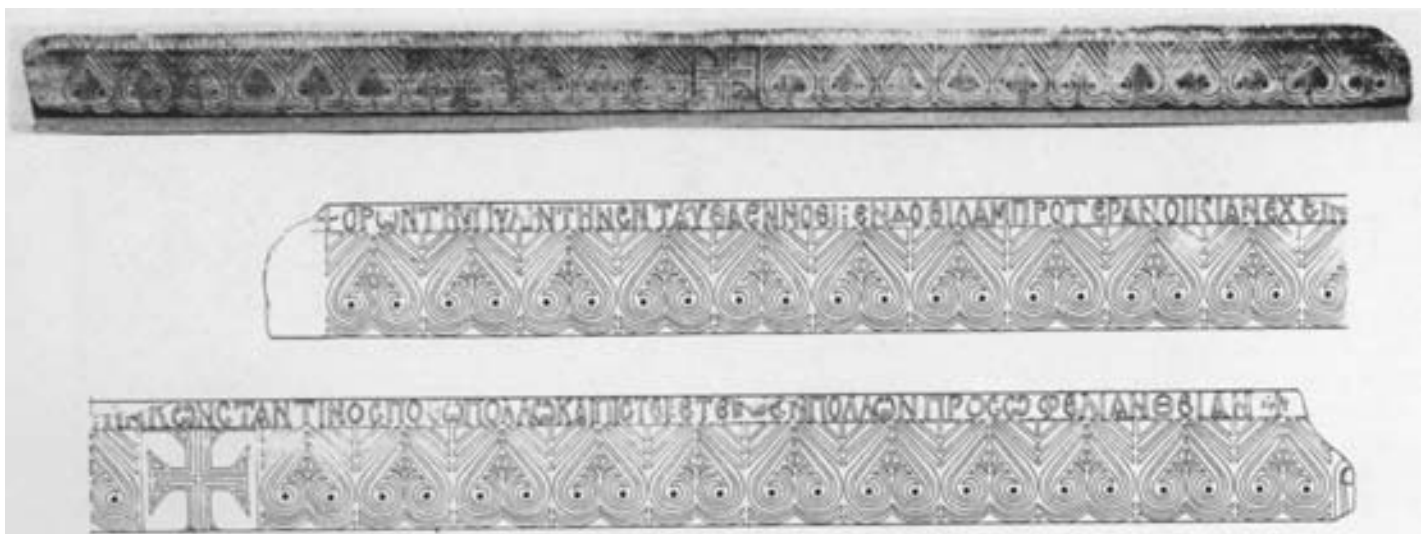
13.5 × 266 cm (5 3/8 in. × 8 ft. 8 3/4 in.)

INSCRIBED: In Greek, Seeing this gate, reflect/
That within it is a more glorious house/ Which
Constantine, in great love and faith/ Built for the
divine benefit of many.

Archaeological Museum, Komotini, Greece (29)

These architectural fragments and their metrical inscription, which consists of four twelve-syllable lines, date from the second half of the eleventh century, when the fortified city of Mosynopolis was at the height of its prosperity. The identity of “Constantine,” the founder of the church, remains unknown. A A

LITERATURE: Asdracha 1976; Asdracha and Bakirtzis 1980, n. 20.



5

6. Fragments from Two Templon Screens

Byzantine (Thebes), 12th century
Marble

720 × 210 × 20 cm (23 ft. 5 in. × 82 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Sagmata Monastery, Thebes, Greece

These 130 marble fragments are from two different screens from the *katholikon* of the Sagmata Monastery, near Thebes in Boetia. Most were once used as building materials in the monastery complex. Apart from three pieces that appeared in a publication of 1979,¹ they have not been published until now, and

they have never before been exhibited. The screens to which they belonged date to the twelfth century but were made fifty to seventy years apart, a production history that corresponds to the chronology of the construction of the Sagmata *katholikon*, which, it has recently been established, was carried out in two separate phases during the twelfth century.

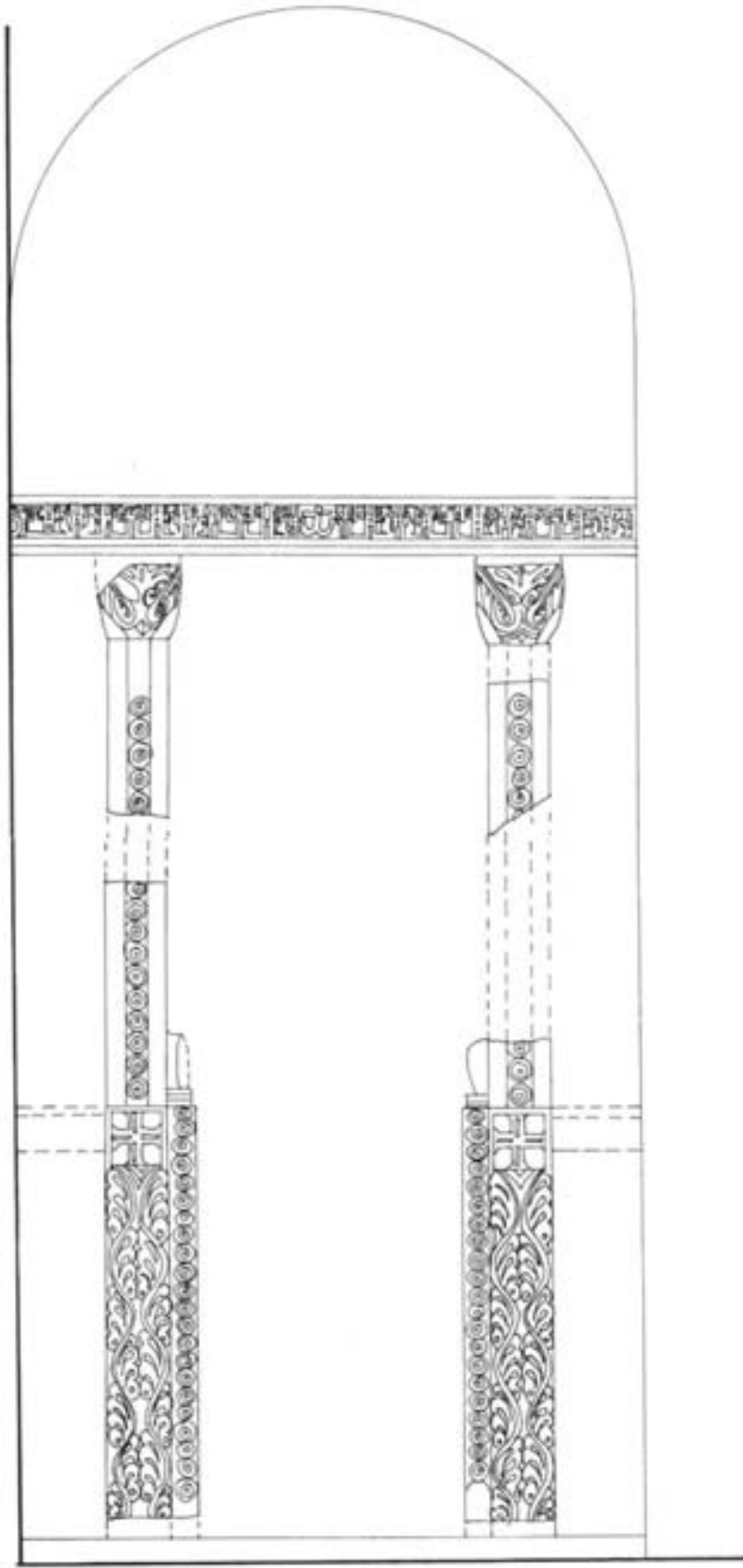
The sculptures are excellent examples of the so-called two-level technique of carving, in which high-relief bosses or animal forms are depicted against backgrounds of low-relief foliage. Their excellent quality testifies to the improvement in the technical skills of carvers from central Greece that took place during the twelfth century. The carvers responsible for these fragments belonged to a distinct local school influenced by the architectural sculptures of Andros and Athens. This school developed with the rise of a local aristocracy, which coincided with the disintegration of the central government that preceded the Latin occupation of Greece.

Unfortunately, the small size of the fragments does not allow for an exact reconstruction of the original screen. The segment of the suggested reconstruction to the left combines pieces from two different examples in order to convey the best possible idea of the appearance of a Middle Byzantine screen.

S V

1. L. Bouras 1979, p. 67.

LITERATURE: L. Bouras 1979, p. 67.



7. Funerary Inscription Attributed to Isaac Komnenos

Byzantine (Pherrai, Thrace), second half of 12th century
Marble

95 × 99 cm (37 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 39 in.)

INSCRIBED: ΑΙΟΘΗCΙΝ ΕΜΠΙΚΡΑΙΝΩΝ Η ΚΑΙ
ΚΑΡΔ/ΑΑΑ Ω ΒΡΑΒΕΥΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΛΩΝ ΤΩΝ
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ/ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΑΥΤΑ ΛΑΜΒΑΝΩΝ ΕΠΑΝ
ΘΕΛΗΣ,/ΩC CΤΑΧΥΝ, ΩC ΜΑΡΓΑΡΟΝ, ΩC ΓΛΥΚΥ
ΜΕΛΙ/CAIC ΑΠΟΘΗΚΑΙC ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΘΗCΑΥΡΙCΑΙC,
ΩC/ΕΥΘΑΛΕC ΤΙ ΔΕΝΔΡΟΝ ΕΙC ΤΡΥΦΗC ΠΕΔΟΝ/
ΚΑΤΑΦΥΤΕΥCΑΙC CΟΝ ΛΑΤΡΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΕCΠΟΤΗΝ
(... embittering feeling and the heart. But thou
who dispenseth the blessings in this world and with-
draweth them again according to thy will, preserve
him as an ear of corn, as a pearl, as sweet honey in
your storehouses. Plant your worshiper, the *despotes*,
as a flourishing tree in the valley of bliss [trans. N. P.
Ševčenko])

CONDITION: The plaque is broken at the top, and
the introductory lines of the inscription are missing.

Ecclesiastical Museum, Alexandroupolis, Greece
(Byzantine Inscriptions, 17)



The inscribed plaque, found inside the Church of the Theotokos Kosmosoteira, Pherrai, is clearly funerary, commending the soul of the deceased *despotes* (lord, master) to God in a rich and flowery language. Although the specific meaning of the title *despotes* is not clear, the plaque is normally associated with the tomb of the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos (1093–ca. 1152), the fifth child of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118) and the founder of the church.

Following a colorful life filled with intrigue, sedition, banishment, imprisonment, and pilgrimage, Isaac retired to the wilds of Thrace, near Ainos, where he built a monastery dedicated to the Virgin Kosmosoteira (Savior of the Universe). In the typikon, completed in 1152, apparently shortly before his death, he gives the specifications for the inclusion of his tomb within the church, requesting marbles, bronze rails, and portraits of his parents to be brought from the Chora Monastery in Constantinople, with which he had previously been associated and where he had had a tomb prepared for himself. In addition, he requests that the tomb be decorated with his personal effects, including an enkolpion and an icon of the Virgin. Although other tombs were to be allowed within the monastery proper, only Isaac's was to be within the church itself. If the association of the inscription with Isaac is correct, it provides important evidence for Byzantine imperial burials and is perhaps the only surviving evidence from Isaac's tomb.

Neither the original function of the plaque nor its position in relation to the tomb is known. The inscription, which occupied the center of the original plaque, is carved in shallow capital letters that end in drill holes. Each line terminates in a decorative scroll. Both the letter forms and the literary style of the inscription would accord with a dating in the second half of the twelfth century.

R O

LITERATURE: F. Uspenskii 1907, p. 26, pl. 6; Petit 1908, pp. 17–75; Orlandos 1933, pp. 3–44; Asdracha and Bakirtzis 1980, pp. 261–63, pl. 66; N. Ševčenko 1984, pp. 135–39.



8A

8. Inlaid Icons from the Lips Monastery

A. Face and Arms from Two Inlaid Icons
Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th century
Limestone, inlaid with colored glass
Face: 6 × 5.5 cm (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
Arms: 9.2 × 3 cm (3 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); 8 × 3.2 cm
(3 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: Lips Monastery (Fenari Isa Camii), Constantinople.

Benaki Museum, Athens, Greece (13548–13550)

The 1929 investigations at the Lips Monastery in Constantinople yielded numerous fragments of inlaid stone icons. The images on these icons were formed by cut pieces of colored marble and limestone set into the hollowed-out cavity of a stone panel of contrasting hue. Glass paste was often used to create the fine details of faces and to delineate the folds of garments. Inlaid icons supplemented the figural decoration of a church and could be used as devotional images in smaller chapels. The bright color scheme of these panels, often with a light background and polychrome inlay, may have been copied in the less expensive ceramic plaques used within numerous Constantinopolitan churches, including the Lips Monastery, as icon frames and architectural revetments.

Recent scholarship has demonstrated that the frontal face and one of the spear-bearing right arms were originally set into a plaque of green Thessalian marble now in the collection of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (inv. no. 4313). The outlines of the carved cavity reveal a military saint who stands under an elaborate archway and holds a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left. The other arm, also holding a spear, would have been set into a separate plaque of a second military saint. Military saints, in frontal pose

and bearing shield and spear, were commonly found in the decorative programs of medieval Byzantine churches. Often placed near the entranceways, they were undoubtedly viewed as protectors of the faith and of the faithful.

These three fragments, of identical off-white, fine-grained limestone, are carved in a similar manner, indicating that they originated in a common workshop. Their placement in the Lips Monastery, which was restored by a Byzantine dignitary, is an indication of the wealth of that foundation and of the aesthetic tastes of the Byzantine aristocracy. SEJG

LITERATURE: A. Grabar 1963, pp. 100–102; Macridy et al. 1964, pp. 272–76, 304–6, fig. 78; Delivorrias 1986, p. 35, fig. 21; Firatli 1990, pp. 186–87.

EXHIBITION: Brussels 1982, sculpture 5.

B. Icon with Saint Eudokia

Byzantine (Constantinople), early 10th century
Marble, inlaid with colored glass
66 × 28 cm (26 × 11 in.)

INSCRIBED: Η ΑΓΙΑ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ (Saint Eudokia)

CONDITION: The right side of the panel and the corners of the frame are damaged; there are losses to the eyes, costume, and lettering.

PROVENANCE: Lips Monastery (Fenari Isa Camii), Constantinople.

Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, Istanbul, Turkey (4309)

This is the best preserved of a large number of inlaid marble plaques uncovered in the 1929 investigations by Theodore Macridy at the Lips Monastery. The inlaid marble icon, discovered outside the southwest roof chapel of the monastery's Church of the Virgin, is remarkable both for its excellent state of preservation and for the singular representation of an imperial saint named Eudokia. A tenth-century date for the plaque is provided by its archaeological and historical context as well as by its epigraphical and figural style.

The technique of inlaying fragments of stone in a matrix of contrasting color, used most frequently to create abstract and vegetal motifs for architectural sculpture, is here used for a figural composition. Set into a rectangular white marble matrix, the colorful figure of Eudokia is framed by an elaborate border of interconnected diamonds, pierced and ornamented at the center by alternating red and green glass-paste inlay. Within this frame the saint, identified by the inscription, stands in an orant position, wearing an elaborate crown and clad in vestments that denote her imperial status. Decorative *segmenta* are placed below the

knee and at the upper arms of her costume; a wrapped *thorakion* hugs her right leg and is tucked into a prominent belt.

The female figure has been identified traditionally as the fifth-century empress Eudokia, who was wed to Emperor Theodosios II in 421. The daughter of a pagan teacher of rhetoric and philosophy, Eudokia applied her "classical" training to her later career as a Christian poet and hagiographer. In the mid-fifth century, charged with adultery, she left Constantinople for Jerusalem. There she sponsored numerous projects, among them the reconstruction of the Church of Saint

Stephen and the restoration of the city walls. Although the life of this Empress Eudokia is well documented, her sainthood is never mentioned. The first extant reference to an imperial Saint Eudokia is the tenth-century Constantinopolitan synaxarion, a church calendar, which prescribes the commemoration of Empress Eudokia on August 13 at the site of her tomb, the Church of the Holy Apostles. Eudokia, the wife of Theodosios II, was buried in Jerusalem, where she died on October 20, 460. In light of these facts, the traditional identification of this female saint needs to be reconsidered.



8B



The Church of the Virgin was renovated by Constantine Lips, a dignitary at the court of Leo VI (r. 886–912). According to tradition, the church was inaugurated in 907, an event to which the emperor was invited. The close connection between Constantine Lips and Emperor Leo VI may account for the inclusion of the marble plaque of an earlier Empress Eudokia in the decorative program of one of the roof chapels. Eudokia was a popular name for imperial women of the late ninth and early tenth centuries. Michael III (r. 842–67) was married to Eudokia Decapolitissa. His mistress was Eudokia Ingerina (d. 882), who later was the second wife of his successor, Basil I, and the mother of Leo VI. A daughter by Leo's first wife was named Eudokia. And the third wife of Leo VI was Eudokia Baiane. It may be that the tragic death of Eudokia Baiane while delivering Leo's first son provided the impetus for the commissioning of this plaque soon after. Indeed, this unusual icon of Saint Eudokia, placed in a church associated with the imperial circle, may bear witness to the elevation of a new saint in this period.

SEJG

LITERATURE: Paris 1931, p. 196; A. Grabar 1963, pp. 100–122, pl. LX1:2; Athens 1964, pp. 138–39; Macridy et al. 1964, pp. 272–76, 304–6, fig. 78; Mathiopoulos-Tornaritis 1982, pp. 61–72; Firatli 1990, p. 186, pl. 112, fig. 389.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 761; Athens 1964, no. 24.

9. Iconostasis Panel with Three Apostles

Byzantine (Thessalonike), second half of 10th century
Marble, inlaid with colored glass
47 × 93 cm (18½ × 36¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: Flanking the apostles, Ο ΑΙΑΘΒΟC ΑΛΦΑΙΟΥ (Saint James, son of Alphaias); Ο Α ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟC (Saint Phillip); Ο Α ΛΟΥΚΑC (Saint Luke)
Byzantine Museum, Athens, Greece (T 150)

Three full-length standing figures of Saints James, Philip, and Luke, facing front, are represented on this marble plaque. Luke appears to be holding his Gospel book in his partly covered hand. Each figure is set within a relief border, which continues around the entire composition.

The panel is an example of the technique of “flat relief,” in which the marble surface, where carved, is filled with a multicolored glassy gum mastic—here, poorly preserved—in a manner similar to that of *champlevé* enameling.

The panel belonged to a Great Deesis scene, which included figures of the Twelve Apostles from a marble iconostasis beam. At the center was Christ, flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist, guarded by two archangels. This technically outstanding work displays a remarkable precision in its overall design. It may be dated to the second half of the tenth century on the basis of its stylistic features: the monumental poses and the simple yet rhythmic folds of the garments of the solid figures, as well as the way in which they over-

lap the border that surrounds the scene. The panel shares technical affinities with the iconostasis of Sebesteia (tenth century), although here the elaboration is both fuller and more severe.

This work may also be our earliest monumental testimony to the history of the development of the iconostasis—in particular, the presence of the Great Deesis on a marble beam. The total length of the beam must have been approximately 4.8 meters (15 ft. 9 in.), indicating that it must have been commissioned for an important church in Thessalonike.

MC

LITERATURE: Sotiriou 1932, p. 47, no. 150, fig. 22; M. Chatzidakis 1975, fig. 335, fig. 3 on p. 341; M. Chatzidakis 1976, pp. 335ff.

EXHIBITION: Athens 1964, no. 23.

10. Tiles with Portraits of Saints

A. Saint Nicholas

B. Unidentified Saint

Byzantine (Constantinople?), 10th–11th century
Glazed and polychromed white earthenware
17.1 × 17.1 cm (6¾ × 6¾ in.)

PROVENANCE: Acquired by the Walters Art Gallery in 1956.

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (48.2086.1,2)

These stylistically diverse tiles, perhaps made at different times and used for more than one



10A



10B

building or screen, are clues to an architectural mystery. Similar examples have been excavated in Constantinople, mostly at church sites, and in Preslav (see cat. nos. 222, 223).¹ Their general condition is poor, with no trace of plaster or mortar, as if they were faulty discards or unneeded surplus. The explosion of an impurity during firing may have caused the loss on the body of Saint Nicholas, where a calcite inclusion appears as a white pebble in the clay. The glaze ran in the second saint's inscription, and it was scraped and smeared at the top of the right column. The identity of this saint, with ascetic face and martyr's cross, remains unknown. For Saint Nicholas the lettering and ornament support a dating to about the 1030s. This type appears among his portraits on eleventh-century seals, notably an example from Myra, his birthplace; in addition to being depicted, as he usually is, as a balding bishop with a short white beard, his face is wide and his beard squarish, and he holds the sacred book with one veiled hand and makes a gesture of blessing with the other.² Here, the framing white roundel links him to a chain that fills the ground with leafy offshoots, like units in the ornamental fresco on the walls of the Cathedral of Sviata Sofiia (Saint Sophia) in Kiev.³

Linked series of framed saints, like choral interludes, served to mark divisions in pictorial as well as in physical or liturgical space; on the Harbaville Triptych (cat. no. 80), for

example, they separate larger scenes. A painted series defines the spine of a vault in the rock-cut Church of Tokalı Kilise, at Göreme in Cappadocia, and medallion portraits occur on arch soffits in other Middle Byzantine churches.⁴ A horizontal series of portraits inlaid with a different material (see, for example, cat. no. 9) appears on the front of a Phrygian marble iconostasis beam now in Afyon, Turkey.⁵ Marble inlaid with glass may have imitated enamel; tile, with yellow-brown glaze that emulates a gilded background, would have provided a more inexpensive substitute. Tiles with animals and birds may have seen domestic use, applied to walls as the panels of rosette caskets were to wooden boxes (see cat. nos. 152, 153, 155–57).⁶

EDM

1. See Macridy et al. 1964, for the Lips Monastery; D. Rice 1954, for a summary of excavations to that date; E. Ettinghausen 1954, for an important presentation of both figural and decorative tiles from two more churches.
2. Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994, no. 72.2. See also the mosaic portrait of Nicholas at the Cathedral of Sviata Sofiia; Logvin, *Kiev*, 1971, pl. 73.
3. See Logvin, *Kiev*, 1971, pls. 14, 15, 20, 21.
4. See Epstein 1986, figs. 41, 53, 115.
5. Firatli 1969, figs. 14–30.
6. Durand and Vogt 1992, p. 41, fig. 10.

LITERATURE: Tronzo 1990, pp. 33–34; H. Maguire, *Materials Analysis* (forthcoming).

11. Icon with the Virgin Hagiosoritissa

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-11th century
Marble

104 × 40 × 7 cm (41 × 15¾ × 2¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: On either side of the halo, ΜΡ ΘΥ
(Mother of God)

CONDITION: The icon displays two cracks at the lower right, minor abrasions, and some weathering; two fittings for iron clamps can be found at the bottom and one at the top.

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (38.62)

The eleventh-century sculptor of this relief icon used a sixth-century slab of marble, which, judging from its height and its lozenge decoration, had served as a parapet in a sanctuary barrier or as a dado in a wall revetment. The Virgin is shown standing on a footstool and turned to the right, her hands raised in prayer. She wears a tunic with decorated sleeves, a mantle with a hemmed edge, and a *maphorion* over her head and shoulders. The gentle expression of the face and the comfortable stance of the figure testify to the sculptor's high competence. A similar attention to well-rounded faces, full lips, and delicate eyes, joined with soft, heavy drapery folds, can be found in a group of reliefs attributed by Hans Belting to the second half of the eleventh century, and this relief has been placed by Gary Vikan at the beginning of the group's chronological sequence.¹ The Medallion of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (r. 1078–81), also in this exhibition (cat. no. 130), numbers in this set.



In its original state the present relief was very likely painted, and the drill holes that decorate the Virgin's forehead, shoulder, and wrists would have been filled with gilt bronze. In such colorful condition it would have been appropriate decoration for one of Constantinople's elegant churches. The Virgin's pose, oriented to one side, was meant to direct the viewer's attention to the accompanying figure of Christ, to whom she prays. The paired figures of Christ and the Virgin were commonly placed to the right and to the left of the entrance to the nave, or within the nave to the right and left of the sanctuary.

The special care with which the artist executed the *maphorion*, with its bunched folds and zigzag edge, may be of some significance. This iconographic type of the Virgin in supplication is referred to as the Hagiosoritissa, a title that refers to the *Soros*, or reliquary, that contained the Virgin's *maphorion* and was located in her shrine in the Blachernai section of Constantinople. It was by means of this relic that the faithful would invoke the intercession of the Virgin, on whom they relied for the protection of the city. T F M

1. Belting 1972, pp. 263–70; Vikan 1995, p. 102.

LITERATURE: Der Nersessian 1960, pp. 69–86; Lange 1964, pp. 77–78; Belting 1972, pp. 263–70; Vikan 1995, pp. 100–103.

12. Icons with the Archangel Michael and the Virgin Orans

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 12th century
Marble

Archangel: 96 × 34 cm (37¼ × 13¼ in.)

Virgin: 96 × 33 cm (37¼ × 13 in.)

INSCRIBED: In the frame above the archangel, O APXICTPA MIXAHA (The Archangel Michael); at either side of the head of the Virgin, MP ΘΥ (Mother of God)

CONDITION: The plaque with the Virgin has been broken across the knees and repaired; the right wing of Michael is chipped; both figures display minor abrasions.

PROVENANCE: Bought by Th. Wiegand in 1899.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin, Germany (2429a,b)

This matching pair of reliefs comes from the wealthy Monastery of the Virgin Peribleptos (Celebrated) in Constantinople, founded by Emperor Romanos III Argyros (r. 1028–34), who chose it as his place of burial. Very likely the group was completed with a third relief, of the archangel Gabriel, as the two chiefs of the heavenly host frequently stand



as honor guards to the Virgin in Byzantine art. The group may have decorated the church, inside or out, or some other monastic building.

Byzantine seals of the eleventh century identify this frontal pose of the Virgin, hands raised in prayer, as the Blachernitissa, modeled on a miraculous image at the Blachernai Church in Constantinople. The archangel assumes imperial insignia—scepter, orb, and tasseled, jeweled *loros*¹—observable also on the relief tondo from Dumbarton Oaks (cat. no. 137). He seems to step to the right, toward the Virgin, who is taller than he. Working in a carefully controlled manner, the sculptor contrasts raised elements with polished surfaces, the Virgin's columnar body with the lively, angular zigzag of her *maphorion*. The drama of the lines dates the work to the late twelfth century, somewhere between the frescoes of Nerezi (1164) and those of Kurbinovo (1191).²

T F M

1. The transfer of imperial insignia to angels has been examined recently by Henry Maguire (1995, pp. 63–71).
2. Lange 1964, pp. 101–2.

LITERATURE: Lange 1964, pp. 101–2; Vollbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, vol. 3, p. 206; Effenberger and Severin 1992, pp. 245–47.

13. Fragment of a Mosaic with the Virgin

Byzantine (Constantinople), 9th century
Glass, marble, and plaster; frame: plaster of Paris and aluminum (modern)
34.4 × 26.4 cm (13½ × 10¾ in.); with frame 55.4 × 39 cm (21¾ × 15½ in.)

PROVENANCE: Stoudios Monastery, Constantinople.
Benaki Museum, Athens, Greece (9074)

This fragmentary bust of a female figure can probably be identified as the Virgin. The angle of the head, the pose, the position of the surviving left shoulder—indicating that the arms very likely were outstretched—and the figure's demeanor strongly suggest that the mosaic was part of a Deesis scene or a Presentation in the Temple.

The face is composed of small, densely packed tesserae of alternating pink and white marble to indicate the flesh, with light green tesserae added to produce a chiaroscuro effect; larger tesserae were used for the Virgin's *maphorion*. Many of the tesserae, although original to the composition, were reset at a later date.¹ The green-and-gold halo is a modern addition.



13

The figure is imbued with gravitas, nobility, and restrained grief. The delicate, elaborate modeling of the face and the accentuated shadows on the cheeks are features comparable to those of the mosaic composition in the drum above the south entrance to the exonarthex of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, which represents the enthroned Virgin and Child and the emperors Justinian and Constantine, and dates from the late tenth century.²

The present fragment is the only one known to have survived from the group of magnificent wall mosaics in the Stoudios Monastery,³ among the most renowned monastic foundations in Constantinople. Founded before 454 by a certain Stoudios,⁴ it came to occupy a leading place in the ecclesiastical and spiritual life of Byzantium during and after the Iconoclastic period (723–843), when its abbots included such personalities of the time as Theodore of Stoudios.⁵ The superb mosaics—now lost—that adorned the monastery were praised by the late-tenth-century poet John Geometres and undoubtedly were greatly admired by visitors to Constantinople.⁶

A D

1. My thanks to D. Kotzamani, art restorer, and Professor Chrysopoulos for their valuable information on matters relating to mosaic materials and techniques.
2. Mango 1967, pp. 58–59, fig. 91; Hadzidaki 1994, pp. 58–59, 233, fig. 34.
3. Eyice 1955, p. 94, no. 142.
4. Mango, "Date," 1978, pp. 115–22. Recent excavations have shown that building began in 450. See Peschlow 1982, pp. 429–33.
5. For information on the Stoudios Monastery in general, see Mathews 1976, pp. 143–58, and bibliography;

Patlagean 1988, pp. 429–60; Eleopoulos 1967. For information on its abbot, see *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 2044–45, and bibliography.
6. *PG*, vol. 106, cols. 942f.; Majeska 1984, pp. 38–41, 283–88.

LITERATURE: Benaki Museum 1936, p. 28, no. 65; Eyice 1955; Eleopoulos 1967; Mango 1967; Mathews 1976; Mango, "Date," 1978; Delivorrias 1980, pp. 35–36, fig. 30; Peschlow 1982; Majeska 1984; Patlagean 1988; Hadzidaki 1994.

14. Saint Andrew, from the Communion of the Apostles

Byzantine (Serres), early 12th century
Mosaic of stone and glass tesserae on plaster
176 × 101 cm (69¼ × 39¾ in.)

CONDITION: The right foot is poorly restored in plaster; the left leg below the knee is modern mosaic work; there are additional restorations to the head, face, and fingers; the hand and himation of the figure following Andrew are reworked; here and there gold tesserae are replaced with black tesserae.

PROVENANCE: From the sanctuary of the Metropolitan Church of the Saints Theodore at Serres (Macedonia), Greece, burnt in 1913.

Archaeological Museum, Serres, Greece (15)

This vigorous figure is the only surviving fragment from a large composition of the Communion of the Apostles from the sanctuary of the Church of the Saints Theodore in Serres. Bowed in reverence, the saint strides forward to receive the holy bread in his outstretched hands. The original, complete mosaic, known from photographs, included the Twelve Apostles, six on either side, approaching in procession to receive the Eucharist from Christ. The Savior was represented twice behind a great canopied altar, offering on the left the bread and on the right the wine. In the gold ground above the apostles large capital letters proclaimed, on the left, "Take, eat," and on the right, "Drink ye all of this"

The Communion of the Apostles was introduced into the decoration of the bema, or sanctuary, of the Byzantine church in the eleventh century. The Serres treatment of the subject is unusual in that it broke the rhythm of the file of figures by allowing the apostles to interact. Thus the third figure on the left, a young man, stood more erect than the others and gracefully turned back to look at the older man behind him, our one surviving apostle. Besides adding a certain drama to the procession, this interruption in the action called special attention to the third





14. Saint Andrew in situ

and fourth figures, who in fact enjoyed a special importance in Byzantium. The older apostle is identified by his disheveled white hair as Andrew, the brother of Peter, while the younger man with dark, tonsured hair is the evangelist Luke, strictly speaking not one of the Twelve Apostles at all. The reason for his inclusion is his pairing with Andrew in the famous Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, where the saints' relics were deposited together in 357. Andrew himself, toward whom Luke gazes with respect, may carry a political message, for he was regarded as the founder of the See of Constantinople, just as Rome claimed his brother Peter as founder. The theologian Neilos Doxopatres invoked this tradition in his polemical anti-Roman treatise on the patriarchates in 1143.¹

In spite of all it has suffered, the mosaic of Saint Andrew preserves its stylistic identity and stands as an important witness to the development of Byzantine monumental painting at the beginning of the twelfth century. The gentle movement and curvilinear grace of the figure are stylistically akin to the late-eleventh-century mosaics at Daphni. The twisting composition of Andrew's companion, however, and the more painterly, dynamic facial types are more closely related to the frescoes of Hagios Chrysostomos on Cyprus, of 1108.² The Communion of the Apostles that was rescued from the destroyed Cathedral of the Mykhailiv's'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery (Saint Michael of the Golden Domes) in Kiev (1108) displays the same interaction of the apostles. The artist's handling of color — giving

liveliness to the face by the contrast of red with green and in the draperies setting warm grays and browns against cool greens and blues — is especially skillful. Indeed, the entire work breathes the new life that animated painting at the beginning of the Komnenian dynasty; it may be safely assigned to the reign of Alexios I (1081–1118).

T F M

1. Caruso 1975, pp. 416–32.
2. Mouriki 1980–81, p. 100.

LITERATURE: Perdrizet and Chesnay 1903, pp. 126ff.; D. Rice, *Art*, 1968, pp. 219–23, 226; Strate 1985–86, pp. 88–104.

EXHIBITION: Athens 1964, no. 141.

FRESCOES FROM THE CHURCH OF THE DORMITION, EPISKOPI

15. Saint Theodota with Her Sons Kosmas and Damianos; Saint Nicholas Flanked by Christ and the Virgin

Byzantine (Episkopi, Eurytania), early 11th century
Fresco

140 × 320 cm (55½ in. × 10 ft. 6 in.)

PROVENANCE: Church of the Dormition, Episkopi (Eurytania), Greece.

Byzantine Museum, Athens, Greece

These frescoes representing Saint Theodota with her sons Kosmas and Damianos and Saint Nicholas flanked by Christ and the Virgin, along with another representing the prophet Elijah (cat. no. 16), are the best-preserved sections of the second layer of wall



paintings that once decorated the Church of the Dormition, the episcopal church of the district of Litza and Agrapha in present-day Eurytania. Members of the Greek Archaeological Service removed three successive painted layers from this church before an artificial lake was created on the site in 1965. The division of the figures into two compositional units reflects the saints' original position on the north wall of the nave, flanking the narrow entrance to the northwest chamber. On the basis of their stylistic similarities to securely dated monumental cycles, the frescoes have been attributed to an eleventh-century painter. Figures from this period are characterized by a bright color palette, linear drapery, and expressive faces.

Kosmas and Damianos, healing saints who offered medical service without pay (*anargyroi*), are often depicted with their mother, Theodota, in Byzantine monumental decoration. In the Episkopi composition Theodota is placed next to her sons rather than between them, which is her more usual position. The inclusion of Kosmas and Damianos within the decorative program reflects the widespread belief in the healing efficacy of these saints, even at the level of the local church. The figure of Saint Nicholas, dressed in bishop's vestments and with a receding hairline and closely cropped beard, follows a well-established type. Flanking him are half-length figures of Christ, who extends a Gospel book to the saint, and of the Virgin, who gives him a bishop's stole.

A thirteenth-century painting in the vault depicting the birth of Nicholas and his representation in the conch of the northeast chapel, in which he makes a gesture of entreaty, suggest a secondary dedication of the church to this popular saint at a later date. The prominent image of Saint Nicholas in the eleventh-century fresco layer together with a second, contemporaneous representation of him on the southwest pier of the church may indicate a special devotion to this saint as early as the eleventh century.

SEJG

LITERATURE: M. Chatzidakis 1966, pp. 28–29, pls. 29–34; Athens, *Byzantine Murals*, 1976, pp. 57–67, pls. 5, 6; Brussels 1982, pp. 26–27; Drewer 1991–92, p. 267.

EXHIBITIONS: Athens, *Byzantine Murals*, 1976, no. 23b; Brussels 1982, p. 2–5.



16

16. The Prophet Elijah

Byzantine (Episkopi, Eurytania), early 11th century
Fresco
203 × 93 cm (79% × 36% in.)

INSCRIBED: At either side of the prophet's head: [ΠΡΟ]ΦΗΤΗΣ [Η]ΛΙΑΣ (The Prophet Elijah); in the scroll, a garbled version of 1 Kings 17:1, 7: ΖΗ Κ ΚΑΙ ΖΗ Η ΨΥΧΗ ΜΟΥ ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΥΕΤΟC ΕΠΙ ΤΗC ΓΗC (As the Lord . . . lives [and as my soul lives] . . . there is [was] no rain in the land)

CONDITION: The surface shows some loss through cracking, as well as a scattering of hack marks; the outline of a second figure is visible along the right edge.

PROVENANCE: Church of the Dormition, Episkopi (Eurytania), Greece.

Byzantine Museum, Athens, Greece

The Church of the Dormition in Episkopi was decorated three times in its long history,

as indicated by the presence of three layers of fresco painting (see cat. no. 15). The prophet Elijah appears in the second layer, on the north side of the sanctuary. In Byzantine church decoration single figures of saints form the lowest register, at the eye level of the viewer. Elijah's place in the sanctuary makes him a witness to the Eucharist, the fulfillment of the miraculous food that the prophet received when ravens fed him in the desert (1 Kings 17:1–7). Against broad horizontal bands of blue, red, and green, the prophet assumes a strong frontal pose, his wide-eyed stare conveying the intensity of his spiritual conviction. He wears a purple cloak with a rough lining of camel's hair, appropriate to his role as a precursor of John the Baptist (Matt. 11:14), another desert ascetic.

Both the strong linear style and the abstract handling of the drapery link this painting to frescoes in the Church of the Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessalonike, dated 1028,¹ and in the early-eleventh-century crypt of Hosios Loukas. The quality of the work may be attributed to high patronage, as the Church of the Dormition was the seat of a bishop.

T F M

1. Mouriki 1980–81, p. 87.

LITERATURE: Orlandos 1961, pp. 6–19.

EXHIBITION: Athens 1976.

17. Saints Orestes and Eugenios

Byzantine (Episkopi, Eurytania), early 13th century
Fresco

264 × 242 cm (104 × 95¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: At either side of each saint: Ο ΑΓ
ΟΡΕΚΤΗΚ (Saint Orestes); Ο ΑΓΙΟΚ ΕΥΓΕ (Saint
Eugenios)

CONDITION: There are minor losses over the entire surface; the roundel of Saint Eugenios is missing the lower-right quadrant and the left side of the saint's face.

PROVENANCE: Church of the Dormition, Episkopi (Eurytania), Greece.

Byzantine Museum, Athens, Greece

Following the Crusader invasion of 1204, the Byzantine Empire was reduced to several contending states, and the Church of the Dormition in Episkopi in western Greece found itself in the despotate of Epiros. Early in the thirteenth century the church was completely redecorated with scenes from the life of Christ in the vaults and single frontal saints on the walls. A file of militant defenders of Orthodoxy surrounded the faithful in the nave, some full-length and some half-length in roundels that fit above arches. According to the menologion of Symeon Metaphrastes, a tenth-century collection of lives of the saints, Orestes and Eugenios, comrades in

the Roman army during the persecution of Diocletian, were martyred when their commander, Lysias, discovered their Christian allegiance. In the church Orestes is shown standing belligerently at attention, his shield tucked under his arm. The artist was especially interested in showing the soldier's traditional elegant uniform, consisting of white boots, lozenge-patterned hose, a short tunic, a shirt of mail, and a great red cloak, or chlamys. His companion, Eugenios, holds a cross as a sign of his triumph through martyrdom.

The scarcity of surviving frescoes from the turbulent years of the first half of the thirteenth century lends a special importance to this fragment. The monumental proportions of the bodies and the modeling of Orestes' face with dashes of white highlights presage developments in Late Byzantine painting.

T F M

LITERATURE: Orlandos 1961, pp. 6–19.

EXHIBITION: Athens, *Byzantine Murals*, 1976.





18A



18B

18. Fresco Fragments with the Heads of Two Saints

A. Saint John the Baptist

Byzantine (Mount Papikion, Rhodope), 11th–12th century

Fresco

16 × 17 cm (6¼ × 6¾ in.)

B. Saint Mark

Byzantine (Mount Papikion, Rhodope), 11th–12th century

Fresco

22 × 34 cm (8½ × 13¾ in.)

PROVENANCE: Monastic structure on Mount Papikion.

Archaeological Museum, Komotini, Greece (Excavation no. RL I/91)

These two fragments of wall paintings came to light during the excavation of a group of monastic buildings on Mount Papikion, on the south side of the Rhodope massif, which was an important center of monasticism in the Byzantine period.

Fragment A, found wedged into a retaining wall on the south side of the *katholikon*, was part of the first phase of eleventh-century paintings to ornament the walls of the church; it shows the head of a saint slightly inclined to the left. The individual facial features (eyes, nose, forehead, and cheekbones) are clearly indicated, with sparing use of color and sharp outlines. The saint has been identified as John the Baptist on the basis of the Deesis scene of the type that includes Christ, the Virgin, and John the Baptist—an identification supported by the fact that two more fragments, showing the head of Christ and

that of the Virgin, were discovered wedged into the same wall.

In fragment B the face of a saint and part of his halo are preserved, and the hair and beard are rendered in brushstrokes of black and gray. The mobility of the face, combined with the piercing gaze, hooked nose, and dark shading, gives the figure—who has been identified as Saint Mark—a stern and imposing presence. Found in a layer of debris from the collapse of the dome of the *katholikon*, together with fragments of paintings of the faces of Saint John the Theologian and Saint Matthew—which would have decorated the pendentives—it dates from the second phase of the *katholikon* (twelfth century).

Stylistically, the wall paintings from which these two fragments came exhibit the classicism characteristic of the Komnenian period: the early part of the period in the case of A, and the middle in the case of B. These fragments, both superbly painted, exemplify the style of Constantinople.

N Z

LITERATURE: Zekos 1995.

19. Fresco with Saints Cerycos, George, and Notarios

Byzantine (Potamos, Kithira), late 12th–mid-13th century

Fresco

270 × 177 cm (8 ft. 10¼ in. × 69½ in.)

PROVENANCE: Church of Saint John the Baptist, Potamos, Kithira, Greece.

Collection of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art, Kithira, Greece (4342)

This wall painting is from the Byzantine Church of Saint John the Baptist in the village of Potamos, Kithira. The single-aisle vaulted structure stands on the ruins of an Early Christian building, fragments of whose mosaic floor, which dates to the first half of the sixth century, are still in situ. When, recently, the church appeared in danger of collapsing, it was decided to remove the frescoes, along with the other mid-thirteenth-century wall paintings.

To judge from the surviving scenes, which are seriously damaged, the iconographic program extended across the church in two registers: below were paintings of the Church Fathers, holy martyrs, the Virgin, and Christ Antiphonetes (the One Who Responds), all depicted frontally and full length, and above were the Ascension and a cycle of the Life of Saint John the Baptist.

The present composition, which was detached from the north wall of the sanctuary, is a large work showing Saints Cerycos, George, and Notarios full length, as well as part of an Ascension scene, of which only the lower regions of the tunics and the feet of seven figures—the apostles and possibly the Virgin—have survived. Of particular interest in the lower register of the painting is a miniature image of the enthroned Christ, his halo held by two angels, which may have been a preliminary drawing for the central section of the Ascension.

The figures of the three saints—severe, vigorous, and expressive—are accentuated by their placement against a background that is deep blue above and light green below. The intensity of their facial expressions (further heightened by their large,





20A



20B

wide-open eyes), the rich ornamentation of their garments, and the vivid colors are all characteristics of twelfth-century painting that survived into the thirteenth century.

Comparison with paintings in other monuments on the island of Kithira, such as the Church of Saints Kosmas and Damianos in Frilingianika, the Church of Saint Polycarp in Finikies, and the Church of Saint Demetrios in Kambianika, allows us to date the present work to the middle of the thirteenth century. With some slight deviations it reflects the spirit of what has been called the expressive style, which prevailed in Byzantine art during the Middle Byzantine period and continued, in the case of provincial monuments, until the fall of Constantinople.

The fresco is a characteristic example of the conservative type of large-scale painting common on the small island of Kithira, where, despite its geographical isolation, many fine frescoes were to be found, especially in the thirteenth century. These paintings are notable for their stylistic range as well as for their perpetuation of earlier models, features shared by many monuments of the period throughout the Greek world.

E G-T

LITERATURE: Vokotopoulos 1970, p. 170; Gini-Tsofopoulou 1988; Gini-Tsofopoulou 1991; Katsioti 1991, pp. 115–24.

20. Two Fresco Fragments

A. Angel
Byzantine, 12th?–early 14th century
Fresco
61 × 44 cm (24 × 17½ in.)

B. Saint John of Damascus
Byzantine, 12th?–early 14th century
Fresco
65 × 50 cm (25½ × 19¾ in.)

Private collection, Geneva, Switzerland

These two figures have been separated from their original context, but the mannered gentleness of their expression suggests that they were painted at the height of the Palaiologan period (1261–1453), and their iconography indicates that they were initially part of a Dormition of the Virgin. Bowed in reverence, the angel is a figure of high refinement. His hands, extended in prayer, are delicate; his

arms have a rubbery quality—shoulderless and muscleless—and his face is tranquil, almost bland. The full, boneless chin and fragile aquiline nose are similar to those of angels in the famous frescoes of the Church of Christ in Chora (1316–21) in Constantinople, where the halos, like those seen here, are outlined in white.¹ Similarly the pose of the older saint, with his head turned three-quarters to the left to show a concave profile, is typical of the Chora style.²

Angels play many roles in Byzantine art, and the iconography of the angel shown here is generalized; the iconography of his companion is, by contrast, quite specific. The elderly monk is dressed in a dark brown mantle called a *schema*, and he wears a turban. Together, these characteristics identify him as Saint John of Damascus (ca. 675–ca. 753/54), a monk and theologian who lived under Arab rule at the Great Lavra of Saint Sabas in Judea. He is represented twice at the Chora similarly clad, though the colors are different.³ Prominent in Byzantium as a defender of the veneration of icons, Saint John was also familiar as the author of numerous hymns to the Virgin and of the story of her death and assumption into heaven. This most

likely was his role in the present fresco, where he may have joined the company of mourners at the Virgin's funeral. The angel would have appeared above, attending Christ as he carried aloft the soul of his mother. These figures represent the continuing popularity of the Middle Byzantine theme of the Koimesis in later Byzantine art.

T F M

1. Underwood 1966, vol. 3, pp. 374, 423–24.
2. See, for example, the apostles, in *ibid.*, pp. 376–83.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 427, 545.

Unpublished.

21. Processional Cross and Four Cross Bases

A. Processional Cross with Architectural Base

Byzantine (Constantinople? or Asia Minor), 11th–12th century
Bronze, cast, filed, reamed, and scraped, with turquoise glass beads
44.5 × 12.5 cm (17½ × 4¾ in.), staff end
DIAM.: interior 3.5 cm (1⅜ in.), exterior 4.2 cm (1⅝ in.)

CONDITION: The variegated patina of the surfaces is the result of long burial; losses include the trilobed extension from the lower side of the dexter arm, five turquoise glass beads from the remaining trilobed extensions, and five medallions from the face of the cross; the double-notched borders following the contours of the face of the cross and the double-notched thin cross at the center of the back are partially corroded and filled with burial materials.

PROVENANCE: Possibly Asia Minor.

Private collection, New York, N.Y.

B. Architectural Base for a Processional Cross

Byzantine (Constantinople? or Asia Minor), 11th–12th century
Bronze, cast, filed, reamed, and scraped
H. 26.5 cm (10⅝ in.)

CONDITION: The corrosion and dark patinas probably are the result of long burial; incised lines and circles are also corroded.

PROVENANCE: Acquired in Smyrna (Izmir) in 1909.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin, Germany (6358)

C. Fragment of an Architectural Base for a Processional Cross

Byzantine (Constantinople? or Asia Minor), 11th–12th century
Copper alloy, cast, filed, reamed, and scraped
12.6 × 5 × 5.2 cm (5 × 2 × 2 in.)

CONDITION: The corrosion, variegated patina, and encrustation probably are the result of long burial.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Purchase, Mrs. Charles F. Griffith Gift, 1962 (62.10.8)

D. Fragment of an Architectural Base for a Processional Cross

Byzantine (Constantinople? or Asia Minor), 11th–12th century
Copper alloy, cast, filed, reamed, and scraped
11.4 × 4.2 × 4 cm (4½ × 1⅝ × 1⅞ in.), DIAM., round opening at base: 2 cm (¾ in.)

CONDITION: The corrosion, variegated patina, and encrustation probably are the result of long burial.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Fletcher Fund, 1962 (62.10.9)

E. Architectural Base for a Processional Cross

Byzantine (Constantinople? or Asia Minor), 11th–12th century
Copper alloy: leaded medium-tin bronze with a significant trace of zinc
28 × 5.1 × 5.1 cm (11 × 2 × 2 in.), DIAM., staff end: interior 3.5 cm (1⅜ in.), exterior 4.2 cm (1⅝ in.)

CONDITION: The corrosion, patinas, and encrustation probably are the result of long burial; pendula are missing from suspension loops below the four corners of the rectangular structure.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Purchase, Max Falk, Alastair B. Martin, Stephen Scher, and William Kelly Simpson Gifts, in honor of William D. Wixom, 1993 (1993.165)

The distinctive decoration of the Latin cross (A) includes the small, flat, and centered lozenge extensions of the upper three arms, the trilobed and beaded clusters on all four arms, vestiges of five medallions on the front, and double-notched lines enhancing both the front and the back. The base takes the form of a cross-domed Byzantine church with a high drum and central dome, which in turn provides support for the cross. Four keyhole windows open into the drum, and paired keyhole and circular openings interrupt the end walls of the gabled transepts. The three-stage structure below is supported by a combination of corner supports and arches, columns with capitals and bases, and a railing of successive keyhole openings. A tapered cylinder, flanged at the top and bottom, abuts the circular opening in the floor of the lowest stage. The missing staff, possibly of wood, would have fitted into this cylinder.

A variation of this example is the base (B), which displays a rounded apse and additional windows of a less insistent keyhole type in the high drum over the crossing. A horizontal fillet with incised diagonals and a squarish and flanged receptacle were the means of support for the missing cross. Windows were cast into the side walls of the transepts; the end walls have larger openings surmounted by closed gables with incised decorations (a cross on

one). The “church” is held up by flat Latin crosses centered below the end wall of each transept. Small globes resting on convex partial arches provide the springing points of the entire structure above the faceted and flanged cylinder or staff fitting. The Metropolitan Museum's two fragmentary bases (C and D) offer additional variations in the vocabulary of miniaturized, three-dimensional central-plan churches with rounded apses that formed the supports for processional crosses.

The last example (E) shares with A through D the keyhole openings, centralized plan and drum, and tapered and flanged cylinder for the staff but has elongated segments; in addition, the new elements of openness and a sense of height are introduced. The arches of the openings, horseshoe shaped in profile, flank high central arches which, as they are contiguous with the arches of the transept roofs, imply barrel vaults. The whole is a sophisticated reference to the interior of the Middle Byzantine church turned inside out (see *illus.* on p. 20).¹

The exhibited works reveal a common method of production by casting and finishing that is also the case with related objects in Baden-Württemberg,² Berlin,³ Boston,⁴ Cologne,⁵ Toronto,⁶ and Washington, D.C.⁷ The cagelike effect of E is loosely analogous to that of examples in Berlin,⁸ Hamburg,⁹ and Saint Petersburg.¹⁰ The clustered trilobed extensions of A are also found on crosses in Cologne¹¹ and in the collection of Mrs. Hayford Pierce.¹² While the latter was a Greek-type church finial cross, all published processional crosses are of the Latin type. The bronze crosses and their bases may have been produced in bronze foundries quite different from the workshops responsible for silver processional crosses because of the dissimilarities in techniques as well as in material (see, for example, cat. nos. 23–27).¹³

Other than the two examples in Berlin reported to have been acquired in 1898 from Constantinople¹⁴ and in 1909 from Smyrna (present-day Izmir) in Asia Minor (B), there are no clearly reliable clues as to provenance. The high artistry in bronze work in the capital, documented by the series of monumental doors commissioned from the 1060s into the first half of the twelfth century for churches on the Italian peninsula, suggests Constantinople as a possible origin of the smaller works. However, the evidence is limited to the flat-relief Latin crosses on the doors at Amalfi and Monte Cassino, the proportions and lobed extensions of which are only loosely related.¹⁵ More compelling comparisons for the configuration of the cross (A) may be seen in eleventh- to thirteenth-

century stone cemetery reliefs in Armenia.¹⁶ The centralized-cross plan of the church on the base of cross A and of the related bases (B–D), with their single domes, although they have numerous parallels in actual buildings located across a widespread area of the Middle Byzantine Empire, also defies any attempt at precise localization.

While probably not connected with imperial or major military usage, processional crosses in base metal undoubtedly served at least one other important purpose—the celebration of the *lite*, a liturgical and supplicatory procession of the clergy and laity to a particular church or location at a time of need or of natural or man-made disaster (or of their commemoration).¹⁷ In monastic contexts, processional crosses often were related to services for the dead.¹⁸ Presumably, bronze processional crosses could also share some other functions with those examples in precious metals (see cat. nos. 23–27): the first entrance of the liturgy¹⁹ and the matins service of the cathedral rites.²⁰ Like the Aachen artophorion (cat. no. 300),²¹ with its central-plan structure and single dome surmounted by a cross, the centralized plan of the architectural bases of processional crosses also may refer both to the Holy Sepulchre and to “Sion,” the City of God or the Heavenly Jerusalem.²²

It is possible that the Middle Byzantine processional crosses with related structures as part of their bases may represent more than a parallel development for some of the architectural bases of altar crosses dating from the twelfth century in the Latin West.²³

W D W

1. Compare this with the interior of Hosios Loukas; Krautheimer 1965, fig. 154.
2. *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 32 (1995), pp. 135–36, fig. 4.
3. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 11/75; see Hannover 1983, no. 25, illus.
4. Museum of Fine Arts (63.789); see Comstock and Vermeule 1971, pp. 441–42, no. 645, illus.; Springer 1981, pp. 23, 147, fig. A-29.
5. Schnütgen Museum, H864; see Brunswick 1990, p. 18, illus.
6. University of Toronto, Malcove Collection, M82.393; see Springer 1981, pp. 23, 147, fig. A-26; Campbell 1985, no. 179, illus.; Washington, D.C., 1994, pp. 110–11, no. 16, fig. 40.
7. *Dumbarton Oaks* (4014); A. Grabar 1957, p. 294, fig. 126; see M. Ross 1962, pp. 59–60, no. 69, pl. XLI; Washington, D.C., 1994, pp. 108–9, no. 15, fig. 39.
8. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2487; see Wulff 1911, p. 92, no. 1981, pl. xv; Volbach 1930, pp. 165–66, illus.
9. *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe* (1963.94); see *Bildführer* 3 (1972), p. 143, no. 74, called Constantinople, Early Byzantine, sixth to seventh century.
10. Moscow 1977, vol. 3, pp. 34–35, no. 912.
11. See note 5, above.
12. See Ross 1963, pp. 123–26, pls. 3, 4. A later example,





21B



21C



21D



21E

a processional cross with trilobed extensions, is in Athens: see Athens 1985, pp. 152–53, no. 640, illus. (described as “after 1200”).

13. See Washington, D.C., 1994, p. 63.

14. See note 8, above.

15. Bloch 1981, vol. 3, pp. 1174–75, figs. 58, 59, pp. 1224–25, figs. 126, 127.

16. Brentjes 1974, figs. 50, 68–71.

17. Washington, D.C., 1994, pp. 8–37.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 14–24.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

20. *Ibid.*

21. A. Grabar 1957, pp. 283–84, 293–94; Saunders 1982, p. 216.

22. This may be a kind of parallel to the mosaic and painted Pantokrator images on the interiors of the domes of Middle Byzantine churches and their successors, such as the monastic churches at Daphni, Hosios Loukas, and Chios in Greece; the monastic churches at Lysi, Langoudera, and Trikomo on Cyprus; Santa Maria dell’Ammiraglio (the Martorana) and the Cappella Palatina, Palermo; and the central dome of San Marco, Venice.

23. See Springer 1981, nos. 19, 27, 28, figs. K 161–63, K 222–36, K 244–51; Cologne 1985, vol. 1, nos. B-111, B-112.

LITERATURE: Wulff 1911, pp. 92–93, no. 1982, pl. xv (B); Volbach 1930, pp. 166–67, no. 6358, illus. (B); Springer 1981, pp. 23, 147, fig. A-27 (A); Frazer 1985–86, p. 33, no. 34, illus. on right (C); *Annual Report* 1992–93, p. 32, illus. (E).

EXHIBITIONS: Hannover 1983 (B); Berlin 1992, no. 137 (B).

22. Processional Cross

Byzantine (Constantinople?), 10th century
Bronze and niello
75 × 44 cm (29½ × 17¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the back, +O ΑΓΗΟC ΠΕΤΡΟC +
ΗΟΑΗΟY+ (Saint Peter of Elias?)

CONDITION: There are signs of oxidation on the lateral and upper vertical arms; the broken upper arm is restored by two small metal shafts; there are extensive cracks in the central medallion; an iron rod is attached as a reinforcement on the back of the lower arm.

Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens, Greece (x. 863)

This elegantly shaped cross is fashioned from a thin piece of bronze decorated on both sides with engraved ornamentation. Each of the flaring arms ends in two circular finials, and there are holes along the lower edge of the horizontal arm that were used to suspend pendants, now lost. The wedge at the bottom of the vertical arm was employed to secure the cross to a base. The geometric, compass-drawn ornamentation includes rosettes enclosed in circles at the ends of the arms on both front and back; rosettes also embellish the front faces of the circular finials. The front is further engraved on the upper vertical arm with an inscription and on the lower vertical arm with a stylized palmette issuing from a rosette. The central medallion on the front contains a Greek cross outlined on a niello background. Four small rosettes, identical to those on the circular finials, radiate from the medallion along each arm.

The Kanellopoulos cross bears a close similarity to another bronze cross, now in the British Museum. Common characteristics of the two pieces include the slim elegance of form, the geometric rosette decoration of the arms, and the dedicatory inscription on the front upper arm. The inscription here, to Saint Peter of Elias, may refer to the church (dedicated to the apostle Peter) to which this object originally belonged.¹

Symbolizing the victory of Christ over death, this processional cross functioned primarily as one of the leading standards in a variety of religious pageants. When not in use, the cross stood behind the altar of the church, placed in a base comparable to examples in the current exhibition (cat. nos. 21A–E).

DK

1. The inscription on the British Museum cross — “The Standard [Cross] of Saint Anastasia”— supports an analogous interpretation for the inscription on the Kanellopoulos cross; see London, *Byzantium*, 1994, p. 160.



22

EXHIBITIONS: Athens 1964, no. 552; Brussels 1982, no. 16.



23. Front

23. Processional Cross

Byzantine (Adrianople), late 10th century
Silver, silver gilt, and niello
58.4 × 46.5 cm (23 × 18¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front of the handle, ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΛΟΝ ΟΥ CICINION AMHN (Lord, help your servant Sisinnios. Amen); on the back, lower arm, ΥΠΕΡ ΑΦΕΣΕΩΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ CICINIOY ΚΕ ΙΩΑΝΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΑΜ (For the remission of sins of the servants of God Sisinnios and John Presbyter. Amen); figures are identified by uncial inscriptions.

CONDITION: There is some fading of the gilding and niello; the front lateral finials are damaged; there are traces of restoration, probably from the eighteenth century, in the front central medallion and two finials of the upper arm, which have been replaced.

PROVENANCE: The cross belonged to the Greek community of Adrianople and was brought to Greece after the Conference of Lausanne, 1922–23.

Benaki Museum, Athens, Greece (T.A. 146)

The cross is made of thin silver sheets fitted around an iron core.¹ Each of the flaring arms ends in two circular finials, where the iron core is sealed by molten lead. On both the front and the back, five medallions occupy the intersection and the ends of the crossarms. Each central medallion consists of a separate attached disk that conceals the joins of the



23. Back

four individual silver sheets (the front medallion is now lost). The pairs of circular finials at the ends of the arms are decorated on the front with small busts and on the back with rosettes.

On the front, the images in the four large medallions of the crossarms form a Deesis composition. Christ and the Virgin Orans at the head and the foot of the cross, respectively, are flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel on the lateral arms. On the finial medallions, frontal busts of Church Fathers (John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and Nicholas), doctor saints (Kosmas and Damianos), and military saints (Sisinnios² and Prokopios) complete the program. The arms of a smaller, gilded cross outlined in niello issue from the missing central medallion. They end in a fleur-de-lis pattern flanked by two roundels.

The Deesis composition was a common Byzantine iconographic theme represented on processional crosses and other liturgical objects. Several crosses in the exhibition display the Deesis on the front, among them the processional crosses of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Musée de Cluny, and the Cleveland Museum of Art (cat. nos. 24–26). While the figure of Christ is usually placed in the central medallion of processional crosses and is flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist (see cat. nos. 24–27), here Christ and the Virgin flank the lost central medallion, and the image of Saint John the Baptist is moved to the center on the back. This suggests that the central medallion on the front may have originally contained an important relic or jewel.³

Five medallions decorate the back of the cross. Saint John the Baptist in the central medallion is flanked by Saints Constantine and Helena on the vertical axis and by the military saints George and Theodore Teron on the horizontal. A floral cross issues from the central medallion, its arms ending in classicizing anthemias. The finial medallions are embellished with rosettes.

The exceptionally prominent position of the bust of Saint John the Baptist at the center of the back suggests that this cross may have been made for a church dedicated to the saint. The unusual emphasis on the baptismal attribute in the inscription flanking the saint, which identifies him as the Baptist rather than the precursor of Christ—this saint's more usual epithet—points to yet another possibility: the use of such crosses in the liturgical ceremonies of the Epiphany (January 6). During the blessing of the waters on that day, the cross becomes the principal focus of the ceremony as it is thrown into the water and retrieved by one of the faithful or dipped in the water to sanctify it. The depiction of Saint Thalelaios,

associated with the liturgical ceremonies of the blessing of the waters, supports this view. His representation in the central medallion on the back of the Metropolitan Museum cross (cat. no. 25) further illustrates this connection.

The Benaki cross, like other processional crosses, probably fulfilled a variety of functions during the Middle Byzantine period, all derived from the significance of the Cross as the symbol of Christ's triumph over death. Thought to bring victory to the emperors' expeditions, such crosses were carried into battle; considered objects of supplication, they were the focal points in public and monastic processions; believed to have healing and blessing powers, they were used for ritual blessings.⁴

D K

1. For restorations and replacements, see L. Bouras 1979, p. 21.
2. The depiction of Saint Sisinnios may be tied to the donor of the cross. Representations of this saint were originally employed to decorate amulets.
3. L. Bouras 1979, p. 22.
4. Washington, D.C., 1994, pp. 23, 47–49.

LITERATURE: L. Bouras 1979; Athens 1994, no. 87; Washington, D.C., 1994, pp. 23, 47–49.

EXHIBITION: Athens 1994, no. 87.

24. Fragment of a Processional Cross

Byzantine, mid-11th century
Silver, silver gilt, and niello
29.5 × 45.1 cm (11 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: Front, on the medallions, IC XC (Jesus Christ), ΜΗΡ ΘΥ (Mother of God), Ο Α ΙΩ Ο ΠΡΑΜ (John the Precursor), Ο ΑΡΧ ΜΙΧ (The Archangel Michael). Back, on the medallion, Ο ΟCΙΟ CΑΒΑC (Saint Sabas); on the upper arm, Ο ΟCΙΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟ (Anthony the Great), Ο ΟCΙΟC ΕΥΘΥΜΙΟ (Euthymios the Great); on the left arm, Ο ΟC ΕΦΡΑΙΜ Ο CΥΡ (Ephraim the Syrian), Ο ΟCΙΟC ΙΛΑΡΙΩΝ (Ilarion); on the right arm, Ο ΟC ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙΟ Ο ΤΟΥ CΙΝΑ (Anastasios of Sinai), Ο ΟC ΙΩ Ο ΤΗC ΚΑΙΜΑΚΟ (John Klimax); two saints hold scrolls with texts: Ephraim the Syrian, ΟCΟΙ ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΟCΜΟΥ ΜΑΤΑΙΑ ΦΥΓΕΙΝ ΕΞΗΑ (Those who [go out] to flee the vain things of the world), and John Klimax, ΜΙΜΗCΘΟ Ο ΤΟ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΦΟΡΤΙΟΝ (Let him be imitated who [bears] his own burden).¹ The lost lower arm carried this inscription: + ΚΑΛΛΙΕΡΓΗΘ Ο ΤΙΜΙΟC CΤΡΟC ΟΥΤΟC ΕΠΟΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΟCΙΟΥ ΠΡC ΗΜΩΝ CΑΒΑ ΥΠΟ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΤΙΤΟΡΟ ΜΟΝΗC ΤΗC ΓΛΑCΤΙΝΗ[?](This precious cross was beautifully worked in the name of our blessed father Sabas by Nicholas the monk and presbyter and founder of the Monastery of Glastine[?])²

CONDITION: The lower arm, now lost, contained two niello images of monastic saints, Arsenios the Great and Abramios, and an extended dedicatory inscription.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.
Purchase Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Bequest (70.36)

The Cleveland cross is the finest of five surviving processional crosses with medallions on the front and niello decoration on the back (see cat. nos. 26 and 27 for others of the group).³ The silver sheaths forming the Latin cross are held together around the iron core by elegant faceted finials, as on the others with surviving terminals. The shimmering silver surface of the front, with its finely wrought and gilded repoussé patterns, is subtly highlighted with niello. An elaborate rinceau pattern extends in a cross shape from the central medallion of Christ Pantokrator. At the ends of the crossarms, medallions of the Virgin and John the Precursor complete a Deesis composition. This image, standard on many Byzantine processional crosses, stresses the role of the Cross as intercessor for humanity.⁴ Above is a bust of the archangel Michael. On the back, pairs of saints are worked in niello, creating a compelling pattern of silver and black. A repoussé portrait medallion of Saint Sabas (439–532) is at the center of a rinceau cross worked in niello on a stippled ground.

As on the other crosses in this group, the decoration on the front has a general supplicatory theme, while the focus of the nielloed back is specifically dedicatory. The lost inscription makes clear that the cross was dedicated to Sabas, who was revered for defending Orthodoxy after the Council of Chalcedon (451) and for founding the Great Lavra near Jerusalem. In the Middle Byzantine period, long after the Arab conquest, that monastery remained one of the major Orthodox centers in the Holy Land, still producing manuscripts in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵ Surrounding Sabas on the cross back are other Eastern monastic saints strongly associated with acts of conversion and the defense of Orthodoxy in Syria, the Holy Land, Egypt, and Sinai.⁶ The two on the right arm—Anastasios of Sinai and John Klimax (see also cat. no. 247)—are from the other great Orthodox center to survive in the Middle Byzantine centuries in the region of Jerusalem, the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai.

The site of the workshop that produced this cross and the monastery to which it was dedicated remain unknown. The dedication of a cross by a religious figure is not unusual



24. Front



24. Back

(see cat. nos. 24, 26). While it has been suggested that the crosses in this group are from Eskişehir in Turkey, in the heart of the empire, the attribution has not been substantiated. Because the monastic saints depicted on the cross were noted for their efforts to convert and to defend Orthodoxy, it is tempting to conclude that the cross was dedicated to a monastery or church in conflict with a heretical sect or another religion prevalent in its region. Connecting the work to an Orthodox monastery in Jerusalem or the immediate area appears most appealing but cannot yet be confirmed. The images of the Eastern saints do not always follow the portrait types standard in the eleventh century, yet the portrait of Christ is similar to those on coins of the era from Constantine VIII (r. 1025–28) through Constantine X Doukas (r. 1059–67).⁷ Thus the workshop must have been in limited or selective contact with contemporary Byzantine traditions. While John Cotsonis has connected the solid figure style of Christ to the reliquary of Saint Demetrios in the Kremlin, datable to 1059–67 (cat. no. 36), a somewhat earlier date in the century, suggested both by Cotsonis and by William Wixom, would appear to be correct.⁸ Of the processional crosses with a rinceau cross around the central medallion, only the early ones, this Cleveland cross and the Metropolitan Museum cross (cat. no. 25), have hand-worked patterns with highly individualized leaf forms.

H C E

1. Washington, D.C., 1994, pp. 68, 70, 74.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 70.
3. *Important European Sculptures* 1987, p. 57; Caillet 1988, p. 216; Mango 1988, pp. 42–48; London, *In Pursuit of the Absolute*, 1994, no. 259.
4. Washington, D.C., 1994, p. 47.
5. *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 1823–24.
6. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 87–88, 125–26, 187–88, 708, vol. 2, 756–57, 1060–61; Thurston and Artwater 1956, vol. 2, pp. 259–62, vol. 4, pp. 163–65; Washington, D.C., 1994, p. 73.
7. Washington, D.C., 1994, pp. 71–75.
8. Wixom 1986, pp. 295, 303; Washington, D.C., 1994, p. 71.

LITERATURE: Bank 1980, pp. 97–111; Wixom 1986, pp. 295–304; Caillet 1988, pp. 208–17; Mango 1988, pp. 41–49.

EXHIBITION: Washington, D.C., 1994, no. 2.

25. Processional Cross

Byzantine, first half of 11th century
Silver and silver gilt
60 × 45 cm (23¾ × 17¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front medallions, IC XC (Jesus Christ), MP ΘΥ (Mother of God), Ο Α ΙΩ Ο ΠΡ (John the Precursor), ΜΙΧΑΙΛ (Michael), ΓΑΒΡΙΑ (Gabriel); on the back medallions, Ο Α ΘΑΛΕΛΕΟC (Saint Thalelaios), Ο Α ΝΙΚΟΑΑΟC (Saint Nicholas), Ο Α ΙΩ Ο ΧΡΟC (Saint John Chrysostom), ΟΡΙΑ (Uriel), ΡΑΦΙΑ (Raphael); on the foot, ΔΕΗCΙC ΑΕΩΝΤΩC ΕΠΗCΚΟΠΙΟΝ (supplication of Leo, bishop)

CONDITION: The sheaths and medallions are re-assembled; portions of the original iron core survive; the hemispherical finials are severely damaged, five having only the lower hemisphere, and one is lost.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Rogers Fund, 1993 (1993.163)

Processional crosses were widely used in the Middle Byzantine era in imperial ceremonies, military campaigns, and liturgical processions (*litai*), including those of the True Cross, and as votive gifts.¹ The Metropolitan Museum's cross is unique among the elaborately decorated silver and silver-gilt processional crosses that survive in being decorated on both sides with finely wrought silver-gilt medallions. The repoussé figures on each of the ten medallions were filled with gypsum and their backs capped with soldered-on disks of iron to provide additional support. The eight silver sheaths that form the arms of the cross were then attached to the thin iron core with tin-lead solder. On both sides a separately modeled medallion at the center of the cross was laid over the ends of the sheaths.²



25. Back



25. Front

The central medallion on the front of the cross shows a bust of Christ with strong, chiseled features; beyond the medallion extends a rinceau cross in repoussé, composed of hand-worked, freely drawn leaf patterns. In a standard Deesis composition Christ is flanked by the Virgin and John the Precursor (John the Baptist), who turn toward the center and raise their hands in supplication from the ends of the crossarms. The archangel Michael, above, wears an imperial *loros*. The archangel Gabriel, below, wears an embroidered *loros*. An elegantly wrought acanthus leaf decorates the base of the cross. On the shimmering silver ground of the back, the central image is of the now nearly forgotten Saint Thalelaios. A late-third-century martyr, this physician saint carries the symbols of his profession, an elegant lancet and a surgical tool case.³ Flanking him are two saints widely revered in the Middle Byzantine period, Nicholas and John Chrysostom. Above is the archangel Uriel in imperial *loros*, and at the base the archangel Raphael in simpler dress. On the foot an inscription identifies the cross as the gift of a Bishop Leo. A number of crosses are known with dedications to Leo in some variation of the name, but none can be identified with this cross. The most closely connected cross has hemispherical finials similar to those seen here and is enclosed in a larger silver cross of the tenth or early eleventh century that was donated by an as yet unidentified Leon, a military figure in command of all the Byzantine forces in the eastern part of the empire.⁴

Related to the present cross is a group of five crosses all similarly decorated with silver-gilt medallions and ribbon-and-bead borders on the front, but with niello decoration on the back; they have been dated from the eleventh through the thirteenth century (cat. nos. 23, 24, 26, 27).⁵ They differ from the Metropolitan Museum cross not only in the use of niello but also in bearing elegant, faceted finials (cat. no. 27 has lost its finials). It is tempting to regard each finial pattern as the product of a specific workshop, but so far no evidence for this connection has been established. The freely worked leaf designs on the Metropolitan Museum cross are most closely related to leaf patterns of the late tenth to the early eleventh century, such as those on the icon of Saint Michael in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice and the icon of Saint Symeon the Stylite in Georgia (cat. no. 233). Medallions placed on both sides of a cross are known as early as the tenth century (see cat. no. 23). Taken together, the arrangement of the medallions on the Metropolitan Museum cross, the finely sculpted faces, and the leaf patterns

in the rinceau and on the foot, along with the finials, suggest an early- to mid-eleventh-century date for the work.

Neither the style nor the figures on the present cross offer any hint as to the location of the workshop in which it was made. It is thought that processional crosses like this one were dedicated to the saint whose image appears in the center on the back and to sites connected with him. Thalelaios, who occupies that position on this cross, was a healing saint widely known in the Middle Byzantine world, his name being among those used in the liturgy for the purification of water.⁶ He was martyred near the Mediterranean coast, at Aegae (in modern Turkey), in 284. While his relics were ultimately transferred to Constantinople, there were other sites dedicated to him, including a martyrium in Jerusalem that the historian Prokopios of Caesarea noted in the sixth century.⁷ The inscription suggests that the Metropolitan Museum cross was meant as a votive gift, or supplication. The Deesis on the front emphasizes the intercessory intent of the gift of the cross. The image of a physician saint may have been intended to associate the present cross with healing, a connection implied by passages in a homily attributed to John Chrysostom: "Hail O Cross, power for those who are ill"; "Hail O Cross, the purification of sickness."⁸ Thus it is possible that the cross dedicated to Saint Thalelaios was an offering related to an illness rather than to a specific site associated with the saint. Certainly churches contained crosses for many uses, as confirmed by the records of the monastery founded near Edessa (in present-day Syria) by Eustathios Boilas, an eleventh-century dignitary.⁹

H C E

1. Washington, D.C., 1994, pp. 8–32.
2. Dandridge, "Gilding in Byzantium" (forthcoming).
3. Conybeare 1896, pp. 239–55; Thurston and Attwater 1956, vol. 2, p. 357.
4. Bouvier 1980, pp. 113–14; Djuric 1980, pp. 115–18; L. Bouras 1980, pp. 119–22; Bank 1980, pp. 97–111.
5. Mango 1988, pp. 41–49; London, *In Pursuit of the Absolute*, 1994, no. 260.
6. I wish to thank John Cotsonis for the reference to the liturgy.
7. Delehay 1933, pp. 165, 186.
8. Washington 1994, pp. 47, 53.
9. Mango 1988, p. 46; Washington 1994, p. 23.

LITERATURE: *Annual Report* 1992–93, p. 33.

26. Processional Cross

Byzantine, late 11th–early 12th century
Silver, silver gilt, niello, iron, and bronze
58 × 39 cm (22¾ × 15¾ in.); H. with support 73 cm (30¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: Front, on four medallions, IC XC (Jesus Christ); MHP ΘΥ (Mother of God); Ο ΙΩ Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ (John the Precursor); ΑΡΧ Ο ΓΑΒΡΗΛ (Gabriel). Back, in the center, MHP ΘΥ (Mother of God); above the Crucifixion, IC XC (Jesus Christ), ΥΔ[ΟΥ] Ο ΥΟ[Υ] ΟΥ (Here is your son), ΥΔ[ΟΥ] Ι Μ ΟΥ (Here is your mother), Ο ΥΑΙΟΣ (The Sun), Υ ΚΕΛΙΝΙ (The Moon); on the left arm, Ο ΧΕΡΕΤΙΣΜΟΙ (The Annunciation), ΓΑΒΡΗΛ (Gabriel), ΜΗΡ ΘΥ (The Virgin); on the right arm, ΤΑ ΑΓΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ (The Holy of Holies); at the base, + ΛΑΒΟΥΣΑ ΤΡΟΦΗΝ Υ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΕΥ ΧΙΡΟΣ ΑΝΓΕΛΟΥ (the Virgin receiving food from the hand of an angel); below, in a donor inscription, beside the image of the monk, + ΔΕΥΚΙΣ Τ ΔΛ ΤΟΥ ΘΥ ΚΟΣΜΑ [ΜΟΝ]ΑΧ (Supplication [Deesis] of the servant of God, Kosmas the Monk)

CONDITION: The cross is restored; the iron core and bronze support survive; the sheathing of the left front arm (with inscription for archangel), portions of the sheathing on both back arms, and one finial are lost.

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found near Eskişehir, Turkey; bought at Christie's, London, April 9, 1987, lot no. 97.

Musée National du Moyen Âge et des Thermes de l'Hôtel de Cluny, Paris, France (CI. 23295)

The Cluny cross is a votive gift notable for its donor portrait and extensive narrative decoration, in niello, on the back. The front of the cross is much like those of the other four surviving silver and silver-gilt Middle Byzantine processional crosses with niello decoration that are regarded as belonging to the same group: all have repoussé decoration on the front consisting of a central medallion from which rinceaux extend, forming a cross, and four medallions at the ends of the crossarms (see cat. nos. 23, 24, and 27 for others of the group).¹ The rinceau pattern on this example, a stiff, stamped version of the complex design that adorns the Cleveland cross (cat. no. 24), indicates that the Cluny cross is one of the latest in date. Its central medallion is an image not of Christ Pantokrator, as on the other four crosses, but of the Virgin Orans. She is flanked by busts of archangels on the side arms, with Christ above and John the Baptist below, a variation on the standard Deesis iconography. The niello decoration on the back also focuses on the Virgin. At the center the Virgin stands holding the Christ Child (the Virgin Hodegetria); above is the Crucifixion with the Virgin and John the Theologian in attendance. The left arm depicts the Annunciation, with the archangel Gabriel approaching the seated Virgin. On the right arm and the foot are two scenes from the



26. Front

Protoevangelion of James, an apocryphal second-century text on the life of the Virgin that inspired much of the Marian imagery during the Middle Byzantine era.² The damaged scene on the arm is of the Presentation in the Temple: the Virgin and her parents, Joachim and Anne, hands raised in supplication, approach the temple accompanied by a pair of candle-bearing maidens. A portion of the temple survives at the tip of the cross, but the figure of Zacharias receiving the Virgin is lost. At the base of the cross an angel descends to feed the Virgin in the temple, as described in the Protoevangelion.

The representation of these scenes as separate events is typical of a Byzantine tradition that existed by the tenth century. By the twelfth century the official imagery of Constantinople had fused the scenes into a continuous narrative. One of the earliest examples of this innovation is found in the Menologion of Basil II (cat. no. 55).³ The use of the older tradition on the Cluny cross is evidence that the work was produced in a center relatively untouched by the artistic currents originating in the capital. A similar cross with narrative scenes in niello of the life of the prophet Elijah, now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (inv. no.

AD 2560), is reported to have come from Eskişehir in Turkey and provides a basis for the attribution of the four crosses to that region.⁴ Jean-Pierre Caillet and Jannic Durand agree that corruptions in spelling in the inscriptions support the attribution of these works to a provincial center, as would be found in northeastern Anatolia.⁵ Nevertheless, it remains difficult to confirm where any of these crosses were made or dedicated. At the foot of the cross is an image of the donor, the monk Kosmas, together with his dedicatory inscription — a rare combination that proves that the cross is a votive gift. Kosmas may have given the cross to a church dedicated to the Virgin or to a chapel in her name within a larger complex.⁶

HCE

1. *Important European Sculptures*, 1987, p. 57; Caillet 1988, p. 216; Mango 1988, pp. 41–49; London, *In Pursuit of the Absolute*, 1994, no. 259.
2. Lafontaine-Dosogne 1975, pp. 163–65.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 179–81.
4. Bank 1980, p. 97; Mango 1988, pp. 41–48.
5. Caillet 1988, p. 216; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 329.
6. Caillet 1988, p. 216; Mango 1988, pp. 43–44.

LITERATURE: *Important European Sculptures*, 1987, lot 97; Caillet 1988, pp. 208–17.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, 1988–89, no. 11; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 243.



26. Back

27. Processional Cross

Byzantine, late 11th–early 12th century
Silver, silver gilt, niello, iron, and bronze
25.4 × 14.7 cm (10 × 5¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front, in Greek, Jesus Christ, Mother of God, John the Precursor, Archangel Michael, Archangel Gabriel; on the back, Archangel Michael, Archangel Uriel, Archangel Raphael, Saint Paul(?), Saint Niketas

CONDITION: The finials are lost; only a portion of the bronze tang survives.

PROVENANCE: Said to come from Eskişehir, Turkey; formerly in the collection of Athanasios Ghertsos, Zurich.

The George Ortiz Collection, Geneva, Switzerland (260)

The front of this double-faced cross, finely worked in repoussé and silver gilt, shows five medallions arranged within a beaded ribbon border. The bust of Christ at the center of the cross is framed by a repoussé rinceau cross with pointed ends and, together with the Virgin and John the Baptist at the sides, forms the Deesis. Above and below are the archangels Michael and Gabriel. On the severely simple ground of the back the images are worked in silver gilt and niello. At the center stands an imposing image of the archangel Michael in an imperial *loros*; his wings are outspread and he is flanked by busts of the archangels Uriel and Raphael. At the base is a bust of Saint Niketas of Medikion holding a small martyr's cross, and at the top a full-length figure of Saint Paul (?) in military dress and holding a sword.

Other Middle Byzantine processional crosses with silver-gilt medallions on the front and elaborate decorations on the back survive in both complete and fragmentary states (cat. nos. 23–26).¹ The sites of their production and dedication remain uncertain. Several crosses with niello decoration on the back have been attributed to Eskişehir in Turkey, although the question of a Constantinopolitan origin for at least some of the group has again recently been raised.² This cross, which has lost its finials, is very like the Cluny cross (cat. no. 26) in the faces on the medallions and the pointed ends of the rinceau cross. Because this work is smaller, its rinceau cross is formed by a single row of leaf patterns rather than a double row, as on the Cluny cross. Like that cross, it should be considered a work of the late eleventh or early twelfth century.

The Ortiz cross is similar both to the Cluny cross and to a cross in Geneva in having a large niello figure at the center on the back. On the Cluny and Geneva crosses the images of the Virgin and the prophet Elijah, respectively, are surrounded by narrative events from their lives.³ While the standard decora-



27. Front



27. Back

tion on the front of all three is a Deesis across the horizontal arms with archangels at the terminals of the vertical arms, the decoration on the back is more individualized and is thought to refer to the site — or to the saint — to which the cross was dedicated. A site dedicated to Saint Niketas (ca. 760–824) may have been the recipient of this cross.⁴ Niketas was famous for his role as a supporter of the use of icons during the Iconoclastic controversy; Iconophile saints are featured as well on the Cleveland cross (cat. no. 24).⁵ It is also possible that the cross was made for a site dedicated to the archangel Michael, who appears on both sides of the cross. Cross fragments at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., have been associated with dedications to the archangel, who was revered in the Middle Byzantine era as the protector of the imperial armies.⁶ Saint Paul in military garb is a rare image in Byzantine art.⁷

H C E

1. Washington, D.C., 1994, pp. 68–85, nos. 2–6; Mango 1988, pp. 42–48.
2. Bank 1980, p. 97; Mango 1988, pp. 43, 48; Washington, D.C., 1994, p. 83.
3. Caillet 1988, pp. 208–13; Bank 1980, pp. 97–100.
4. London, *In Pursuit of the Absolute*, 1994, no. 259.
5. *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1482.
6. Mango 1988, pp. 47–48; *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 1361–62.
7. *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 1604–5.

LITERATURE: Bern 1996.

EXHIBITION: London, *Byzantium*, 1994; London, *In Pursuit of the Absolute*, 1994; Berlin 1996.

28. Paten

Byzantine (Constantinople?), late 9th–mid-10th century
Agate, silver gilt, cloisonné enamel, and gemstones
DIAM. 12.3 cm (4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: There is limited loss of enamel on the lower left of the central medallion and on the three cloisonné-enamel plaques on the rim.

PROVENANCE: Dominican Convent, Madrid; collection of Adolphe Stoclet, Brussels.¹

Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris, France

The paten — a concave agate disk with a medallion at its center and a broad, beaded silver-gilt rim joined to the foot by three bands — is similar in shape to the large paten in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice (cat. no. 29).² The double beading on the borders of the rim, moreover, brings to mind the pearl-and-bead borders of the San Marco work. The three red gemstones, three green gemstones, and three floral cloisonné-enamel plaques decorating the rim, like the three chalices on the table in the medallion, are surely meant as affirmations of the doctrine of the Trinity, an issue of central importance in the Middle Byzantine centuries.³ Stylistically the medallion has been closely linked to two works of the late ninth or early tenth century, the

votive crown of Leo VI (r. 886–912) and the Byzantine book cover with crucified Christ in the Treasury of San Marco. Like this paten, they have simply outlined figures and generously spaced cloisons.⁴ Klaus Wessel has suggested that the three works are from the same workshop.⁵ The earliest connections to the cloisonné enamels on the rim, with their delicately interlaced trilobed floral motifs, are found among the elaborate patterns on the interior of the mid-tenth-century staurotheke (reliquary for a fragment of the True Cross) at Limburg an der Lahn.⁶ The small size of the paten suggests it was meant for private rather than public Eucharistic use.

The cloisonné-enamel medallion at the center of the paten depicts the Last Supper, the biblical prefigurement of the Eucharist. A nimbed Christ sits to the left of the table and points toward the apostle at the lower right. The emphasis on the apostle's bare feet may be a reference to the Washing of the Feet, identifying the figure, the only apostle shown full-length, as Peter (John 13:6–9). The other apostles, in half-length, radiate around the table, with a dramatically long-armed Judas facing Christ and reaching toward his symbol, the fish. The use of the paten for the offering of the bread—the body of Christ—is emphasized at the center of the medallion



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by the large fish arranged on the lobed, sigma-shaped table, an Early Christian tradition.⁷ Because the letters of the Greek word for *fish*, ΙΧΘΥΣ, were understood as an acronym of “Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior,” the fish must here represent the Host served to the congregation.

H C E

1. Salles and Lion-Goldschmidt 1956, p. 144.
2. New York and Milan 1984, pp. 169–70.
3. *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 2118.
4. New York and Milan 1984, nos. 8, 9, pp. 117–28; Athens 1964, pp. 391–92.
5. Wessel 1967, p. 65.
6. *Ibid.*, pl. 22b.
7. New York 1979, pp. 637–38, no. 576.

LITERATURE: Salles and Lion-Goldschmidt 1956, pp. 144–49; Wessel 1967, pp. 65–66; New York and Milan 1984, pp. 169–70.

EXHIBITION: Paris 1931, no. 484.

29. Paten with Christ Blessing

Byzantine (Constantinople), 11th century
Alabaster, gold cloisonné enamel, silver gilt, rock crystal, and pearls

DIAM. 34 cm (13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.), H. 3.2 cm (1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: + ΛΑΒΕΤΕ ΦΑΓΕΤΕ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΜΕΤΙ ΤΟ C (Take, eat; this is my body [Matt. 26:26])

Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice, Italy (Hahnloser 49)

This liturgical paten was carved from a piece of fine alabaster. Its interior surface is shaped as a six-petaled flower. A central medallion in gold enamel depicts Christ Pantokrator holding the Gospels and blessing with his right hand. The medallion border is made of four plaques, probably to facilitate manufacture, and it bears an inscription in blue enamel. This text, often used on patens, is from the Eucharistic prayer for the consecration of the bread and thus is appropriate for the plate on which pieces of consecrated bread are placed and carried.

The paten’s silver-gilt border is decorated with rectangular and oval rock-crystal cabochons. Reddish and blue metal foils are placed under the cabochons to color them, and an interesting pattern is created by these tints, independent of the shapes. The sequence is two reddish followed by one blue (a few are missing). The blue cabochons alternate in shape from oval to rectangular. There is also an overall symmetry, a typical Byzantine feature in decorative schemes. Thus each blue cabochon, either oval or rectangular, is flanked by two red ones of the opposite shape. A blue oval is flanked by red rectangles, a blue rectangle by



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red ovals. (At the top left, however, there is only one red between two blues.) The design seems straightforward, but in fact it is controlled by a rhythmic order and a sophisticated simplicity. The paten is supported by a silver-gilt splayed circular foot which is attached to the outer rim by three hinged metal bands.

Although there are conceptually similar patens, especially an older example made from a piece of agate with a central medallion of the Last Supper (cat. no. 28), this alabaster paten is distinguished by its simplicity and severeness in decoration and by the high quality of the work in stone as well as in metal. The sophisticated approach to materials evident in this paten has made dating it difficult. A date in the eleventh century might be appropriate because of the fine detail in the figure of the Pantokrator, especially in his hands and drapery, and because of the inscription of Christ’s name in small medallions on either side of his head, a feature that is not common before the eleventh century.

I K

EXHIBITIONS: Athens 1964; New York and Milan 1984, no. 188.

30. Paten

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-12th century
Silver, cast, hammered, engraved, and gilded
DIAM. 41.3 cm (16 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the *tabula*, IC XC (Jesus Christ); flanking the cross, ΙΔΕ Ο ΥΙΟΣ COY (Here is your son); ΙΔΟΥ Η ΜΗΤΗΡ COY (Here is your mother); above the half-length angels, ΜΙΧΑΗΛ (Michael); ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ (Gabriel); encircling the Crucifixion scene, ΛΑΒΕΤΕ ΦΑΓΕΤΕ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕCΤΙΝ ΤΟ CΩΜΑ ΜΟΥ ΤΟ ΥΠΕΡ ΥΜΩΝ ΚΑΘΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙC ΑΦΕCΙΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ (Take, eat, this is my body, which was broken for you for the forgiveness of sins)

CONDITION: There is a circular repair near the center between Christ and Saint John, with two letters of the inscription almost totally replaced.

PROVENANCE: Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantinople;¹ part of the booty from the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204; Konrad von Krosigk, bishop of Halberstadt (1202–8).

Domschatz, Halberstadt, Germany (36)

The center of this large paten is a recessed octolobe on which the Crucifixion is represented. Christ stands on the suppedaneum before the cross, his arms outstretched. His



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head is only slightly bowed in the direction of the Virgin, who, like Saint John the Theologian, stands on a low mound at one side of the cross. The Virgin gestures toward her son, and John holds a hand to his face in grief. Above, half-length winged figures of the archangels Michael and Gabriel turn to Christ with extended hands. Foliated vine tendrils fill the interiors of the lobes outside the surrounding inscription, which provides the words of the Last Supper, taken from Matthew 26:26–28, as quoted in the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, the fourth-century bishop of Constantinople. The angled sides of the lobes as well as the level rim continue the rich decoration, with interruptions for regularly spaced and inscribed medallion busts: eight martyr saints occupy the slopes, and eight episcopally robed Fathers of the Orthodox Church the level rim.

Both the vine tendrils and the medallion busts on this paten can be compared with goldsmiths' work of the period, some of the most outstanding examples of which are the silver crosses included here (cat. nos. 24–27). As a group, these objects represent, artistically

and iconographically, Middle Byzantine goldsmiths' work of the greatest importance and the highest level of quality. Similar decorative elements are found in Middle Byzantine ivory carvings (cat. nos. 79, 80, 159) and illuminated manuscripts (cat. nos. 46, 60).

The original function of the paten is made clear not only by the encircling inscription but also by the imagery: the Crucifixion at the center, witnessed by the Virgin; Saint John; the archangels; the martyr saints, each of whom clutches a small cross; and the Church Fathers, who hold Gospel books. The large size of this paten, like that of the example from the Treasury of San Marco, Venice (cat. no. 29), possibly is explained by the type of Eucharistic bread used and/or by the number of communicants it was meant to serve.

Konrad von Krosigk, bishop of Halberstadt, presented a number of reliquaries and other works to the church in Halberstadt in 1208. Most of this material was booty from the Fourth Crusade's sack of Constantinople in 1204. According to Bernhard Bischoff (1967), there are references to the paten in the 1208 document of gift and to its use in the West

as the base for a reliquary for the head of Saint Stephen the Protomartyr. Thus, as was the case with many Byzantine objects brought to the Latin West, this work was subject to adaptive reuse in a new, European context; the hole near the center, now patched, may have had something to do with the paten's later function.

The question arises as to whether the paten could have had any stylistic or iconographic influence on objects produced in its new Western home. The foliated rinceaux,² the repoussé busts,³ and the formal elements of the Crucifixion already figured in the art of northern Germany. For example, a comparison of the paten with a Lower Saxon (Hildesheim?) Crucifixion miniature (cat. no. 313) reveals striking stylistic similarities in the delineation of the figures. Yet although the manuscript illumination dates to about 1150–60 and is nearly contemporary with the paten, the two works could not have had any direct relationship because the paten did not arrive in neighboring Halberstadt until 1208. The Goslar Gospel Book, painted about 1230–40, is usually related to the Wolfenbüttel "Model Book" (cat. no. 319). However, the proportions, gesture, and clinging pleats of the drapery of the Virgin Annunciate in the Goslar Gospels⁴ — as well as of the Virgin Annunciate depicted on the cupboard doors at Halberstadt, painted about 1230⁵ — are comparable to those of the Virgin on the paten. It seems probable that the imagery on the paten, along with that of other Byzantine objects transported to Halberstadt at the same time, may have been a catalyst in the byzantinizing trend in works of art created in the region in the following decades.

W D W

1. See Riant 1875, p. 192.
2. See the back of the Lower Saxon bronze throne from the Domvorhalle Goslar, of about 1060–80; Speyer 1992, pp. 254–57, colorpl. p. 256.
3. See the Lower Saxon arm reliquary of silver gilt and champlevé enamel over a wooden core from the end of the twelfth century, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (30.739); Stuttgart 1977, vol. 1, no. 578, vol. 2, fig. 387.
4. See Stuttgart 1977, vol. 1, no. 766, vol. 2, fig. 560 (fol. 70v).
5. See Flemming et al. 1973, figs. 156 (color), 157; Weitzmann, "Malerei," 1978, pp. 258, 268, figs. 1, 2, 18.

LITERATURE: Riant 1875, p. 192; Dalton, *Byzantine Art*, 1911, p. 554, fig. 318; D. Rice 1959, no. 136, illus.; Bischoff 1967, pp. 150, 152; Bank, "Argenterie," 1970, pp. 345–47; Flemming et al. 1973, pp. 240–42, figs. 123–25; Berlin 1977, no. 111; Stuttgart 1977, vol. 1, pp. 435–36, no. 567, vol. 2, fig. 370; Gauthier 1983, no. 67, illus.; New York and Milan 1984, p. 151, illus.

EXHIBITION: Stuttgart 1977, no. 567.



31. Chalice of Emperor Romanos

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th century
Sardonyx, silver gilt, gold cloisonné enamel, and pearls

H. 22.5 cm (8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), DIAM. 14 cm (5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: KYPIE BOΘEI PΩMAN OPΘOA
[ΔEC]ΠOT (God help Romanos, the Orthodox
emperor)

Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice, Italy
(Hahnloser 41)

The exterior of this round sardonyx cup has a shallow carved design of fifteen petals or lobes. The space between the arched lobes is filled with a dart. Each lobe encloses a smaller one beneath it. Because of this carved pattern, reminiscent of the classical egg-and-dart motif, it is thought that the stone cup is not contemporary with its silver-gilt mount but is instead a Late Antique work that has been reused. The imposing silver-gilt setting consists of a conical foot with a flat base and of a wide band with enamel plaques that frames the lip and adds height to the stone cup. Top and bottom are connected by four hinged metal bands.

On the lip band are fifteen rectangular enamel plaques framed by strings of pearls. This uneven number precludes the exact symmetry typical of Byzantine decoration. The present configuration is not correct. Originally Christ and John the Baptist would have been placed together diametrically opposite the Virgin flanked by the two archangels. The spaces between these two groups would have been filled by symmetrically placed enamels of Saints Peter and Paul, the Four Evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John), and the Church Fathers (Gregory of Nazianzos, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, and Nicholas).

This chalice is one of the few important pieces that has an inscription giving the patron's name, clearly visible in blue enamel letters on the base. This cup, a precious gift from the emperor to an unidentified church, asks God to help Romanos because of his correct observance of Christian dogma. Formulaic petitions are common on offerings, but here the emphasis on the emperor's orthodoxy is interesting. His ecclesiastical correctness in relation to the Church is stressed rather than simply his piety. Piety is expressed by the term ΠICTOC (pious), but here OPΘOΔOΞOC (orthodox) has been used as part of the formula.

There is still debate about the identity of the emperor. In technique and style the enamels resemble those of the renowned Limburg Staurotheke, suggesting they were made in the mid-tenth century. The two emperors who are possible patrons are Romanos I Lekapenos



32

(r. 920–44) and Romanos II (r. 959–63). Technical and stylistic differences over such a short period cannot argue for one or the other emperor. However, it may be that Romanos I would be more likely to emphasize his Orthodoxy, since his reign began in the year when peace was restored within the Church after a long controversy precipitated by the un-Orthodox behavior of Leo VI (r. 886–912).

I K

LITERATURE: Brussels 1982, pp. 191–92; New York and Milan 1984, p. 137.

EXHIBITIONS: Brussels 1982, no. E2; New York and Milan 1984, no. II.

32. Chalice with Eucharistic Inscription

Byzantine, 10th–11th century
Sardonyx, silver gilt, gold cloisonné enamel, stones, and pearls

11.5 × 20 × 11 cm (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: + ΠIETE EE AYTOY ΠANTEC
TOYTO ECTIN TO AIMA MOY TO THC KAINHC
ΔIAΘHKHC (Drink from it, all of you; for this is my
blood of the new covenant [Matt. 26:27–28])

Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice, Italy
(Hahnloser 56)

The chalice consists of two parts. The body is a large piece of reddish-brown sardonyx cut into a truncated cone; it is polished on

the outside but left rougher in the interior. The silver-gilt mounts at the vessel's rim and base are connected by two handles. The foot is decorated with a row of cabochons between fine beaded borders. One cabochon is an amethyst; the others are made of glass placed against amethyst-colored foil. Two wide handles are attached to the base by hinges. Each of the handles is decorated with beaded borders and five cabochons, one of which is missing. At the top of each handle a tall cylindrical bezel held a gem; both gems are missing. The handles are attached to the cup at the rim and the base by hinges. This type of mount could be easily removed by taking the pin out from each hinge. The silver-gilt band around the rim consists of four green enamel plaques framed by strands of small pearls within beaded silver-gilt bands like those on the base and handles. The inscription, in white, is from the Eucharistic prayer for the consecration of the wine and indicates that the cup is a chalice. This use would not have been confirmed by the vessel's conical shape, since this form was also seen in secular contexts. The metal mount allows the chalice to be dated to the Macedonian period (tenth to eleventh century). This chalice is not of the highest quality or material value but is noteworthy for its simplicity, its severe lines, and the dynamic curves of its handles.

I K

LITERATURE: New York and Milan 1984, pp. 156–58.

EXHIBITION: New York and Milan 1984, no. 15.

33. "Apostles" Pyxis

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 10th–
early 11th century

Ivory

H. 9.5 cm (3¾ in.), DIAM. 12.6 cm (5 in.)

CONDITION: The only loss is a missing chip in the rim at the edge of the base; the holes on the upper and lower moldings, as well as the excavations and greenish discolorations near them, are the former sites of metal mounts and hinges; several horizontal marks on the left knee of the Virgin and the right knee of the apostle to her right may have been made in the ivory prior to the carving of the figures; some prominent areas, particularly several of the heads, are worn.

PROVENANCE: The dealers John Hewett, London, and Mathias Komor, New York, until 1973.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund (73.4)

Christ as Pantokrator, the apostles, and the Virgin Orans constitute a continuous frieze of figures seated in high-backed chairs with cushions on this pyxis. Christ and the Virgin are a little larger than the other figures. The apostles are divided on either side of Christ, who appears in the center of the side opposite the Virgin. Christ faces front and looks outward, holding his right hand in blessing above the sling of his mantle in an entirely traditional manner; he has a codex in his left hand. The apostles turn to one side or the other and hold codices or *rotuli*. The Virgin, in a frontal pose, extends both hands upward in a typical orans gesture, which also appears in the Latin West, as in the Winchester Psalter (cat. no. 312).

This ivory, in actuality a section of a small elephant tusk, has a tapered lip that was intended to dovetail into the missing lid. The compositional and practical functions of both the upper and the lower moldings—framing the frieze of figures and providing for the reception of the lid and the insertion of the base in the interior—may be observed in pagan and Christian pyxides from the fifth and sixth centuries, as well as in the only other later example, which dates from the early fifteenth century.¹

The figural style and decorative details of the "Apostles" Pyxis are quite different from those of Early Byzantine pyxides. A comparison with the ivories of the Triptych Group, established by Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt



33. Front

Weitzmann and assigned to the second half of the tenth century,² reveals a large number of compelling stylistic parallels and common details of carving, despite the uniqueness of the pyxis form in the Middle Byzantine period and the absence of a series of seated figures with this iconography on an ivory carving from any period. The carving of the physiognomies and the treatment of the upper parts of the figures are similar to those of many of the busts that appear on the wings of ivory triptychs.³ The falling and pleating of the lower draperies on the “Apostles” Pyxis are stylistically allied with those of the standing figure of Christ in several of the other ivory groups — as, for example, the Romanos Group — and of two of the apostles in the Last Judgment ivory in London.⁴ Lacking the elegance of works by more accomplished carvers, all the figures on the “Apostles” Pyxis seem squat. The heads are large. The proportions may have resulted partly from the effort to fit the series into the available space and partly because the dominant model for the carver was undoubtedly a series of clearly definable busts.

The craftsmen of the Triptych Group were less skilled than the artists of the Romanos Group ivories. Weitzmann observed, in relation to the former, that “the organic structure of the bodies is not always sure, and the treatment of the drapery and its folds is rather sketchy.”⁵ Writing about an ivory of the Koimesis, Weitzmann could have been referring to the “Apostles” Pyxis when he noted that the artist “pays considerable attention to the detailed carving of the heads, where he clearly follows the better models of the ‘Romanos Group.’”⁶

Care indeed was taken to differentiate clearly each head on the pyxis. The physiognomic types as well as the configuration of the hands and of the draperies above the waist follow the same conventions as many of the busts on a reconstructed casket in Washington that shows the Deesis with apostles and saints and was published by Weitzmann as a product of the Constantinopolitan workshop responsible for the Triptych Group ivories.⁷ Weitzmann has demonstrated that the busts on the Washington casket are partly based on the inscribed — and thereby identifiable — busts on another, even finer “apostles” casket in Florence,⁸ a well-known work, which Weitzmann assigned to the contemporaneous Romanos Group.⁹ The details of Christ and the two flanking figures on the “Apostles” Pyxis correspond to representations on the casket, allowing the identifications of the pyxis figures on either side of Christ as Peter and Paul. As on the caskets, Paul is shown holding a codex. Similarly, all of the other

apostles on the pyxis, as on the two caskets, bear *rotuli*, save the Four Evangelists, who, like Paul, hold books. While the apostles are mostly depicted frontally on the caskets, on the “Apostles” Pyxis those flanking Christ or the Virgin turn inward. Otherwise, the apostles on the pyxis turn toward one another, so that with a single exception they face each other in pairs.¹⁰

Nearly all of the apostles on the pyxis can be identified unequivocally in comparison with the two “apostle” caskets.¹¹ The arrangement in relation to Christ shows him flanked not only by Peter and Paul but also by the Four Evangelists, two on each side. The Virgin is surrounded by the two youthful and beardless apostles, Philip and Thomas, in accordance with standard Byzantine iconography.

The distinct, upright character of the series of chairs upon which these various holy figures are seated is of special interest. Singly, the chairs echo and simplify the more grandiose examples upon which the figure of Christ sits in ivory reliefs of the Romanos Group.¹² As a series of contiguous rectangular chairs or thrones, those on the pyxis may be part of a continuing convention.¹³

The iconographic program of Christ Pantokrator, the apostles, and the Virgin Orans represented on one level on the exterior of a container has no exact parallels. However, several earlier and contemporary Byzantine works in other materials share the general concept as well as the common problem-solving effort in providing a cogent iconography in a decoratively composed way for the exterior surfaces of an ecclesiastical object in the round. For example, several Middle Byzantine enameled chalices in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice, exhibit the single-level arrangement while expanding the population of those represented (cat. no. 31).¹⁴ A tenth-century Georgian repoussé gold “chalice” is decorated with a continuous arcade, which includes the enthroned Christ Pantokrator on one side and the enthroned Virgin and Child on the other, completed by a series of ten standing apostles, five to a side, each identified by a Georgian inscription.¹⁵ The nimbed heads of all the figures in the frieze encircling the chalice are approximately on the same level. Also to be considered are byzantinizing works produced in the West, such as the Late Ottonian arcaded Gertrudis Altar, from Braunschweig, of about 1040 (now in Cleveland), with a standing and blessing cross-nimbed Christ centered among standing and nimbed apostles on the front and the Virgin Orans in the middle of the remaining apostles on the back.¹⁶ An enameled portable altar at Xanten, a Cologne work of about 1160, most closely resembles



33. Back

the iconography of the pyxis by representing the enthroned Christ and the seated Virgin in the center of each of the long sides and distributing the seated apostles on either side and on the two end panels.¹⁷ A silver-gilt chalice in Fritzlar (cat. no. 297) — a Middle Rhenish vessel from the late twelfth century — omits both Christ and the Virgin but displays a series of twelve seated and nimbed apostles turning toward each other in pairs, a feature that is reminiscent of the “Apostles” Pyxis.

The underlying system in these ecclesiastical containers,¹⁸ whether Byzantine, Georgian, Ottonian, or Romanesque, emphasizes and proclaims the role of the Eucharist as a sacrament of the Church. Of all the examples indicated, the “Apostles” Pyxis is perhaps the most self-contained and internally (iconographically and compositionally) balanced.

The “Apostles” Pyxis must fall within the time period assigned to the Triptych Group, to which it has been attributed. This group of ivories has been dated to the second half of the tenth century, following Goldschmidt and Weitzmann’s initial formulation of the group. More recently Weitzmann has reaffirmed this dating, citing the reuse of one of the Koimesis plaques as the decoration on an eleventh-century Western book cover.¹⁹ He further postulated the capital, Constantinople, as the place of origin of the Triptych Group because of its “close stylistic relationship to the Romanos Group.” Similarly, the “Apostles” Pyxis must share this same origin.

W D W

1. See Weitzmann 1972, pp. 77–82, no. 31, pls. LII, LIII; Oikonomides 1977, pp. 329–37, figs. 1a–f.
2. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 18.
3. *Ibid.*, nos. 131, 155a, 182, 183, 186, 187, pls. XLVIII, LIV, LXI, respectively. Other details, such as the

decoration of the covers of the codices held by Christ, Paul, and the evangelists, also have parallels in several of the same ivories.

4. See, for example, *ibid.*, nos. 55 (Staatsbibliothek, Berlin), 62 (Bodleian Library, Oxford), and 123 (Victoria and Albert Museum, London), pls. XXIII, XXIV, XLV.
5. Weitzmann 1972, p. 72.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 73–77, no. 30, pls. XLIV–XLIX.
8. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, no. 99, pls. LVIII, LIX.
9. Weitzmann 1972, p. 76, pls. L, LI.
10. The first evangelist at Peter's left faces Peter instead of turning to the next figure, also an evangelist.
11. Wixom, "Middle Byzantine," 1981, p. 45.
12. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, nos. 54, 55, 61, 62, pls. XXII–XXIV.
13. This is suggested by the later series in the twelfth-century Pentecost mosaics in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo (see Kitzinger 1949, pp. 275, 277–78, fig. 19), and in the thirteenth-century byzantinizing Western mosaic on the dome of the Baptistery in Florence (see Salmi 1930–31, pp. 543–70, esp. pp. 557–58, illus.; see Falke and Lanyi 1943, pp. 133–34).
14. Hahnloser 1971, nos. 41 (Chalice of Romanos I or II), 42, 43, 49, 50; New York and Milan 1984, nos. II, 17.
15. Chubinashvili 1959, pp. 150–58, pls. 86–91; Amiranashvili 1971, p. 79, pls. 39, 40. I am indebted to Margaret Frazer for bringing this chalice to my attention.
16. Falke et al. 1930, pp. 14, 105–6, no. 5, pls. 11–14; Milliken 1931, pp. 23–26, illus. pp. 31–33. One end of the Gertrudis Altar shows Saint Michael and the archangels; on the other, Constantine and Helena are depicted with Sigismund and Adelheid, flanking a central cross.
17. Falke and Frauberger 1904, p. 29, pl. 30.
18. The portable altars cited above contained relics.
19. Weitzmann 1972, p. 72.

LITERATURE: Wixom, "Middle Byzantine," 1981, pp. 43–49, figs. 1a–d; Cutler 1994, pp. 69, 124, fig. 72.

34. The Fieschi Morgan Staurotheke

Byzantine (Constantinople), early 9th century
Silver gilt, gold, cloisonné enamel, and niello
10.2 × 7.4 cm (4 × 2 7/8 in.)

INSCRIBED (including mistakes): At the center top, in the *titulus*, IC (Jesus); at either side of Christ's head, ΙΑΙ Ω ΥΩC COY • ΙΔΟΥ Η ΜΗΤΗΡ C (Here is your son. . . Here is your mother. [John 19:26–27]); alongside the Virgin, ΘΕΩΤΩΚC (Mother of God); alongside John, ΗΩΑΝΙC (John); on the border, clockwise from the upper left, Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΕΥCΤΑΘΙΟC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΛΑΥΡΕΝΤΙΟC • ΛΟΥΚΑC • ΜΑΡΚΟC • ΘΩΜΑC • ΙΑΚΟΒΟC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΚΟCΜΑC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟC ΜΘΑΛ • ΒΑΡΘΟΛΟΜΕΟ • ΙΟΥΔΑC • ΧΗΜΩΝ (Saint Demetrios, Saint

Eustathios, Saint Lawrence, Luke, Mark, Thomas, James, Saint Damianos, Saint Kosmas, Saint Gregory the Miracle-Worker, Bartholomew, Matthew, Jude, Simon); around the sides, clockwise from upper left, Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΑΝΑΚΤΑΚΙΟC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΠΛΑΤΩΝ • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΜΕΡΚΟΥΡΗΟC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΗΩC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΥΜΩΝ • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΑΝΔΡΕΑ • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΙΩΑΝΝΙC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΠΑΥΛΟC • Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΠΕΤΡΟC (Saint Anastasios, Saint Nicholas, Saint Platon, Saint Theodore, Saint Prokopios, Saint George, Saint Merkourios, Saint Eustratios, Saint Panteleimon, Saint Andrew, Saint John, Saint Paul, Saint Peter); inside the lid, ΧΑΙΡΕC ΧΑΡΙΤΟC (Hail, full of grace! [Luke 1:28]), Η ΓΕΝΑ (The Nativity), ΙΔΕ Ο ΥΙΟC COY • ΙΔΟΥ Η ΜΗΤΗΡ C (Here is your son. . . Here is your mother. [John 19:26–27])

CONDITION: Gilding has been lost through wear, and an enamel plaque may be missing at the top, where the lock is now found.

PROVENANCE: Collection of Pope Innocent IV (Sinibaldo Fieschi); Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.715a,b)

The Fieschi Morgan Staurotheke is a key work both in the history of enameling and in the development of reliquaries, although its date and place of origin have been the subject of extensive debate. It is named for its previous owners, Pope Innocent IV (Sinibaldo Fieschi [1243–54]) and his family and J. Pierpont Morgan. Its silver-gilt lid and sides carry the busts of twenty-seven saints surrounding the Crucifixion. Four more scenes, the Annunciation, the Nativity, a second Crucifixion, and the Anastasis, are shown on the inside of the lid.

Marc Rosenberg, in his 1920s monographs on enamel and niello, set the course for subsequent scholarship, arguing—on the basis of the colobium-clad Christ and the enameler's faulty Greek—for a pre-Iconoclast origin in Syria or Palestine.¹ This still represented the majority view in the 1960s, when Klaus Wessel and Elizabetta Lucchesi Palli published their studies of Crucifixion and Resurrection iconography;² accordingly, the reliquary was included in the Metropolitan Museum's 1977–78 exhibition "The Age of Spirituality."³ Meanwhile, arguing from the Anastasis iconography, Anatole Frolov proposed a post-Iconoclast Constantinopolitan origin, a position taken up by L. Doncheva, and the expanding number of comparable iconographic examples began to weaken the Rosenberg position.⁴ The recent study by Anna Kartsonis has decisively tipped the scale, and her early-ninth-century dating has been followed by David Buckton, although he hesitates to declare a Constantinopolitan

origin.⁵ In spite of early Eastern occurrences, Kartsonis argues, the colobium continued in use through the ninth century in Constantinople; the faulty orthography of the enamel must be weighed against the very elegant inscriptions of the niello scenes inside; but most decisively, the Anastasis inside the lid is based on the new iconography of that subject, which was developed in Constantinople about the year 800. The reliquary therefore stands at the very beginning of the Byzantine tradition of cloisonné enameling. The green-ground technique, the iconography, the busts of saints, and even the epigraphy find close parallels in other ninth-century pieces, such as the book cover (cat. no. 41) and the Crown of Leo VI (r. 886–912) in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice.

The Fieschi Morgan Staurotheke belongs to a class of objects referred to as historiated reliquaries, which combine relics of sacred persons, places, or things with representations that explain the significance of the relics. Reliquaries of the True Cross, called staurothekei, constitute a special group, containing the most sacred of all relics, wood from the instrument of Christ's death and of humankind's salvation (see also cat. nos. 35, 37–40). The Fieschi Morgan Staurotheke consolidates in a little portable box the grand message of salvation. On the cover the crucified Christ stands erect and triumphant, his eyes wide open. Sun and moon bear witness to his miraculous death, flowers spring up on all sides, and his powerful outstretched arms shelter the nascent Church below (the figures of the Virgin and John). The inscription is Christ's leave-taking, from John 19:26–27, in which he extends his family to include his disciples. When one opened the reliquary, one beheld not only the precious wood itself, contained in silver compartments, but the niello decoration of the underside of the lid, expanding the mystery of Christ's work to four scenes of his incarnation and resurrection. Christ descended into humanity, into death, and into hell to bring humanity back to life. The reliquary was a guarantee of life itself.

T F M

1. Rosenberg 1922, pp. 32–35; Rosenberg 1924, pp. 56–67.
2. Wessel 1960; Palli 1962.
3. Frazer 1979, pp. 634–36.
4. Frolov, "Culte," 1961, pp. 320–27; Doncheva 1976.
5. Kartsonis 1986, pp. 95–125; Buckton, "Byzantine Enamel," 1988, pp. 235–44.

LITERATURE: Frolov 1965, pp. 267–73, no. 160; Wessel 1967, pp. 42–44; Frazer 1979, pp. 634–36; Kartsonis 1986, pp. 94–125.



34



34. Back of box



34. Back of sliding lid

35. Staurotheke

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th century
Tempera on wood
27 × 12.4 × 3 cm (10% × 4% × 1% in.)

INSCRIBED: ΕΙΠΕΝ Ο ΚΥΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ
ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙΣ: ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΝΤΕΛΛΑΟΜΑΙ ΥΜΙΝ, ΙΝΑ
ΑΓΑΠΗΤΕ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΥΣ (The Lord said to his disci-
ples: "I am giving you these commands so that you
may love one another" [John 15:17])

PROVENANCE: Sancta Sanctorum, Vatican
Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican
City (1898a,b)

This small wooden reliquary sheds light on
panel painting in tenth-century Byzantium.
It is interesting both for the expressiveness
of its imagery and for its tooled halos and

borders, a technical aspect considered rare
before the late Middle Ages. The painted-
panel medium is unexpectedly modest for a
staurotheke, that is, a reliquary for wood from
the True Cross. Both its form, a rectangular
box with a sliding lid, and its mode of lodging
the relic in a sunken patriarchal cross echo
features of cross reliquaries made of precious



35. Interior



35. Sliding lid, inner face

metal. However, its rich but reticent material and the content of its pictures suggest that this reliquary was made originally to carry some particular and even personal message. The box had reached Rome by the twelfth century, and it may have arrived there through some interchange among the high princes of the Greek and Latin Churches.

On the outer face of the lid the Crucifixion is depicted in an exceptionally moving manner, with Jesus dead and the Virgin bending to embrace his pierced and bloody feet. Robin Cormack has associated this motif with the Good Friday sermon on the Virgin's Lament by the passionate ninth-century homilist George of Nicomedeia.¹ The Good Friday theme is taken up again on the lid's inner face, where a figure of John Chrysostom holds an open book with Jesus' admonition to his disciples to love one another. This text was the first reading in the morning office of Good Friday. Thus the Cross's emotive poignancy is stressed, rather than its triumphant power.

The cavity for the relic is illuminated with further pictures. In the uppermost interstices Christ is opposite the Virgin, her humble posture of supplication emphasized by her placement not at his right side, as usual, but at his left. Beneath them are two bust-length archangels. They, in turn, are subtended by Saint Peter, holding a martyr's cross and extending his hand as if in conciliatory speech, and Saint Paul, displaying a book to him. The proximity of Paul's book to that of John Chrysostom, one over the other when the box is closed, suggests they are meant to be one and the same, the Orthodox Church in the persons of Paul and Chrysostom offering an admonition through it to Peter's heirs in Rome. In opening the precious box, the Roman recipient would at the same time have opened God's Scripture with its Orthodox admonition not to wound the body of Christ's Church. The emotive intensity of the Crucifixion, linked through the Good Friday office with the text on Chrysostom's book, and the gathering of sainted ecclesiastics around the relic of the reconciling Cross show how flexible a medium of message-making Byzantine art could be, for all its conventionalized language.

A W C

1. Cormack 1977, pp. 151–53.

LITERATURE: Hyslop 1934, pp. 333–40; Frolow, *Relique*, 1961, p. 487, no. 667; Cormack 1977, pp. 151–53, figs. 34, 35; Cologne 1985, vol. 3, p. 87; Cutler 1994, p. 25.

EXHIBITION: Cologne 1985, no. H11.



36. Front

36. Reliquary of Saint Demetrios

Byzantine, 1059–67

Silver gilt

H. 15 cm (5 7/8 in.), DIAM. 11.5 cm (4 1/2 in.)

INSCRIBED: On the panel with saints, Ο Α ΝΕΚΤΩΡ (Saint Nestor), Ο Α ΛΟΥΠΟΣ (Saint Loupos); on the panel with the imperial couple, ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΕΝ ΧΩ ΘΩ ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤ ΡΩΜΕ Ο ΔΟΥΚΑΣ (Constantine Doukas in Christ the Lord pious Empress and Emperor of the Romans), + ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ ΕΝ ΧΩ ΤΩ ΘΩ ΜΓ ΒΑΣΙ ΡΩΜΕΩΝ (Eudokia in Christ the Lord great Empress of the Romans); on the side panels, + ΣΑΦΗΣ ΠΕΦΥΚΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΙΒΩΡΙΟΥ ΤΥΠΟΣ/ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΧΟΝΥΚΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ/ΕΧΩ ΔΕ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΕΚΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΗΛΩΜΕΝΟΝ/ΣΤΕΦΟΝΤΑ ΧΕΡΣΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΛΗΝ ΞΥΝΟΡΙΑΔΑ/Ο Δ ΑΥ ΜΕ ΤΕΥΞΑC ΙΩΑΝΝΗC ΕΚ ΓΕΝΟΥC/ΑΥΤΟΡΕΙΑΝΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΥΧΗΝ ΜΥC-ΤΟΓΡΑΦΟC (I am a true image of the ciborium of the lance-pierced martyr Demetrios. On the outside I have Christ inscribed [represented], who with his hands crowns the fair couple. He who made me anew is John of the family of the Autoreianoι, by profession *mystagrophos*)

State Historical and Cultural Museum "Moscow Kremlin," Moscow, Russian Federation (MZ. 1148)

This eight-sided silver-gilt container is shaped like a ciborium. Its unequal sides are separated by columns supporting open arches



36. Back

which have stylized acanthus leaves in their spandrels. Within each arch there appears to be an oil lamp standing on a tall base. Above the arches there is an eight-sided conical roof. The top piece (probably a cross) has been lost. The four narrow sides are decorated with a vine-and-palmette motif in low relief. One of

the four wider sides serves as a door guarded by two military saints who are identified by inscriptions as Saint Nestor and Saint Loupos. On the opposite side an imperial couple is shown being crowned by a small figure of Christ. Inscriptions give their names and titles: the emperor Constantine X Doukas (r. 1059–67) and his wife, Eudokia Makrembolitissa. His rule was unusual in that he gave his wife a role in state affairs because of his own failing health. Here she holds the orb and has the title Great Empress of the Romans. On the other two wide panels is a continuous inscription in lines of twelve-syllable verse, which states that this object is a true copy of the ciborium of Saint Demetrios, that on its exterior Christ crowns a couple, and that its patron was a certain John Autoreianos who held a high office.

The ciborium “made anew” here can only be the famous one of Saint Demetrios that stood in his church in Thessalonike. The original had only six sides, and because of this discrepancy it has been suggested that the present work may be a copy of a ciborium of Saint Demetrios in Constantinople. This is very unlikely, however. The Byzantine concept of a true copy was far from what we mean by this term today. To be called a copy, a Byzantine object needed to recall the original through only a few known features. For example, a door with two military saints, Saint Demetrios’s companions, on its exterior must have been part of the original ciborium, since it also appears on a number of other reliquaries of Demetrios.

The ciborium contains a small rectangular silver box that is affixed to its center. It has the same shape as a few surviving small reliquaries that recall the empty sarcophagus inside the ciborium. These reliquaries contained the sweet-smelling myrrh and the blood of Demetrios (his body, under the basilica, exuded myrrh, which was gathered by the pilgrims from a fountain in the crypt). André Grabar has discussed a small reliquary of this type bearing traditional representations of Saint Demetrios, now at the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, the dimensions of which are close to those of this little box. He suggests that it should be considered the missing reliquary originally kept inside the silver-gilt ciborium. This Mount Athos reliquary (4.3 × 2.5 × 1.3 cm [$1\frac{3}{4} \times 1 \times \frac{1}{2}$ in.]) has an inscription that reads: TO CEITON AIMA MARTYPOC ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ/CYNTETHPHTAI ENTAYΘA ΘΕΙΑΝ ΠΙCTIN/BEBAIOYN IΩANNOY KAI ΠOΘON (Here is preserved the holy blood of the martyr Demetrios, confirming John’s faith and deep desire). If this small box were added to the present work, the

reliquary would be complete — it would contain a “sarcophagus” and an image of the saint, which is now missing. The appearance of the name of John as the patron adds support to Grabar’s argument.

A question remains: why is the imperial couple represented on this work and not on the original ciborium? Until now it has been argued that the figures are meant to proclaim the contemporary imperial couple with an official image instead of words. However, a perhaps more pertinent explanation is suggested here. Demetrios’s myrrh and blood formed a wonder-working balm that could cure sickness. The emperor Constantine Doukas fell ill in the fall of 1066 and, recognizing his diminished ability to rule, as the intellectual Michael Psellos (1018–?after 1081) observed, “He entrusted all his duties to his wife, Eudokia. In his opinion she was the wisest woman of her time.” Could this reliquary, containing the myrrh of Saint Demetrios, have been a gift from John Autoreianos to the imperial couple, and especially to the emperor, with the hope that it would heal him? The inscription on the Mount Athos container

certainly confirms its patron John’s faith and desire for an unspecified benefaction.

IK

LITERATURE: A. Grabar 1950, pp. 3–28; Bank 1977, p. 308.



37. Back



37. Front

37. Staurotheke

Byzantine (Constantinople), 975–1025
Silver gilt, enamel, and gemstones over wood
27 × 22 × 5 cm (10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 2 in.)

INSCRIBED: [I]ΔΕ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ Η ΜΗΤΗΡ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ
(Here is your son. . . Here is your mother [John
19:26–27])

CONDITION: There is cracking and loss of enamel
on the center plaque; the gemstones at the top are
probably remounted; at the time of restoration the
order of the portrait medallions surrounding the
Crucifixion was disturbed.

PROVENANCE: Thought to have been acquired by
the Church of San Marco, Venice, between 1283 and
1325.

Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice, Italy
(Santuario 75)

This container for three pieces of the True Cross consists of a rectangular box with a sliding lid, a design much like that of Byzantine ivory caskets. (For a discussion of staurothekai, see cat. no. 38.) The sides and underside of the metal-sheathed box are decorated in relief. The back carries a gemmed cross resting on a Sassanian palmette base; the inscription IC XC NIKA (Jesus Christ conquers) appears in the surrounding quadrants. Around the sides of the box are inscribed portraits of Saints Gregory of Nazianzos, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Nicholas, Eustathios, Prokopios, Theodore, George, Demetrios, and Niketas. To signal its greater importance, the top of the reliquary is decorated with enamel and gemstones. In the center plaque Christ is represented lifeless on the cross, with the last words he addressed to the witnesses still hanging in the air. Above the Virgin, who raises her hands in supplication, is written, “Here is your son” (John 19:26). Opposite her stands Saint John the Theologian, clutching a book and bowing his head in sorrow; above him the enamel worker placed the words, “Here is your mother” (John 19:27). Angels descend as the moon passes across the sun.

The reliquary thus combines a narrative depiction of the Crucifixion; the physical evidence of its reality, within; and, with the inscribed cross on the underside, a statement of its significance: victory over death. The inclusion of the physician Panteleimon among the saints portrayed on the lid (the others are John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, Thomas, and John the Evangelist) may have been intended to remind the viewer of the relic’s healing power.

The figure style of the Crucifixion scene and the treatment of the underside suggest a date at the end of the tenth century or possibly the beginning of the eleventh. JCA



38. Back

LITERATURE: Bank 1958, p. 214, fig. 4; Frolow, *Relique*, 1961, pp. 485–86; Frolow 1965, pp. 126, 159; Wessel 1967, p. 75; Hahnloser 1971, pp. 34–35, pls. xxv, xxvi.

EXHIBITIONS: Edinburgh 1958, no. 191; Athens 1964, no. 464; Venice 1974, no. 65; New York and Milan 1984, no. 13.

38. Staurotheke

Byzantine, late 10th–early 11th century
Silver, silver gilt, paste, glass, and enamel
26.3 × 21.5 cm (10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.) (folded)

CONDITION: The original enamel medallions are lost, as is most of the paste and glass decoration; there are losses and damages to the internal cruciform compartments and the lower corners of the back cover.

PROVENANCE: Purchased from Bois, in Paris, in 1883; remained in the Museum of the Stieglitz School of Art and Design in Saint Petersburg until 1925, when it was transferred to the State Hermitage.

The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (W264)

One of the most important Byzantine relics, and certainly the most prestigious, was that

of the True Cross. Housed in the imperial palace in Constantinople and displayed in religious ceremonies only a few times a year, the True Cross and its few surviving relics were authenticated by the government and their distribution was strictly controlled. On rare occasions pieces of the relics of the True Cross were donated by the emperors to reli-



38. Interior

gious institutions and to important foreign dignitaries, one of the highest distinctions bestowed by the Byzantine rulers.¹

Relics of the True Cross were kept in staurothekai, cases usually made of silver or gold decorated with precious stones and enamel. The Hermitage staurotheke is made in the shape of a rectangular case. In the front, two hinged doors swing open to reveal an interior lid, which slides out from the bottom to expose the compartment in which the piece of the True Cross would have been placed. On the exterior of the doors only the silver partitions and the borders of the enamel decoration survive; few traces of blue and brown glass remain. Four medallions, one at the top and one at the bottom of each door, mark the corners of a rectangle. The doors are framed by a decorative band, while a lozenge frieze appears along the top of the case. Most likely the bottom section, now lost, bore the same ornamentation, completing the balanced arrangement of the design. The two small medallions placed symmetrically on the doorjambes seem to have originally contained enamels as well. A loop handle is attached at the bottom of the case to pull out the sliding lid, and a hinge at the top allows the staurotheke to be suspended. On the interior of the doors and the front surface of the sliding lid the silver borders of roundels and squares, arranged in a strictly symmetrical pattern, are all that survive of the decoration. On each of the doors intertwining bands divided in square compartments enclose five pairs of roundels. Similarly, the lid displays a large circle contained by a square, with four smaller roundels marking the panel's corners.

Initially, the empty spaces in and around the roundels of this triptych would have been filled with enamel representations, while the square openwork of the framing bands would have been filled with multicolored glass, creating a vibrant polychrome effect, as can be seen in several objects in the exhibition (cat. nos. 34, 107, 125, 236). The massive thickness of the silver sheet from which this reliquary was made hints at its former splendor.

The less damaged back of the staurotheke shows a single sheet of silver with repoussé decoration. A central cross, embellished with foliate designs and flanked by two palmettes issuing from the bottom of its lower arm, is framed by a foliate border similar to the ornamentation within the cross. Roundels containing the abbreviated letters of Christ's name flank the upper arm of the cross. A foliate pattern shallower than that of the border and cross serves as the background. Iconographically, the cross on the back rep-

resents Christ, as the presence of his name clearly indicates. The overall foliate patterns of the decoration refer to paradise. Thus Christ is identified here as the wood of the True Cross (preserved in this reliquary), the only Christian path leading to paradise.²

The dating of the staurotheke must be based solely on stylistic comparisons of the repoussé decoration on its back and the square openwork of its framing bands. Its close resemblance to the reliquary of the convent at Marienstein and to the center panels of the Stavelot Triptych (cat. no. 301) points to a date in the late tenth or early eleventh century.³

D K

1. For more on the relics of the True Cross, see Frolov, *Relique*, 1961 and Frolov 1965.
2. Several other reliquaries and metalwork icons have foliate crosses on the back; see Volbach, *Staurotheca*, 1969, pl. 4, 32-40.
3. The style of the Byzantine panels of the Stavelot Triptych most closely resembles—in the use of colored glass in square openwork bands, color palette (alternating bands of light and dark blue for the garments), and golden background—that of objects dating from the second half of the tenth century, such as the Limburg Staurotheke and the icon of the bust of Saint Michael in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice.

LITERATURE: Frolov, *Relique*, 1961; Frolov 1965; Bank 1977, p. 307.

39. The “Philotheos” Staurotheke

Byzantine, 12th century
Silver repoussé, wooden core
20.5 × 17 cm (8 1/8 × 6 3/4 in.)

INSCRIBED: On three of the four original border panels, + ΖΩΗΦΟΡΟΝ ΠΕΦΥΚΕ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΕΥΛΟΝ/ΕΝ ΩΠΕΡ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΠΑΓΕΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΛΩΝ/ΑΠΑΣΙΝ ΕΒΡΑΒΕΥΣΕ ΤΗΝ ΚΩΤΗΡΙΑΝ/ΘΗΚΗΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΔΕ ΤΕΥΧΕΙ ΝΥΝ ΠΟΘΩ (Life-giving was the wood of the cross on which Christ himself, willingly fastened, granted to everyone salvation. John fashions now the case with deep desire)

CONDITION: The sliding top is missing.

PROVENANCE: Tradition names the patriarch Philotheos (?) as the owner; brought to Constantinople by the metropolitan Alexios in 1354.

State Historical and Cultural Museum “Moscow Kremlin,” Moscow, Russian Federation (1141)

This rectangular staurotheke has lost its original sliding lid, so that the interior is exposed. This is covered with silver repoussé in a low decorative relief consisting of tendrils, two medallions, and two figures. At the center is a recess in the form of a cross that once held a particle of the True Cross. Saint Kosmas (left) and Saint Damianos (right), identified by their inscriptions, stand under the arms of the cross. In the medallions at the top are the busts of Saint Kyros (left) and Saint Panteleimon (right).



The choice of saints is unusual in this context. Kosmas and Damianos take the places traditionally occupied by the emperor Constantine and his mother, Helena. Since Kosmas and Damianos were medical saints, their presence may emphasize the miraculous healing powers of the relic.

The inscription is composed of four dodecasyllabic verses. The last verse is divided into two sections: the first starts with ΘΗΚΗ on the lower left side, and the second with ΔΕ on the lower right side, following the verse just above. Four dots in the shape of a diamond mark the point where each section begins. Since the inscription mentions Christ on the cross, the missing lid must have borne a representation of the Crucifixion, a scene that in any case is called for on a staurotheke.

This reliquary is known as the "Philotheos" Staurotheke because it was, according to tradition, once owned by a patriarch of that name. He should not be confused with John, its maker, the man named in the inscription, who probably lived in Constantinople during the twelfth century.

I K

LITERATURE: Frolow 1965; Volbach, *Staurotheke*, 1969, pp. 7ff.; A. Grabar 1975, pp. 77–78, fig. 103; Bank 1977, no. 200.

40. The Esztergom Staurotheke

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1150–1200
Silver gilt and enamel
35 × 25 cm (14 × 9 7/8 in.)

CONDITION: Restored in 1957.

PROVENANCE: Said to be identifiable with a reliquary listed in the cathedral inventory of 1528; bequeathed to the cathedral in the early seventeenth century by Cardinal Kutassyi, primate of Hungary.

Cathedral Treasury, Esztergom, Hungary (64.3.1)

The Esztergom Staurotheke is a Byzantine reliquary made to display a fragment of the True Cross. The piece of wood is set in a cross-shaped cavity at the center of a rectangle divided by bands of enamel into three zones. In the top zone angels gesture in grief and shock, following poses found in scenes of the Crucifixion. Episodes before and after the Crucifixion are invoked in the lowest zone: at the left a soldier and a Jew lead Christ to Golgotha, and at the right Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, and the Virgin remove Christ's body from the cross as Saint John looks on, wiping tears from his eyes. The frame, the style of which suggests work of the thirteenth or fourteenth century,¹ contains portraits of (clockwise from top left) the Virgin, Christ, a

lost panel of John the Baptist, Saint Nicholas, a second lost panel (possibly Saint George), and Saints Theodore Teron, Demetrios, and Basil.

The reliquary was conceived as a devotional icon that would lead the beholder through a sequence of events in the Passion. Flanking the cross are Saints Constantine and Helena. Helena was said to have discovered the cross of the Crucifixion and to have verified its authenticity; she acts, in part, as a guarantor of the relic. Opposite Helena stands her son, Constantine the Great (r. 306–37), the founder of Constantinople, whose vision of a cross figures significantly in the rise of Christianity. Constantine's vision, which came to him in a dream the night before his victory at the Milvian Bridge on October 28, 312, was taken in the Middle Ages as a promise of the individual's victory over sin and death.

Reliquaries made as icons span the tenth through the twelfth century.² The Esztergom Staurotheke may be dated to the second half of the twelfth century on the basis of the tall,

thin proportions of the figures and the emphasis on affective imagery as the devotional touchstone. The will of Cardinal Kutassyi, a seventeenth-century primate of Hungary, attributes it to the year 1190. Although documentation for the attribution is lost, the date accords with the style as well as with what is known of relations between Byzantium and Hungary at that time.

J C A

1. Compare A. Grabar 1975, nos. 12, 17, 18.
2. See the examples at Limburg an der Lahn (Wessel 1967, no. 22); Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (cat. no. 301); Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Schlumberger 6 (Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 182).

LITERATURE: Somogyi 1959; Beckwith 1961, p. III, fig. 139; Frolow, *Relique*, 1961, pp. 331–32; Frolow 1965, fig. 41; Wessel 1967, pp. 158–63, item 49; Frazer, "Djumati," 1970, p. 247, fig. 19; Cséfalvay 1992, pp. 28–29.

EXHIBITION: Cologne 1985, no. H33.



40

ΥΨΟΥΣ ΑΝΑΚΤΩΝ ΕΥΚΛΕΗΣ ΕΚΗ ΠΡΟΧΙ·
ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΨΥΧΗΝ ΤΕΡΨΟΝ ΤΗ ΚΑΧΑΡΩΝ ΚΡΟΤΕΙ·

ΤΙΣ Η ΔΟΝ ΠΑΘΕΛΑ ΧΟΗ ΤΙΣ ΕΚ ΛΟΓ·
ΓΟΙΣ ΟΚΕ ΤΙΣ ΒΑΒΥΛΟΝ ΧΙΡΤΑ ΔΥΣΙ Μ·



MANUSCRIPTS

J E F F R E Y C . A N D E R S O N

The illuminated Byzantine manuscript has three parts: the written text, the chapter titles and initials, and the decorative frames surrounding the titles or tables. Illustration forms a fourth component in a number of books. The opening leaves of the homilies by James the Monk (cat. no. 62) exemplify the Byzantine approach to the creation of a beautiful manuscript. A full-page miniature of the Ascension framed by a church faces the first page with writing. At the top of the page of text, above an impressive block of ornament, the scribe wrote the simple designation "Homily One." Below the ornament the gold title identifies the chapter ("Homily of James the Monk on the Conception of the All-Holy Theotokos [literally, "God-bearing"; Mother of God, an epithet of the Virgin Mary]"), which begins with a historiated initial: an omicron that frames the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child. The initial and the scene of the Ascension remind the reader that the story of the Virgin Mary's life centers on her role in the Incarnation, bearing Christ and witnessing his last earthly act following the Resurrection, his ascension into heaven. Illuminated manuscripts like that of James's homilies were a medieval creation that flourished in centers throughout the Byzantine Empire, but especially in Constantinople, from the late ninth to the end of the twelfth century. Before about the year 850 illuminated manuscripts are extremely rare, and after about 1200 the absolute number of books illuminated in Byzantium, as well as their proportion relative to all books produced, drops. The significance of medieval Byzantine illumination can be measured not only by its power over later Byzantine artists and patrons, who often drew on medieval works for models, but also by its influence on the arts of Europe, Georgia, Armenia, and Rus.¹

The content of the books produced in handsome editions changed little during the Middle Ages. Scribes and illuminators were most often called on for copies of the Bible, collections of saints' lives, and sermons. The thickness of parchment and the use of larger, legible scripts resulted in the Bible's being treated in units, though copies of the entire text are known (see cat. no. 42). The Byzantines were accustomed

to collections such as the first eight books of the Old Testament, the psalms combined with other biblical poetry, and the major and minor prophets. Like the Old Testament, the New Testament is known to have been made in single volumes (see cat. no. 47), though it circulated far more frequently as two books, one containing the Four Gospels and the other the Acts and Epistles. Each of these texts could be produced in a variety of formats, depending on how the patron intended the book to be used. Size often signaled a book's purpose even before it was opened. Pocket versions of the Gospels and psalms were popular for private devotional reading, whereas larger manuscripts tended to be made for use in church. Personal copies as small as 2½ by 3½ inches might be decorated with miniature icons that enhanced prayer and meditation.¹ The Gospels of John II Komnenos and the tiny psalter from the Vatopedi Monastery (cat. nos. 144, 241) are two examples of such books for private use. Works to be read publicly demanded a large format to accommodate bold writing. The eleventh-century portrait of the monk Sabas, shown with the emperor as his audience, suggests how a large book was used in church. Standing behind the lectern and holding a candle for light, Sabas relied on the book's oversize script to enable him to read without stumbling or hesitation. Size and use do not always correlate precisely. The Paris Psalter (cat. no. 163) exemplifies the larger folio manuscript made for private study. Its pages are masterpieces of calligraphy on which the scribe nested the biblical text in a dense selection of quotations from learned authorities written in a smaller hand (see illus. on next page).

Readings from Scripture were the basis of the Byzantine religious service. Both Old and New Testament manuscripts produced for use in church had annotations and sometimes tables to locate passages. The Gospel lectionary is a biblical version created solely for liturgical use. The Gospels were divided by episodes and recombined into a single text that was displayed on the altar and elevated during the service. The importance of the lectionary, whose liturgical use magnified it to a virtual symbol of Christ, attracted patrons who commissioned especially rich copies.² Examples include lavishly illustrated works and those in which every page was painstakingly written in the shape of a cross (cat. no. 61). Also numbered among liturgical books are collections of sermons,

The Monk Sabas Reads to the Emperor. Illustration from the Homilies of John Chrysostom (cat. no. 143), fol. 1(2 bis)r



Psalm 1: text surrounded by commentary. The Paris Psalter (cat. no. 163), fol. 8

like those of John Chrysostom gathered in the Coislin homiliary read by the monk Sabas (see illus. on p. 82). Throughout much of history public lectures, including church sermons, generated enthusiasm in a wide audience. For the Byzantines sermons were a source of entertainment as well as instruction. Most collections were made for church use, some in extremely handsome versions intended for donation. Others, like James the Monk's Homilies on the Life of the Virgin, were made for private reflection or possibly for reading in the small groups the Byzantines called theaters (*theatra*).³

The Byzantines' interest in books was not confined to texts used in the liturgy or to copies of Scripture for private reading. To them we owe nearly all our knowledge of classical Greek poetry, drama, and philosophy. Histories, secular poetry, and practical manuals on law, veterinary science, military tactics, poisons, and medicinal plants were produced to meet the needs of generals, physicians, and other professionals. Many secular works—such as the tenth-century herbal in the Morgan Library and the Madrid manuscript of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes, a history copied and illustrated in the West under Byzantine supervision—present a sober

appearance (cat. nos. 161, 338). Their makers shunned decorative bars, frames, and rich initials, and illustrations were intended to clarify meaning.⁴ Secular texts were, however, sometimes produced in decorated editions when the patron demanded it.⁵ Any book made for the emperor or for a wealthy client had to reflect the patron's status. In a poem written for the copy of sermons he commissioned, Abbot Joseph of the Pantokrator Monastery used the language of coinage and precious metals to call attention to the book's expensive materials, "the silvery white parchment splashed with gold."⁶ His opening dedication gives some impression of the opulent use of gold on parchment characteristic of this book.⁷ The manuscript, destined to be a gift to Joseph's former monastery, heightens our awareness of how material richness conveyed status. It is important to remember that the distinction between religious and secular content was not easily made in the Middle Ages. An eleventh-century saint's life tells that the monastic manual *The Heavenly Ladder* could be found in the home of a pious Byzantine couple.⁸ A copy of the psalms made for the abbot of an important Constantinopolitan monastery was illustrated to stress the abbot's role as administrator and to remind him of his pastoral responsibilities (cat. no. 53). An eleventh-century Byzantine general named Katakalon Kekaumenos distilled his life's experience into a long essay addressed to his son. For edifying reading Kekaumenos recommended the Old Testament for its wisdom, inspiration, and, we may be surprised to learn, the practical information it contains, since "nearly the entire Old Testament is warfare."⁹ The general's words inevitably call to mind the Joshua Roll (cat. no. 162).

Patrons and makers created the impression of material richness in a number of ways, some traditional and others innovative. Display scripts were executed in gold as early as the sixth century. The title above the illustration at the start of the eleventh-century Morgan Lectionary (cat. no. 60)—"For the Holy and Great Sunday of Easter"—was written in grand capital letters.¹⁰ Similarities like those between the dedication of the Sinai Gregory and the nearly contemporary stone inscription engraved for Isaac Komnenos (cat. no. 7) suggest that medieval scribes occasionally sought to give their work something of the monumentality of public inscriptions. Book titles were often framed or otherwise set off with ornament, a technique also known from a small number of early books and one perhaps continued during the era of Iconoclasm (723–843).¹¹ Iconoclast patrons intent on giving expression to their piety and devotion may have encouraged the use of non-figural decoration in books, just as they did in churches.¹²

Despite centuries of development, the illuminated book of the Middle Ages stands apart owing to the extent of its decoration and the care given to it. To the decorative repertoire inherited from mosaics and sculpture, medieval illuminators added patterns that referred to contemporary metalwork.



Ezekiel in the Valley of Dry Bones. Illustration with a necklace frame from the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (cat. no. 63), fol. 438v



David Composing the Psalms. Illustration from the Paris Psalter, (cat. no. 163), fol. iv

A frame in a late-ninth-century collection of sermons heralds the use of jewelry motifs. The necklace surrounding the miniature is executed in *trompe l'oeil*, as if it had been casually dropped on the page (see illus. on preceding page).¹³ Title frames and initials found in tenth-century manuscripts recall necklaces and bracelets made in gold with emeralds and sapphires.¹⁴ The miniature that opens the Morgan Lectionary was framed with simulated enamel work. From about the tenth century on, enamel work was used for expensive objects of adornment—earrings, beads, necklaces—as well as for icon frames and fittings.¹⁵ The medieval manuscript page conveyed devotion through the display of wealth.

The illustration of a medieval book is difficult to characterize, since it can take many forms and serve many needs. The most common illustration is the author portrait, known from as early as the sixth century.¹⁶ The medieval author usually sits alone in his study, writing or pausing to reflect.¹⁷ The author nearly always turns away from the viewer toward the text on the opposite page, so the portrait seems to be a glimpse into the moment of creation. The moment is a medieval one. In antiquity, when reading was done aloud and authors dictated their works for secretaries to transcribe and professionals to copy, the relationship between creativity and writing was

weak. By the Middle Ages the two had been bonded. In part, the change to silent reading inevitably shifted emphasis to the written word, which came to be transcribed in a wide variety of letter forms and calligraphic styles that were pleasing to the eye. Perhaps more decisive was the growing influence of Scripture. The evangelists and prophets were believed to have written under divine inspiration. To see Matthew or Mark write was to view the moment of transmission of God's word, and the evangelist portrait often stressed the solitary nature of the act. A second type of author portrait was popularized by eleventh-century illuminators; it showed the author standing and declaiming his text to an audience. The emphasis on performance was suited to liturgical books, which were seen only by the reader who chanted the words to the congregation assembled before him.

The other category of painted image is the narrative picture, one that tells a story. The Byzantines were masters of narrative imagery, which they adapted to a wide variety of illustrative, didactic, and devotional purposes. For the first seventy-five years after the end of Iconoclasm in 843, the main justification for introducing pictures into books was the need to teach a lesson. Among the earliest Byzantine manuscripts produced after 843 were the marginal psalters, which use narrative episodes in juxtaposition with the psalm text to condemn the Iconoclast heresy and vilify its adherents (see cat. nos. 52, 53, and illus. on p. 185). In the Bible made for Leo Sakellarios, full-page miniatures stand before each of the books and in some cases offer unexpected subjects. Moses shown writing in Eden as a frontispiece to Genesis or the Crucifixion depicted in the margin of a psalter startles the reader.¹⁸ But on reflection such images often give fresh insights that deepen the understanding of the text.

Most visual narratives began with an implied historicity. Unlike Moses at the Creation, the scene depicted was one the reader could assume someone in the past had witnessed (and during the Iconoclastic debates an image's close relationship with its subject was a measure of its truthfulness). Although such pictorial narrative can seem to be literal, rarely are pictures the innocent equivalents of words. In the Joshua Roll (cat. no. 162) the artist seems to intimate that the biblical story can be identified with the contemporary Byzantine army, and for this reason historians have suggested that the roll presents an allegory of tenth-century events. Narrative images can also make an unfamiliar story seem less distant. The illustrations in the Madrid Skylitzes show the need of a twelfth-century Norman ruler to visualize the events of Byzantine history (see cat. no. 338 and illus. on pp. 6–19). Similarly, the miniatures of the Menologion of Basil II (cat. no. 55) satisfied a desire to see the saints and events related in the often brief entries composed for daily reading.

One of the greatest achievements of medieval Byzantium was its return to extended pictorial narration, including the



Moses Writing in Eden. Frontispiece to Genesis, from the Bible of Leo Sakellarios (cat. no. 42), fol. 11v

creation of long cycles of images for the Old Testament as well as the New.¹⁹ Narrative images like those in the Leo Bible and the Paris Psalter recall the grand manner of fifth- and sixth-century painting. Those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, differ in appearance; works such as the Theodore Psalter and the Madrid Skylitzes (cat. nos. 53, 338) reveal patrons and illuminators who have drawn back from the grand manner of earlier times in favor of flat figures painted against shallow, often blank backgrounds. To our eyes this style is marked by an apparent antagonism of form and content: if the goal was to visualize exact moments in the past, why was so abstract a manner of representation favored? The

antagonism can be resolved only by recognizing the demands placed on the artist by the book format. In the Paris Psalter and the Leo Bible the images were depicted on separate pages and framed like easel paintings. Eleventh- and twelfth-century narrative illustrations almost always share the page with the text, which emphasizes a flat plane. By reducing the depth of settings and the roundness of the figures, artists and scribes successfully combined illustration with text and ornament. The illustrated homilies of James the Monk (cat. no. 62) exemplify the balance a gifted illuminator could strike between calligraphy, rich ornament, and an emotionally engaging narrative in pictures.

41. Book Cover with Christ Pantokrator (front) and the Virgin Orans (back)

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 10th–early 11th century
Silver gilt on wood, gold cloisonné enamel, stones, and pearls
29 × 21 cm (11½ × 8¼ in.)

Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, Italy
(Ms. Lat. Cl. 1.100)

This sumptuous book cover, which long contained a fourteenth-century Venetian evangelary, is one of the many objects that presumably reached Venice during the Fourth Crusade as booty from Constantinople. Originally it covered a Byzantine manuscript, most likely a Gospel book.

The front and back panels of the cover have the same design. The central rectangular enamel panel depicts Christ standing on a suppedaneum holding the Gospels in his left arm and blessing with his right. In the corresponding panel on the back the Virgin stands with her hands in a praying position, expressing her role as intercessor for humankind. Each wears a blue garment, has a turquoise halo and a footstool, and is surrounded by twelve enamel medallions depicting busts of saints. These medallions are not in their original arrangement, but their correct places

can be surmised by the hierarchical system the Byzantines used in multifigured images. The John the Baptist medallion and the two archangel medallions would have been at the top of the Christ side with Peter and Paul in the row below. Then there are the Four Evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John), four Church Fathers (John Chrysostom, Nicholas, Gregory of Nazianzos, Basil the Great), six other apostles (Andrew, Philip, Thomas, James, Bartholomew, Simon), two prophets (Elijah, Zechariah), two female saints (Anne, mother of the Virgin; Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist), and Joachim, the Virgin's father, who obviously belongs on the side with the Virgin together with the two prophets and the two female saints. The eyes of the medallion figures do not look inward toward the central figure, as is usual, but rather the Gospel book itself. The outer border on both sides is formed by a band of oval and rectangular red (rubies?) and green (emeralds) cabochons framed by rows of pearls strung on a metal wire and attached by a narrow ring after each pearl. The rectangular enamel plaques and the medallions are also framed by the same rows of pearls. The white luster of this characteristic Byzantine decorative

device accentuates the design, while adding a precious material. The drapery of the central figures, which shows a severe and controlled linear style, allows the book cover to be dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century.

IK

EXHIBITIONS: Venice 1974, no. 28; New York and Milan 1984, no. 14.

42. Bible of Leo Sakellarios

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 940
Tempera and gold on vellum
41 × 27 cm (16½ × 10½ in.)

INSCRIBED: At the top, Η ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ ΠΡΟΧΑΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΗΝ ΒΙΒΛΑΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΛΕΟΝΤΟC ΠΡΙΑΠΟCΙΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ CΑΚΕΛΑΡΙΟΥ (The all-holy Mother of God with Christ, receiving the Bible from Leo, *praipositos*, *patrikios*, and *sakellarios*).

On the frame, ΑΛΛΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΑΛΛΩC ΤΗ ΠΑΝΟΛΒΙΩ ΦΥCΕΙ CΠΕΝΔΟΥΝ ΨΥΧΗC ΤΟ ΔΩΡΟΝ ΕΜΦΡΟΝΩ CΧΕCΕΙ ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΔΟΙΠΟΝ ΕCΘΑΟΝ ΕΥΤΕΛΕC ΘΥΩ ΕΚ ΠΙCΤΕΩC ΠΑΗΝ ΤΗΝΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΒΙΒΛΑΟΝ ΘΩ CΥΝ ΤΗ ΤΕΚΟΥCΗ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΩ ΠΡΕCΒΕΙC ΠΑΛΑΙΑC ΚΑΙ ΝΕΑC ΤΟΥC ΠΡΟΚΡΙΤΟΥC ΕΙC ΑΝΤΑΜΕΙΨΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΜΩΝ ΕΓΚΛΗΜΑΤΩΝ (While in a different way others wisely dedicate to the all-blessed Nature the gift of their souls in their condition, I for my part make my noble but humble offering out of faith, only this Bible, the preeminent ambassadors of the Old



41. Christ Pantokrator



41. Virgin Orans



42. Leo Offering His Bible to the Virgin, fol. 2v

and New [Testaments] to God with the Mother who gave birth, the God-bearer, in exchange for indictments against me).

Within the miniature, beside the Virgin's halo, ΜΗΡ ΘΥ (Mother of God); beside Christ's halo, ΙC ΧC (Jesus Christ); behind Leo, ΛΕΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΣ ΠΡΑΙΠΟΣΙΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΚΕΛΑΡΙΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑΒΙΒΛΟ ΤΗΝ ΥΠΕΡΑΓΙΑΝ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΝ (Leo the *patrikios*, *praisipositos*, and *sakellarios* offering the sixty books to the all-holy Mother of God).

CONDITION: Only the first volume (Genesis through Psalms) of this two-volume Bible survives;

the eighteen full-page miniatures that were originally frontispieces to individual books have been rebound separately for conservation purposes; the miniature on exhibit has suffered only minor, spotty flaking of pigment.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
(Ms. Vat. Reg. gr. 1)

The first thing that strikes the viewer of this manuscript is its extraordinary, full-folio size, the largest in Byzantine book production. Leo Patrikios, who commissioned and

donated this Bible to a monastery of Saint Nicholas, held the exalted office of *sakellarios*, or treasurer of the realm, which of course placed him in a position to commission a manuscript of such exceptional size and beauty. Leo took a personal interest in the production of the book, dictating the specifications of its preface miniatures by writing a series of frame epigrams describing each subject. In his inscription on this page he compares his offering to the Virgin with that of the monks of the monastery that received the Bible as a gift, who

offered to her their very souls. Leo's beardless face and gray hair identify him as a eunuch, a desirable condition for a treasurer since it implied freedom from family ambitions but made him ineligible for monastic life. Dressed in a clasped, gold-trimmed red cape, he offers his tome to the Virgin, who in turn bows her head, listening attentively to his prayer while beckoning to her son to receive the offering.

The painter has set the action before a cool, billowing sky and a classical exedra draped with a tasseled red cloth. The figures turn with grace, vividly conveying the two-way transaction between Leo and Christ, their lively faces modeled impressionistically in warm hues. These Hellenistic characteristics of Macedonian-period painting link the work to both the Joshua Roll and the Paris Psalter (cat. nos. 162, 163), tempting art historians to describe them as a "renaissance" phenom-

non. But unlike painters of the Renaissance, Byzantine artists were interested in these classical characteristics not in themselves but as a means to create a sacred atmosphere. Paintings were thus the medium for a complex exegesis of the biblical message, explained here from image to image in the frame epigrams. These exhibit considerable theological sophistication, based on acquaintance both with the teachings of the Church Fathers and with the speculations of contemporary Iconophile theologians.¹

T F M

1. Olster 1994, pp. 419–58.

LITERATURE: *Miniature della Bibbia*, 1905, fasc. 1; Mango 1969, pp. 121–26; Mathews 1977, pp. 94–133; Dufrenne and Canart 1988.

EXHIBITION: Cologne 1992, no. 18.

43. The Four Gospels

Byzantine (Constantinople), second half of 9th century and 12th century

Tempera and gold on vellum; 164 fols.

18.5 × 14.5 cm (7¼ × 5¾ in.)

CONDITION: The twelfth-century headpieces have suffered considerable loss of paint; the five inserted leaves from a ninth-century manuscript have been severely trimmed.

PROVENANCE: A note on folio 164v indicates that the manuscript once belonged to the patriarch of Kosinitza; Monastery of Saint Andrew on Mount Athos until the early twentieth century; brought to the United States by T. Whittemore; purchased by R. Garrett in 1925, who gave it to the Princeton University Library in 1942.

Manuscript Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Libraries, Princeton, N.J. (Ms. Garrett 6)

The twelfth-century decoration of this provincial manuscript comprises four headpieces and ten canon tables. The chief artistic interest, however, lies in the five inserted ninth-century miniatures of Christ, the Virgin, and Saints Mark, Luke, and John (fols. 10v, 11r, 54v, 83v, 130v; a portrait of Matthew must have completed the set). The miniatures may have belonged originally to a Gospel lectionary, which often included images of Christ and the Virgin as well as the evangelists; an example is the tenth-century lectionary in the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai (gr. 204).¹ The inclusion among the Garrett 6 miniatures of an image of Christ holding a jeweled book followed by one of the Virgin in prayer emphasizes the idea of the Incarnation of Christ, the Logos, through the Virgin, a primary theme of Byzantine lectionaries.² The Virgin's role in the Incarnation is also indicated by the inscription Η ΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ (Holy Theotokos [God-Bearer]), which frames her image. This title began to be used on works of art in the late eighth century, after the first period of Iconoclasm, as a way of pointing to Christ's human birth. The Virgin's more common title, ΜΗΡ ΘΥ (Mother of God), was inscribed under the arch at a later date.³ Similar uncial and minuscule inscriptions exist in the other miniatures of the manuscript as well.

Each figure in Garrett 6 is represented standing on a jeweled pedestal against a gold ground and framed by a lavishly decorated arch resting on colored marble columns. The Virgin's garment is a rich purple, while the evangelists are dressed in bright pastels. Similar architecture frames the standing figures of the Virgin, Christ, and the evangelists in the Syriac Rabbula Gospels of 586, suggesting the sort of tradition from which



43. Virgin Orans, fol. 11r



44. The Evangelist Luke, fol. 128v

the Garrett portraits ultimately derive. This tradition is also continued in Armenian Gospel books such as the ninth-century Ējmiatsin Gospels in the Matenadaran Library, Erevan, Armenia (Ms. 229).⁴ The Garrett 6 miniatures are most closely related to the ninth-century marginal psalters. In the prefatory portrait of David in the Khudov Psalter (cat. no. 52) he is shown beneath an arch very similar to those in Garrett 6. The bust of Christ above David's head has many features in common with the heads of the figures in the present work: the dark, crescent-shaped shading under the eyes, the small red lips, the straight, broad nose with dark shading along one side and red along the other, and the thin red lines beneath the perfectly arched

brows. Another marginal psalter, Pantokrator 61, in the Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos, provides even closer comparisons.⁵ The two works have similar color schemes, the same methods of modeling drapery—either with double-line folds or with thick lines framing expanses of white highlighted in abstract patterns—and a shared use of thin gold striations, which are especially prominent on the figure of Christ but also visible on the Virgin's robe.

K C

1. Weitzmann and Galavaris 1990, vol. 1, pp. 42–46, figs. 92–108.
2. Anderson 1992, p. 10.
3. Kalavrezou 1990, p. 168; Kartsonis 1986, p. 107.

4. Der Nersessian, *Études*, 1973, vol. 2, figs. 282, 288, 290.
5. For the Pantokrator manuscript, see Pelckanidis et al. 1979, vol. 3, figs. 180–237.

LITERATURE: Weitzmann, in Vryonis 1978, pp. 77–78; Weitzmann and Galavaris 1990, vol. 1, pp. 42–46, figs. 92–108.

EXHIBITIONS: Princeton 1973, no. 1; Princeton 1986, no. 169.

44. The Four Gospels

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 925–50
 Tempera on vellum; 259 fols.
 23.5 × 18.5 cm (9¼ × 7¼ in.)

PROVENANCE: In Greece, in the possession of an archbishop of Thessaly, in 1526.

The Holy Monastery of Iveron, Mount Athos, Greece (Cod. 1387; formerly 247)

This important copy of the Gospels includes decorated canon tables, title pages, and four portrait miniatures. Saint Luke and the three other evangelists are presented standing and holding their Gospel books, each figure carefully differentiated by pose, gesture, and portrait features. The youngest of the evangelists, Luke traditionally was shown beardless, with a triangular face and luxuriant dark hair. Standing portraits such as this one go back to as early as the sixth century and the evangelists on the episcopal throne made for Maximian, archbishop of Ravenna. In illumination, standing authors are much less common than seated ones; sometimes their use was prompted by a book's tall, thin proportions (cat. no. 47). Standing evangelists were relatively popular in the tenth century, when they appear in at least six other manuscripts. The pose of Luke in the Iveron manuscript compares closely with that of Luke in a tenth-century copy of the Gospels in Vienna (Österreichische Bibliothek, Theol. gr. 240), a manuscript in turn related to a Gospel book now in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 70).¹ Both the Vienna and the Paris manuscripts are illustrated in a soft but schematic manner, whereas the Iveron evangelists are executed with linear precision and considerable detail. In style they resemble miniatures in the Bible of Leo Sakellarios, for which a date somewhere between 925 and 944 has been suggested



45. Saint Mark the Evangelist, fol. 93v

(cat. no. 42).² The Iveron evangelists also recall passages in the more heavily painted Paris Psalter, produced for Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos about the middle of the tenth century (cat. no. 163). The scribe responsible for the Iveron manuscript wrote in a manner called minuscule *bouletée*, a deliberately rounded script used in the tenth century for a number of manuscripts, including the Paris Psalter.

JCA

1. Buberl and Gerstinger 1938, pp. 7–13, pl. II; for the Paris Gospels, see Ebersolt 1926, pl. xxx.
2. Mango 1969, pp. 121–26.

LITERATURE: Ebersolt 1926; Buberl and Gerstinger 1938; Mango 1969, pp. 121–26; Pelekanidis et al. 1975, p. 331, figs. 168–71; Agati 1992, pp. 85–86, pl. 45.

45. The Four Gospels

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1075–1150
Tempera and gold on vellum; 265 fols.
35.5 × 26 cm (14 × 10¼ in.)

CONDITION: There is some minor flaking of the miniatures.

PROVENANCE: At some point after 1565, in the Holy Trinity of Esoptron Monastery on the island of Chalke.

The Holy Monastery of Iveron, Mount Athos, Greece (Cod. 2)

This copy of the four Gospels, from the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos, is handsomely decorated with canon tables very much like those of Scheide Ms. 70 (cat. no. 46); the arcades are lavishly painted, and votive crowns hang from capitals adorned with birds and griffins. The Iveron Gospel book also contains portraits of the Four Evangelists, their presentation following conventions widely used in Byzantine illumination. The composition, which shows Saint Mark looking out at the beholder as he pauses to ponder a passage or possibly to dip his pen into the inkwell, is seen as early as the tenth century. In many contemporary portraits the author floats on a continuous gold background (see cat. nos. 44, 200, 253, 260). The illuminator of the Iveron Gospels added a pair of green marble columns just

inside the frame. Above the columns a curtain is held open by lion's-head bosses and a hook in the shape of a human hand. These additions give the image a palatial setting, locating the viewer outside a doorway screened by drawn embroidered curtains. The motif of a curtain rolled up and fastened to allow the viewing of a sacred figure would also have reminded the beholder of *encheiria*, the rich cloths that served to cover icons. In addition to creating an atmosphere both aristocratic and sacred, the inclusion of columns and curtains contributes to the scene's pictorial interest; in this the Iveron Gospel book is closely related to Coislin gr. 24, a Gospel book in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Not surprisingly, forerunners can be found in tenth-century illumination (for example, Cod. w 524 in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore),¹ made during a time of keen interest in spatial complexity.

JCA

1. Baltimore 1947, no. 695.

LITERATURE: Lampros 1900, p. 1; Pelekanidis et al. 1975, pp. 295–96, figs. 7–10.



46. Canon table, fol. 6v

46. The Four Gospels

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 11th or early 12th century

Tempera on vellum; 192 fols.
22 × 17 cm (8 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: Formerly Cod. 14 of the Anastasis Church, Jerusalem; by 1915 Cod. 59 of the Monastery of Saint Abraham, Jerusalem; in 1938 bought by Maggs Brothers from Sotheby's and sold in the same year to John H. Scheide; in 1939 the Scheide Library was deposited in the Princeton University Library.

Scheide Library, Princeton University Libraries, Princeton, N.J. (Scheide Ms. 70)

This copy of the four Gospels contains extensive ornament but no illustration. In addition to four carefully executed headpieces and initials marking the start of each Gospel, the manuscript has elaborate canon tables which constitute a concordance devised by the

fourth-century bishop Eusebios of Caesarea, whose letter explaining their use was regularly copied as a preface to the tables. Although the canon tables need be no more than a sequence of lists, they were often elaborately executed. The letters written in gold in the grids function as numbers that correspond to passages marked in the margin of each Gospel. After numbering the passages, Eusebios compiled ten tables. The first shows the passages common to all the Gospels; it is followed by three tables of passages found in three of the Gospels; five tables of parallel passages found in two Gospels; and a final table, subdivided into four, of passages that appear only once. Although meant for reference at a time when not even pages were numbered, let alone chapters and verses, the Eusebian canons

would have provided help in the study of the Gospels. Given a belief in the power of numbers to express underlying truths about the world, the tables may also have assumed a mystical significance;¹ indeed, from early on they were decorated with a degree of care that far exceeded what was required for their use as a reference tool. The tables in the Scheide manuscript are heavily ornamented, with votive crowns suspended from architraves, eagles in the capitals, and other birds and fountains above the tympana. The arches are encased in dense, carefully executed ornament. The exuberance of the work suggests a date in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.

J C A

1. Nordenfalk 1982, pp. 29–30.

LITERATURE: Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1897, pp. 213–14.

EXHIBITIONS: Princeton 1973, no. 33; Princeton 1986, no. 174.

47. The New Testament

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1133
Tempera and gold on vellum; 280 fols.
22 × 18 cm (8 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: Once the property of the Dionysiou Monastery (Cod. 8), Mount Athos; two leaves, with illuminated canons removed before foliation, are now in the Zographou Monastery, Mount Athos; a third leaf, once fol. 134, was purchased by Paul Kanellopoulos, Athens, and exhibited in 1964; about 1960 the manuscript left Mount Athos and was purchased by Oscar Meyer, Los Angeles; subsequently acquired by Peter Ludwig (and exhibited at the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne), with whom it remained until 1983.

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Calif.
(83.MB.68 [Ms. Ludwig II 4])

On April 30, 1133, the scribe Theoktistos finished copying this New Testament (except for Revelation). Theoktistos may have been a monk at the Monastery of the Prodomos-Petra in Constantinople, which had a significant scriptorium. In 1127 the same Theoktistos wrote a collection of saints' lives for the month of November (Paris, gr. 1570), a volume decorated with a headpiece similar in style to those in the present New Testament. The Getty manuscript was illustrated with individual portraits of the Four Evangelists and a group portrait of the Twelve Apostles (now in the Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens). The proportions of the page may have convinced the illuminator to depart from the common type of the seated author and to show the evangelists standing. Matthew,



47. John the Evangelist, fol. 106v

Mark, and Luke hold their Gospels open before them and seem to step forward. John also holds his Gospel but stands stock-still, his head turned to the hand of God, which emerges from the heavens, making a gesture of speech. The pose, like that of John listening to God and simultaneously dictating to his disciple Prochoros (cat. no. 60), was meant to remind the viewer that his Gospel, unlike the others, was dictated by God. The illuminator has depicted a massive figure; the wide tonal range not only creates an illusion of sculptural form but also lends

the portrait an air of dramatic intensity. The manner of painting can be associated with the Kokkinobaphos Master and the Komnenian court of the second quarter of the twelfth century (cat. nos. 48, 62, 144; 45, 49, 63, 64).

JCA

LITERATURE: Lampros 1895, p. 319; Euv and Plotzek 1979, pp. 159–63; Hunger and Kresten 1980, pp. 188–92, 210–12; Buchthal 1982, p. 214, figs. 12–16; Nelson 1987, pp. 53–78.

EXHIBITION: Athens 1964.

48. Gospel Leaf with the Evangelist Matthew

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1125–50
Tempera and gold on vellum; single leaf
23 × 15.2 cm (9 × 6 in.)

PROVENANCE: Removed from the Great Lavra, Mount Athos (Cod. A.44); purchased from Léon Gruel by Henry Walters about 1931.

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (w. 530e)

This leaf, cut from a Gospel book in the Great Lavra of Mount Athos, depicts the evangelist Matthew in the grip of divine inspiration. Shown working outdoors, the evangelist has momentarily stopped writing to refill his pen from a well on the writing stand. Matthew's face and pose betray a tremendous exertion: his body coils to propel his right arm forward, the drapery of his robe buckles in thick slabs, and his features tighten into an expression of concentrated intensity. The emotionally powerful style represents a marked departure from eleventh-century taste as exemplified by works like the Theodore Psalter (cat. no. 53). The roots of this dynamic style lie in the patronage of members of the Komnenian court, especially the emperors John II and Manuel I. Frescoes commissioned by John's brother Isaac for the Church of the Kosmosoteira at Viros, as well as those underwritten by Alexios Komnenos Angelos for Saint Panteleimon at Nerezi, capture the same spirit. The illuminator responsible for the Matthew portrait was a favorite of court patrons; he also painted the miniatures in the Homilies of James the Monk and the Gospels of John II



48

(cat. nos. 62, 144). The richness of twelfth-century court art is apparent even in the artist's materials—the heavy gold backgrounds and thick layers of paint.

J C A

LITERATURE: Clark 1937, p. 361; Nelson 1991, pp. 46–51, pls. 76, 80, 81.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore 1947, no. 718; Princeton 1973, no. 36.

49. The Four Gospels

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1125–50
Tempera and gold on vellum; 307 fols.
14.8 × 11 cm (5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: The opening of John's Gospel and the miniature that preceded it, plus several other pages of text, have been cut out or are lost.

PROVENANCE: Unknown.¹

The Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, Patmos, Greece (Cod. 274)

This little Gospel book belongs to a group of about a dozen twelfth-century illuminated manuscripts, many of them Gospels, that are

related to one another in painting style and iconography (see cat. nos. 45–51, 61–63). None is firmly dated, although works in this animated and colorful manner associated with the Kokkinobaphos Master are found as early as the 1120s (cat. nos. 48, 62, 144) and as late as about 1200 in some Georgian manuscripts.² The Patmos Gospel book is one of the smallest and earliest.³ It lacks prefatory material, such as canon tables, and like other manuscripts of this group was apparently made for private, even lay, patrons.

Three of the four original miniatures have survived, painted on fine thin parchment ruled as for the text, with twenty-four horizontal lines. Their iconography is somewhat unusual: instead of occupying the whole page preceding his Gospel, as is traditional, Mark is here relegated to the lower half, while the upper half illustrates the Baptism of Christ. This not entirely successful combination of portrait and feast scene recurs elsewhere in the manuscript, and variants are found in other Gospels of the group, an indication of the growing influence of the liturgy, with its cycle of readings and feasts,

even on works of art designed primarily for private use.⁴

A square of floral ornament dominates the page opposite, and below it are the opening words of Mark's Gospel, read aloud each year on the Sunday preceding the feast of the Baptism, as is noted in the upper margin of the page. The initial *A* is unfigured, though birds and fish, executed in gold, serve as initials elsewhere in the Gospel text.

N P Š

1. An inventory of the Patmos library from the year 1200 lists three "small" Gospel books but describes only their covers; see Astruc 1981, p. 22, illus. 54–59.
2. Saminskii 1989, pp. 184–216 (English summary, p. 269).
3. It is most closely related to the Gospels of John II Komnenos, Urb. gr. 2 (cat. no. 144); to the Codex Ebnerianus (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Auct. T. inf. I. 10); to Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 75 (Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 273); and to Oxford, Christ Church, Wake gr. 32 (Hutter 1977–93, vol. 4 [1993], no. 24), all thought to date from before the middle of the twelfth century.
4. Other miniatures in this manuscript pair the Nativity of Christ with Matthew (fol. 5v), and the Birth of John the Baptist with Luke (fol. 149v); see Meredith 1966, pp. 419–24.



49. Opening pages of the Gospel of Mark, fols. 93v–94r

LITERATURE: Sakellion 1890, no. 274; Jacopi 1932–33, pp. 578, 583, figs. 129–35; Spatharakis 1985, pp. 231–44, esp. pp. 236–37; Mouriki and Ševčenko 1988, pp. 288–89, 310–13, figs. 20–24; Galavaris 1995, pp. 246–47, fig. 156.

EXHIBITION: Athens 1964, no. 315.

50. The Four Gospels

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1150–1225
Tempera on vellum; 239 fols.
19 × 15.6 cm (7½ × 6¼ in.)

PROVENANCE: In the collection formed by Charles Spencer, third earl of Sunderland, and increased by his son Charles, third duke of Marlborough; kept at Blenheim Palace (in a collection known as the Sunderland Library); in 1872 the library was catalogued prior to its sale; in 1883 the Gospel book was purchased by the dealer Bernard Quaritch, from whom Robert Garrett bought it in 1902; given by Garrett to Princeton University in 1942.

Manuscript Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Libraries, Princeton, N.J. (Ms. Garrett 7)

Sometime in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century a set of drawings was bound into this rather undistinguished copy of the four Gospels. The folds and stitching holes on the drawings indicate that they were taken from another book, one thought to have been a bound sheaf of artists' models. Presumably, four sheets with portraits of the evangelists were detached from their binding and interleaved in the present volume; the sheet with Matthew has since been lost, along with at least one gathering at the beginning of the Gospel book.

On the back of the portrait of John is the most significant drawing, an awkwardly grouped pair of Christ and the Virgin. The Virgin's head and shoulders appear in the corner above Christ, who is drawn following the Pantokrator type. The two portraits, though different in scale and orientation, nevertheless suggest an ensemble that served as an icon. In Byzantine art the Virgin's role as intercessor is most often expressed through the Deesis, in which she and John the Baptist flank Christ (cat. nos. 24–26, 78–80, 82).

Examples of the Virgin and Christ alone, in a manner similar to the composition of the present drawing, are also known. Using the formula "O Christ, help your servant," a man named Nikolas prays for himself and his household in the lines written at either side of Christ's head. At the bottom of the page is the inscription "I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness but will have the light of life" (John 8:12)—Christ's response to the supplication. Whether created for use as an artist's model or not, the interleaved drawing served as a devotional image of a kind popular in Byzantine illumination from the second half of the eleventh century onward, when miniatures began to take on the properties of icons.

JCA

LITERATURE: Clark 1937, pp. 73–75; Degenhart 1950, p. 102; Pächt 1960, p. 411, fig. 10; Wixom 1992, p. 200, fig. 19.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore 1947, no. 726; Athens 1964, no. 322; Princeton 1973, no. 41; Princeton 1986, no. 174.



50. Christ and the Virgin, fol. 178r



51. The Raising of Lazarus, fol. 173v

51. The Four Gospels

Byzantine, first half of 13th century
Tempera on parchment; 233 fols.
32.4 × 24 cm (12¼ × 9½ in.)

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (w. 531)

In this Gospel book the pairs of miniatures at each surviving Gospel opening are: the Baptism and Saint Mark (59v–60r), the Annunciation and Saint Luke (102v–103r), the Raising of Lazarus and Saint John (173v–174r). A fourth pair of miniatures and perhaps a quire of canon tables were lost with the beginning of Matthew; the book as it exists now comprises the Gospels from Matthew 5:12 through John 21:17. The custom of prefacing each Gospel with paired images of evangelist and feast scene goes back to the tenth century but was especially prevalent in the twelfth, when it was adopted by numerous workshops, including that of the so-called Kokkinobaphos Master, which worked for the imperial family. The choice of feast scenes is notably consistent, with the Nativity before Matthew, the Baptism of Christ before Mark, the Birth of the Baptist or the Annunciation before Luke, and the Anastasis before John. The origin of, or rationale for, this roster of scenes remains elusive, though the liturgy offers a range of possible explanations. Its consistency makes the choice of the Raising of Lazarus stand out particularly strongly in this Gospel book, a prominence reinforced by the scene's striking beauty.

This Gospel book combines aspects of the Kokkinobaphos Master's work—the last stylistically coherent group of manuscripts known from Constantinople before the city was sacked during the Fourth Crusade in 1204—with classicizing features such as the faces of the disciples in the Raising of Lazarus, which point to the Palaiologan renaissance art of the capital after its recovery by the Byzantines in 1261. The half century that stretches between these dates is among the most obscure in all of Byzantine art. Though the deep, saturated colors, glittering chrysography, and iconographic freedom of the miniatures all suggest that the Gospel book was made sometime during this period, its date, place of origin, and likely patron remain a mystery. AWC

LITERATURE: Alpatov 1928, p. 75; Ricci and Wilson 1935–40, vol. 1, p. 758; Clark 1937, pp. 361–62; Buchthal, "Byzantine Miniature," 1961, pp. 131–32, pl. 6; D. Rice 1967, p. 89; D. Rice, *Byzantine Painting*, 1968, p. 40, pl. 127; Belting 1970, p. 55; Princeton 1973, pp. 18, 41, 46, 64, 140, 158–61; Belting 1978, pp. 235–58, pls. 17, 21; Carr 1987, pp. 75, 92, 123, 148, 163–64 n. 15; Storey 1994.

EXHIBITIONS: Boston 1940, no. 11; Baltimore 1947, no. 732; Princeton 1973, no. 44.



52. Whitewashing Icons, fol. 67r

52. The Khلودov Psalter

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-9th century
Tempera on vellum; 169 fols.
19.5 × 15 cm (7¾ × 5⅞ in.)

State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russian Federation (GIM 86795, OR Khluđ. 129-d)

Among the many inscriptions dating from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century on various folios of the Khلودov Psalter, two in particular pertain to its history. Inscribed on folio 39 in fifteenth-century cursive script is the phrase, "The Lavra of Saint Athanasios founded in 6469 in the fourth year of the indiction," and on folio 169, "On July 21, 1648, I, Nechtarios, consecrated this psalter in the most holy church of the Monastery of the All-Holy Trinity on the island of Chalce."

The Khلودov Psalter was originally written in the ninth century in fine, precise Greek

uncial script, in brown ink, with twenty-three lines of text per page. In the twelfth century the faded ancient lettering had nearly vanished and was reinforced in miniscule script. The early text was preserved on only a few folios. Nine folios have been cut out in their entirety and partial excisions (including miniatures) made from other folios, several of which are torn and reveal some crumbling of the parchment.

At present the manuscript includes 209 marginal miniatures on 159 folios. These illuminations, among the oldest examples of the so-called monastic painting, offer an illustrated commentary to the accompanying text. Like the text, the miniatures were painted over at a later date (between the twelfth and thirteenth century, according to Archbishop Amphilochios and Viktor Lazarev;

in the fourteenth century, in the opinion of M. B. Shchepkinii). The fragments of the ninth-century paintings that remain reveal that they were traced in ink with painstakingly elaborated details. The palette of the miniatures—a light, transparent layer of bright blue, rose, green, and red—and their free, painterly character, which have much in common with ancient art, display a high level of artistic mastery. During the restoration, they were covered with a dense layer of predominantly dark blue, deep red, and green tones. M M C

Three psalters with marginal illustrations are preserved from the ninth century: the Khudov Psalter, Mount Athos, Pantokrator 61, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 20. Quite small, these manuscripts were produced for private study in Constantinople not long after the era of Iconoclasm ended in 843.

The illuminations of the psalter illustrate the words of particular verses or represent Old Testament stories alluded to in the Psalms, still others provide a Christian interpretation of verses, often with scenes from the New Testament. In many cases the images are complete commentaries on religious and political issues of the period directed toward a small, erudite circle in Constantinople, perhaps that of the patriarch Methodios I (843–47). In the same period Byzantine scribes and scholars also developed a system for writing elaborate commentaries in the margins surrounding biblical or classical texts.

The illustration on folio 67r is the best known in the manuscript, and rightly so, since it provides an excellent entrée into this work. The text, Psalm 68 (69), like many psalms, implores God to save the psalmist from his persecutors. The artist has followed the interpretation of the text as referring to the suffering of Christ. Verse 18 (17), “for I am in distress,” is accompanied by an image of Christ praying that is inscribed “on the Passion of the Lord,” indicating that this is Christ in Gethsemane just before his arrest.

Verse 22 (21), “They gave me gall . . . [and] vinegar” is illustrated with an image of Christ tormented on the cross. His persecutors are identifiable as Jews by their costumes and caricatured faces. Below, two Iconoclasts who whitewash an image of Christ mimic their actions. The figure with wild, demonic hair can be identified as John VII Grammatikos, patriarch of Constantinople (837?–43) and the chief focus of Iconophile ire. The inscriptions above, which read, along the side of the page, “they [mixed] vinegar and gall,” and below, “and they mixed water and lime on his face,” emphasize the parallel. Anti-Iconoclastic literature of the period also

condemns Iconoclasts by comparing them to the Jews. This image also refutes the Iconoclasts by presenting the Iconophile argument that the suppression of Christ’s image was a denial of his Passion—for how could Christ have suffered had he assumed a body that could not be circumscribed?

Also to be considered in this image is the condemnation of the Jews. Caricatures are seen throughout both this manuscript and the Pantokrator psalter. This illustration addresses the claim that the Jews were responsible for Christ’s torment and death on the cross, while at the same time it suggests that the Iconoclasts themselves drew their inspiration from the Jews—both common accusations in the anti-Jewish rhetoric of the ninth century. The same period also saw the development of an anti-Muslim polemic in which Muslims were condemned for denying the reality of Christ’s crucifixion and, because

of their stance against religious figural imagery, were similarly held responsible for the spread of Iconoclasm. This one image may thus be interpreted as an Iconophile refutation and condemnation of Iconoclasts, Jews, and Muslims. K C

LITERATURE: Scepkina 1977 (facsimile); Corrigan 1992 (with bibliography).

EXHIBITION: Utrecht 1996, no. 2.

53. The Theodore Psalter

Byzantine (Stoudios Monastery), Constantinople, 1066
Tempera and gold on vellum; 208 fols.
23.1 × 19.8 cm (9 1/8 × 7 3/4 in.)

PROVENANCE: Collection of Henry Perigall Borrell, Smyrna, who is said to have obtained it from the archbishop of Chios; purchased by the British Museum at Sotheby’s in 1853.

The British Library, Department of Manuscripts, London, England (Add. Ms. 19352)



53. The Anointing of David, fol. 106r

The psalter is named after its scribe, the priest Theodore, who was born in the Cappadocian city of Caesarea and emigrated to the capital, where he became a monk at the celebrated Stoudios Monastery. In 1066 he copied the Psalms and the Odes for the use of the monastery's abbot, Michael. Theodore wrote in a flowing but formal hand. The gold initials, grand titles, and ornamented frames create an ambience of luxury that speaks to the status enjoyed by the abbot of a powerful monastery—an ambience underscored by the portrayal of the abbot's investiture by Christ, which is modeled on an image often used to depict the divine foundation of imperial power (cat. nos. 138, 140, 144).

Scattered in the margins are the 435 miniatures that account for the manuscript's fame. These illustrations are inventive reworkings of pictures in a lost manuscript made at Stoudios during Theodore's lifetime; the source of the intermediary model was the ninth-century Khludov Psalter (cat. no. 52). Despite their ties, the two manuscripts belong to different eras. By the eleventh century the gritty historicism and unabashed corporeality of the Khludov miniatures had given way to an abstract, introspective style. Unlike the Khludov, the Theodore Psalter is filled with saints. Portrayed alone, in groups, or as part of simple narratives, they were used by Theodore to embody the virtues that the monks, under Michael's guidance, strove to perfect: obedience, charity, chastity, and so forth. Some of the stories warn of the threats that city life posed for the Byzantine monk. The anti-Iconoclastic polemic for which the Khludov Psalter is justifiably famous is employed here as a reminder to the Stoudite monks of their role in fighting heresy and to Abbot Michael of his responsibility for the Orthodox belief of his monks.

Images of theological import were also taken over from the earlier manuscript, as in the illustration of Psalm 77:70 (78:70) in which Samuel anoints David ("He chose his servant David, and took him from the sheepfolds"), while the Virgin appears holding Christ atop a mountain. The scene thus recalls Christ's descent from David (77:67–68 [78:67–68]): "He rejected the tent of Joseph, he did not choose the tribe of Ephraim; but he chose the tribe of Judah, Mount Zion, which he loves."

Opening the psalter for inspiration, guidance, and meditation or for use in a monastic service, the abbot Michael would thus have been confronted with figures that spoke to him directly about his role in society.

JCA



54

LITERATURE: *Catalogue* 1868, p. 225; Mariès 1950, pp. 133–62; Dufrenne 1967, pp. 177–91; Der Nersessian 1970; Cutler 1980–81, pp. 17–30; Walter 1986, pp. 269–87; Anderson 1988, pp. 55–68; Walter 1988, pp. 211–28.

EXHIBITION: London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 168.

54. Manuscript Leaf with Saint Peter

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1084
Tempera and gold on vellum
16.2 × 10.8 cm (6 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: The leaf was originally fol. 254 in Mount Athos, Pantokrator 49, and was purchased in 1950 from the V. G. Simkhovitch collection, New York; the manuscript itself was removed from Mount Athos after 1941; purchased in 1962 by Dumbarton

Oaks, Washington, D.C., where it is now Ms. 3; two other leaves are in, respectively, the Benaki Museum, Athens, Protheke 34.1 (Benaki 66), and in the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, no. 2580.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund (50.154)

The leaf originally introduced the First Epistle of Peter from a psalter and New Testament manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks (Ms. 3). The recto contains a framed portrait of Peter holding a scroll and standing in front of a draped wall. The text below comprises the first six verses of Peter's epistle. The Π of the first word, ΠΕΤΡΟΣ, is formed by a crossbar supported by the standing figures of Christ and Peter, both identified by inscriptions. Christ blesses Peter with an out-



55. Symeon the Stylite the Elder, fol. 2r

stretched hand, while Peter makes a gesture of respect and submission. The images on the page do not so much illustrate the text as introduce and support it. The architectural background, which ultimately derives from the *scaenae frons* of the Roman theater, was used from the Late Antique period on in representations of famous writers to enhance their status. That Peter holds a scroll rather than a book suggests a connection with the prophets of the Old Testament, holy men who spoke with the authority of God. And in the initial letter, which introduces the words “Peter, apostle of Jesus Christ,” Christ gives Peter not only his blessing but also the authority to speak on his behalf.

The manuscript from which the Cleveland leaf was taken has Easter tables for the years 1084 to 1101, and so must have been made in 1084. Stylistically, it is closely related to other manuscripts produced in Constantinople about this time. This type of manuscript, an illustrated combination psalter and New Testament, became popular in the twelfth century and is thought to have been developed for use in private study and devotion. Such a use for the Cleveland miniature is supported by the small size of its parent manuscript and the inclusion of prefatory texts to facilitate study as well as several iconic devotional images of Christ and the Virgin.¹ The notations at the bottom of

the leaf, added by a later hand, indicate the day of the liturgical year on which this passage from the epistle should be read.

K C

1. Carr 1980, pp. 133–36.

LITERATURE: Der Nersessian 1965; Cutler 1983; Lowden 1988, pp. 248–50; Nelson 1989; Lappa-Zizica and Rizou-Couroupou 1991, p. 55, figs. 39, 40.

EXHIBITION: Princeton 1973, no. 21.

55. Menologion of Basil II

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 985
Tempera and gold on vellum; 272 fols.
36.5 × 28.5 cm (14 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: ΜΗΝΙ ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΩ Α ΤΟΥ ΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΚΗΜΩΝ ΚΥΜΕΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΥΛΙΤΟΥ (The first of the month September, of our *hosios* father Symeon the Stylite)

CONDITION: The codex has undergone numerous rebindings during which the size of the folios was reduced by cropping.

PROVENANCE: The codex was made in Constantinople; while 979 has been established as the post quem date, an eleventh-century dating cannot be excluded; in the possession of a Genoese doctor residing in Constantinople in the fourteenth century; passed to the duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza (il Moro); donated by Cardinal Paolo Sfondrati to Pope Paul V and entered the Vatican Library.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Vat. gr. 1613)

One of the most famous Byzantine manuscripts is this menologion commissioned by or made for the emperor Basil II (r. 976–1025).¹ Menologia were liturgical codices containing lives of the saints arranged according to the calendar of the Church.² Each of the 430 miniatures in the 272 folios of this menologion occupies half a page, followed by a text composed to fit exactly sixteen lines; pages with paintings at the top alternate with pages bearing images at the bottom. Fifteen miniatures lack text, and two lack both text and title. The paintings include illustrations of the Great Feasts of the liturgical year as well as a variety of “prophets, martyrs, apostles, saints, and angels,” as described in the prefatory poem on page xiii. All scenes are staged in front of elaborate architectural settings or exquisite landscapes with gold-leaf backgrounds. In most cases, representations of the saints vary from images of martyrdom to figures in orans positions, the selection depending on whether the title of the page reads, respectively, “martyrdom” or “commemoration.” The great majority of paintings record acts of martyrdom and torture.

The miniature on folio 2r reproduced here depicts Saint Symeon the Stylite the Elder, whose commemoration opens the liturgical year on September 1. The saint is shown on his column in the middle of the composition, raising his hands in an orans position. The

figures to the left of the column, dressed in Arabic costume, seem to refer, as the text below relates, to the many miracles of the saint involving non-Christians. The monk leaning on his staff in front of the monastery to the right of the column alludes to the passage describing Symeon's stay in a monastery. While both extensive and abbreviated pictorial programs of Symeon's life existed during the Middle Byzantine period (one extensive program, in the Panegyrikon Eosphigenou 14, dates from the second half of the eleventh century), this miniature differs from those examples in the painter's attempt to adapt his composition to the accompanying text.

The remarkably uniform style of the illuminations in the Menologion of Basil II is the work of eight artists. Each miniature bears the name of its artist: Pantoleon (79 paintings), Nestor (71), Michael the Younger (67), Michael of Blachernai (61), Symeon of Blachernai (48), George (45), Symeon (32), and Menas (27). The need for speedy execution may have dictated the distribution of the sheets among the eight, who seem to have labored simultaneously.³

This codex is not in fact a true menologion but rather a version of the Synaxarion of Constantinople. (A synaxarion contains short daily commemorations from the lives of saints who are recorded in the liturgical calendar of the Church.) However, the present manuscript has been considered the source of inspiration for several illuminated (so-called imperial) menologia, such as the Walters Ms. 521, the Moscow State Historical Museum Ms. gr. 183 (cat. no. 56), and the Benaki fragment. Although a number of similarities exist

between the paintings of the Menologion of Basil II and the miniatures of the other manuscripts, there is not sufficient evidence to support the use of the menologion as a direct model. The issue of models in Middle Byzantine manuscript painting remains unsettled, and little is known about artists' formal training in this period. In addition, any identification of sources for the menologion images at this time is mere conjecture.

As a liturgical codex, the menologion was made for, and meant to be used at, specific moments during Church services. Its lavish decoration, however, does not appear to have had any liturgical function; the overwhelming majority of synaxaria were not illuminated. The prefatory poem states that one of the miniatures' functions was decorative; they were meant to be admired by persons who could gain access to such a luxurious manuscript. Furthermore, as the end of the same poem relates, the sumptuous depictions of the various saints were considered to be beneficial to the patron: "May he [the emperor] find as his assistants in the reign, all [saints] whom he pictured with colors, to be allies in his battles, deliverers from hardships, curers of illnesses, and in the Last Judgment fervent-intercessors with the Lord." In this respect the miniatures share the talismanic qualities of icons. The great number and variety of saints painted in the Menologion of Basil II can be interpreted as an effort by the emperor to secure for himself the help of as many holy persons as possible. Numerous deluxe objects from the Middle Byzantine period, such as the Halberstadt Paten, the Chalice of Emperor Romanos (without handles), the Harbaville Triptych (cat. nos. 30,

31, 80), the San Marco icons of Saint Michael, and the Psalter of Basil II, display a select group of apostles, evangelists, and military and healing saints who may have been chosen for their prophylactic properties. Like the menologion, these works appear to reflect their aristocratic patrons' need for divine protection. D K

1. For discussions on dating, see Der Nersessian 1940-41, pp. 104-25, and I. Ševčenko 1972, pp. 241-49. For information regarding the provenance, see *Menologio*, 1907, vol. 1.
2. *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 1341-42.
3. I. Ševčenko 1962, pp. 245-76.

LITERATURE: *Menologio*, 1907, vol. 1; Der Nersessian 1940-41, pp. 104-25; I. Ševčenko 1962, pp. 245-76; I. Ševčenko 1972, pp. 241-49.

56. "Imperial" Menologion

Byzantine (Constantinople), 11th century
Tempera and gold on vellum; 269 fols.
31.6 × 24.4 cm (12½ × 9¾ in.)

CONDITION: Fols. 252-57 and 259-62 are sixteenth-century replacements.

PROVENANCE: In the Kastamonitou Monastery on Mount Athos in the sixteenth century; taken to the Synodal Library in Moscow, probably in 1655.

State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russian Federation (GIM 80272 OR Sin gr. 183)

The miniature illustrated here is among fifty-seven in the present menologion manuscript. Fol. 211r prefaces the beginning of the text of the Life of Saint Alexios Homo Dei,



56. Martyrdom of Saint Alexios Homo Dei, fol. 211r

or Man of God (celebrated March 17), though what it illustrates is actually the end of the story, the moment when the true identity of Alexios is revealed. The dead saint, who has the features of John the Baptist and is clad in sackcloth, clasps a document that reveals his aristocratic origins; the emperor Honorius reaches reverently for the scroll. To the right Alexios's senator father tears his beard in grief (Alexios, after fleeing marriage for an ascetic life in Syria, had been living unrecognized in his father's household in Rome). A priest censures the corpse, while a young courtier points sadly at the scene. With its concentration on a single event, small number of figures pressed to the foreground, clearly readable action, and minimal but telling setting, the miniature is a classic representative of Byzantine hagiographical narrative illustration.

The present work is one of several related eleventh-century manuscripts of the lives of the saints illustrated in this manner. The texts in each of the volumes are followed by verse invocations for the well-being of the emperor, and the prayers, which always contain the enigmatic acrostic MIXAHAPI — thought, albeit without clear evidence, to refer to the emperor Michael IV Paphlagon (r. 1034–41) — have led to these manuscripts' being designated "imperial" menologia.

An imperial connection is also revealed by the miniatures, which are very closely related to those in an earlier imperial manuscript, the Menologion of Basil II (cat. no. 55).¹ The fact that the miniatures of the Basil manuscript are here evoked a half century later, in volumes of quite different content and format (the texts are far longer than those in the Basil Menologion),² indicates that the earlier miniatures possessed a value in the eleventh century that transcended their function as illustrations for particular texts.

The evocation of miniatures from an earlier imperial manuscript, the inclusion of prayers that invoke each saint individually on behalf of the emperor, and the attested employment of these texts in contemporary monastic liturgy all combine to suggest that these menologia were designed for use in one or another of the imperial monasteries founded in Constantinople in the course of the eleventh century.

N P Š

1. Another illustrated volume, probably from an earlier edition of the "Imperial" Menologion, is the January Menologion now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (Ms. gr. 521), and there are fragments of still another edition in the Benaki Museum, Athens (Ms. gr. 71). Because the Basil Menologion contains texts only for the months of September



through February, the miniatures in the March section of the Moscow manuscript cannot be compared directly with its miniatures, although they can legitimately be used to reconstruct miniatures that must have adorned the beginning of the lost second volume of the Menologion of Basil II, covering the months of March through August.

2. The texts in the Basil Menologion are brief synaxarion notices, never more than sixteen lines long, while those in the "imperial" menologia are extended vitae based for the most part on texts composed by Symeon Metaphrastes in the tenth century.

LITERATURE: Latyšev 1911, fasc. 1, pp. 245–52 (text of the Alexios vita); Tréneff and Popoff 1911; Der Nersessian, "Moskovskii Menologii," 1973, pp. 94–111; Spatharakis 1981, no. 307; N. Ševčenko 1993, pp. 43–64, esp. pp. 44–45.

57. Lectionary Leaf with the Evangelist Mark

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 10th–early 11th century

Tempera and gold on vellum
26.5 × 19 cm (10³/₈ × 7¹/₂ in.)

INSCRIBED: Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΜΑΡΚΟC (Saint Mark)

CONDITION: There is some minor flaking of the miniature.

PROVENANCE: Removed from Athens, National Library, Cod. 2552 (formerly Serres, Prodromos Monastery 17) sometime after 1919; purchased from Léon Gruel by Henry Walters.

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (w. 530a)

This single leaf originally was part of a lectionary. An old photograph shows it facing

the beginning of the section of the lectionary in which the readings from Mark predominate. The text, written in two columns and introduced by a painted pi-shaped headpiece enclosing the title, identifies the reading as that from Mark, for the first Saturday of Lent and the feast of the great martyr Theodore Teron. In most lectionaries the decoration consists of ornamental headpieces and portraits of the evangelists, arranged according to the order of appearance of their texts in the lectionary—John, Matthew, Luke, and Mark. Elaborately illustrated lectionaries, such as the Morgan Library codex M639 (cat. no. 60), are the exception.

The evangelist Mark is here shown as a scribe, seated on a cushioned bench before a desk with a lectern. On the lectern is the open book that he is in the process of copying, while some of his implements, an ink tray and a compass, rest on the desk. Having copied one line of text onto the parchment in his lap, Mark pauses, his pen in one hand and his chin resting in the other. He stares out toward the viewer, his brow furrowed, the intensity of his expression contrasting with the calmness of his pose.

This portrait has traditionally been dated to the very end of the tenth century and, because of its high quality, attributed to

Constantinople. More recently, A. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and C. Toufexi-Paschou have argued that the manuscript's ornament and script place it in the first half of the eleventh century.¹ Stylistically, the miniature may be compared with portraits in the Menologion of Basil II, of about 1000–1018 (cat. no. 55), with which it shares plasticity of form, sharp fold patterns, and intense facial expression. Indeed, it has many counterparts among evangelist portraits of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. It has often been compared, for example, to the portrait of Mark in Vatican gr. 364, a late-tenth-century Gospel book. The evangelist portraits in the Vatican manuscript, however, have classical architectural backgrounds incised into the gold leaf (a feature found in a number of mid- to late-tenth-century evangelist portraits), while the Walters leaf has a plain gold background.

K C

1. Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou 1978, pp. 79–81.

LITERATURE: Marava-Chatzinicolaou and Toufexi-Paschou 1978, pp. 79–81.

EXHIBITIONS: Princeton 1973, no. 8, figs. 12, 13 (with earlier references); Baltimore 1984, pl. 3.

58. Two Lectionary Leaves

A. The Evangelist Matthew

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1057–63
Tempera and gold leaf on vellum
29 × 22.5 cm (11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: Ο Α ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΣ (Saint Matthew)

CONDITION: There is some flaking at the bottom and the lower-right corner and considerable cropping, especially at the top.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund (42.1512)

B. The Evangelist Luke

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1057–63
Tempera and gold leaf on vellum
29 × 22.5 cm (11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΛΟΥΚΑΣ (Saint Luke)

CONDITION: There is some flaking on the saint's head and on the chair.

PROVENANCE: Originally belonged to a lectionary that, according to its colophon, was presented to the Holy Trinity Monastery at Chalke in 1063 by the empress Katherine Komnene; remained at the library of the Phanar School in Istanbul until the 1920s; purchased by the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1942 from the D. G. Kelekian collection in New York.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund (42.1511)



58A. The Evangelist Matthew



58B. The Evangelist Luke

Both these miniature leaves were originally part of a set of the Four Evangelists that prefaced the four Gospels of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Chalke.¹ Evangelist portraits were the most commonly illustrated subject in Byzantine book illumination. Functioning primarily as author portraits, they either were gathered in the beginning of the Gospel book or prefaced each Gospel respectively, as is the case with these two folios.

In the miniature of the evangelist Matthew, the figure is seated on a gilded stool, his feet supported by a footrest. He wears a blue chiton and a light brown himation in the classical manner of the philosopher. Following the standard Byzantine iconography, which presents Matthew and John as older men and Luke and Mark as younger adults, Matthew is depicted with short white hair and beard. He holds a parchment leaf with his left hand and leans slightly forward to write the first word of his Gospel with his right. An armoire with closed doors stands in front of him; various writing tools—a stylus sharpener, a knife, a clip chain, and a glass bottle with black ink—sit on top of it. An architectural framework composed of two marble columns, capitals, and an arch decorated with a trefoil pattern encloses the painting. Matthew looks across his work to the opposite page, where the text of his Gospel would have been written. The dexterous artist has painted the face of the evangelist in great detail with short, thin brushstrokes and has adroitly created the silky texture of Matthew's garments with the application of white highlighting. Less emphasis is given to the depiction of the furniture.

Luke appears as a young man dressed in a blue himation and a light pink chiton, also in the classical manner of the philosopher. He, too, leans slightly forward in the act of writing the first words of his Gospel on a piece of parchment held in his left hand. Unlike Matthew, Luke focuses his glance on the parchment leaf in front of him. He is seated on a high-backed chair and rests his feet on a footstool. Before him there is a low armoire with closed doors; on top of which his writing instruments—knife, compass, stylus sharpener, and ink stand—are displayed. Behind the armoire is a lectern bearing a closed parchment scroll and two glass bottles containing the ink for his writing: black for the text, red for the inscriptions and capital letters. The composition stands against a gold background and is framed by two ornate columns and capitals supporting an arch that bears a foliate cross at its summit.

The multicolored decoration of the columns and the foliate scroll of the arch evoke similar works in enamel and silver of the same period, such as the reliquary of the True Cross from Esztergom Cathedral, the reliquary of the True Cross from Monopoli, and the scepter tip in the collection of La Compagnie Stofer (cat. nos. 40, 110, 175), demonstrating the familiarity of the creator of this work with those media. The artist's high level of competence is evident in the careful modeling of Luke's face.² As in the miniature of Matthew, the rendering of the furniture is rather simplified; the modeling of the garments is characteristic of the linear style of the eleventh century. The flowing brushstrokes and the placement of the highlights confirm the confident and experienced hand of the artist.

Stylistic comparison of the two miniatures suggests that they were painted by different artists. While Luke's face is modeled from a greenish foundation, Matthew's is fashioned from an ocher underpaint, giving his features a lighter appearance. The distinct artists' hands and the compositional disparities between the works are seen more clearly when the images are viewed with the two other miniatures of the set.³ The portraits of Matthew and John share certain iconographic details that vary in the miniatures of Luke and Mark. The Matthew/John pair seem to have been created for a larger codex, as they have been cropped at the top, losing the upper edge of their frames; the Luke/Mark pair remain intact. The columns in the frames of the first pair display variegated marble decoration, whereas those in the second pair show an enamel-like ornamentation. In addition, the use of red for the inscriptions and a single line to define the halos, the presence of a lone glass bottle of black ink, and the evangelists' gaze toward the opposite page in the first pair are replaced in the second by the use of blue outlined with black for the inscriptions and a double line for the halos, the presence of two glass bottles containing black and red ink, and the evangelists' focus on their writing. Nevertheless, both works reflect the linear painting style of the second half of the eleventh century, which retains a strong taste for fully modeled figures, most apparent in the faces.

The great popularity of evangelist portraits in Byzantine illumination is due in part to the large number of Gospel books produced during this period and in part to the required presence of the portraits as visual proof of the authenticity of the Gospels. The primary function of the evangelists as the transcribers of the word of God emphasizes the divine

provenance of the Gospels; the limited selection of iconographic repertoire in these works, in which the evangelists are shown either in the process of writing or while pausing to contemplate, reflects this sacred status. From the twelfth century on, a new element alluding to the Gospels' divine source enters the iconography, as can be seen in the portrait of the evangelist John in the Getty New Testament (cat. no. 47), in which the hand of God at the upper-left corner of the miniature denotes the ultimate inspiration for the Gospel's author.

D K

1. For information regarding provenance, see Diehl 1922, pp. 243ff. Of the remainder of the set of four, the miniature of the evangelist Mark was in the Guerson collection in Paris, and the miniature of the evangelist John seems to have been lost; see Princeton 1973, pp. 85–86.
2. Although the practice of the master painter executing only the faces of figures in large commissions of a workshop is not unusual in Byzantine miniature painting of this period, there is no particular evidence that such is the case in this portrait.
3. The miniatures of Mark and John are reproduced in Diehl 1927, figs. 4, 6. The miniature of Mark is also reproduced in Princeton 1973, p. 85, fig. 23.

LITERATURE: Diehl 1922, pp. 243ff.; Diehl 1927, pp. 3–9; Princeton 1973, pp. 85–86.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 63; (A) Baltimore 1947, no. 700; Seattle 1949; Milwaukee 1955; Oberlin 1957, no. 4; Athens 1964, no. 309; Princeton 1973, no. 13. (B) Baltimore 1947, no. 700; Seattle 1949; Kansas City, 1954–55; Oberlin 1957, no. 3; Berkeley 1963, no. 5; Athens 1964, no. 309; Princeton 1973, p. 86, no. 14.

59. Lectionary

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1050–1100
Tempera and gold on vellum; 306 fols.
40 × 27 cm (15¾ × 10¾ in.)

CONDITION: The codex has survived with minimal flaking of the miniatures.

PROVENANCE: In the fifteenth century the manuscript passed through the hands of two Greek priests, one of whom, Thomas, was the son of a man named George, referred to as the “exarch of Phoua” (fol. 305v).

The Holy Monastery of Iveron, Mount Athos, Greece (Cod. 1)

The Iveron lectionary is among the latest books to be copied using the form of writing known as uncial—large, rounded block letters evenly spaced on the page. A type of writing used for books in antiquity, uncial was replaced by cursive in the late ninth and tenth centuries. While cursive continued to



59. The Baptism of Christ, fol. 247r

gain in popularity, scribes, recognizing the formality inherent in uncial script, used it for book titles and for transcriptions of the text most sacred to the Byzantines, that of the Gospel lectionary.

Produced in the eleventh century, the Iveron lectionary is comparable in style to other uncial lectionaries in Athens (National Library, Cod. 59) and Oxford (Bodleian Library, Canon. gr. 92). The large size of the manuscript and its carefully executed script

suggest an expensive gift made in the hope of securing divine favor. Six large miniatures enhanced the book's value. These were devoted to important events marked by celebrations in the Church calendar: the Nativity, the Baptism of Christ, the Presentation in the Temple, the Transfiguration, the Anastasis, and the Koimesis. A number of Gospel lectionaries from the tenth (Saint Petersburg, Cod. 21) through the eleventh (Parma, Palatina Cod. 5) and twelfth (Mount

Athos, Skeuophylakion Lectionary of the Great Lavra) centuries were similarly illustrated, though the illuminators never depicted precisely the same events. The images resemble icons, albeit icons of limited circulation, as use of the manuscript was effectively restricted to the priest who read it during the service.

The illuminator's style is characterized in this depiction of the Baptism, in which powerful figures dominate a rocky landscape: John the Baptist standing over Christ as two angels attend him, one bowing in reverence as the other looks heavenward, calling our attention to the descending dove.

JCA

LITERATURE: Lampros 1900, p. 1; Xyngopoulos 1932, pp. 6–7, pls. 1–11; Weitzmann 1969, pp. 419–20; Pelekanidis et al. 1975, pp. 293–95, figs. 1–6.

60. The Morgan Lectionary

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1050–1100
Tempera and gold on vellum; 378 fols.
33.5 × 25.4 cm (13¼ × 10 in.)

PROVENANCE: Said to have been in the library of the Escorial in the early nineteenth century; in the collection of John Dent; in 1827 purchased at the Dent sale by William Beckford, who bequeathed his library to his son-in-law Alexander, tenth duke of Hamilton; in 1882 purchased at the Hamilton sale by the German government for the royal library but subsequently returned to Sotheby's for resale, in 1889, to the dealer Nicholas Trübner; purchased by the dealers Ellis and Elvey; in 1898 sold by W. J. Leighton to Henry Yates Thompson; purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan at the Thompson sale in 1919.

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N.Y.
(Ms. M.639)

The Morgan Lectionary, containing the Gospel readings used in the Orthodox service, is one of a number of grand copies of the lectionary text produced in medieval Constantinople. The text was copied in a bold hand to facilitate public performance, the red notations above the words serving to cue the priest as he sings the passage to the congregation. The illustration includes framed miniatures as well as historiated initials, some spilling into the margins. On the first leaf John the Evangelist is shown dictating the Gospel to his disciple Prochoros. John stands in a rugged landscape, looking in one direction but gesturing in another, a complex pose meant to signal the evangelist's role as transmitter of God's word. To the left of the portrait is the Anastasis, Christ's descent into hell to free the righteous who had died before the Crucifixion. As David,



† ΕΚ ΤΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩ:
ΜΑΡΧΗ· ΗΜΟΥ ΛΟΓ·
ΚΑΙ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ· ΗΜΕΡ
ΤΩΝ ΘΥ· ΚΑΙ ΤΕ ΗΜ

Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ· ΟΥΤΟΣ ΗΜ
ΕΜΑΡΧΗ· ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΝ
ΘΥ· ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩ· ΔΙΩ
ΤΟΥ ΕΡΜΗΤΟ· ΚΑΙ Χ
ΡΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ· ΕΡΜΗΤΟ

Solomon, and Eve look on, Christ strides over Satan and pulls Adam from a sarcophagus; though defeated, Satan struggles to retain his grip on Adam's leg. Although this theme is not described in the Bible, it had come to be associated with Easter and with Christ's resurrection, and the passage inscribed below the miniature (the first verses of the Gospel of John) was read on Easter Sunday. The elegantly proportioned figures are rendered in fine brushstrokes and soft shading; the border is composed of a wide band of segmented ornament designed to resemble an enameled icon frame. The Morgan Lectionary has a close relative in another lectionary in the collection of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, Paris (no. 206).

JCA

LITERATURE: Clark 1937, pp. 155–58; Weitzmann 1954, pp. 358–73.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore 1947, no. 705; Princeton 1973, no. 28.

61. The New York Cruciform Lectionary

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1125–50
Tempera and gold on vellum; 293 fols.
34 × 23.8 cm (13½ × 9½ in.)

PROVENANCE: In the nineteenth century belonged to the patriarchal church of Saint George in the Cypresses, Istanbul; in 1925 purchased by the Pierpont Morgan Library from the dealer Mitchell Kennerley.

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N.Y. (Ms. M.692)

The text of the New York Cruciform Lectionary is written in the shape of a cross, a design that leaves a great deal of expensive parchment empty in extravagant testimony to the donor's piety. The manuscript is one of four such books, all lectionaries and all made in twelfth-century Constantinople within two generations. Facing the title page is a portrait of the evangelist John, sitting in his study with a copy of his Gospel lying open on a stand. On the title page are words written in gold capital letters: "On the Holy and Great Sunday of Easter; Reading from [the Gospel of] John." (The Easter reading follows, beginning on the back of the folio.) Surrounding the inscription is a wide band of carefully painted ornament that intro-



61. Ornamental cross, fol. 2

duces the cross format followed throughout the manuscript. Lush foliate candelabra rise from the baseline, storks perch on the arms of the cross, and smaller birds drink from a fountain at the top. As was appropriate for the most sacred book used in the service, the title frame has a monumental vitality, associated by the Byzantines with the life-giving aspect of the cross (cat. nos. 37, 38). The work of the two artists responsible for the portraits and narrative miniatures of the lectionary was not completed. Although most of the miniatures were finished, a few remain as drawings, some having a thin layer of colored wash.

JCA

LITERATURE: Clark 1937, pp. 162–66; Anderson 1992.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore 1947, no. 717; Princeton 1973, no. 35.

62. Homilies on the Life of the Virgin by James the Monk

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1125–50
Tempera and gold on vellum; 194 fols.
33 × 23 cm (13 × 9 in.)

CONDITION: The original red binding has been lost, and the manuscript is now in three volumes with a modern binding.

PROVENANCE: Appears in the Vatican Library inventory of 1475.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Ms. Vat. gr. 1162)

The sermons were written in the second quarter of the twelfth century by a monk named James, who belonged to the Monastery of the Virgin of the Kokkinobaphos. James served as the spiritual adviser and confidant of Irene Sebastokratorissa, sister-in-law of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos and one of the most active literary patrons of the twelfth century. It is likely that Irene's support



62. The Ascension, fol. 2v



63. The Anastasis, fol. 5r

allowed James to compose the homilies and supervise their illustration. The complete text survives in two deluxe versions, an earlier one in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris gr. 1208) and the copy in the Vatican, made a decade or so later. The versions are nearly identical except that the Vatican edition was produced in a generous quarto format, with three additional miniatures and much grander ornament at the start of each homily. Both were illuminated by the artist responsible for the Gospels of John II Komnenos (cat. no. 144), who is known after this, his grandest creation, as the Kokkinobaphos Master. The opulence of his style and technique and the extraordinary richness of the materials at his disposal are especially pronounced in the Vatican copy of the homilies.

In six essays that follow the sermon format, James the Monk traces the life of the

Virgin Mary; he begins with the story of her aristocratic parents and ends with her betrothal to a common tradesman. The homilies may have been composed as didactic texts that would use pictures to help convey their message. In devising his cycle of miniatures, the Kokkinobaphos Master created the longest visual biography of the Virgin ever produced in Byzantium. He did so by taking figures and groups from well-known subjects such as the Annunciation and the Baptism of Christ and recasting them in new contexts and combinations. His principal source for such subjects was an illuminated version of the apocryphal writing known as the Protoevangelion of Saint James, which also provided the author with the skeleton for his narrative. The artist reimaged the story of the Virgin's early life as a tale with the traits of a medieval romance.

He paid keen attention to states of mind, especially anxiety, doubt, and fear but also joy and exultation. In addition, the characters move in recognizable worlds, differentiated by concrete detail. Servants fill the aristocratic household into which the Virgin was born; they stand ready with trays and fans and occasionally eavesdrop at doorways. It is a world in which one was never alone, and it is contrasted with the starkness of the house of the workman Joseph. Other scenes are set in the wilderness or in a space that can be interpreted as a convent.

The frontispiece image unfolds in a church to remind the reader of where the story of the Virgin ultimately will end. The Virgin and the disciples gather to witness Christ's ascension into heaven after the Crucifixion and Resurrection. Isaiah and David stand in the aisles holding scrolls inscribed with their prophecies (Isa. 63:1 and Ps. 46:6). Above, as if seated in a domed chamber, the disciples meet at Pentecost. The first homily begins on the facing page with an initial that encloses the Virgin holding the infant Christ. Above the initial the artist painted a rectangular block of lush ornament to introduce one of the central motifs of the cycle, the garden of paradise.

JCA

LITERATURE: Stornajolo 1910, pls. 1–82; Canart and Peri 1970, pp. 547–48; Buonocore 1986, p. 875; Anderson 1991, pp. 69–120; Ceresa 1991, pp. 368–69; Hutter and Canart 1991; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1992, pp. 196–201 and passim.

EXHIBITIONS: Vatican City 1975, no. 84; Cologne 1992, no. 23.

63. The Liturgical Homilies of Saint Gregory of Nazianzos

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1150
Tempera and gold on vellum; 437 fols.
32.3 × 25.4 cm (12¼ × 10 in.)

PROVENANCE: Brought to Mount Sinai from Crete by the monk Germanos in 1550.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt (gr. 339)

The Sinai Gregory is one of the most important illuminated manuscripts of the twelfth century. Dedicatory inscriptions indicate that it was made at the order of the monk Joseph Hagiogykerites, one of the first abbots to serve in the Monastery of the Pantokrator in Constantinople, a house richly endowed by Emperor John II Komnenos (r. 1118–43). The manuscript's intended recipient was the Monastery of the Theotokos Pantanassa

on the tiny island of Hagia Glykeria (Incir Adasi), in the Sea of Marmara. A recently discovered letter contains evidence suggesting that Joseph had served as abbot of the Theotokos Pantanassa before moving to Constantinople and that the gift followed the reconsecration of its church, in 1142, after a rebuilding campaign.

The manuscript includes a collection of sermons written by the fourth-century bishop Saint Gregory of Nazianzos. Drawing on Gregory's extensive writings, medieval editors popularized selections of his sermons on significant ecclesiastical themes and on feasts such as Easter, Pentecost, and Epiphany. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries a burst of patronage resulted in a large number of handsomely adorned editions of Gregory's selected sermons. Artists adorned the sermons with portraits and scenes that related either directly to content or to the feast day celebrated. Except for a copy of Gregory's complete works made for Emperor Basil I in the ninth century, the Sinai Gregory is the grandest surviving edition of the sermons. It is distinguished from the other editions by the sheer number of illustrations. It would appear that Abbot Joseph borrowed two illustrated copies of the sermons and had his illuminator combine them into one grand book. In some cases both sources had the same subject. Undaunted, the illuminator placed one illustration above the sermon and the other in the initial or in the margin. The opening chapter, for example, is intended for Easter, so the miniature in the headpiece is decorated with the Anastasis, which as a sign of the Resurrection had come to be associated with Easter (cat. no. 60). A second depiction of the Anastasis appears in the opening letter of the same sermon, the alpha of the word *anastaseos* ([day] of the Resurrection). Other sermons show a similar duplication of imagery without verbal prompting.

Facing the opening sermon on the opposite folio sits its author (see illus. on pp. 4 and 109). Like an evangelist, Gregory writes in his study. Christ appears from above, in a visual equivalent of the epithet "mouthpiece of God," which recurs later in a metrical colophon composed by the donor (fol. 437v). Surrounding Gregory is a rich architectural fantasy centering on a church, with the Virgin and Child depicted in the apse. The frame clearly derives from the frontispiece to the Homilies of James the Monk (cat. no. 62). The headpiece ornament surrounding the Anastasis also borrows from the equivalent pattern in the same work. Such parallels, which extend to the historiated initials,

serve to align the work and its patron with the art produced for members of the Komnenos family. As abbot of an imperial monastery and negotiator in ecclesiastical matters, Joseph Hagioglykerites could justly consider himself a member of court society.

J C A

LITERATURE: Gardthausen 1886, pp. 72–73; Galavaris 1969, pp. 255–58 and passim, figs. 377–79; Noret 1978, pp. 156–61; Anderson 1979, pp. 167–85; Harlfinger et al. 1983, pp. 46–48, pls. 114–16; Weitzmann and Galavaris 1990, pp. 140–53, figs. 468–586, colorpls. XXI–XXV; Mango 1992, pp. 221–28.

64. Liturgical Roll

Byzantine (Constantinople), second quarter of 12th century

Tempera and gold on vellum; 9 sheets glued together 583.1 × 21.5 cm (18 ft. 9 in. × 8½ in.)

CONDITION: The upper edge of the first sheet of parchment is damaged, and there is rubbing and flaking of the upper section of the opening miniature and of several initials.

PROVENANCE: Unknown.¹

The Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, Patmos, Greece (Cod. 707 [Roll 1])

This roll, which is over eighteen feet long, contains the "secret prayers" (those a priest or bishop recites inaudibly in the sanctuary during the Liturgy of Basil the Great and the Liturgy of the Presanctified). Although by the Middle Byzantine period the Liturgy of John Chrysostom was in more common use, that attributed to Basil the Great was still used on certain occasions, especially during Lent and Passion Week.

The roll, one of the most important of the more than 150 rolls that survive from Byzantine times, is composed of nine sheets of parchment glued together and wound around a wooden rod. During use, a roll such as this must have been gradually rolled onto a second rod, probably by a deacon or some other attendant, as the liturgy progressed.²

The splendid opening miniature evokes the architecture of a church. Reading from the top down, we see five blue domes with red drums pierced by windows, a bust of the Virgin Orans in a concha or lunette, with two barely visible angels in grisaille in the gold-filled lunettes to either side of her (the angel on the right has virtually disappeared), and then a section of blue roof and a pale green arcade, below which are five small gold lunettes covered by a rolling blue roofline.

The next section shows Saint Basil standing behind an altar, holding a roll with both hands, in a space that presumably represents the sanctuary of a church. A paten with *asteriskos* (frame for a cloth cover) and a wine-filled chalice rest on the altar. Deacons clad in white and waving liturgical fans flank Basil. The figures stand beneath arches that rest in part on a pair of knotted columns; above is a wall of green porphyry, inset with a large roundel of purplish-brown porphyry.³

The aim here was not to represent any particular church building but to depict an ideal image of the sanctuary to which the roll was being presented, and to suggest, through the variegated marbles and golden crosses, the most luxurious setting possible for the recitation of the liturgical text that follows. In this latter respect the opening miniature is comparable to the canon tables that introduce a Gospel book.

Below the "church" is a large carpet of vegetal ornament, a form of headpiece that traditionally prefaces the title and beginning of a sacred text. The opening *O* of the words "O God, our God," the start of the *prothesis* (offertory) prayer, contains an image of the young Christ Emmanuel. Each subsequent prayer begins with a different painted initial (there are twenty-six in all): the first ones are images of Christ, angels, and Saints Peter and Paul; the rest are secular in tone, composed of jumping deer, birds and snakes, and a falconer.

Comparable architectural settings adorn the frontispieces of several manuscripts dating from about the middle of the twelfth century—the Kokkinobaphos Group (cat. no. 62), the Sinai Gregory (cat. no. 63), the Melbourne Gospels,⁴ and a roll in Athens⁵—though the relative chronology of these manuscripts has not yet been precisely determined. Despite the rather soft modeling of some of the figures in the Patmos initials and some simplifications and ambiguities in the architectural forms, the script, initials, ornament, and architecture all conform sufficiently to mid-twelfth-century types to suggest that the Patmos roll must date from roughly this same period.⁶

N P Š

1. An inventory of the Patmos library from the year 1200 lists four rolls containing the Liturgy of Basil but gives no further information; see Astruc 1981, p. 26, l. 140.

2. See Gerstel 1994, pp. 195–204, and A. Grabar, "Rouleau liturgique," 1954, pp. 163–99. The text continues onto the reverse of the roll, and a second text, the Liturgy of the Presanctified, occupies what



- space remains. The deacon's responses were inserted into the margins of the main text at a later date, as were various individual prayers for remembrance.
3. Roundels in a contrasting marble are a feature of twelfth-century church pavement design, as in the church of the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos, for example; see C. Bouras, in Kominis 1988, p. 49, fig. 17.
 4. Melbourne, National Gallery, Ms. 710/5 (see Buchthal, "Illuminated Byzantine Gospel," 1961, pp. 1–12; the manuscript is now thought to date to about 1150).
 5. Athens, National Library, gr. 2759 (see Kepetzis 1981; Spatharakis 1981, no. 323).
 6. Close parallels for script and ornament occur in a Gospel book of about 1139 in Oxford, Christ Church, Wake, gr. 32 (Hutter 1977–93, vol. 4, no. 24). Parallels for the initials occur in the Sinai Gregory (cat. no. 63).

LITERATURE: Sakellion 1890, no. 707; Jacopi 1932–33, pl. 23, figs. 145–47; A. Grabar, "Rouleau liturgique," 1954, pp. 163–99, esp. pp. 167–68, 171–72, 179; Kepetzis 1981, vol. 2, pp. 253–72; Mouriki and Ševčenko 1988, pp. 289–91, pp. 314–15, figs. 25–34; Galavaris 1995, p. 253, fig. 186.

EXHIBITION: Athens 1964, no. 359.

64. Saint Basil and Two Deacons in a Church



...ΚΑΤΑΣΧΗΤΑ ... ΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ ... ΚΟΥΣΑΔΕΣΠΟ ...



POPULAR IMAGERY

ANNEMARIE WEYL CARR

The most venerable church of the holy life-giving Cross was renovated and painted through the donation, expense, and great desire of the most devout . . . ?” Thus reads the dedication above the western door of the little Church of the Holy Cross near the village of Pelendria, Cyprus, now a United Nations–designated world monument.¹ The names of the fourteenth-century donors have not survived, but there were several of them, probably akin to those of the priest and villagers that still remain in the church, in a layer of paintings dating to the twelfth century.² The identities of these individuals are not known. None were titled, and though their means were clearly adequate to sustain a role in the village, they were not sufficient to enable them to build their own family churches, like those erected by the local gentry and landed aristocrats. Among the fourteenth-century donors were very probably the man named Basil and the priest’s wife, Nengomia, memorialized in funerary portraits at the church’s western end (see illus. on p. 117).³ Group dedications by village donors such as these are found in a number of Byzantine churches, and they give us our most extensive image of Byzantine popular art. Sometimes we find elements in the paintings that respond to our expectation of popular imagery, like the mooners that surprise us in the Mocking of Christ in the Church of Saint Nicholas at Trianta Ródhos on Crete.⁴ But what is perhaps most striking about Byzantine popular art is its bond with the imagery of the elite.

Popular art is generally perceived as reflecting confrontation between classes, being an expression of those who do not belong to the political or ecclesiastical elite. In Byzantium, by contrast, the greatest volume of surviving nonelite art employs the same vocabulary of images that we find in the art of the elite. These are religious—indeed, sacred—images. Far more than Byzantine secular imagery, which survives largely in elite objects, Byzantine religious imagery ranges across a broad social spectrum. It reflects a conception of the order of things that proved remarkably durable and adaptable, travers-

ing class boundaries. Thus, images of great visual and intellectual sophistication found centuries-long lives in simple homes and villages thousands of miles from the great centers that had confectioned them. Conversely, images purported to have come from remote villages were absorbed into the most arcane rituals of courtly refinement.

The clearest examples of this mobility are the great images of the Virgin Mary, images such as the *Kykkotissa* and the *Pelagonitissa*—named after sites housing a miracle-working cult icon of their type—which originated in high circles in Constantinople and then went on to potent lives as venerated icons in villages throughout the Orthodox world. An excellent example of this process is offered by a twelfth-century icon from Mount Sinai with the Virgin and Child surrounded by prophets (cat. no. 244). The image is striking for its refined and courtly style and for the elaborate posture of the Child. One learns from the many surrounding figures and inscriptions that the posture, in which the Child strains away from the Mother’s embrace, was invested with rich emotional and intellectual content. The physical tenderness of Mother and Child, displayed in a manner characteristic of the twelfth-century courtly aesthetic, suggests that the image originated in a center of high sophistication, probably Constantinople.

Within a century and a half of its conception, however, we find this very Virgin and Child in miracle-working icons made far from any such center. About 1300 the most powerful may have been the icon known today as the *Madonna delle Vittorie*, in the Piazza Armerina in Sicily.⁵ The posture became especially widespread on Cyprus, where it is characteristic of a number of miracle-working icons from the late thirteenth century onward, including the lovely *Panagia Theoskepaste* (Virgin Covered by God) at Kalopanagiotis (see illus. on next page).⁶ On Cyprus, icons with this pose eventually acquired the name *Kykkotissa*, after the greatest example there, the *Panagia*—that is, All-Holy [Mother of God]—of *Kykkos* Monastery. The Cypriot image is distinguished by a heavy red and gold veil. Veil imagery in Byzantium is complex, but the red and gold of the *Kykkotissa*’s veil seems to be particular to Cyprus and may reflect one of the island’s

The Koimesis. Fresco, 1106, Church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, Cyprus. Photo: Foundation Anastasios G. Leventis



The Virgin Theoskepaste. Icon, late 14th century, Church of the Virgin Theoskepaste, Kalopanagiotis, Cyprus. Photo: Annemarie Weyl Carr

major medieval industries, the production of scarlet cloth and gold thread, known in Western Europe as *or de Chypre*.

People like the donors at Pelendria surely had icons in their homes: icons are cited repeatedly in Byzantine marriage documents as part of the dowry, and painted panel icons cost very little.⁷ Indeed, the great majority of the icons produced in Byzantium must have been small panels for private use—icons on the scale of the ivory panels in the present exhibition—and they must have existed in large numbers. Icons with the pose we are tracing assuredly existed in Late Byzantine homes, as they did centuries later when Magda Ohnefalsch-Richter reported that “the observant traveler . . . discovers in all the parts of [Cyprus], even in the smallest, but especially in the homes of the wealthier villagers, that there is a small holy room or even a holy concavity in the wall with one or several images of the Panagia tou Kykkou [which] the Greek villagers . . . make into a place of worship.”⁸ Today the residents of Kalopanagiotis still refer to the icon of the Virgin Theoskepaste as “our” Panagia.

If the Kykkotissa exemplifies an image forged in elite circumstances that became the object of localized popular

devotion, the image known as the Hodegetria perhaps exemplifies the opposite, an image with popular roots that was eventually canonized as the greatest miracle-working icon of Constantinople. The icon known as the Hodegetria is supposed by legend to have come from Palestine, and it does indeed reflect a posture seen in simple desert sites in the Early Christian period, with Mary gesturing to the Child cradled in her left arm (see cat. nos. 72, 85, 86, 307, 316).⁹ The posture then went on to become the image of choice in Byzantium’s most elite circles. It is the pose that Mary assumes in the vast majority of the ivory icons,¹⁰ and in the person of the Hodegetria the image came to stand for divine protection of the emperor and his capital city.¹¹ In Italy the Tuscan city-states were among the early communities to adopt this pose to signify the Virgin’s role as the sacred protector of the city and of its political regime.¹²

The adaptability of these and similar sacred portraits is illustrated by a little lead seal that is now in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts.¹³ Like many similar seals, it was used originally in a commercial role to seal some kind of commodity. Bearing the bust of a saint named Sophia on one side, it is inscribed on the other with the words *Hagia Sophia boethei ton echonta to* (Saint Sophia, help the one who bears it). It thus lent official validation to the commodity that it sealed, but it could also function quite independently, as an amulet for anyone who kept it. Thus it was at once commercial and sacred, popular and official.

The mobility that characterized these sacred portraits must also have characterized the images known as festival icons, the staple narratives of Byzantine sacred imagery. These were icons of events, episodes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin that assumed particular significance in Orthodox thought and ritual and that were brought to mind in annual liturgies and in formulaic images. One such narrative is the scene of the Koimesis (the “falling asleep” [in death]) of the Virgin Mary; see illus. on p. 112).¹⁴ The frequent appearance of this image in the exhibition (see cat. nos., 95, 101, 102, 312A) reflects its pervasiveness in Byzantine art. Its widespread popularity, however, cannot be explained by its biblical significance, for the Virgin’s death is not recounted in the Bible. Nor does it derive from some ancient and venerated picture at the pilgrimage site of her tomb. It is, in fact, a late-comer among the festival icons, entering the repertoire of Byzantine images only in the late ninth century and finding a place in the canonical core of festival scenes later still, in the eleventh century. The event of Mary’s death had been virtually obscured by the early Christians behind a panoply of supernatural occurrences, including an angelic annunciation, the miraculous appearance of Christ and the apostles, and the Virgin’s mysterious bodily assumption into heaven.¹⁵ Only later did Byzantine thinkers begin to concern themselves with her physical death and to wonder why God had imposed the ordeal of death on his mother when he could have spared her.

Mary had to die, it was argued, in order to prove that Christ, though of divine paternity, was born of a mortal. The issue of Christ's mortality assumed a central position in the era of Iconoclasm (723–843), for Christ's mortal, human body was the sign that the divine could be imaged. The Koimesis became the final, irrefutable proof of that mortality. It is this significance that seems to have propelled the scene into prominence. As such, the theme of the Koimesis clearly bespeaks an elite theological origin, and much of its image, too, reflects this origin.

The earliest-known images of the Koimesis appear in the tenth century, on ivory icons carved for the devotions of the wealthy in the Byzantine capital.¹⁶ An antique composition is used, very like the lament on the archaic Greek Dipylon Vase in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. When the image makes its appearance, then, it appears fully developed, in an elite context, with an ancient Greek image.

As a lament, however, the Virgin's Koimesis is paradoxical, for in it Christ materializes to take his mother's spirit directly to eternal bliss in paradise, holding high her childlike soul. The theologians who wrote about the event elaborated on its paradoxical character, often in distinctly misogynist terms that use the paradox of the female body's attaining purity to concretize the deeper paradox of a mortal assumed into sanctity.¹⁷ The same quality of paradox is built visually into the image. In ancient images of lament the mourners are female; the space of death is women's space in Greek and Byzantine antiquity.¹⁸ In the image of the Koimesis, however, the mourners are male—they are the apostles—and women are excluded. The apostles, moreover, mourn with studied reserve. Only Paul, who arrived late and is shown at the foot of the Virgin's bier, is supposed to have spoken with emotion of the sight that greeted him.¹⁹ Byzantine ecclesiastics were unfriendly to the demonstrative lamentations that women customarily performed in Greek and Byzantine funeral rituals, and the apostles stand as a decorous reproach to the extravagant rituals of wailing, the tearing of hair and clothes, and the scratching of the face that we know characterized real laments in Byzantium, as they had in ancient Greece.²⁰ In real laments, moreover, the deceased was dressed elaborately in fine, new clothes. Especially if she was an unmarried woman, she was dressed in bridal clothes, her wedding wreath on her head.²¹ The Virgin, by contrast, is dressed with scrupulous modesty. In these respects, the image of the Koimesis is not a lament at all but rather an arrogantly high-minded paradox of a lament, expressing the teachings of the theological elite. Much the same intellectuality is felt in the places the Koimesis came to occupy in religious cycles. In mural painting it is either paired with the Nativity, bracketing the mortality of Christ, or placed opposite the sanctuary, with Christ lifting up the infant soul of his mother to heaven answering the apsidal image of the mother bringing the infant God down to earth. In panel painting it takes its place at the end of the

sequence of festival icons, balancing the Annunciation at the beginning and in essence wrapping the story of the Incarnation in the body of Mary.

If elite theology drew attention to the Koimesis, however, it cannot account for its popularity. The scene exercised a powerful hold on the imagination of medieval viewers, Byzantine and non-Byzantine alike. Its frequent appearance on personal icons, in church cycles, and in the art of areas influenced by Byzantium; its mounting popularity even as the intellectual conditions of Iconoclasm faded into the past; its tenacity as an ascendant Mariolatry obscured the Virgin's death once again behind an ebullient elaboration of the events of her bodily assumption—all demand a broader explanation. This may emerge if we compare the image of the Koimesis with the images of the Virgin's death before the tenth century. These are few, but all of them focus on the miraculous character of Mary's death—on the angelic announcement, the arrival of the apostles, and the appearance of Christ to his mother.²² None focuses on the quintessentially human aspect, the death itself. This the Koimesis does, presenting the central moment, when the mortal struggle ends, giving the signal for the lament.²³



A Monk Gives Up His Spirit to a Rescuing Angel. Illustration from a devotional psalter, Byzantine, ca. 1313. Mount Athos, Greece, Dionysiou 65, fol. 11v. Photo: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, Vlatadon Monastery, Thessalonike



Nikephoros Presents His Church to the Virgin. Fresco, 1106 (repainted 1350–75), Church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, Cyprus.
Photo: Foundation Anastasios G. Leventis

The decades of the late ninth century, which forged the image of Mary's Koimesis, were also witness to the production of many vitae of contemporary saints, which recount in detail the deaths of their subjects. Remarkably, detail after detail coincides with the image of the Koimesis: the saint arranges her or his body on the bier and dies as if slipping into sleep;²⁴ mourners assemble from all over the region, men and women alike;²⁵ they are arranged at either side of the bier, for the funeral hymns were sung antiphonally, one group answering another;²⁶ they touch the body—as Paul does—or, if they do not touch it physically, they touch it with the power of sight, as the apostles of the Koimesis do with their conspicuous stares;²⁷ angels gather close around the body—

an angel, two angels, or sometimes entire hosts—in order to protect the emerging soul from the demonic angels who are poised to snatch it;²⁸ a close relative or several in turn give a kiss of farewell, as John does in the Koimesis.²⁹ Like Mary's life, those of the saints were paradoxical, wholly exceptional yet serving as models for ordinary Christians. Their deaths, too, were both extraordinary and models of the blessed demise for which Christians anxiously prayed. Mary's Koimesis is the visual counterpart of these verbal accounts.

Once formulated in the Koimesis, the image of Christian lament migrated into other contexts. Saints are described as dying in a similar setting; Gregory of Nazianzos's sermon on the death of Saint Basil the Great, for example, illustrated



Funerary portrait of Nengomia. Fresco, 1350–75, Church of the Holy Cross, Pelendria, Cyprus. Photo: Stelios Petris

through the ninth century with a picture of Basil's funeral procession, is illustrated thereafter with an image that resembles Mary's Koimesis.³⁰ More humble souls, too, like the nervous monk in the devotional psalter, Dionysiou 65, at Mount Athos (see illus. on p. 115), are shown at death in a composition that echoes the Koimesis. Moreover, elements of real laments begin to appear in scenes of the Koimesis, as in the late-tenth-century sermon on the Koimesis by John Geometres. The apostles strain decorum with their laments; holy women cluster behind them, forming antiphonal groups; the closest press kisses to Mary's body, while those farther away grasp her with their gaze; and Mary is referred to as Christ's bride in the "golden-woven robes" of the bride in Psalm 45.³¹ In the late twelfth century such elements begin to appear in the visual arts. Lamenting women join the men, first at a distance and then closer to the bier; some lift their hands, others clutch at clothes and hair; and angels crowd in ever-greater numbers around the Virgin's soul.³² The scene itself had, in turn, taken its canonical place within the church building, on the western wall above the portal leading to the narthex, where funeral rites were held.

Probably from the twelfth century onward, the deaths of rulers were also depicted in compositions that resemble the Koimesis.³³ The message of the Koimesis was not, however, the exclusive privilege of the few. In churches like that in Pelendria, too, its immediacy was developed. A particularly telling view of this is offered by the Church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, in Asinou, Cyprus, founded by the local aristocrat Nikephoros the Strong in 1099 and decorated with paintings in 1106. The western wall offers one of the most powerful surviving versions of the Koimesis from Byzantium, where it looms above the door (see illus. on p. 112). Over the other door, in the south wall, Nikephoros installed his own image, presenting his church to Mary and so gaining access to Christ. Behind Nikephoros stands the smaller image of a woman, Gephyra, presumably Nikephoros's daughter. She is richly dressed and wears a wedding diadem; her inscription tells us that she fell asleep (*ekoimethei*) in 1099. Just as Mary's spirit rises to Christ in her Koimesis over the west door, so Gephyra's rises to him in her commemoration over the south door. Like Mary, she had a good end (*ekoimethei*). Much the same, in turn, can be said of Basil and Nengomia in Pelendria. Accompanied by the inscription *ekoimethei*, their kneeling portraits stand at the western end of the church's north wall, just opposite the image of Mary's Koimesis. Between them runs the dedicatory inscription, clearly linking the two.

Just before recounting her death, the Vita of the late-ninth-century saint Irene of Chrysobalanton relates how Irene foretold the death of a young man who had come to visit her.³⁴ Asked how she had known of his imminent demise, Irene explained that she had seen behind him a man with a sickle in his hand and others who stood by counting up his days on their fingers. The sickle-bearer immediately brings to mind the popular pagan figure Charos, Death's harvester.³⁵ Far more than the Koimesis, his image would seem to arise from the imagination of the people. Yet if Irene actually knew him from a painted image, it was surely an elite one, for it is only rarely, in the elegant devotional manuscripts of the elite, that such nontraditional subjects actually survive in Byzantine art.

Perhaps a more reliable picture of the Byzantine popular artistic imagination is offered by glazed pottery, the "china" of wealthy households (see pp. 254–57). Few of these bear figural images, though a cluster found in southern Russia displays splendid mounted warriors and a lion-wrestler who is probably neither Samson nor David but Digenes Akritas, the Byzantine epic hero.³⁶ In form the figures are strongly akin to those known in religious art. And, indeed, forms found in religious art, whether they originated there or were introduced into it, became integral to the visual imagination, which points to one of the distinctive aspects of Byzantium — its creation of a body of imagery that crossed boundaries of class and clan and bound peoples together through the forms of their imagination.



65

65. Icon with Saint Nicholas and Busts of Saints

Byzantine (Constantinople?), late 10th–early 11th century

Tempera and gold on wood
43 × 33.1 cm (16¾ × 13 in.)

CONDITION: There are cracks reaching from the upper and lower borders into the center panel; some flaking of the paint has occurred.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

This portrait of Saint Nicholas, who was bishop of Myra on the southern coast of Asia Minor in the fourth century, is one of the earliest in existence. The saint's features have not yet been standardized: he is rounder faced and darker haired here than in other portraits, particularly those of later periods, which depict an aging, more ascetic figure with a high forehead (cat. nos. 10, 15, 25,

306, 320). Saint Nicholas gazes off to the right, which reduces his contact with the beholder but adds to the vigor of the image; some of this same intensity can be found in the miniatures in the lectionary Sinai 204, of about 1000, although the tight, clean silhouette of the icon figure suggests a slightly later date. Nicholas's role as a bishop is emphasized by his prominent insignia—the *omophorion* adorned with huge crosses and the Gospel book to which he gestures.

On a raised border around the portrait are small painted busts in roundels of specially polished gold. The figure of Christ, the source of Nicholas's authority, appears directly above him. Flanking Christ are the apostles Peter and Paul; military saints occupy the sides of the panel; and across the bottom are three *amargyroi*, medical saints who served without pay (see, for example, cat. nos. 15, 69,

103, 249, 330).¹ Such a strict ranking of the saints by professional category can be found in ivories dating from as early as the tenth century (see cat. nos. 79, 80).

This is perhaps the earliest surviving example of an icon frame adorned with painted busts, although enamel roundels occupy this position on some metal icon revetments (see cat. no. 234). While these framing saints serve to situate Nicholas firmly in the heavenly band, his great size compared to theirs celebrates his individuality and the importance of his own particular ecclesiastical role as a bishop.

The back of the icon is adorned with alternating rows of red and blue-black connecting circles. N P Š

1. On the left border are Saints Demetrios and Theodore; on the right, Saints George and Prokopios; across the bottom, Saints Kosmas, Panteleimon, and Damianos.

LITERATURE: Weitzmann 1976, vol. 1, pp. 101–2, no. B 61, pls. XXXVIII, CXX–CXXII; Galavaris 1990, p. 98, and fig. 15, p. 146; Anderson, “Byzantine Panel Portrait,” 1995, p. 30, fig. 2.

66. Icon with the Miracle at Chonai

Byzantine (Constantinople), second half of 12th century

Tempera and gold on wood
37.5 × 30.7 cm (14¾ × 12¼ in.)

CONDITION: There are several vertical cracks; a section of the lower border is damaged.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The icon illustrates a miracle performed by the archangel Michael, who saved a shrine at Chonai (near ancient Kolossai in Phrygia) from being inundated by floodwaters released on it by jealous pagans. The event, a paradigm for timely relief from on high, was celebrated annually on September 6.

Here the hermit Archippos stands before the door of a church, a structure reminiscent of the domed edifices depicted in the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts (cat. no. 62), and beseeches the angel for help. With his long red lance Michael has cleaved a hole in the earth to swallow up the waters and prevent them from rising higher than the marble steps. The two figures are divided by the pillar of water, and they are contrasted in size, costume, and pose—the angel active and colorful, the earthbound monk an ascetic



66. Front

wraith, the very image of a supplicant. Virtually all other landscape and narrative detail has been eliminated, thereby transforming a mere record of the event into an appropriate image for its annual liturgical commemoration. The small size of the icon suggests it was a *proskynesis* icon, designed to be publicly displayed on the day of the feast.

An inscription, no longer legible, ran across the upper border. Painted on the back of the icon is a large three-barred red cross on steps, set against horizontal rows of wavy black lines.

N P Š

LITERATURE: Sotiriou and Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 65, vol. 2, pp. 79–81; Weitzmann, *Icon*, 1978, pp. 36, 82, pl. 22; Mouriki 1980–81, p. 114; Mouriki 1990, p. 107, and fig. 23, p. 154; Belting 1994, pp. 272–73, fig. 166.



66. Back

67. Two Icons from a Templon Beam

A. The Transfiguration

Byzantine (Mount Athos), first half of 12th century
Tempera on wood
23.2 × 23.7 cm (9 1/8 × 9 3/8 in.)

The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (1-7)

B. The Raising of Lazarus

Byzantine (Mount Athos), first half of 12th century
Tempera on wood
21.5 × 24 cm (8 1/2 × 9 1/2 in.)

Byzantine Museum, Athens, Greece (T2739)

These icons are juxtaposed here for the first time in a museum exhibition. They were recognized in 1965 by Manoles Chatzidakis as members of the same twelfth-century ensemble,¹ assuredly a sequence of scenes adorning a templon beam (the horizontal entablature crowning the screen that divided the sanctuary and the public space of a Byzantine church). As both panels came from Mount Athos, they must have been part of a templon in a church there. Their firm monumentality and expressively modeled faces indicate a date in the first half of the twelfth century, making them one of the earliest surviving portions of a templon complex with panel paintings. Given their deft execution, their red grounds must have been chosen deliberately rather than out of poverty as a substitute for gold.

The templon is the ancestor of what today is known as the iconostasis, a wall of permanently fixed icons. The templon, by contrast, is a columniated screen of wood or stone whose intercolumniations and entablature offered a housing for movable panels that could be shifted with the season or taken out for processional use. Only gradually, apparently, did painted-panel icons come to be gathered on the templon. This paralleled the equally gradual subjection of the icon—initially a private and stubbornly unofficial genre—to the control of official liturgical themes and functions. This process has been traced with particular clarity by Kurt Weitzmann on the basis of the icons preserved at Mount Sinai (see cat. no. 248).² The templon's entablature beam seems to have been the first site for the display of panels. While sculpted rinceaux that housed medallions with the busts of holy figures can be found on beams dating from as early as the sixth century, movable panels began to appear only in the tenth. It has been suggested that some very large ivory plaques were made for display along templon beams and that enamel plaques clothed the beams of many wealthy Constantinopolitan



67A



67B

churches.³ Thus it may be that modest wooden panels moved into a context created for them by images in more opulent materials. By the twelfth century, however, wooden panels seem to have assumed a customary place on the templon, and by this

time they had evolved certain standardized thematic patterns rooted in official liturgical usage.

The two panels seen here reflect one of these patterns: the sequence of scenes known as the Twelve Great Feasts, or *dodekaorton*,

dedicated to moments of theophany in the lives of Christ and his mother that were celebrated in major feasts of the Church year. One would imagine these two scenes taking their place among other, similar panels with further feast scenes. Other beams showed the Great Deesis—that is, Christ flanked by the intercessory figures of the Virgin, John the Baptist, the apostles, and angels—or scenes from the life of a popular saint.

AWC

1. M. Chatzidakis 1964–65, pp. 386, 388.
2. Weitzmann, “Icon Programs,” 1984, pp. 63–116.
3. Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 6, 11.

LITERATURE: (A) M. Chatzidakis 1964–65, pp. 386, pl. 87a; M. Chatzidakis 1976, p. 173, pl. xxxii, 2; Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 154. (B) Wulff and Alpatov 1925, pp. 72, 74, 263–64, pl. 27; Kondakov 1928–33, vol. 3, pp. 96–98, pl. 11; M. Chatzidakis 1964–65, p. 388, pl. 87c; Lazarev 1967, p. 205, pl. 330; M. Chatzidakis 1976, p. 173; Moscow 1977, vol. 2, p. 29, no. 472.

EXHIBITIONS: Athens 1986, no. 74; London, *From Byzantium*, 1987, no. 7; Baltimore 1988, no. 8.

68. Two Fragments of an Epistyle

A. Icon with the Pentecost

Byzantine (Mount Athos), 12th century

Egg tempera over gesso on wood

32 × 18.5 × 3 cm (12 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (I-6)

B. Icon with the Anastasis

Byzantine (Mount Athos), late 12th century

Egg tempera over gesso on wood

31.5 × 18 × 3 cm (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (I-8)

These icons were taken by Petr Sevast'ianov from the Great Lavra on Mount Athos before 1860. They were painted on a single panel, later sawed into pieces, with two other icons that remain at the monastery—one depicting the Epiphany, and the other the Koimesis; the four icons once constituted a coherent epistyle. Similar epistyles of the Middle Byzantine period survive in monasteries on Athos and on Mount Sinai, as well as in several museum collections. Such epistyles usually depicted the Great Feasts and were sometimes executed by more than one painter. The Hermitage's icons are the work of two different artists.

In both iconography and painting technique the icon with the Pentecost (A) is rather conservative and traditional. Portraitlike individuality is combined with stereotypical elements. The apostles have an impressionistic,



68A

unfinished quality, with sketchily outlined facial features and spots of red color on their cheeks; they gaze out through searching eyes beneath dark, raised brows. The same quality is seen also in the miniature of the Twelve Apostles of 1113 in the Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens, and in the apostles in the frescoes of 1195 in the Dmitrievskii (Saint Demetrios) Cathedral in Vladimir.

The icon with the Anastasis (B) is more unusual and artistically more interesting. Christ is shown in frontal view, displaying his stigmata. This is a rare compositional type, called “hymnological” or “dogmatic,” and categorized as the third type in Anna Kartsonis’s classification. Linked with liturgical psalters and the Easter Canon of John of Damascus, the type is known in only a few works of the ninth to the thirteenth century, among which icon B is distinguished by virtue of the location of Adam and Eve:



68B

rather than flanking Christ, they stand together to his right. This placement is found again only in a twelfth-century miniature in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Paris, Cod. gr. 550, fol. 5a) and in an epistyle in the Chapel of the Virgin in the Monastery of Saint Catherine, on Mount Sinai, which was executed in a Crusader workshop in the mid-thirteenth century but was based on Byzantine models of the Komnenian period. Another rare aspect of the iconography of icon B—the combining of the Last Judgment with the Anastasis—was inspired by liturgical poetry and by the texts for the Holy Saturday and Easter services.

Gold, with its many allusions, plays an important role in the artistic structure of the icon. For the Byzantines gold was the image of light as truth and glory and thereby an image of divine powers, a sense conveyed here by the gold ground that surrounds Christ,

enveloping him in a cloud of unnatural color and elevating him above the domain of mundane life. The ground replaces the usual gold mandorla found, for example, in the miniature of the Second Coming in the Melitene Gospel (Erevan, Matenadaran, M. 10675) of 1267–68, where the Armenian artist T’oros Roslin drew on Constantinopolitan models of the Komnenian period. In the New Testament gold is linked with the notion of purification through suffering, an idea that resonates with the subject of the Anastasis icon. Gold is also a fixed metaphor for virginity and purity and an absolute metaphor for God: “God is light and in him there is no darkness at all” (1 John 1:5). Thus, Christ’s chiton is gold, symbolizing his incorruptibility and regality.

The Anastasis artist used various techniques in rendering the faces of the figures, a practice often encountered in Byzantine

painting. Christ's face is softly painted, the colors applied in thin, translucent layers, producing a surreal effect, as if light emanates from the surface of the work. In the faces of Adam and Eve and the other Old Testament figures, however, the colors are thickly applied, giving them a heightened energy and an enameled quality. The faces gleam like precious enamel and lend the figures a color-saturated materiality that embodies the fundamental theme of the icon: resurrection and the triumph of eternal life over death. The rich symphony of glowing color and light arouses a profound aesthetic response in the believer.

Byzantine culture of the tenth to the twelfth century accorded art a significant and active role in promoting Christian doctrine, an attitude articulated in an *ekphrasis* written in 1199–1203 by Nicholas Mesarites. The Anastasis icon reflects this characteristic aspiration of Byzantine aesthetics and illustrates Mesarites' thesis about the phenomenal and noumenal levels of religious art. For Mesarites and the twelfth-century Byzantine culture he represented, the phenomenal level was of interest only for its hidden meaning, as an encoded sign or a symbol of a specific religious tenet; painting was an expression of theological ideas and tendencies. Thus we may see in the Hermitage Anastasis a reflection of the discussions held at the Local Council of 1156–57 in Constantinople concerning Christ's sacrifice on the Cross.

Despite the unique artistic features it displays, the icon group from the Great Lavra typifies Komnenian art of the second half of the twelfth century. The Great Lavra icons have stylistic affinities and share techniques of modeling form with Queen Melisende's Psalter of 1131–43 (cat. no. 259), in which white highlights play an active role; with the miniatures in a manuscript at the Pantelimon Monastery, Mount Athos (Cod. 25), whose modeling and highlighted folds of garments create volume and movement; and with the miniatures in a menologion in the Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos, in which highlights are used in a similar manner. The rendering of the countenance of Christ recalls the execution of the Virgin's face in the Hermitage's twelfth-century icon with the Virgin and Child on a throne surrounded by the prophets, and the energetic, enamel-like painting of the apostles' and prophets' faces is closely comparable to that in the icon with the angels worshipping the Cross from the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, which Gerold Vzdornov dates to the late twelfth century.

The most likely date for the Great Lavra epistyle is the second half of the twelfth

century, since the theological content of the Anastasis places it near mid-century while artistic parallels place it toward the end of the century. The icon evidently was painted on Mount Athos; its structural complexity would make an assignment to a provincial school implausible and argues instead for a classification as a monastic painting.

Y U P

LITERATURE: Prokhorov 1879, p. 52, no. 67; Pokrovskii 1892, p. 199; Sychev 1916, p. 8; Wulff and Alpatoff 1925, pp. 72, 74, 263, 264, pl. 27; Smirnov 1928, pp. 9, 27; Kondakov 1931, vol. 3, pp. 96–98, fig. 11; Lazarev 1947–48, vol. 1, pp. 126, 324, vol. 2, pl. 203; Bank 1961, pp. 123, 126, 129, illus. 96; Bank 1966, nos. 231, 232; M. Chatzidakis, "Icones," 1966, p. 388, fig. 876; Lazarev 1967, pp. 205, 258, pl. 330; M. Chatzidakis 1976, pp. 172–73; Bank 1977, no. 233; Moscow 1977, vol. 2, no. 472, p. 29; Bank 1985, no. 232; Lazarev 1986, illus. 330; *Afonskie drevnosti* 1992, pp. 23, 48, no. 2; Zaleskaya and Piatnitsky 1993, pp. 255–58, fig. 376.

EXHIBITION: Moscow 1977, no. 473a, b.

69. Icon with the Military Saints George, Theodore, and Demetrios

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 11th–early 12th century

Egg tempera over gesso on wood
28.5 × 36 × 2.3 cm (11¼ × 14¼ × ⅞ in.)

The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (I-183)

This icon was brought from Mount Athos to Saint Petersburg in 1860 by Petr Sevast'ianov. It was restored several times during the Middle Ages. The nature of the restorations may be gleaned from a verse of the poem "On the Icon of Three Warriors Restored by Andronikos Kamateros" (Cod. Marc. gr. 524): "Wanting the warriors' features to appear younger, I scrape away the wrinkles of old age from their representations." Certain details and contours of the figures were marred in the course of the repairs, and the gesso along the edges and the outer rim was completely replaced. Before the restoration carried out in 1964 by the Hermitage, the warriors stood against a turquoise-blue ground with white inscriptions—both apparently dating from the Late Byzantine period. This led scholars who considered the icon to be a work of the twelfth century to find it comparable to the frescoes of 1199 from the Spasa na Nereditse Church (Church of the Savior), near Novgorod, and assign it to a provincial school. Opinion did

not change even after the 1964 restoration, which brought the icon to its present state. Examination under a microscope, however, has revealed intricate, miniature-like painting of a very high standard. A complex technique was used in rendering the warriors' faces, creating an optical system rich in painterly effects. As a result, the icon appears to illuminate itself and the countenances seem to shine with a divine inner light. This conception of light is echoed in the writings of Symeon the Theologian (949?–1022), whose ideas were well known in Constantinople in the eleventh century. Here, the exalted spirituality of Symeon's hymns harmonizes with the subtle sensuousness of Hellenistic traditions, the warriors combining spiritual and corporeal perfection.

The icon, certainly the artistic equal of the sophisticated works produced at the imperial court, is now believed to have been painted in Constantinople. Comparison with other works indicates that it dates from the late eleventh to the early twelfth century, or possibly the first quarter of the twelfth. In a lectionary of the same period in the Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos (no. 587), and frescoes of Saint Theodore, for example, at the Monastery of Hosios Loukas, Phokis, the military saints have similar silhouettes and faces and identical elements of weaponry and clothing. The idealized faces in the present work, with their refined nobility, show affinities with the countenances in the eleventh-century frescoes in the Veljusa and Vodoča Monasteries in Macedonia, and in the Cathedral of Sviata Sofia (Saint Sophia), Kiev. Typological and stylistic analogues from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries include a lectionary in the National Library, Athens (Cod. 190); the fresco of Saints Philip, Akindynos, and George in the Panagia Protothronē in Khalka, on Naxos; and, in particular, the icon with Saint George in the Uspensk'ii Cathedral (Cathedral of the Dormition) in the Moscow Kremlin. Among works from the early twelfth century that reveal parallels of this order are the mosaics, dating to 1108, formerly in the cathedral of the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery (Saint Michael of the Golden Domes), Kiev, especially the representation of Saint Demetrios; the mosaic of 1118 of Emperor John II Komnenos in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople; and, to a limited degree, the mosaic icon of the Virgin in the Hilandar Monastery, Mount Athos, which recently was redated by Otto Demus to the first half of the twelfth century.

The cult of the military saints was especially popular among Byzantium's warrior



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70. Icon with Saint George

Byzantine (Constantinople?), second half of 12th century

Gesso and egg tempera on wood
107 × 71 cm (42 1/8 × 28 in.)

PROVENANCE: Church of Saint Andrew, Kastoria, Greece.

Archaeological Museum, Veroia, Greece (332)

This important and very beautiful two-sided icon bears a depiction of the military saint George on the front. While the icon was found in the sixteenth-century Church of Saint Andrew, in Kastoria, it was probably originally located in one of the two earlier churches in the vicinity, the parish church of Saint George, which has been dated to the fourteenth century, or the Church of Saint George Archon Grammatikos, parts of which date to the Middle Byzantine period.

On the back of the panel is a representation of Saint Andrew composed of two layers of paint, one from the beginning of the

aristocracy. Soldiers took portable icons showing military saints with them on campaigns and before battle prayed for the intercession of the holy figures they depicted. In a panegyric (Paris, Cod. gr. 1189) the twelfth-century monastic writer and saint Neophytos Enkleistos refers to Saints George, Theodore, and Demetrios as comrades-in-arms and cohorts. According to Tudebod's chronicle of the siege of Antioch, in 1098 these three saints led a heavenly legion to the aid of the Christians. The three also appear on one example from a small cache of steatite icons of military saints found in Khersones, in the Crimea (cat. no. 203), where they evidently were left behind by imperial soldiers. Portable icons of military saints were revered family treasures, passed from one generation to the next. Highly prized, they were adorned with precious frames. Tiny holes in the surface of this icon are evidence that it too was once surrounded by such a frame.

Y U P

LITERATURE: Prokhorov 1879, p. 50, no. 11; N. Likhachev 1898 and 1902, p. 13; Sychev 1916, p. 8; Smirnov 1928, p. 27; Kondakov 1931, vol. 3, p. 101; Lazarev 1947-48, vol. 1, p. 126, vol. 2, pl. 204; Lazarev 1967, pp. 205, 258; Bank 1977, no. 242; Moscow 1977, vol. 2, no. 471, p. 28; Bank 1985, no. 240; Lazarev 1986, p. 98; Golubev 1988, pp. 262-64.



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fourteenth century and the other from the eighteenth; perhaps further investigation will reveal an even earlier layer of paint. The icon has a border on both sides. The saint's unflinching yet peaceful gaze, the accomplished painting style, and in particular the technical expertise displayed strongly suggest that the icon is the work of an artist who was well aware of the Orthodox theological and stylistic issues that prevailed during the Komnenian period. Both the overall style and the specific details argue for a date sometime between that of the frescoes in the Monastery of the Theotokos Kosmosoteira in Bera (present-day Pherrai), Thrace (shortly after 1152), and those in the Basilica of the Anargyroi in Kastoria (ca. 1180). The icon thus reflects the dissemination of the ecumenical Komnenian style, which would make a Constantinopolitan provenance very likely.

T P

(Cat. no. 70 was originally published in *Byzantines eikones: tēs Beroias* [Athens, 1995].)

71. Icon with the Virgin Eleousa

Byzantine, late 12th century
Gesso and egg tempera on wood
114 × 70 cm (44⁷/₈ × 27¹/₂ in.)

Byzantine Museum, Athens, Greece (T137/1136BM)

Discovered in 1966 beneath a seventeenth-century painting, this powerful icon joins a group of complex, emotionally charged compositions of the twelfth century showing the Virgin and Child. The type is called the Virgin with the Playing Child by Viktor Lazarev,¹ and the Virgin Eleousa (having pity [on mortals]) by others, and such icons are currently interpreted as visual counterparts to the hymns and sermons that concern the piercing love and the poignant sadness inherent in the Virgin's relation to her son.² Characteristic are the intimate proximity of the faces, the tender play of touching gestures, the serpentine posture of the Child — akin to the serpentine twist of Gabriel in a contemporary icon of the Annunciation (cat. no. 246) — the emphasis on the Child's naked, straining arms and legs, and the garments that gather in exaggerated coils, as if asserting a symbolic role. The Child's pose, with head thrown back, limbs bared, and legs crossed — the bare sole of his left foot was originally seen beneath the Virgin's hand — resembles his posture as the Anapeson, symbol of Christ's death; the image of the Child thus posed and lovingly folded in Mary's caress creates a moving



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interplay of themes of life and death similar to that conveyed in the contemporary double-sided icon from Kastoria (cat. no. 72). With minor variations this composition lived on in the famous miracle-working icon known as the Pelagonitissa.³ Its composition resembles as well those of other works that gained great renown as miracle-working images: an icon of the Virgin Kykkotissa (cat. no. 244) and the Virgin of Vladimir (see illus. on p. 284), members of the same twelfth-century group of expressive Mother and Child icons. They exemplify the profound hold of Byzantium's

expressive twelfth-century icons upon the religious imagination. AWC

1. Lazarev 1938, pp. 42–46.
2. H. Maguire 1981, pp. 102–3.
3. Hadermann-Misguich 1983, p. 12.

LITERATURE: Sotiriou 1955, p. 19, no. 137, pl. XXI; Sotiriou 1962, p. 20, no. 137, pl. XIX; M. Chatzidakis, "Chronika," 1966, pp. 17–18, pl. 9a,b; M. Chatzidakis, "Chronika," 1967, p. 17; M. Chatzidakis, "Chronika," 1970, p. 17, pl. 13a,b; M. Chatzidakis 1972, p. 122, pl. 43; Pallas 1975–76, p. 177, pl. 22; M. Chatzidakis 1976, pp. 185–86, pl. xxxviii, 22; Hadermann-Misguich 1983, pp. 11–12, pl. 2.



72. Front



72. Back

72. Double-Sided Icon with the Virgin Hodegetria (front) and the Man of Sorrows (back)

Byzantine, second half of 12th century
 Tempera on wood
 115 × 77.5 cm (45¼ × 30½ in.)

Byzantine Museum, Kastoria, Greece (457)

Manoles Chatzidakis was the first to recognize this double-sided icon as a homogeneous work, with both of its faces painted in the second half of the twelfth century. Building on that attribution, Hans Belting was able to show that the much-studied devotional image on the back of the icon—known to the West as the Man of Sorrows—was in fact a Byzantine creation of the late eleventh century.¹ The Kastoria icon is the earliest surviving panel painting to display the Man of Sorrows. Known in Greek as the *Akra Tapeinosis* (Utmost Humiliation), the image is the greatest example of a type that emerged in the decades around 1100 and that Belting, drawing on the language of Byzantine ekphrasis, called the “living icon”: the icon designed to be so persua-

sive that it compelled a deep emotional response.

Byzantium’s “living icons,” especially those devoted to the themes of Christ’s suffering and the Virgin Mary’s poignant maternity, generated many of the most potent and influential devotional images that emerged later in the medieval West. The present icon engages both of these themes. The Virgin on the front assumes one of her standard poses, known as the *Hodegetria*, in which she gestures with her right arm toward her infant son, who sits at her left. Exceptionally, however, her face is both young and marked by a worried frown. In Byzantium, where Mary spoke more often to the imagination as the Mother of God than as the Virgin, she is usually shown as maternal and even mature. Sermons like those of the ninth-century homilist George of Nicomedeia, however, had played on Mary’s delight in her infant son, and these homilies, incorporated into the offices of elite private monasteries in the later eleventh century, may have helped to generate the artistic imagery of a youthful Mary. In George’s texts this young mother is juxtaposed

with the anguished mother of the Passion, who embraces her dead son while remembering how joyously she had caressed him when he was a child. The *Hodegetria*’s anxious frown on the Kastoria icon seems to indicate the same double awareness: the Virgin looks beyond the infant in her arms to the suffering Christ on the back of the icon.

The Christ on the back appears at first to be dead on the cross; his head—startlingly reminiscent of those of the great thirteenth-century Italian crucifixes—falls to one side with closed eyes. His arms, however, are at his side, as if he were laid out for burial. Yet the cross rises behind him, bearing the same label—*BACIAEYC THC ΔΘΞHC* (King of Glory)—that accompanies the Christ enthroned amid the cherubim on the icon with the Virgin and prophets from Sinai (cat. no. 244). Christ is, then, erect yet dead, in glory and yet utterly debased. It is around this paradox that Belting built his interpretation of the image as the portrait icon of Christ in the interval between Crucifixion and Resurrection, when he enters death by descending into hell to liberate the faithful.

He is, as the Good Friday offices say, Η ΖΩΗ ΕΝ ΤΑΘΩ (life in very death). His lips bespeak this juxtaposition, the lower one stony and gray as if in death, the upper one flushed with the most vital pink.

To Belting, the Man of Sorrows was created as the feast icon for Good Friday, to be displayed and perhaps even incorporated as a participant in the reenactive Good Friday offices. Surviving versions seem to have been designed to fill a number of further functions as talismans, private devotional panels, and funerary icons laid on the body of a dead person. The Kastoria icon displays damage at its base caused by the use of a pole to support it at some time, indicating that it was carried in processions. Processional use would permit viewers to appreciate the powerful dialogue between the images on the front and back of this icon.

A W C

1. Belting 1994.

LITERATURE: M. Chatzidakis 1976, pp. 184–85, pl. xxxvii, pp. 20–21; Belting 1994, pp. 262–65, fig. 163; Carr, “Originality,” 1995, p. 121, pls. 10.1, 10.2.

EXHIBITIONS: London, *From Byzantium*, 1987, no. 8; Baltimore 1988, no. 9.



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73. Icon with Christ Brought to the Cross

Byzantine (Cyprus), last quarter of 12th century
Tempera, silver leaf, and ocher glaze on wood
primed with cloth, gesso, and yellow bole
112 × 83.6 cm (44 1/8 × 32 7/8 in.)

INSCRIBED: Below the cross, IC XC EAKOMENOC ΠΙ CTPON (Jesus Christ Being Dragged to the Cross); above the Virgin, ΜΡ ΘΥ (Mother of God); above Saint John, Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩ Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ (Saint John the Theologian); on the cross, Ο ΒΙΑΕΥC Τ ΔΟΞΗ (The King of Glory)

CONDITION: There are minor areas of paint loss, as well as modern restorations in some areas. On the back a second image of the Virgin and Child was painted in 1866 (there is no evidence that the work was originally intended to be a double-faced icon).¹

PROVENANCE: Chapel of the Holy Cross, Pelendria, Cyprus.

The Holy Bishopric of Limassol, Limassol, Cyprus

Christ is shown here standing on the hill of Golgotha at the foot of the cross, dressed in a purple tunic and bearing a delicate blue-gray crown of thorns, which contrasts with his elaborately gemmed halo. A young official

gestures toward the cross as he leads the bound Christ forward, and a crowd of armed soldiers gathers.

At the right Saint John the Theologian comforts the Virgin. An unidentified Jewish man points toward the cross while he raises his left hand in a gesture of speech. Below, a small male figure secures the cross in the ground, while above fly two angels contorted in emphatic expressions of grief and sorrow. Two mounds at the foot of the cross symbolize the hill of Golgotha, and the sarcophagus in the background alludes to the death and entombment of Christ. A yellow-ocher background completes the composition. The use of ocher glaze over a silver-leaf ground, a more economical means than the application of gold leaf of effecting a gold-like surface, is perhaps an indication of the patron's economic status (for this technique, see also cat. no. 74).

The Ascent of Christ on the Cross was a scene rarely selected for representation. No examples dating to before the eleventh century are known. This icon's Cypriot origin,

in a territory far from the center of Byzantium, may indicate that the depiction of Christ's ascent was a more widespread practice than the small number of surviving examples indicates. One of the earliest such representations is found in an Armenian manuscript (Erevan, Matenadaran 10780, fol. 125v), which suggests that the iconography developed in the East and spread to medieval Italy rather than developing first in the West, as had been proposed.²

Unusual features of this Cypriot image are the absence of the ladder and the tunic that Christ wears rather than the loincloth, his more characteristic garb in Middle Byzantine scenes of the Passion (see, for example, cat. nos. 92, 245). The painful contemplation of the impending Crucifixion is emphasized rather than the Ascent itself; Christ does not climb the ladder appearing willing to suffer, as described in literature dating to before the twelfth century, but instead shows reluctance and fear. The composition reflects the significant shift that occurred during the twelfth century in the expression of the

Passion both in liturgical drama and in art, with an increasing emphasis placed on Christ's vulnerability.³ ST B

1. Sophocleous 1994, p. 79.
2. Derbes 1995, p. III.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 110–15.

LITERATURE: Derbes 1980; Papageorgiou 1991, pp. 23–25, no. 14; Sophocleous 1994, p. 78; Derbes 1995, pp. 110–31.

74. Icon with the Anastasis

Byzantine (Cyprus), last quarter of 12th century
Tempera, silver leaf, and ocher glaze on wood
primed with cloth, gesso, and yellow(?) bole
39 × 29.1 cm (15½ × 11½ in.)

INSCRIBED: Flanking Christ, below the upper edge of the frame, H ANA/CTACHC (The Anastasis)

CONDITION: Areas of paint loss are found across the surface, particularly in the lower portion of the icon and along the rectangular frame; bowing of the wooden panels is also evident. Restored in 1982–86.

PROVENANCE: Monastery of the Panagia Amasgou, Monagri, Cyprus.

The Holy Bishopric of Limassol, Limassol, Cyprus

Christ, wearing a purple tunic with flowing blue mantle and carrying a patriarchal cross, tramples on the gates of hell. With his right hand he reaches back to draw the aged Adam from his sarcophagus, while Eve raises her hands in supplication. At the right the Old Testament kings David and Solomon stand within a sarcophagus, while Saint John Prodromos (John the Baptist) stands behind them, in both gesture and pose mirroring Eve on the opposite side.

The icon represents one of the major iconographic types of the Anastasis (see also cat. nos. 63, 68, 93, 115, 230, 254). The earliest surviving examples of this type are dated to the early eleventh century,¹ with this Cypriot icon attesting to the spread of the iconographic formula to all corners of the empire by the middle of the century.²

To the Orthodox Christian the Anastasis signified the promise of salvation, achieved through the death and resurrection of Christ. The role of Christ as savior is emphasized in this iconographic type by the presence of his human ancestors David and Solomon, who bear witness to his humanity, and by references to the Passion, including the cross he holds and the presence of John Prodromos, prophet and precursor of Christ.³



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Contemplation of Christ's resurrection figured prominently in the Orthodox liturgy. The Anastasis was commemorated both in the weekly celebration of the Eucharist and in the annual celebration of the Resurrection, during the feast of Easter,⁴ and an image of the Anastasis such as this would have received special veneration on these occasions. The icon's provenance in the Monastery of the Panagia Amasgou and its relatively large size⁵ suggest that it was intended for veneration within a church setting. There the icon could have been displayed on a *proskynetarion* (icon stand) or incorporated in an iconostasis. ST B

1. Weitzmann 1960, p. 99; Kartsonis 1986, pp. 204–5.
2. Kartsonis 1986, p. 213.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 204–26.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 227–36.
5. Corrigan 1995, pp. 45–62.

LITERATURE: Weitzmann 1960, pp. 98–107; Kartsonis 1986; Sophocleous 1994, p. 78; Corrigan 1995, pp. 45–62.

75. Icon with the Virgin and Child (front) and Saint James the Persian (back)

Byzantine (Cyprus), late 12th century
Tempera and gold leaf on wood, with relief ornaments in gesso
99.8 × 75.5 cm (39¼ × 29¾ in.)

CONDITION: The icon originally had a pole, now cut away; the lower portion of the front is damaged; the background color of the back is lost; and the raised, gilded ornaments are later additions; restored by Archimandrite Dionysios.¹

PROVENANCE: Church of the Panagia Theoskepaste, Paphos, Cyprus.

The Holy Bishopric of Paphos, Paphos, Cyprus

In the last few decades, scholars, most prominently Doula Mouriki, have identified a large and distinctive group of icons made on Cyprus in the late twelfth and the thirteenth century.² Although the largest number belong to the period after Cyprus came under the control of the Latin Lusignan dynasty, both the icons and the frescoes with which they are associated remain close to Byzantine



75. Front



75. Back

prototypes. Made for the use of both Latin and Greek patrons, the icons share elements with works that have been identified with Crusader patronage, as well as with examples in the West. The importance of Cypriot painting in the Mediterranean basin during the thirteenth century looms larger as scholarship progresses.³

This panel once formed the back of a processional icon, with the image of Saint James the Persian on the reverse.⁴ Damaged at its base by that arrangement and changed over time, the Virgin and Child remains an important example of Cypriot icon painting. Although the original position of the hands is uncertain, the image is undoubtedly a variation of the Cypriot type usually called the *Kykkotissa*, in which the Virgin often wears the additional veil over her *maphorion*. The type is Constantinopolitan in origin but was the subject of particular devotion on Cyprus in honor of a miracle-working image in the monastery at Kykkos.⁵ Similarly characteristic of Cypriot icons are the relief decoration of the background and the halo of the Virgin. And although conservators consider these elements to be later additions, they believe the original halo was gilded stucco.⁶ While both the second veil and the use of relief

occur most often in images of the thirteenth century and later, this icon has been assigned to the late twelfth century. This date is supported by the similarity of the Virgin's face to that of a Virgin Eleousa from Nicosia, which is thought to have been made in the late twelfth century.⁷ Both images sustain the impression that Cypriot painters combined the motifs and practices of local custom with those of Byzantine Komnenian painting from the capital in the creation of a distinctive Cypriot style.⁸

The figure on the back of the icon has been identified as Saint James the Persian⁹ based on his representation as a military saint wearing a Persian or Phrygian cap, as well as on the pseudo-Kufic script on his shield. Saint James the Persian—who is also known as Saint James Intercisus (the Dismembered), recalling his martyrdom, and whose feast is celebrated on November 27—is prominent in the Western Church as well as in the Eastern Church, where he receives a full office. Nevertheless, his image is rare. Hippolyte Delchaye reports that James's name appears at only three sites on Cyprus in contrast to that of Saint George, which is found at sixty-seven.¹⁰ It is quite likely, therefore, that this icon was commissioned

by a single individual. However, the subject would have been attractive for either a private or an institutional patron. In this context, it is worth noting that Saint James was an apostatized martyr, a member of the fifth-century Persian court who hid his Christianity during a time of persecution to protect his life and career. After he reaffirmed his Christian faith, he was martyred by having his limbs cut off slowly.¹¹ Saint James would have been an especially appropriate model for Greek Christians when the icon was made if Sophocles Sophocleous's date at the end of the twelfth century or a slightly later date is correct. At this time, after the acquisition of Cyprus by the Franks, and in particular after the sale of the island in 1192 to the Lusignan house, they were under political and economic pressure from the Latin Church.¹² Similarly, James's stand against the Persians would have appealed to both Latin and Greek Christians during the period of the Crusades. Finally, devotion to a saint who resisted the Persians would have been appropriate in a church that, according to the legend associated with its name, was made invisible by a thick veil of mist just as Arab raiders of the seventh century were about to sack it.¹³

The damage left by the pole that once was attached to the panels indicates that the two paintings were once the faces of a processional icon.¹⁴ Nevertheless, it is possible that at an earlier time these panels formed a diptych, with the Virgin and Child on the right, for they are remarkably similar to the elements of the diptych at the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, in which Saint Prokopios in military garb on the left faces a version of the Kykkotissa. Although usually described as the work of a Venetian Crusader painter, the Sinai diptych was originally attributed to a Cypriot workshop by Giorgios and Marie Sotiriou, an attribution to which Mouriki recently returned.¹⁵ The similarity between the Paphos and the Sinai pairs supports these authors' contention and indicates that such images played an important devotional role in the military cultures of both the Latins and the Greeks in the Crusader period. The large size of the Paphos panels, nearly twice that of the diptych on Mount Sinai, suggests that they might have been used as the movable icons of an iconostasis, forming a set similar to the pair of early-fourteenth-century frescoes found in Macedonia at Staro Nagoricino, which depicts a half-length image of the military saint George on the left of the entrance and the Virgin and Child on the right.¹⁶

R W C



76

76. Icon with Saint Theodore Teron

Byzantine, ca. 1200

Tempera and gold on wood

Maximum dimensions of preserved painting: 33 × 20.5 cm (13 × 8 1/8 in.)

INSCRIBED: [Θ ΑΓΙ]ΟC ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟ ΤΥΡΩΝ
(Saint Theodore Teron)

CONDITION: The upper, lower, and left borders of the icon (ca. 2 cm [3/8 in.] wide) have been virtually destroyed.

The Holy Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, Patmos, Greece (New Treasury)

This icon, inscribed in red letters on a gold background, is a portrait of Theodore Teron (the Recruit), who, with Theodore Stratelates (the General), was one of the most popular military saints in Byzantium. He is a mature figure, clad here in a form-fitting belted corselet flashing with sharp gold highlights. Flaps protect his upper arms and lower torso; under his armor he wears a red tunic with gold cuffs and hem, dark green leggings, and brown leather boots. His dark brown cloak, ornamented with a wandering dark green tendril design highlighted in gold, boasts a gold *tablion* below the left shoulder.

He has a pointed beard and a full cap of brown hair that stops at his ears; his shorter hair usually helps to distinguish him from Theodore Stratelates. His halo is outlined by a circle of small incised dots. He stands on a strip of dark green earth.

The saint raises a gold-handled sword, which he has drawn from a red scabbard. A full-length triangular shield, wide and curving at the top and probably reflecting a Crusader prototype, is slung over his shoulder. Its inner surface is composed of narrow pleated (leather?) panels, and its outer surface is adorned with thin gold crosses and diamonds; its borders are decorated with rows of red or gold bosses.

The contrast between the lively decorative treatment of the costume and the softly modeled head is common in works of the early thirteenth century. A Sinai icon of Saints Theodore Stratelates and Demetrios of this period shows a similar pattern of gold rays on the armor, the same ambiguous transition between breastplate and *tablion*, and the same dusky colors.¹ The ruddy cheeks and white glow around Theodore's eyes appear as early as the end of the twelfth century.² The slightly unbalanced pose and

1. Sophocleous 1994, pp. 81–82.
2. Papageorgiou 1970; Mouriki 1985–86; Carr and Morrocco 1991, pp. 83–113; Sophocleous 1994.
3. Carr and Morrocco 1991, p. 110; *Sinai* 1990, pp. 104–20; Pace 1985; Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 61–74; Weitzmann, “Crusader Icons,” 1984, pp. 145–49.
4. *Cyprus* 1995, p. 112.
5. Corrie 1996, pp. 43–53; Carr 1993–94, pp. 239–48; Sophocleous 1993, figs. 1, 2, 8–13.
6. Sophocleous 1993, p. 81; Papageorgiou 1970, pp. 18, 21, 57; Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 19–20.
7. Papageorgiou 1970, p. 25; Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 18, 29, fig. 11.
8. Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 33–34; Carr and Morrocco 1991, pp. 64–79, 106–10.
9. Sophocleous 1994, p. 82; Holweck 1969, p. 520.
10. Delehaye 1907, pp. 267, 270–71.
11. *Golden Legend* 1969, pp. 716–20.
12. Carr and Morrocco 1991, pp. 83–97; Hill 1948, pp. 17–19.
13. *Cyprus* 1995, p. 112.
14. Sophocleous 1994, pp. 81–82.
15. Sotiriou and Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 2, pp. 171–73; Mouriki 1990, pp. 118–19, fig. 65.
16. Belting 1994, figs. 137, 153.

LITERATURE: Delehaye 1907; Hill 1948; *Golden Legend* 1969; Holweck 1969; Papageorgiou 1970; Weitzmann, “Crusader Icons,” 1984; Pace 1985; Mouriki 1985–86; Mouriki 1990; *Sinai* 1990; Carr and Morrocco 1991; Sophocleous 1993, pp. 329–37; Carr 1993–94; Belting 1994; Sophocleous 1994; *Cyprus* 1995; Corrie 1996.

jagged outline of this frontal figure, which serve to characterize the saint as a man of action, are reminiscent of certain Komnenian fresco warrior portraits³ and presage the affectedly animated holy warriors characteristic of Palaiologan painting.

N P S

1. Mouriki, in *Sinai* 1990, pp. 111–12, 169, fig. 40.
2. Compare the Sinai iconostasis beam with feast scenes discussed by Mouriki, in *Sinai* 1990, pp. 156–57, figs. 25–27. The *parekklesion* frescoes in the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos (Kollias, in Kominis 1988, pp. 80–83, figs. 11–15) show an earlier, still primarily linear, version of this style.
3. Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis 1985, figs. on pp. 32–33, 60–61.

LITERATURE: M. Chatzidakis 1977, pp. 48–49, no. 3, pl. 2; M. Chatzidakis, in Kominis 1988, pp. 108–9, fig. 5, p. 132.

EXHIBITION: Athens 1964, no. 242.

77. Icon with the Transfiguration

Byzantine (Constantinople?), late 12th century
Mosaic (gilded bronze, marble, lapis lazuli, glass, and wax) on wood support
52 × 36 cm (20½ × 14¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: Η ΜΕΤΑΜΡΟΦΟCΙC (The Metamorphosis [The Transfiguration])

CONDITION: Restored by Pietro da Valle in Palermo in 1790 and again in 1864.

PROVENANCE: Ignazio Papè; acquired by Léon DuFourney in 1797; François Belloni; acquired in 1852 by the Musée du Louvre.

Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris, France (OA ML 145)

Few objects have been called upon so consistently to lend magnificence to exhibitions of Byzantine art as this one. Its level of craftsmanship, like its inherent material richness, is superb. The individual tesserae—tiny cubes of gilded bronze marbles of many hues, lapis lazuli, and colored glass—range from .5 mm to 1 mm on a side. The misspelling in its title clearly cannot be seen as a sign of provincial origin. It is a work of the highest skill.

Miniature mosaics were among the most precious of Byzantium's luxury arts. Some four dozen survive, of which the great majority belong to the final, Palaiologan period of Byzantine art. Otto Demus divides them into



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the categories of portable mosaics like this one, ranging from 30 to as many as 120 cm in height (1 to 4 ft.), and the true miniatures, which rarely exceed 20 cm (8 in.) in height and can have been used only for the most intimate devotion and delectation. Portable mosaics begin to appear from about 1100 on, but of the twelfth-century ones, only two—this one and the image of Christ in the Uffizi in Florence—employ the virtually microscopic technique that characterizes the miniatures. Because this one depicts a feast scene, Viktor Lazarev, Manoles Chatzidakis, and Demus all propose that it was intended for a templon beam,¹ but images of the Transfiguration also served as independent, devotional, or *proskynetarion* icons, and one wonders whether the very costly, attention-

riveting technique of this one would have been set so far from the eye as on a templon beam.

This work was in Palermo in the eighteenth century, but though the extensive use of marble in the garments recalls the mosaics of Monreale, there is no evidence that it was actually made in Sicily, and its place of origin is unknown. Its date is clearer. The stately proportions of the figures have led some scholars to suggest a date in the early twelfth century, but more recent opinion places it—surely correctly—at the very end of the century.² The tense, sharp-featured faces, especially those of Peter, Elijah, and Moses with their almost anguished gazes, and the cascading drapery of John at bottom center, with its edgy clatter of high-

lights, bear particularly strong resemblance, as Demus notes, to those of the late-twelfth-century murals at Hosios David, Thessalonike.³

A W C

1. Demus 1991, pp. 45–50; Lazarev 1967, p. 203; M. Chatzidakis 1976, p. 173.
2. Demus 1991, pp. 45–50.
3. *Ibid.*, for a late-twelfth-century date; see also Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 279, p. 368.

LITERATURE: Coche de La Ferté 1958, pp. 70–73, 117–18, no. 74; Lazarev 1967, p. 203, pl. 317; M. Chatzidakis 1976, p. 173; Weitzmann, *Icon*, 1978, pl. 28; Furlan 1979, pp. 13, 23, 49–50, no. 9; Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 101–3, 108, 110; Demus 1991, pp. 45–50, no. 9 (with extensive bibliography).

EXHIBITIONS: Athens 1964, no. 348; New York 1970, no. 239; Brussels 1982, no. Ic.i; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 279.

78. Reliquary Casket with the Deesis, Archangels, and the Twelve Apostles

Byzantine (Constantinople), second half of 10th century

Ivory, with copper-alloy gilt mounts
6.7 × 18.4 × 9.8 cm (2 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Greek, on the front, Saint Paul, Saint Peter, Saint James, Saint Andrew; on the right side, Saint Philip, Saint Thomas; on the back, Saint John, Saint Mark, Saint Luke, Saint Matthew; on the left side, Saint Bartholomew, Saint Simon; on the lid, Saint John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, Mother of God.

CONDITION: The lock plate, a later addition, has been removed.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.238)

The history, method of construction, and function of this casket set it apart from other Middle Byzantine ivories. In the thirteenth century it is said to have belonged to Count Sinibaldo Fieschi, who became Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–54); it is claimed to have remained in the family until the nineteenth century, when it passed first to the Martin Heckscher collection in Vienna, next to Albert Oppenheim in Cologne, and then to J. Pierpont Morgan in New York. Because of its history, the casket was once thought to have been made specifically to contain a ninth-century cloisonné-enamel reliquary of the True Cross (cat. no. 34) that also belonged to Pope Innocent IV. Until this exhibition, the casket was covered with red and blue polychromy. However, the area under the lock plate shows no evidence of polychromy, which indicates that the entire casket was never intended to have color.¹

The Deesis scene on the lid—Christ on the heavenly throne, framed by the Virgin



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and Saint John the Baptist, who act as intercessors—is often enriched by archangels and apostles. On the sides, the apostles—who hold rolls or codices—are arranged in pairs and gesture in dialogue.

Both the carving technique and the construction of the casket are unusual. Unlike most Byzantine caskets, this example is made of solid pieces of ivory, which are mitred and dovetailed at the corners rather than mounted on a wooden core. In its solid-ivory construction it is paralleled by caskets in Stuttgart and Troyes (cat no. 141),² while the busts within acanthus-scroll medallions are similar to those on a casket fragment with saints in Bologna.³ Also novel is the evidence of multiple styles of carving on a single object. The lid exhibits a sketchy but precise technique, while the sides—except for the right one—contain figures with raised eyebrows whose faces are more textured, details also apparent on other tenth-century ivories, such as the Theodore and George icon in Venice.⁴ The right side displays a third style, which seems to combine aspects of the figures on the lid and the other sides. Multiple styles characterize the Stuttgart Ascension casket as well as other tenth-century ivories emanating from Constantinople. The Koimesis and the Berlin Entry into Jerusalem (cat. nos. 95, 99) also demonstrate a similar approach to carving hair and drapery, one that emphasizes painterly rather than sculptural linear surface effects. All may have originated in the same workshop.

C T L

1. The casket has been restored to its original, unpainted state by Pete Dandridge, Conservator, Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
2. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 24.
3. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, no. 7.
4. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 20.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 100; Cutler 1994, pp. 61–62, 198.

79. Triptych Icon with the Deesis and Saints

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th–11th century
Ivory, partially painted and gilded at a later date
25.2 × 33 cm (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 13 in.) open

INSCRIBED: Multiple inscriptions identifying the figures; see Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934.

CONDITION: Some areas are damaged; the upper border of the center panel, the background behind Christ, and the Virgin's right arm are replacements; the hinges, gilding, and painting are not Byzantine.

Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican City (2441)

The present triptych is the second of three related ivory icons depicting the Deesis (the others are a triptych in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome, 950, and the Harbaville Triptych (cat. no. 80). It is the largest of the three and the richest in decoration, and it contains the greatest number of saints.

Like the other two, this triptych, when open, has two main registers. Here, however, a central band of medallions separates the



registers, a feature present only on the wings of the Harbaville Triptych. Seated on a richly carved and jeweled throne, Christ raises his hand in blessing. He is flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist, the most important intercessors for humanity. In the lower register are Saint James the Great, Saint John the Theologian, Saint Peter in the center, Saint Paul, and Saint Andrew. Saints John and Paul hold codices, alluding to their writings. Peter points his right index finger toward Christ above, drawing viewers into the scene in which they are to participate. This gesture is not present in the earlier Palazzo Venezia triptych but is found on the Harbaville Triptych. Five additional saints are placed in the medallions above.

Military saints are depicted in the top registers of the interior wings. They wear mail cuirasses and have swords and spears, and the two Saints Theodore (Teron and Stratelates) hold their shields next to them. In the register below stand the martyrs dressed in the courtier's chlamys and holding small crosses. In the medallions are

Saint Merkourios, Saint Stephen, Saint Panteleimon, and Saint Menas. The outside of the wings has the same register arrangement. Six Church Fathers, two on each of the top rows and one at the bottom, stand together with a martyr. In the medallions are the medical saints. The two martyrs Saint Severianos and Saint Agathonikos, rarely encountered saints, are also found in the Palazzo Venezia triptych. It has been suggested that these may have been the patron saints of the church to which Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945–59) gave the Palazzo Venezia triptych.¹ We cannot say what their specific role was in the Vatican triptych, except to note that this triptych was a copy in its basic conception and layout. In the Harbaville, the third in the production sequence, Saint Agathonikos has been replaced by Saint James the Persian, another rarely seen figure.

The back of the Vatican triptych is decorated with a tall jeweled cross set in a symmetrical vine-scroll field that covers the whole panel. Exotic birds in pairs inhabit the scrolls, alternating with pairs of elaborate

palmettes. It is a work of masterful ornamental carving.

When the carving technique, style, iconography, and general composition of the three triptychs are compared, the Vatican piece appears to be the second in the series, since it has elements copied from the first and newly created elements that are in turn copied in the third. Stylistically, its figures retain some of the volume and plasticity of the Palazzo Venezia triptych. However, iconographically, some changes have occurred, the most important of which is the more pronounced military dress of some of the solidier saints. Such variations are a factor in dating this triptych after the mid-tenth century, the date of the Palazzo Venezia piece, but before the mid-eleventh century, the date of the Harbaville Triptych.

I K

1. Oikonomides, "Holy War," 1995, pp. 71, 77.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 34, no. 32a,b; Matt et al. 1970, p. 177, figs. 113–18; Oikonomides, "Holy War," 1995, pp. 71, 77.



80. Front

80. The Harbaville Triptych

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-11th century
Ivory
24.2 × 28 cm (9½ × 11 in.) open

INSCRIBED: Multiple inscriptions identifying the figures; see Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934.

Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris, France (OA 3247)

The Harbaville Triptych is one of the most splendid Byzantine ivory carvings. A very luxurious private icon for personal devotion, it is thought to have had imperial associations. Both sides of its panels are carved with the same fine workmanship. When the triptych is closed, the exterior wings display four pairs of standing saints and two pairs of saints within medallions. When open, the same arrangement of six saints, four standing and two in medallions, is found on the inner sides of the wings. The center panel, equal in width to the two wings but thicker and carved in higher relief, is also divided into two registers. The upper level contains a representation of the Deesis—Christ

enthroned, flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist, who act as intercessors for humanity. Christ holds a Gospel book in his left hand and blesses with his right. Two medallions with busts of angels are above the throne. John the Baptist and the Virgin raise their hands in intercession to Christ. In the upper border are busts of the prophets Jeremiah, Elijah, and Isaiah. Below the center decorative band stand Saint James the Great, Saint John the Theologian, Saint Peter, Saint Paul, and Saint Andrew. Peter's finger draws attention to Christ, as does the position of his left arm, which echoes that of Christ. The names of the saints are incised next to their heads.

A tall cross carved in low relief appears on the back of the center panel. Its center and the ends of its arms are decorated with rosettes. Two cypress trees flank the cross; a grapevine encircles the one at the left, and ivy the one at the right. Below, vegetation of all types is inhabited by a variety of animals—birds, a fox, and even a lion. Above, twenty-four stars surround the cross, which



80. Back

is flanked by the inscription I[HCOΘ]C X[IICTO]C NIKΑ (Jesus Christ conquers) in raised letters.

The composition and arrangement of this Deesis are based on a tenth-century triptych (Palazzo Venezia, Rome), most likely made for Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945–59).¹ The Harbaville Triptych is a copy in the medieval sense—that is, there are changes in style and iconography that

reflect the period in which it was created and the patron for whom it was made. The two works show a different approach to carving human figures. In the Harbaville Triptych the figures retain the statuesque quality of the earlier piece, but a restrained plasticity also contributes to their controlled elegance. The bodies are flattened and their proportions elongated; garments are freed from the multiple creases typical of the tenth century, and folds are flat with sharp, straight edges.

Iconographic elements that place this ivory in the eleventh century include the medallions with busts of saints on the triptych's inner wings (left: Saint Merkourios and Saint Thomas; right: Saint Philip and Saint Panteleimon); such medallions first appear on icons in the eleventh century, often on frames conceptually similar to these wings. Another element is the change from tenth- to eleventh-century style in the dress and attributes of the military saints in the upper register of the wings (Saints Theodore Teron and Theodore Stratelates, George, and Eustathios): under their mantles they now wear heavier apparel—cuirass and short leather skirt—and each holds a spear and a sword rather than a martyr's cross. The martyrs below (left: Saint Eustralios and Saint Arethas; right: Saint Demetrios and Saint Prokopios) wear a courtier's costume—the chlamys with a *tablion* at the chest—more commonly worn by martyrs in earlier depictions. The use of this garb does not, however, mean that the piece should be dated earlier—the chlamys was seen in representations of saints throughout the centuries, especially in works that are related to the imperial court. In this triptych it is worn by those who were connected with the court, for example, Saints Demetrios and Prokopios. Interestingly, Saint Arethas also wears it, although he was a churchman. Like the apostles in the bottom center panel, these courtiers stand on a dais, in contrast to the military saints above and to the figures of the earlier Palazzo Venezia triptych. Closely related works are the Romanos and Eudokia plaque (see illus. on p. 500), the panel of Christ Enthroned formerly in the Hirsch collection, and the panels with pairs of apostles in Vienna, Venice, and Dresden (cat. nos. 89A,B, 90).

Here different groups of saints assist in the Deesis. After John the Baptist and the Virgin come the apostles and then the martyrs and military saints. On the exterior there are a large number of Church Fathers, the Miracle-Workers, as if to emphasize that Christ could be reached only through the Church. Additional bishops, apostles, and the medical saints are represented in the medallions.

The martyrs Saints Severianos and James the Persian stand at the bottom center of the exterior wings. Neither is often encountered, but Saint Severianos occupies the same position on the Palazzo Venezia triptych. It has recently been suggested that this saint and his companion, Saint Agathonikos, may have been patron saints of the church to which Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos gave the Palazzo Venezia triptych.² The two martyrs on the Harbaville Triptych are not a direct copy, since one of them is Saint James

the Persian. The significance of this clearly intentional change remains unknown.

I K

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 33, no. 31a-f.
2. Oikonomides, "Holy War," 1995, pp. 71, 77.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, pp. 34–35, no. 33a,b; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1977, pp. 307–25; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 149; Cutler 1994, pp. 211, 221, 249; Oikonomides, "Holy War," 1995, pp. 71, 77.



81. Icon with Saint Demetrios

Byzantine, second half of 10th century
Ivory
19.6 × 12.2 × 1 cm (7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ × $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: On either side of the head, O A
ΔΗΜΗ/ΤΡΗΟC (Saint Demetrios)

PROVENANCE: Formerly in the collections of the
comte de Bastard, Paris, and Ernst Kofler, Lucerne.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
The Cloisters Collection, 1970 (1970.324.3)

The military saint, set within a deep frame, is dressed in armored splendor in a costume that includes a chlamys as well as a cuirass, shield, and spear (now broken). The Early Christian martyr Demetrios is the patron saint of both Thessalonike and the Constantinopolitan Church. The present panel is one of the few ivory ex-votos from the Middle Byzantine period (the image is known also from a series of steatite carvings). The soldier of Christ is closely related to another Middle Byzantine ivory — a smaller relief in Venice, also set inside a deep frame, which depicts Saints Theodore and George,¹ with whom the Cloisters Demetrios has in common certain features of costume and stance. Artistically, the New York figure is extremely stylized and carved in high relief, with some areas, such as the arms, deeply undercut. The power of this military image is also enhanced by the figure's pose and the way he dominates the space, almost overwhelming it; indeed, the halo and the ends of the spear are carved into the frame. Because the locus of the cult of Demetrios is Thessalonike, the ivory may have been intended for that city.²

The area between Demetrios's feet was deliberately cut away, which suggests a change in function for the plaque. Initially, it probably was mounted as part of a series of saints, like those in Venice, for which the four holes in the corners would have been utilized. Later, the panel appears to have been modified to serve as a portable icon placed atop a pole during processions on the saint's feast day. Other icons have the same carved-out area on the frame where a clamp was inserted to enable it to be carried; one example is the twelfth-century icon with the Virgin and the dead Christ from Kastoria, Greece (cat. no. 72).³

CTL

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 20.
2. Horster 1957, p. 48.
3. See Vikan, in Baltimore 1988, no. 8.

LITERATURE: Lenormant 1839, pt. 2, pl. xxxvii; Horster 1957, pp. 33–51; Schnitzler et al. 1964, no. 87; Frazer 1990; Cutler 1994, pp. 117f., figs. 126, 130.

EXHIBITION: Leningrad [Saint Petersburg] 1990, no. 12.



82

82. Icon with the Deesis

Byzantine (Constantinople?), mid- to late 10th century
Ivory
15.6 × 13 cm (6 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: There is extensive loss on the canopy, and the right hand of the Virgin is missing.

PROVENANCE: Formerly in the collections of Durillon, Lyons, and Chalandon, Paris; acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan, New York.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.133)

A nimbed Christ holding a Gospel book in his left hand and making a gesture of benediction with his right stands on a footstool like an emperor (see cat. nos. 137, 144, 147f, j, k). Over his head, beside the remnants of an elaborately carved canopy, appear two archangels, both wearing the imperial *loros*; the archangels serve as symbols of Christ's role as ruler of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Flanking Christ are the Virgin and John the Baptist with their hands raised in the Byzantine gesture of prayer, both petitioning him and presenting him to the faithful. Like a Deesis plaque in Ts'khinvali, Georgia, this icon was most likely the center panel of a triptych used for personal devotion.¹ It may have been transported to the West and used as the cover for a Gospel book, as the

holes in the upper and lower margins suggest. The most famous example of a Deesis ivory put to such a use is the cover of the "Precious" Gospel of the great early-eleventh-century German prelate Bernward of Hildesheim (cat. no. 305). Through such reuse the Deesis, an image developed during the Middle Byzantine centuries, reached far beyond the borders of Byzantium. While originally the Virgin and John the Baptist were shown as the first witnesses to Christ's divinity, they increasingly came to be seen as intercessors on behalf of humanity before the enthroned Christ.² Abbreviated Deesis compositions are found on the faces of many processional crosses (see cat. nos. 23–27).

On this ivory the figures, especially the hands and feet, are subtly carved, with exceptionally graceful drapery folds falling to the feet of John the Baptist. It is typical in Byzantine art for characteristic details on representations of holy authority to appear in different media. The four miniature drill holes that here form a cross on the Virgin's *maphorion* are like those found on monumental depictions (see cat. nos. 11, 291). Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann identified the ivory as part of the Triptych Group, dating it to the end of the tenth century.³ Anthony Cutler associates it with the hand of a master whom he identifies as

also having carved the Coronation ivory in the Pushkin (cat. no. 139), and the Deesis triptych in Ts'khinvali, Georgia, thus dating it to the mid-tenth century.⁴

H C E

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 66, no. 152, fig. 30; Cutler 1994, pp. 76, 131, fig. 148.
2. *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 599–600.
3. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 66, no. 154.
4. Cutler 1994, pp. 195–97, 203.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 152; Cutler 1994.

EXHIBITION: Los Angeles 1970, no. 26.

83. Two Icons with Christ Pantokrator

A. Plaque from a Book Cover

Byzantine, end of 10th century

Ivory

13.6 × 9.6 cm (5 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: Acquired from the monastery at Reichenau.

The Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England (Department of Applied Arts M.13–1904)

B. Plaque from a Triptych

Byzantine, end of 10th century

Ivory

12.8 × 11.4 cm (5 × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: Acquired in 1828 from the Pierre Révoil collection.

Musée du Louvre, Département des Objects d'Art, Paris, France (MRR 421)

Appropriating a subject normally reserved for monumental dome decoration, these ivory plaques depict Christ Pantokrator (all-sovereign). He appears half length, in frontal view, holding a book with an ornamented cover in his left hand and giving a sign of blessing with his right. His long hair falls over his left shoulder, and he is bearded. Behind him is a cross decorated with the same pearled checkerboard pattern as that on the book cover.

The Fitzwilliam and Louvre ivories share certain details of composition that link them closely. In both examples Christ's right arm is placed in the sling of his mantle with the hand raised so that the contour of the arm is broken. This representation distinguishes the Fitzwilliam and Louvre ivories, along with a similar example in the Hermitage,¹ from the other five ivories of the so-called Pantokrator type.² Assigned by Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann to the Nikephoros Group, these ivories display close stylistic affinities that have been reaffirmed by Anthony Cutler, who attributes them to the same artist.³ The iconographic and stylistic similarities between these three ivories, whether the result of their execution

by a single workshop or a single artist, attest to the standardization of ivory production in the Middle Byzantine period.

While the Fitzwilliam ivory was later incorporated into the cover of a tenth-century Ottonian manuscript, both Pantokrator plaques originally functioned as the center panels of triptychs, as indicated by the pinholes on the upper and lower corners.⁴ The wings of the triptych perhaps contained standing figures of saints or, in a Deesis composition, the figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist.⁵ The triptychs were most likely used for private devotion.

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1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 65, no. 147.
2. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 53–54, nos. 91–94; p. 65, nos. 146–49.
3. Cutler 1994, pp. 163–65.
4. In its later use as a book cover an additional pinhole was added in the middle of the upper edge, the upper and lower edges were adorned with a palmette frieze, and the corners were rounded and the side edges cut off.
5. For a comparative example, see Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 53, no. 92a,b.

LITERATURE: Dalton, *Fitzwilliam Museum*, 1912, p. 96, no. 37; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 65, no. 148; Cutler 1994, pp. 163–65.

EXHIBITIONS: (A) London 1923, no. 61; Edinburgh 1958, no. 65; London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 154. (B) Paris 1931, no. 124; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 163.



83A



83B



84.

84. Triptych with the Virgin Hodegetria and Saints

Byzantine (Constantinople), second half of 10th century

Ivory with traces of polychromy

Center panel: 12.1 × 11.6 × 0.8 cm (4¾ × 4⅝ × ⅜ in.); wings: 10.8 × 5.6 × 0.3 cm (4¼ × 2¼ × ⅛ in.)

CONDITION: There are vertical cracks in the center panel, with parts of its openwork broken away; its lower frame is trimmed and chipped at the left; the wings are trimmed at the bottom and chipped at the corners; the fronts are much abraded or planed, especially on the terminal circles of the crossarms.

PROVENANCE: In 1867, gift of Henry II, bishop of Passau, to the pilgrimage church of Altötting in Bavaria; purchased in Paris from Tycon and Smith in 1929.

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (71.158)

The center panel of this hand-sized triptych presents the Virgin in half length holding the Christ Child and gesturing toward him with her right hand—a type known as the Hodegetria. The figures appear beneath an openwork canopy supported by Corinthian columns with spiral fluting.¹ The wings show saints in two registers: bust length above and full length below. No names are inscribed, but according to Richard Randall they may be identified as Demetrios (lower left) with Prokopios above, and George (lower right) with Nicholas above.² On the fronts of the wings are crosses with central and terminal circles.

Stylistically, the figures may be associated with the classicizing movement of the tenth century, the so-called Macedonian renaissance, of which the delicate carving of fea-

tures and details, the antique-inspired proportions, and the modeling of the drapery are characteristic. Randall attributes them to the Nikephoros Group.³ The Virgin Hodegetria, in its monumental scale and three-dimensionality, is in marked contrast to the saints in the wings; her right arm overlaps the framing column, and her head abuts the lower edge of the canopy, beneath which part of her halo is hidden, so that the figure appears to project beyond the frontal plane into the viewer's space. The iconographic type is encountered in twenty-five similar and related works, many with openwork canopies and spiral columns,⁴ suggesting a model, perhaps also in ivory.

An unexplored feature of this ivory is its original color scheme, for it has been shown that Byzantine ivories were consistently painted.⁵ As with most ivories it is only through close visual or microscopic observation that pigment traces can be detected. Here, pinkish red and gold flecks are present in the drilled holes of the canopy, green crystals on the ground behind the Virgin and on the necking of the left capital, red crystals on parts of the surface, and gold on the ground to the right of the Child's halo. These minute traces of pigment on an object ostensibly white and apparently unpainted indicate that at one time it was brightly painted (see cat. nos. 98, 152). The triptych would thus have resembled in overall appearance, for example, the small half-length Hodegetria icon of the eighth to the ninth century—the center panel of a triptych—

preserved at the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai.⁶

C C

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 84; Randall 1985, p. 120, colorpl. 52.
2. Randall 1985, p. 120.
3. Ibid.
4. Cutler 1994, pp. 174–84.
5. Connor, *The Color of Ivory* (forthcoming).
6. Weitzmann 1976, vol. 1, p. 67, B.40.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 84; Weitzmann 1976, vol. 1, p. 67, B.40; Randall 1985, p. 120; Cutler 1994, pp. 174–84; Connor, *The Color of Ivory* (forthcoming).

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore 1947, no. 124; Athens 1964, no. 84.

85. Icon with the Virgin and Child

Byzantine (Constantinople?), mid-10th–11th century
Ivory

23.3 × 7.2 cm (9¼ × 2⅞ in.)

CONDITION: The halos and some of the drapery on the Virgin's left side were lost when the figure was cut from its ivory plaque; a rectangular cavity is cut out of the back; an opening in the base was probably used to mount the statuette.

PROVENANCE: In the possession of Durighello, a Greek collector; bought by Raphael Stora from Durighello shortly before World War I and purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan almost immediately thereafter; gift of J. Pierpont Morgan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1917.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.103)



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This figure of the Virgin and Child, like the one in Utrecht (cat. no. 86) to which it is closely related stylistically and iconographically, is among the most exceptional Middle Byzantine ivory carvings to survive. Although the Metropolitan Museum's Virgin and Child is now in the form of a statuette, it originally appeared against an ivory ground, as does the Virgin in the Utrecht work. A small fragment of ivory between the Virgin and the head of the Child and another in the vicinity

of the Virgin's left hand corroborate that the figures were disengaged from a plaque.¹

Thus, the present Virgin and Child functioned initially as an ivory icon that perhaps formed part of a triptych used for private devotion. The Metropolitan's ivory, with the Virgin supporting the Christ Child in her left arm and pointing to him with her right hand, is of the type commonly referred to as the Hodegetria (she who points the way). The designation did not, however, originate from the gesture of the Virgin but rather from the famous icon of the Virgin housed in the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople, which took its name from the monks who led blind pilgrims to a miraculous spring that was said to be able to restore sight.² According to tradition, the icon of the Hodegetria was an actual portrait of the Virgin and Child painted by Saint Luke, which, in the fifth century, was sent from Jerusalem to the empress Pulcheria in Constantinople by her sister-in-law the empress Athenais-Eudokia.³ The icon of the Virgin Hodegetria served as the palladium of Constantinople and thus was placed on the city walls during sieges; on special occasions it was carried in processions through the streets.⁴

As the related ivories in the Metropolitan Museum, in Utrecht, and those in Liège⁵ and Hamburg⁶ indicate, the type of the Virgin Hodegetria was perpetuated faithfully from work to work, thereby embracing the mystical properties of the prototype. The Metropolitan's Virgin and Child also may have possessed further miracle-working powers resulting from the statuette's function as a reliquary. A rectangular compartment, formerly covered with a metal plate, was cut out of the back of the figure, probably to house a relic in some way associated with the Virgin. Such a suggestion is supported by evidence from the twelfth century onward of the existence of icons that also functioned as reliquaries. For example, the inventory of the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos from the year 1200 lists a diptych bearing portraits of the saints whose relics it contains.⁷ The Metropolitan's Virgin Hodegetria, both as a copy of a well-known miracle-working icon of the Virgin and as a reliquary, served its owner as a most effective channel of communication with the Mother of God, the primary mediator between humanity and Christ.

O Z P

1. Milliken 1922, pp. 198–202.
2. *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 939.
3. Weitzmann 1972, p. 63.

4. *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 2172.

5. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 40, no. 47.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 40, no. 49.

7. *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1783.

LITERATURE: Graf 1890, p. 22, no. 162, pl. VII; Molinier 1896, p. 101; Breck 1920, p. 15; Milliken 1922, pp. 197–202; Breck and Rogers 1925, p. 48; Longhurst 1927, pt. 1, pp. 41–42, pl. XIX; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 40, no. 48, pl. XX; Casson 1935, pp. 184–87; Peirce and Tyler, *Three Byzantine Works*, 1941, pp. 13–18, figs. 3, 4; Weitzmann, "Byzantine Art," 1947, p. 404; Borchgrave d'Altena 1956, pp. 133–44; Diehl 1957, p. 278; Mayor 1957, p. 90; Little and Husband 1987, p. 48, no. 40; Cutler 1994, pp. 32, 131, fig. 30.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore 1947, no. 125; Hartford 1960, no. 10; Athens 1964, no. 65.

86. Panel with the Virgin Hodegetria

Byzantine (Constantinople?), mid-10th–11th century
Ivory

25.6 × 13.6 cm (10 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: MP/ΘY (Mother of God)

CONDITION: The original side wings are lost.

PROVENANCE: From a church in Rotterdam; formerly in the collection of A. I. Schaezman, archbishop of Utrecht.

Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, Netherlands
(ABM b.i. 751)

The Utrecht Virgin is widely recognized as the finest and best-preserved example of the Hodegetria type among extant Middle Byzantine ivory carvings. The statuesque quality and elongated proportions of the figure, as well as the smoothness and softness of the carving, associate this work with those in the Romanos Group, named after the ivory plaque in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, that depicts Christ crowning the emperor Romanos II (r. 959–63) and the empress Eudokia (see illus. on p. 500).¹ The date of the Romanos ivories and the stylistic affinities among the objects in this group have been called into question by contemporary scholars of Byzantine art.² As a result, the Utrecht Virgin has been dated to both the mid-tenth and the eleventh century.

Three ivories of the Virgin Hodegetria — the statuette in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. no. 85), the panel in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg,³ and the one in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Saint-Paul, Liège⁴ — reveal close parallels with the Utrecht Virgin. Of the three, the

Metropolitan Museum's Virgin Hodegetria is the most similar to the one in Utrecht. Each shows the Virgin standing on a pedestal decorated with an arcade, wearing identically draped garments, and resting the Christ Child on her left hip while supporting him with her left arm. Slight divergences in the execution of the facial features, the treatment of the drapery, and the arcading of the pedestals distinguish the two works. On the basis of these differences it has been proposed that the Metropolitan's Virgin is a copy of the one in Utrecht, carved either during the same period or perhaps even over a century later.⁵

Although all four ivories originally were plaques, today only the Utrecht and the Liège Virgins retain their ivory backgrounds. The holes and cuttings for hinges in the frame of the Utrecht panel indicate that it once formed part of a triptych. Flanked by two side panels, the Virgin Hodegetria probably was the center of a Deesis composition with an iconographic arrangement similar to that of the plaque with the Hodegetria at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., which is set between John the Baptist and Saint Basil the Great.⁶ Perhaps the panel with Saint John the Baptist in the Liverpool Museum, which has been attributed to the same hand as the Utrecht Virgin, should be considered one of the wings of such a triptych.⁷

The Hodegetria was the most popular of all Byzantine images of the Virgin and was widespread in the Middle Byzantine period in monumental as well as in small-scale works in all media. It also appears in the artistic vocabulary of the numerous lands that appropriated Byzantine culture during the medieval period (see cat. nos. 307, 316, 321, 331). In the thirteenth century, following the Latin occupation of Constantinople in 1204, the iconography of the Virgin holding the Christ Child in her left arm spread to the West, where it became a popular subject in Gothic art.⁸

O Z P



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1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 24.
2. See Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1977, pp. 307–25, and Cutler 1995, pp. 605–14.
3. See Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 40, no. 49.
4. See *ibid.*, no. 47.
5. Casson 1935, p. 187.
6. Weitzmann 1972, pp. 60–65, no. 26, pls. xxxvii–xxxix.
7. Casson 1935, pp. 184–87. For information on the Liverpool ivory, see Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, pp. 40–41, no. 52.
8. Cologne 1985, no. G 11.

LITERATURE: Rohault de Fleury 1878, vol. 1, p. 395, pl. cxxxvi; Linas 1882, p. 103, pl. 14; Molinier 1896, p. 114, no. 12; Schlumberger 1896–1905, vol. 1, p. 33; Diehl 1910, vol. 2, pp. 663–64, fig. 326; Dalton, *Byzantine Art*, 1911, p. 230; Ligtenberg 1919, pp. 97–105, fig. 1; Goldschmidt 1923, pl. 1; Peirce and Tyler 1927, p. 4, pl. xvii.1; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 39, no. 46; Casson 1935, pp. 184–87; Beckwith, “Mother of God,” 1962, pp. 2–7; Athens 1964, pp. 167–68, no. 63; D. Rice 1968, p. 448, fig. 417; Weitzmann, “Ivory Sculpture,” 1971, pp. 1–12; Wentzel 1971, pp. 16–17; Brussels 1982, p. 102, no. 10; Cologne 1985, no. G 11; Cutler 1994, pp. 18, 94, 109–14, 237–38.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 114; Anvers 1948, no. 227; Amsterdam 1949, no. 123a; Anvers 1954, no. 267; Essen 1956, no. 409; Edinburgh 1958, no. 102; Athens 1964, no. 63; Brussels 1982, no. Iv. 10; Cologne 1985, no. G 11.

87. Panel with the Enthroned Virgin and Child

Byzantine (Constantinople?), second half of 10th–11th century

Ivory, with traces of red from the original gilding
25.5 × 17.5 cm (10 × 6 7/8 in.)

INSCRIBED (at a later date): + ΔΑΛΛΟΝΗC •
ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC • ΔΟΥΛΟC + (Allones, servant of the
martyr)

PROVENANCE: Comte Auguste de Bastard, Paris;
Stroganoff collection, Rome.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 1925
(25.1293)

The ivory plaque with the enthroned Virgin and Child in the Cleveland Museum has received much attention for the superb quality of its execution and the grandeur and simplicity of its style. It has been designated correctly as belonging to the Nikephoros Group of ivories¹ and is listed among the ten best examples to survive from the Middle Byzantine period.² The closest parallel to the Cleveland Virgin and Child is the less accomplished plaque with the same subject in the Musée du Petit Palais, Paris.³ The latter and the Crucifixion panel in the Kestner-Museum, Hannover,⁴ are believed to have decorated the front and back covers of a single book. There are also stylistic analogies between the Cleveland Virgin and Child and the ivory icons of the Mission to the Apostles and of the Crucifixion in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (cat. no. 96).⁵ The three ivories in Paris and the one in Hannover have all been compared with the Coronation ivory of the emperor Otto II (r. 973–83) and the Byzantine empress Theophano, a work thought to have been made in the West in the Byzantine style (cat. no. 337).⁶ While some scholars have suggested the possibility of a Western provenance for the Paris Virgin and Child and the Hannover Crucifixion plaque,⁷ the stylistic and iconographic features of the Cleveland Virgin and Child identify it as a purely Byzantine work.

The enthroned Virgin supporting the Christ Emmanuel seated frontally on her lap, as in the Cleveland ivory, is the most popular type of representation of the Virgin found in the sanctuary apses of Middle Byzantine churches.⁸ Such an image of the Virgin was unveiled in 867 in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople to mark the end of Iconoclasm, the prohibition of religious images, which lasted from 726 to 843. In Byzantine art this Virgin type is associated with the name Nikopoios (Victory-Maker). The title derives from the belief that under the protection of an icon



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with such an image, Emperor Herakleios (r. 610–41) put an end to the reign of terror of Emperor Phokas (r. 602–10) and safely returned home from Carthage to Constantinople. While in Constantinople this icon was said to have repelled the assault of the Avars and the Slavs in 626. In 1204 it was stolen from the Byzantine capital by the Venetians.⁹ According to tradition, the Komnenian icon of the enthroned Virgin holding the Christ Child preserved in San Marco, Venice, is regarded as the original icon of the Virgin Nikopoios.¹⁰

The representation of the Virgin Nikopoios

on the Cleveland ivory attests to the considerable iconographic interchange between monumental public images and small-scale works intended for private devotion. A Byzantine work of superb quality, the Cleveland Virgin and Child or one closely akin to it must have served as the inspiration for the Paris Virgin and Child, which may have been produced in the West. Together the two ivories illustrate one of the ways in which Byzantine iconography became widespread during the Middle Byzantine period.

O Z P

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 49, no. 79, pl. XXXII.
2. Dalton, *Byzantine Art*, 1911, p. 230.
3. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 82.
4. *Ibid.*, no. 83.
5. *Ibid.*, nos. 99, 100; see also Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 158, pp. 245–46.
6. See Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, nos. 82, 83, 99, 100. For the plaque depicting the coronation of Otto II and Theophano, see *ibid.*, no. 85.
7. Brussels 1982, p. 108.
8. Pevny 1987, pp. 6–7, 11–12.
9. Schiller 1966–91, vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 21.
10. *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 2176.

LITERATURE: Didron 1857, p. 362; Bayet 1883, pp. 192–93, fig. 62; Kraus 1896, p. 558; Hermanin 1898, pp. 9–10; Muñoz 1907, p. 110; Dalton, *Byzantine Art*, 1911, p. 230; Pollak and Muñoz 1911, vol. 2, pl. CXVI; Pelka 1920, p. 78, fig. 43; *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (April 1926), p. 73; Diehl 1926, pp. 665–66, fig. 327; Milliken 1926, pp. 27–29; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 49, no. 79, pl. XXXII; Roos 1937, p. 60, pl. a; Weitzmann, “Byzantine Art,” 1947, p. 404, pl. CVII; Francis 1958, pp. 100–101; Silver 1971; Brussels 1982, no. 16; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 247.

EXHIBITIONS: Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1936; Baltimore 1947, no. 126.

88. Wing of a Triptych with the Archangel Michael

Byzantine (Constantinople), 11th century
Ivory
15 × 6 cm (5⁷/₈ × 2³/₈ in.)

PROVENANCE: Acquired in 1847 from the Königliche Kunstammer, Berlin.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin, Germany (571)

This ivory panel of the archangel Michael offers an excellent small-scale parallel to the marble relief of the archangel (cat. no. 12), also from the Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst.¹ The archangel, shown standing in frontal view, is dressed in courtly attire, the *loros* covered by a *chlamys*, which is in turn covered with a trapezoidal embroidered panel known as a *tablion*. With his right hand, open against his chest, he makes a gesture of blessing, while in his left he holds a staff.

On the back is a single large circle inside which are inscribed five smaller circles arranged in the form of a Greek cross, with a four-petaled rosette in the center of each. Above and below the larger circle are incised

the words IC XC NI KA (Jesus Christ conquers). The iconographic meaning of the panel is disclosed when the two sides are viewed in relation to each other: the archangel on the front, dressed in garb worn by the emperor on important ecclesiastical occasions, guards the cross on the back, which proclaims Christ's victory.

Stylistically the panel is closely related to an ivory in the Musée du Louvre that depicts Saint Theodore.² The decorative patterns on the reverse sides of both ivories are quite similar, and both share a firmly rectilinear drapery treatment. They have been assigned by Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann to the Romanos Group.³

The panel once formed the left wing of a triptych. The right wing most likely showed the archangel Gabriel, the center panel a representation of either Christ or the Virgin.

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1. Effenberger and Severin 1992, nos. 146, 147, pp. 245–47.
2. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 47, no. 74a,b.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 42, no. 57a,b, p. 47, no. 74a,b.

LITERATURE: Vöge 1900, pp. 12–13, no. 17; Volbach 1923, vol. 1, p. 12; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 42, no. 57a,b; Effenberger and Severin 1992, p. 224, no. 129.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 97; Munich 1957, no. 25; Edinburgh 1958, no. 116; Athens 1964, no. 74.

89. Two Icons with Portraits of Apostles

A. Saint Andrew and Saint Peter
Byzantine (Constantinople), 11th century
Ivory
24.6 × 13.5 cm (9³/₄ × 5¹/₈ in.)

INSCRIBED: On either side of the saints' heads, Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ (Saint Andrew), Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ (Saint Peter); across the top, two lines of dodecasyllabic verse in high relief, ΩΣ ΑΥΤΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΜΥΣΤΟΛΕΚΤΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΩ/ΝΕΜΟΙΤΕ ΑΥΤΡΟΝ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΩ (As brothers knowledgeable about the divine mysteries of the world above, may you give relief to the emperor Constantine)

Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Kunstammer, Vienna, Austria (8136)

This ivory plaque depicts the apostles Saint Andrew and Saint Peter standing frontally, holding scrolls and making a gesture of blessing. They stand on a dais that is decorated with a carved colonnade of thin double colonnettes and horseshoe arches. This element finds its closest parallel in the present plaque's companion piece in Venice (cat. no. 89B). The monumental figures of the apostles fill the entire surface of the plaque.

According to Matthew 4:18, Andrew and Peter were brothers. Both hold scrolls, in contrast to the Gospel books that, as actual authors, John and Paul hold in related plaques in Venice and Dresden (cat. nos. 89B, 90). The drapery style, with its dense system of folds, is closer to that of the Venice icon than to that of the Dresden piece. In all three ivories the figure on the left is depicted in a more frontal stance and with less movement than the figure on the right, whose body is more turned and whose right leg is emphasized.

This ivory plaque is closely related to the one in Venice (cat. no. 89B), and both were part of a set that formed a Deesis for an



89A



89B

emperor Constantine. An additional plaque of an enthroned Christ, unnoticed until recently, should be added to this Deesis ensemble (see cat. nos. 89B and 90 for information on this piece, formerly in the Hirsch collection).

B. Saint John the Theologian and Saint Paul
 Byzantine (Constantinople), 11th century
 Ivory
 24.5 × 13.1 cm (9⁵/₁₆ × 5¹/₁₆ in.)

INSCRIBED: On either side of the saints' heads, Ο ΑΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ (Saint John the Theologian), Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ (Saint Paul); across the top, ΣΚΕΥΟΣ ΘΕΟΥΡΓΟΝ ΣΥΛΛΑΛΕΙ ΤΩ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩΙ/ΒΛΑΒΗΣ ΣΚΕΠΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΤΙΝΟΝ (The instrument of God [Paul] speaks together

with the chaste man [John the Theologian] so that the emperor Constantine be protected from harm)

Museo Archeologico, Venice, Italy (Gemme e Avori 19)

This ivory plaque depicts Saint John the Theologian and Saint Paul standing frontally and holding Gospel books. They stand on a dais decorated with a carved colonnade of thin double colonnettes and horseshoe arches. The surface of the dais is tilted upward, and therefore the saints' feet are seen as if from the top, while their bodies are parallel to the picture plane and background. The tall, elongated figures have an imposing monumentality. Paul is especially impressive, standing in contrapposto with his right leg slightly forward and his head a bit back. In contrast

John presents himself in a contained frontality as he holds the Gospel book with both hands. The unusually draped end of Paul's mantle, which sweeps down from his right shoulder across his chest and over his left arm, may have been invented by the craftsman to create a thicker and thus sturdier section to offset a flaw in the ivory visible only from the back.¹ The Gospel book, held in an almost horizontal position underneath the fold, adds further support to the plaque. This playful and unusual gesture, together with the sweeping fold of Paul's mantle, is in agreement with the slightly mannered figural style of these reliefs. The piece has the same subject matter and inscription as a plaque in Dresden (cat. no. 90). There are, however, several iconographic differences between them. Although the same apostles appear in

the same places on the icons, they have different poses, and on the Venice icon John's facial type is similar to that of Paul. The carving styles of both plaques are related. The multiple pleats of the garments seem to be pressed flat against the saints' bodies; the folds are neat and crisp.

The Venice piece is, however, even closer in terms of carving style to a panel in Vienna (cat. no. 89A). They share such details as the dais's carved arcade, the form of which is slightly different on the Dresden piece. Both the Venice and Vienna pieces also have an incised line in the relief letters of the inscription that is not found in the Dresden ivory. Overall they seem to be part of the same original set, forming a Deesis with an ivory panel of an enthroned Christ formerly in the Hirsch collection in Switzerland,² which has a similar carving technique and appropriate measurements (see cat. no. 90 for a further discussion of that plaque).

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1. See the photograph in Cutler 1994, p. 48, fig. 49.
2. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 41, no. 54.

LITERATURE: (A): Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 38, no. 44; Cutler 1994, pp. 125, 132. (B): Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 38, no. 43; Cutler 1994, p. 48, fig. 49.

EXHIBITIONS: (A) Vienna 1977, no. 22. (B) Venice 1974, no. 24.



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90. Icon with Saint John the Theologian and Saint Paul

Byzantine (Constantinople), 11th century
Ivory

24.5 × 12.9 cm (9 7/8 × 5 1/8 in.)

INSCRIBED: On either side of the saints' heads, Ο Α ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ (Saint John the Theologian), Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ (Saint Paul); across the top, ΣΚΕΥΟΣ ΘΕΟΥΡΓΟΝ ΣΥΛΛΑΛΕΙ ΤΩ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩΙ/ΒΛΑΒΗΣ ΣΚΕΠΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ (The instrument of God [Paul] speaks together with the chaste man [John the Theologian] so that the emperor Constantine be protected from harm)

Grünes Gewölbe, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Germany (II 52)

This ivory plaque depicts the apostles John the Theologian and Paul standing frontally and holding Gospel books. They are on a dais that is supported by two small legs. A carved colonnade of thin double colonettes and rounded arches decorates the front of the dais. Its upper surface is tilted so that its

depth is completely visible. The apostles thus have their feet represented as if seen from above, in contrast to their bodies, which are parallel with the plain background. Their tall, elongated figures fill almost the entire height of the plaque, except for the two lines of dodecasyllabic verse carved in raised letters at the top. Their heads turn slightly toward each other. Imposing as these figures are, they have a softness of form and a mannered stance, especially Paul, who holds his right arm downward against his body instead of in the more common gesture of blessing. The garment drapery appears crisp, with multiple folds, giving the impression of having been softly pressed against the bodies. The highest relief is at the level of the heads, the Gospel books, and at the hem area, where there is also some undercutting. The

figures are otherwise fully attached to the background.

This plaque is one of a group of three such icons of paired apostles carved in the same style and with similar dimensions. The other two are in Vienna and Venice (cat. nos. 89A, 89B). All have a prayer for a certain emperor Constantine carved in relief at the top. The Dresden plaque is also closely related to the famous ivory Harbaville Triptych (cat. no. 80),¹ which it resembles in the general treatment and conception of the figures. In both icons the fall of the garments is smooth and flat, and the folds, standard in their articulation, end in sharp, straight edges. The apostles' soft locks of hair, wavy beard strands, and slanted eyes with heavy upper lids are also typical of the figures on the triptych, and their fingers have slightly curved and

thickened ends, which can be compared to the fingers of Christ, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul on the triptych. The series of open arches decorating the dais can likewise be seen on Christ's footstool in the triptych; there is, moreover, an almost identical version on his footstool in the Romanos and Eudokia ivory plaque in Paris. These similarities place the Dresden piece in the workshop where the Harbaville and Romanos ivories were produced — if not, indeed, in the hands of the same carver — and with a date in the eleventh century.²

The verse at the top is a prayer for an unidentified emperor named Constantine. From the evidence provided by all three plaques in the group, it can be inferred that they formed parts of sets and that there was more than one such set: two of them, this one and the Venice plaque (cat. no. 89B), have the same saints and the same prayer carved on them, while the Vienna (cat. no. 89A) and Venice pieces agree on small iconographic details and seem to belong to the same set. The plaque in Dresden is thus the only surviving icon of its set. The work could have been commissioned by the emperor himself as a kind of ex-voto or by someone else on his account.

The relief inscriptions on these plaques are not prayers for the general protection and well-being of an emperor. The selection of words indicates that something negative has already happened to this Constantine, as a result of which the apostles are now asked to intervene in his behalf. An emperor with circumstances that would fit such a situation is Constantine X Doukas (r. 1059–67), who became so ill in 1066 that he withdrew and entrusted all his duties to his wife.³ Apostles are the appropriate saints to speak on an emperor's behalf since they, along with the Virgin and John the Baptist, are the imperial intercessors. The best example of such a Deesis is the Palazzo Venezia triptych for Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945–59), in the center panel of which five apostles have been singled out as the emperor's direct intercessors and which on the central part has an inscription that Nicolas Oikonomides believes is related to Constantine VII's illness in the last years of his reign.⁴ Interestingly, four out of those five apostles are represented also on the Vienna and Venice plaques.

How exactly to reconstruct the sets of plaques is difficult to say, but they must have had an arrangement appropriate for a Deesis, with Christ either above as in the triptychs or in the center as in the Limburg Staurotheke, where pairs of apostles surround

an enthroned Christ. A plaque formerly in the Hirsch collection in Switzerland with just such an enthroned Christ has the same measurements as the three apostle plaques and is framed by a narrow border with a fine incised line like that around the Vienna and Venice pieces.⁵ It is carved out of ivory that has blemishes on its back like those on the piece in Venice,⁶ and the letters of its relief inscription incorporate a central incised line, as do those of the Venice and Vienna pieces. (Christ on the former Hirsch plaque also has the extremely elongated body of the enthroned Christ on the Harbaville Triptych as well as the heavy sling for his right, blessing arm.) Combined in sets of two or three rows each, these ivories would have formed notable ensembles. I K

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 34, no. 33a,b, pl. XIII.
2. For the dating of these pieces to the eleventh century, see Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1977, pp. 307–25. This is questioned by Cutler, in Cutler 1994.
3. Psellos 1926–28, vol. 2, p. 151; Sewter 1953, p. 262.
4. Oikonomides, "Holy War," 1995, pp. 73–76.
5. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 41, no. 54.
6. Cutler (1994, pp. 45–48, fig. 47) ignores the close connection of these ivory plaques, although he discusses them back to back in the same paragraph.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 38, no. 43; Berlin 1977, p. 36, no. 15; Cutler 1994, p. 219, fig. 226.

91. Diptych with Twelve Scenes from the Life of Christ

Byzantine (Constantinople?), second half of 10th–early 11th century

Ivory
Each wing: 26.4 × 13.3 cm (10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: O XEPETICM (The Annunciation); O ACHACM (The Visitation); H GENIC (The Nativity); H YΠOΠANTH (The Presentation); H BAIITIC (The Baptism); [H METAMOP]ΦOCIC (The Metamorphosis); O BAIΟΦOPOC (The Entry into Jerusalem); H CTAYPΩCIC (The Crucifixion); H ANACTACIC (The Anastasis); TON ΘYPΩN KEKAI CMENON (The Incredulity of Thomas); H ANA[AHΨIC] (The Ascension); H ΠENTIKOCTH (The Pentecost)

CONDITION: There is limited loss of ivory in details and on the frame; chains replace the original hinges.

PROVENANCE: Formerly in the collections of Albert Germeau, Paris, and A. Basilevsky, Paris.

The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (0–13)

The two leaves of the diptych contain twelve scenes of the life of Christ, each identified by an inscription carved into the ivory and each register referring to a different period in his life. Across the top are events relating to Christ's birth and infancy — the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, and the Presentation in the Temple. In the second register are scenes of his maturity — the Baptism (with the river Jordan at the lower left), the Transfiguration, the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Crucifixion. The bottom register contains four events that followed his death — the Anastasis (Descent into Hell), the Incredulity of Thomas, the Ascension, and the Pentecost (Mission to the Apostles). Groupings such as these are often thought to be associated with the Twelve Great Feasts of the Orthodox Church.

Jaroslav Pelikan has noted that the scenes are all found in the writings of Luke, the first eleven episodes in his Gospel and the Pentecost in Acts 2:1–13. He suggests that the group represents an early example of the evolving selection of the Great Feasts of the Church.¹ While the events depicted are celebrated by the Church, they are not consistent either with the formal Great Feasts of the Church or with the most popular illuminated cycles of the Middle Byzantine era, such as those found on the eleventh-century mosaics in the churches of Hosios Loukas, Nea Mone, and Daphni in Greece.² If the events were meant to be representations of the major feasts, the presence of the Visitation and the Incredulity of Thomas is most unusual, as is the absence of the Raising of Lazarus and of any scenes related to the life of the Virgin. This discrepancy between the scenes on the diptych and the major feasts as they figure in church decoration of the period suggests a different explanation: that on an object of personal contemplation such as this diptych, the events illustrated were those of special significance to the patron or the artist. A different style of narrative applied to objects of personal devotion is found on triptychs that show a major event in the center, with the flanking leaves containing related narratives (see cat. no. 98).

Alice Bank places the diptych in a broad context, dating it to the tenth or eleventh century.³ Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann considered it part of the Nikephoros Group and dated it to the late tenth century, noting that the style of Christ's nimbed halo resembles that of other images within the Nikephoros Group (see cat. nos. 82, 84, 96, 138, 337).⁴ Elaborately carved canopies, such as those in the Presentation and Visitation scenes, were popular on ivories



from the second half of the tenth century into the eleventh (see cat. nos. 98–101), making a dating in that period appropriate

H C E

1. Pelikan 1990, pp. 86–88.
2. Diez and Demus 1931, pp. 47–73; *Festal Menaion* 1969, pp. 41–66; *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 868–69.
3. Bank 1985, p. 295.
4. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 60, no. 122.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 122; Bank 1985, nos. 136–39; Pelikan 1990, pp. 86–88.

92. Left Panel of a Diptych with the Crucifixion and the Deposition

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-10th century
Ivory, with traces of gilding
22.9 × 11.9 cm (9 × 4¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front, in the Crucifixion scene, ΜΙΧΑΗΛ (Michael), ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ (Gabriel); under the crossarm, ΙΔΕ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΣΟΥ (Here is your son), ΙΔΟΥ Η ΜΗΤΕΡ ΣΟΥ (Here is your mother [John 19:26, 27]); in the Deposition scene, Η ΑΠΟΚΑΘΕΣΤΙΣ (The Deposition); on the back, on either side of the cross, ΙΧ/ΧΝΙ/ΚΑ (Jesus Christ conquers)

CONDITION: The plaque has a few cracks and scratches.

Kestner-Museum, Hannover, Germany (WM xxia, 44b)

The front of this ivory icon is divided into two registers by an ornamental band. The Crucifixion appears on the top. Christ, wearing a loincloth, is shown suspended from a cross that is decorated at the top with a *tabula ansata*. The Virgin, standing at the left, gestures toward the cross. Saint John the Theologian, standing at the right, holds a book in his left hand and raises his right hand in a sign of acclamation. Above the cross are bust-length images of the archangels Michael and Gabriel, who gesture toward the scene. The Deposition occupies the lower register of the plaque. Here, the body of Christ has been taken down only partially from the cross, which is again decorated with a *tabula ansata*. The upper half of his body is supported by the bearded, standing figure of Joseph of Arimathea and by the Virgin, who grasps Christ's left arm and tenderly touches her head to his. On the other side of the cross, the figure of Nicodemus leans over to



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remove the nails from Christ's feet with a pair of tongs, as Saint John the Theologian, behind him, beckons toward the body of Christ, an expression of grief and sorrow on his face. This expressive and emotional version of the Deposition, which is first seen in the tenth-century frescoes in the Church of Tokalı Kilise in Cappadocia, continued to prevail into the twelfth century, under the growing influence of the Easter liturgy.¹ A cross, the center and ends of which are decorated with rosettes, is depicted on the back of the panel.

The Hannover plaque has long been recognized as the counterpart to an ivory panel now in Dresden, which includes scenes of Christ Meeting the Marys in the Garden (the Chairete) and the Descent into Hell (the Anastasis), arranged in two registers (for a similar composition, see cat. no. 93). That these plaques originally functioned as the two halves of a diptych was first argued by Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann on the basis of stylistic and iconographic similarities.² Anthony Cutler has recently reaffirmed this relationship between the

panels on the basis of technical considerations: the plaques are both 10 mm thick and share a step 7 mm in depth.³

Joined as a diptych, the Dresden and Hannover plaques were probably used for private devotion. Both decorated with scenes that are intimately associated with Easter, they would have served as a constant reminder to the supplicant of Christ's Passion, ultimately ensuring his or her salvation.

ST

1. *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 611–12.

2. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 37.

3. Cutler 1994, p. 104.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 37, no. 40; Cutler 1994.

EXHIBITIONS: Hannover 1994; Munich, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 1995.

93. Icon with the Meeting in the Garden and the Anastasis

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-10th century
Ivory

22.5 × 11.5 cm (8 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (0-1473)

This icon is divided into two equal parts by an ornamental band, the upper tier depicting the Chairete, or Christ Meeting the Marys in the Garden (Matt. 28:9–10), and the lower showing the Anastasis, or Descent into Hell.¹ The plaque, one element of a diptych, very closely resembles another panel in Dresden; this led L. A. Matsulevich to doubt the Hermitage ivory's authenticity.² The Dresden and Hermitage plaques are not, however, identical. The poses and gestures of the figures and the folds of their garments are not precisely the same, and the dimensions, position, and structure of the hinges that held each panel together with the ivory with which it was paired do not match. There is a *crux immissa* on the back of the Dresden example, but none on the Hermitage plaque.

It is common to find series of ivories from the Middle Byzantine period with almost identical depictions of the Crucifixion, the Dormition of the Virgin, the Virgin Hodegetria, and Christ Pantokrator. The close coincidence of composition, iconography, carving technique, and style indicates that they were completed at the same time and most likely in the same workshop. The



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evidence of such series demonstrates that the Hermitage plaque cannot be discredited on the ground that a very similar piece exists but, rather, suggests that both works share the same provenance. Both the Saint Petersburg and the Dresden ivories display the perfected carving technique that distinguishes the finest examples of the so-called Romanos Group, executed in a court workshop in Constantinople about the middle of the tenth century.

According to the testimony of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945–

59), one of his palace chapels contained a templon with carved ivory icons. The ivories may have been arranged in a row to form an epistyle, perhaps akin to the tenth-century example showing the liturgical cycle of Twelve Great Feasts reconstructed by Kurt Weitzmann from a diptych in the Hermitage depicting the Presentation in the Temple, four plaques from the Staatsbibliothek in Bamberg, and a fragment in a private collection in Paris. These ivories are of identical dimensions, which in all likelihood indicates that they not only came from the same

workshop but also belonged to a single set that once adorned a templon screen. The templon may have been housed in the chapel of the imperial palace in Bamberg, built for the Byzantine princess Theophano, who married the German emperor Otto II in 972.

Weitzmann's icon-by-icon reconstruction of the templon is a model for the hypothetical re-creation of several other ivory epistyles, which were also composed of plaques depicting the Twelve Great Feasts. Iconographic and stylistic affinities between the Dresden panel and an icon representing the Crucifixion and the Deposition in the Kestner-Museum in Hannover (cat. no. 92), as well as their common dimensions, indicate that they are wings of a single diptych, while structural particularities and the choice of scenes are evidence that the diptych belonged to an ivory epistyle devoted to the twelve feasts. A painted epistyle of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai, which dates from the eleventh or twelfth century, illustrates the appearance of such an iconostasis. Scenes of the Twelve Great Feasts are arranged in a long row in two tiers, with the Crucifixion (one subject of the Saint Petersburg and Dresden plaques) followed by the Anastasis (a subject of the Hannover plaque). In the tenth century, when the cycle of the twelve feasts had not yet been regularized, variations in the choice of Gospel scenes were possible, as was the inclusion of scenes outside the feast cycle. Thus the Chairete could be paired with the Anastasis, and the Deposition with the Crucifixion. Adjacent plaques formed diptychs, which were removed from the templon on the feast day corresponding to the scene represented and placed on the analogion for veneration. The Hermitage ivory of the Meeting in the Garden and the Anastasis was the left panel of a diptych in such an epistyle;³ the right panel is lost. Since the Hermitage and Dresden plaques depict the same subjects, the missing plaque must have resembled the Hannover leaf, which originally formed a diptych with the Dresden plaque. The Hannover plaque could not have been paired with the Hermitage ivory, since both are left panels.

An author of the catalogue of an exhibition held at the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, conjectures that these ivory plaques were brought to Europe by Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, who visited the Holy Land in 1172–73.⁴ Such a possibility cannot be ruled out; however, most Byzantine ivory icons—other than the pieces from Theophano's dowry—reached Western European church treasuries in the period between the sack of Constantinople

in 1204, during the Fourth Crusade (1202–4), and the ensuing Latin Empire, which existed from 1204 to 1261.

V Z

1. Botkin 1911, vol. 2, pl. 54.
2. Matsulevich 1923, p. 49.
3. Zalesskaya 1996.
4. Munich, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 1995, vol. 1, pp. 254–55, no. 66.

LITERATURE: Botkin 1911, vol. 2, pl. 54; Matsulevich 1923, p. 49; Munich 1995; Zalesskaya 1996.

94. Panels from an Icon with the Twelve Great Feasts

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-10th century

A. The Nativity and the Annunciation to the Shepherds

Ivory
11.5 × 10.2 cm (4½ × 4 in.)

INSCRIBED: Η ΓΕΝΝΗCIC (The Nativity)

The Trustees of the British Museum, London, England (1885, 8-4, 4)

B. The Raising of Lazarus

Ivory
10.6 × 8.8 cm (4¼ × 3½ in.)

INSCRIBED: Ο ΛΑΖΑΡΟ (Lazarus)

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin, Germany (578)

C. The Incredulity of Thomas

Ivory
10.6 × 8.8 cm (4¼ × 3½ in.)

INSCRIBED: ΤΩΝ/ΘΥΡΩ[N]/ΚΕ/ΚΛΕΙC/
ΜΕΝΩ[N] (The Doors Being Closed)

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (37.7)

D. The Koimesis (see cat. no. 95)

These ivories, along with the icon of the Koimesis (cat. no. 95), depict scenes from the *dodekaorton* (the Twelve Great Feasts of the Orthodox Church). Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann grouped the four together because they share similarities in their physical characteristics, classicizing style, dimensions, method of mounting, and technique of carving. The Nativity and the

Annunciation to the Shepherds is slightly larger than the other plaques, which suggests that it probably belonged to another, parallel series of feast scenes. Each panel is framed by a plain beveled border and has holes bored in the corners for mounting, which, presumably, was on an armature of wood. Weitzmann contended that these twelve ivories constituted a collective icon of the Great Feasts.¹ Although no tenth-century ivory icon of this type survives with separately carved panels fastened to a wooden core, both the common physical qualities and the thematic unity of the panels argue in favor of a cyclical format. A tenth-century icon in the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, proposed by Weitzmann as an approximate painted model,² indicates that such a format existed, while a Middle Byzantine ivory diptych in Warsaw contains a feast cycle arranged in a way that may have paralleled the dismantled icon.³ Moreover, it is plausible that a complete collective icon was transmitted to the West at an earlier date, as several of the scenes appear to have inspired the New Testament ivories carved before 968 for Otto the Great's cathedral at Magdeburg.⁴

Each image is a masterpiece of almost three-dimensional carving, with classically balanced compositions, serenely expressive figures dressed in himations, and painterly effects of spatial illusionism and staging. The apparent reliance on manuscript miniatures, such as those of the tenth-century lectionary in the Saint Petersburg State Library (Cod. gr. 21), is often cited to demonstrate the impact of painted models on ivory carving; just the opposite influence may be the case here, however, since a degree of polychromy and gilding originally on the ivories would have enhanced their illusionistic quality—in addition to the theaterlike space created by sculptural means—thus implicitly linking the two pictorial modes.⁵ The plastic effect created by the raising of the figures from the ground plane in layers of relief, without full modeling, is typical of this group of carvings. A mid-tenth-century date for the group may be established mainly by their relationship to dated paintings, as, for example, the Joshua Roll (cat. no. 162), as well as to related contemporary ivories, such as the Berlin plaque with Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles.⁶

CTL

1. Weitzmann 1972, pp. 43–48.
2. Weitzmann 1976, no. B56.
3. Cutler 1994, figs. 73, 221.
4. Little 1986, pp. 441–51.



94A



94B



94C



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5. Weitzmann, "Ivory Sculpture," 1971, pp. 1ff., pls. 1/2, 2/2.
6. Cutler 1994, fig. 211.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, nos. 5, 14, 15; Weitzmann, "Ivory Sculpture," 1971, pp. 1–12; Weitzmann, "Tenth-Century Lectionary," 1971, pp. 639ff.; Schrader 1972, pp. 72–88, esp. n. 7; Weitzmann 1972, pp. 43–48; Cutler 1994, pp. 131, 191, 198, 216f., 230.

EXHIBITIONS: (C) Paris 1931, no. 103; Boston 1940, no. 116; Athens 1964, no. 59.

95. Icon with the Koimesis

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-10th century
Ivory

10.6 × 8.7 × 1.3 cm (4¼ × 3¾ × ½ in.)

INSCRIBED: H KOIMHCIC (The Koimesis)

The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Tex. Laurence H. Favrot Bequest (71.6)

This ivory offers a classic rendition of the Koimesis, the "falling asleep" in death of the Virgin. The Koimesis is included so regularly in monumental feast cycles that it is usually assumed to have originated there. In fact, its earliest occurrences — in the tenth century — are in the diminutive medium of ivory, where it is not known to have been used in conjunction with the feast cycle. Instead it seems to have owed its success to its own independent body of meaning.

The ivory shows the scene in exceptionally pure form. The Twelve Apostles flank the Virgin's bier with mourning gestures, while Christ appears in the center, raising to the arms of waiting angels the tiny soul of his mother (broken from this ivory), which thus ascends immediately to heaven without awaiting the Second Coming. Peter bends over the bier from behind, laying his hand in a gesture of remarkable intimacy on the Virgin's womb beneath her prominent breasts, as if to recall the recurrent theological invocations of the Virgin as the womb that bore God. Paul too stretches his hands over the Virgin's body, for accounts of the Koimesis often quote him as exclaiming that in seeing the one who gave flesh to God, he had seen God's flesh, though he did not see Jesus himself. The style of composition — based on ancient Greek scenes of mourning — and the beauty of the forms respond to the vogue for classical

learning in mid-tenth-century Constantinople. The image speaks on many levels: of the Christian hope for salvation at death, of Jesus' compassion for his mother and through her for humans like those who gaze at the ivory, and of the power of sight — the apostles' sight of the Virgin, the viewer's sight of the icon — to feed faith.

The plaque is closely related to two ivories with Gospel scenes (cat. nos. 94B, 94C). All three have carefully fitted holes for pegs to affix them to a backing of some kind. Accordingly, it has been assumed that all three belonged to a large composite icon with a feast cycle. Such a complex, however, is not known from the tenth century; certainly none of the eighteen surviving ivories of the Koimesis belongs to one. Instead the Houston ivory argues for a small and intimate context featuring the Koimesis centrally. Not only is it carved with great delicacy for a private viewing of the work cradled in the hand, but the face and breasts of the Virgin are worn smooth, surely by devotional kissing. Such devout abrasion is best imagined in a small, handheld object.

A W C

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930 (1979 ed.), vol. 1, p. iii; Schrader 1972, pp. 72–88 (citing earlier literature); Weitzmann 1972, pp. 45–47, pl. xxiv, fig. 17; Cutler 1994, p. 198.

96. Icon with Christ's Mission to the Apostles

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-10th century
Ivory

21 × 13.8 cm (8¼ × 5½ in.)

CONDITION: There are a few fine cracks in the background and frame, a small hole centered in the background below the upper frame, and two nicks in the edge of the lower frame.

PROVENANCE: Pierre Révoil collection; acquired by the Musée du Louvre, 1828.

Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris, France (MRR 354)

Christ is shown frontally, standing on a double-stepped dais, as he blesses with his right hand and holds a *rotulus* in his left. He is flanked by the apostles, who bow while raising their veiled hands in supplication. The most important and prominent apostles, Peter and Paul, are identifiable by their physiognomic traits; each stands on a low

dais and raises his bared hands. Above and immediately to the left and right of the cross-imbued head of Christ are the busts of two angels, who turn toward him and lift their hands in prayer. The composition is similar to one in a Greek lectionary in Saint Petersburg (gr. 21).¹

A companion ivory, of the same dimensions and framing, was cut from the same elephant tusk and carved by the same artist; it represents the Crucifixion (shown opposite, together with Christ's Mission to the Apostles).² The pair may have served as a double icon (ivory book covers are unknown in Byzantium). These reliefs, along with the magnificent ivory in the Cleveland Museum (cat. no. 87), are among the finest examples in Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann's Nikephoros Group and share a simplicity and clarity in the rendering of draped, occasionally massive figures. The male heads tend to be broad, with heavy eyelids. The busts of the angels in prayer are characterized by suspended and flying drapery folds; the latter are especially similar to those in the present work.

While the subject — Christ's Mission to the Apostles (Matt. 28:18–20) — recurs in the Latin West,³ there are only two examples for which a significant relationship with the Louvre ivory may be postulated. The first is the Ottonian ivory book cover of about 970 in Cleveland (cat. no. 324); the second is the top half of an ivory carved in Amalfi about 1080.⁴ Still more examples of this subject and composition must have been known in Byzantium, and any one of them could have reached the Western milieu — and hegemony — in the tenth and eleventh centuries: specifically, the Ottonian court and that part of southern Italy (including Amalfi) that belonged to the Macedonian empire.

W D W

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 55, fig. 27.
2. *Ibid.*, no. 19, pl. xxxviii; Poplin 1976, pp. 84–87; Paris 1992, no. 158a, illus.
3. For compositionally divergent examples, see the Cologne ivory book cover, of about 980, in the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne, B2 (b) (published in Cologne 1972, E-9 illus.), and twelfth-century Salzburg manuscript illustrations (G. Swarzenski 1908–13 [1969 ed.], vol. 1, figs. 178, 353).
4. Museo del Duomo, Salerno; see Bergman 1980, pp. 80, 127, no. 38, fig. 39. Bergman observes "not only similar drapery types but also profound correspondences in the deep-cut incisions used to delineate the vertical folds and the peculiar V-shaped stylization between the legs. The dramatic poses of the apostles in the Salerno scene, however, are a markedly non-Byzantine feature."



96. Crucifixion (left) and Christ's Mission to the Apostles (right)

LITERATURE: Molinier 1896, no. 34; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, pl. xxxviii, p. 55, no. 100; Poplin 1976, pp. 84–87; Bergman 1980, p. 80, fig. 126.

EXHIBITIONS: Athens 1964, no. 87, illus.; Vienna 1977, no. 23; Brussels 1982, no. Iv. 15; Paris 1988–89, no. 1; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 158 (b), illus.

97. Triptych Panel with the Crucifixion

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-10th century
Ivory

12.7 × 8.9 cm (5 × 3½ in.)

INSCRIBED: Above the cross, IC XC (Jesus Christ); above the Virgin, ΜΡ ΘΥ (Mother of God); above John, Ο Α ΙΩ (Saint John); above the soldiers, Ο ΔΙΑΜΠΙΣΜΟ (The Division of the Cloak); above Hades, Ο ΣΤΡΟΦ ΕΜΠΙΛΗΤΗ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΚΟΙΛΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΟΥ (The Cross Implanted in the Stomach of Hades)

CONDITION: The left half of the canopy and the right arm of Christ are restorations; there are traces of gilding.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.44)

This panel—a tour de force of technique and representation—is one of the supreme examples of Middle Byzantine ivory carving in Constantinople at its apogee. In addition, the iconography is unique in Byzantine art. The Crucifixion is presented under a canopy carved a jour. Christ stands on a suppedaneum with his arms spread open in supplication; the gestures of the Virgin and Saint John underscore their attitude of mourning. Below, three seated soldiers draw lots for Christ's cloak.

The base of the cross pierces the stomach of the reclining figure of Hades, who seems to be based on a classical model such as the depiction of a river god or, more specifically, the subject of Herakles Drawing Cerberus from the Underworld. As demonstrated by Margaret Frazer, the inclusion of Hades transforms the representation of Christ's crucifixion into a celebration of the Triumph of the Cross and of his victory over death. Building on a tradition established by the early Church Fathers, the theme also appears in hymns and sermons on the Triumph of

the Cross, particularly in those of Romanos the Melode (d. after 555) and in the *spuria* of Saint John Chrysostom (fifth to seventh century).¹ Later, Adam, rather than Hades,

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would be shown at the foot of the cross, a change in iconography that would become accepted in both Byzantium and the West.

Although Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann postulated a manuscript as the source of the ivory and therefore assigned it to the Painterly Group, no other related image survives. The extremely plastic carving, with the figures conceived in the round and deeply undercut, gives the scene the quality of a stage set. The attention to details, such as the design on the Virgin's mantle and goffered sleeves, and the finesse of the carving invite comparison with the Harbaville Triptych and the Veroli Casket (cat. nos. 80, 153).

The icon originally served as the center panel of a triptych, as suggested by the presence of holes for the support bars of the wings.

CTL

1. Frazer 1974, pp. 158ff.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 6; Frazer 1974, pp. 153–61; Schellewald 1991, pp. 41–62, fig. 8; Cutler 1994, p. 77, pl. v.

98. Triptych with the Nativity

Byzantine (Constantinople), second half of 10th century

Ivory, with traces of polychromy

MAX. H. 12.1 cm (4¾ in.), MAX. W. 20 cm (7⅞ in.), open

CONDITION: There are hairline cracks throughout the center panel; its surface is chipped along the lower frame; the wings have hairline cracks; the eye hinges are replacements; judging from the size and location of the prominent holes on the upper and lower frame of the center panel, it is probable that ivory strips were once attached, as in the Harbaville Triptych (cat. no. 80).

INSCRIBED: On the center panel, Η ΓΕΝΙΣΙΣ (The Nativity); on the left wing, Η ΒΑΘΟΦΡΟΣ (The Carrying of the Palms) Η ΑΝΑΚΤΑΙΣ (The Anastasis); on the right wing, Η ΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΣ (The Ascension)

PROVENANCE: Soltykoff collection, 1861; Spitzer 1893; Foulc; Duseigneur until 1900.

Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris, France (OA 5004)

This tiny triptych consists of a center panel with a Nativity enclosed in an openwork canopy with, on the left wing, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Anastasis and, on the right, the Ascension. At the center of the main panel, the Virgin Mary reclines on a pallet beside the manger bearing the infant Christ, who is watched over by the ox and the ass. Appearing from behind the curved

contour of the cave are eight angels, one of whom announces the news of the Nativity to two shepherds at the right. Joseph sits pensively at the lower left; the infant's first bath, overseen by two sheep, takes place on the right. Each wing is divided into two registers. On the left wing the Entry into Jerusalem is depicted in a crowded narrative scene, while below is the Anastasis, again a composition packed with spectators, with Christ pulling Adam from the sarcophagus. On the right wing the Ascension of Christ, in a mandorla held by angels, is witnessed by the Virgin and two angels, while in the register below the apostles gesticulate in reaction to the event.

Stylistically, the ivory is closely associated with others carved during the Macedonian renaissance of the tenth century, many of which depict feast scenes within similar canopies;¹ parallels with the Veroli Casket (cat. no. 153) have also been pointed out.² The figures in these works assume active, almost melodramatic poses and display a wide range of gestures and attitudes. With many figures intersected by the frames, the action appears to originate from outside and move through the picture space. A rising-viewpoint perspective allows for dense vertical packing, with overlapping between individual figures or groups adding to the illusion of depth. Drapery clings to bodies, and folds



hang, flutter, or billow out in a style reminiscent of Late Antique classicism. A characteristic feature is the round heads with hair in bulbous curls. A close affinity to this “painterly” style is displayed in the illuminated miniatures of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos, dating to the 880s; the stocky figures, heavy draperies, and densely packed picture spaces could have been copied from such a manuscript.³ The style and format are also comparable to those of a triptych wing of an icon at the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai with partial scenes from the Baptism of Christ and the Anastasis in registers.⁴ Indeed, artists working in ivory, manuscripts, and painted icons may have worked side by side, sharing the same models. Technically, the triptych resembles the Joshua panels (cat. no. 152), with a range of carving depths, a pronounced undercutting, and occasional carving in the round; the openwork of the canopy is itself a virtuoso display.

An important aspect of the triptych is its evident reddish coloration; indeed, it has been described as *ivoire pourpré*, purple-stained ivory,⁵ and microscopic observation reveals the presence of fine red and reddish-pink grains over the entire surface. Larger red, orange, blue, and green crystals as well as gold appear in the crevices, and black fill can be seen in the pupils of eyes.⁶ Much of the surface is covered with a white residue, perhaps from the taking of casts. It is evident from the observed traces of color that the entire triptych was stained or painted red, with figures and details overpainted in bright colors and gold. The original effect would have resembled manuscript illumination on purple parchment. The triptych thus deserves the attribution to a “painterly group” in a new and different sense than originally intended.

The triptych has been attributed to an atelier within the imperial palace in Constantinople.⁷ Its small size indicates its probable use for personal devotion.

C C

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 4.
2. Cutler 1988, pp. 25–27.
3. Brubaker, *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (forthcoming).
4. Weitzmann 1976, vol. 1, pp. 88–91.
5. Gaborit-Chopin 1992, p. 230.
6. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 241.
7. Connor, *The Color of Ivory* (forthcoming).

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 4; Weitzmann 1976, vol. 1, pp. 88–91; Cutler 1988, pp. 21–28; Gaborit-Chopin 1992, p. 230; Brubaker, *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (forthcoming); Connor, *The Color of Ivory* (forthcoming).

EXHIBITION: Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 154.



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99. Center Panel of a Triptych Icon with the Entry into Jerusalem

Byzantine (Constantinople), second half of 10th century

Ivory
18.4 × 14.7 cm (7¼ × 5¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: Η ΒΑΙΟΦΟΡΟ (The Carrying of the Palms)

PROVENANCE: Sir Andrew Fontaine, London (1753); gift of Martin Heckscher, Vienna.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin, Germany (1990)

Set under an elaborately carved openwork baldachin surmounted by acroteria, Christ’s entrance into Jerusalem is depicted as a triumphal scene. Christ, positioned sidesaddle on an ass, looks straight ahead as he gestures in benediction with his right hand, which is slung in his mantle. Following Christ are a group of apostles led by Peter. The faithful, some with palm branches, welcome the Messiah at the gates of Jerusalem. Overlooking the scene are children in short tunics gathering more branches from a palm tree, while on the ground before Christ, two other

figures in short tunics spread garments in the animal’s path. In the immediate foreground is a classically inspired “Spinario” figure, who sits and removes a thorn from his foot. It has been suggested that the young “thorn puller” in this context is not meant to represent a pagan symbol of idolatry over whom Christ triumphs. Rather, the “Spinario” is emblematic of the innocent children who recognized the Lord on the occasion of his entry into the city, whereas the parents regarded Christ as their enemy and eventually led him to the cross—a theme preached in homilies for Palm Sunday.¹

The grandly presented scene, often thought to echo the Late Antique image of the *adventus Augusti*, is an unusual subject to be isolated from the Twelve Great Feasts (*dodekaorton*) of the Eastern Church, but like the Koimesis theme, it was sometimes the focus of special veneration. Closely related in style are the Koimesis icons (cat. nos. 95, 101) and other ivories that correspond in many respects to paintings and, hence, have become known as the Painterly Group (cat. nos. 94A–94C, 97, 98). These ivories, carved in Constantinople,

all exhibit deeply undercut and obliquely cut figures and architecture. The many features of the present ivory that pay homage to the classical past—the baldachin with acroteria, Christ’s contrapposto stance and his arm resting in the sling of his himation, and the “Spinario” figure—underscore the revivalist tendencies of the Macedonian renaissance.

The Berlin ivory never belonged to a collective icon of the feasts; the physical evidence of holes on the upper and lower frame are part of the support system for the wings of a triptych. CTL

1. Mouriki 1970–72, pp. 53–66.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 3; Effenberger and Severin 1992, no. 26 (with older literature); Cutler 1994, pp. 39f.; Bergman 1995, pp. 121–26.

EXHIBITIONS: Athens 1964, no. 57; Brussels 1982, no. Iv. 17; Athens 1986, no. 230.

100. Center Panel of a Triptych Icon with the Descent from the Cross

Byzantine (Constantinople), second half of 10th century

Ivory

17.1 × 13 cm (6 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: Above main figures, IC/XC (Jesus Christ), MP ΘY (Mother of God), O A IΩANNHC (Saint John)

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (52.12)

This triptych icon originally would have had wings attached to the center panel by means of dowels inserted into ledges fastened to the frame on the top and bottom. The Deposition scene, set within a deeply undercut baldachin, is dominated by the oversized figure of Joseph of Arimathea, who lowers the body of Christ together with Nicodemus—unusually depicted as youthful and shown removing the nail with a hammer and chisel instead of the more typical pair of pliers. The Virgin holds Christ’s hand, which she kisses, and Saint John stands in meditation, clasping a book with one hand and gesturing with the other.

As Kurt Weitzmann has demonstrated, the scene appropriates figures from various models: the Virgin is close to the similar figure in the Berlin Crucifixion Triptych,¹ while Joseph’s pose is borrowed from a composition in which the ladder is in place, with



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the result that he appears here to be reaching into space without any support. The “hieratic and iconic” quality of the image was observed by Weitzmann, but the sources of the diverse models are not fully resolved. The representation of Nicodemus with a hammer and chisel, otherwise unknown in Byzantine art, does occur in a similar manner in a Western illumination from the second half of the ninth century.² The preference for focusing on a single feast day—Good Friday in the case of this triptych—seems to be a characteristic of tenth-century ivory icons. CTL

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 72.

2. Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 24; see Schiller 1966–91, vol. 2, fig. 545.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 7; Weitzmann 1972, no. 27; Cutler 1994, pp. 102, 186.

101. Icon with the Koimesis

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 10th century

Ivory

18.7 × 14.9 cm (7 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: Above the head of Christ, H KMHICIC (The Koimesis)

CONDITION: The darkness of the ivory is the result of a later, amber-colored coating; portions of the border show evidence of having been burned, while areas of the background are split and otherwise damaged.

PROVENANCE: Purchased from Seligmann, Paris, 1910.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.132)

The theme of the Koimesis (the “falling asleep” in death of the Mother of God), is one of six fixed feasts among the Twelve Great Feasts (*dodekaorton*) of the Orthodox Church. The Koimesis often was singled out for special devotional representation



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and was venerated especially on August 15, the feast day of the death of the Virgin. The subject first appeared in art in the tenth century, following the era of Iconoclasm.

The present ivory icon, carved in high relief, depicts the moment when the swaddled soul (*eidolon*) of the Virgin, which is shown as a small child, is transferred from the arms of Christ upward to the awaiting angels, who will transport it to heaven. The dead Virgin lies on a bier under a pierced and richly decorated baldachin with acanthus acroteria. Two groups of mourning apostles stand at her head and feet, one group led by Saint Paul and the other by Saint Peter, who originally was swinging a censer (now lost).

The initial function of the panel is not clear. Because it lacks the double or triple boreholes on its upper and lower borders that would have accommodated a strip on which the wings of a folding-triptych icon could be mounted (see, for example, cat. no. 80),

it undoubtedly served some other purpose. If the four existing holes, which are centered on each of the four sides, were for a secondary use, then the ivory originally must have been fitted into an armature. As such, the panel may have belonged to a series, set within a large tableau, which possibly depicted the Twelve Great Feasts. Such a cycle conceivably may have formed a templon epistyle, as seen, for example, in the Late Byzantine painted example in the Archaeological Museum at Veröia.¹ Alternatively, as an isolated icon of one of the Great Feasts, it may have been installed in front of, or in the vicinity of, the templon, which is documented in an inventory of 1247 of the possessions of the Church of Theotokos tes Koteines, near Philadelphia in Asia Minor.² Other ivory icons are known, but many of these survive only as fragments (see, for example, cat. nos. 82, 83, 87, 88). The method of mounting of the present panel suggests that it was later recycled and perhaps fastened

to a book cover in the Latin West, a practice not known in Byzantium.

Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann reserved judgment on the date of the Metropolitan Museum's ivory, noting that it appropriates some features from the Middle Byzantine ivory *Koimesis* attached to the cover of the Gospels of Otto III,³ which is dated before 1002. Moreover, in the New York panel the number of apostles within the canopy setting is reduced and the acanthus acroteria are borrowed from another source, the Entry into Jerusalem now in Berlin (cat. no. 99). Technically, the carving is exceptionally accomplished: the lattice-work of the baldachin, the undercutting of the angels receiving the soul, and the organic relationships of the figures are comparable to those features of the Berlin and Munich ivories, which suggests that all three were produced in the same artistic milieu. Additionally, the wear sustained is consistent with that of other ivories of the period. The Munich panel originally belonged to a triptych, whereas the New York icon once may have formed part of a larger feast cycle, like the *Koimesis* ivory plaque in Houston (cat. no. 95), with which it also shares striking stylistic and epigraphic features, including the mu engraved as an upside-down pi. If these works, and the Entry into Jerusalem from Berlin, are regarded as representative of the level of artistic achievement in the Byzantine capital, they form a coherent group of icons. Another fragment, from a panel of the *Deesis* in the Musée du Louvre, while related, is less refined.⁴

CTL

1. Athens 1986, no. 96.
2. Eustratiados 1930, pp. 325–39, esp. p. 332.
3. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 4453.
4. Paris, Louvre, AC 863.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 234; Goldschmidt 1935, pp. 24–27.

EXHIBITION: Minneapolis 1973, no. 42, illus.

102. Icon with the *Koimesis*

Byzantine, second half of 10th century
 Steatite, partially gilt
 13 × 11.2 × 1.7 cm (5 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ × $\frac{5}{16}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: From the Este collection, Modena.

Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Kunstammer, Vienna, Austria (8797)

Beginning in the tenth century, steatite, or soapstone, became, along with ivory, a favored medium for precious, generally



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private icons. It was carved with many of the same images and may well have been worked by the same craftspeople who carved ivory. The similarity of the two media is well illustrated by comparing this image of the Koimesis with the impressive ivory Koimesis that now adorns the cover of the Gospel book of Otto III in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 4453). Akin in scale and imagery, they also share a pierced-work canopy, a showpiece of technique that became a hallmark of the so-called Painterly Group of tenth-century Constantinopolitan ivories and was imitated in steatite. Steatite occurs in a number of colors, but the soft green of the Vienna icon was preferred. As with a number of ivories, this steatite was enhanced with gilding, which must have harmonized well with the color of the stone. The large, unmottled plaque used here must have been very costly.

Almost two hundred steatites have survived, but few date from the tenth century.¹ The Koimesis is the subject of both tenth-century steatites; it was a favored subject for ivory, too. The scene as shown here is similar but not identical to that on the ivory from Houston (cat. no. 95). Here it is John who

hunches behind the Virgin's upper body, rather than Peter, as on the Houston ivory. Jesus was believed to have given the care of his mother to John, and many accounts of her death place it in John's home; thus John often plays a significant role in depictions of her demise.

A W C

1. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 34–37.

LITERATURE: Beckwith 1970, p. 107, pl. 197; Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 12, pl. p. 27; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 20–25, 34–37, 62–63, 91–93, no. 1.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 726; Athens 1964, no. III; Vienna 1977, no. 24.

103. Icon with the Hetoimasia and Four Saints

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 10th–early 11th century
Steatite, with traces of red polychromy, in wood frame
18.4 × 11.2 × .4–.8 cm (7¼ × 4¾ × ⅛–⅜ in.)

INSCRIBED: Η ΕΤΟΙΜΑΣΙΑ (The Preparation); Ο ΑΡΧ ΜΧΗΛ (Archangel Michael); Ο ΑΡΧ ΓΑΥΡΗΛ (Archangel Gabriel); ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΚ ΜΑΡΤ ΘΕΣΠΙΣΜΑΤ / ΑΝΑΦΑΝΕΝΤΕΣ ΕΚ ΠΕΡΑΤ ΤΕΣΣΑΡ / ΕΤΟΜΟΤΑΤΟ ΠΡΟ ΤΑ Τ ΚΑΗΡΟΥΧ / ΒΡΑΒΕΙΑ ΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΥΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΙ (The *stratelatai*, having appeared from the four ends [of the earth] as witnesses to the divine pronouncements, are most ready to be awarded a [place in heaven]); Ο Α ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (Saint Demetrios); Ο Α ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ (Saint Theodore); Ο Α ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ (Saint George); Ο Α ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ (Saint Prokopios)

CONDITION: A large crack extends the width of the lower half of the icon, which is further fragmented into several pieces; the lower right corner and portions of the remaining three corners and of the frame are lost; the surface is worn and scratched; traces of red paint appear on the outer border of the icon.

PROVENANCE: Formerly in the collections of the comtesse de Béhague and the marquis de Ganay; entered the Musée du Louvre in 1988.

Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris, France, 1988 (OA 11152)

This exceptional panel is one of the largest, oldest, and most complete surviving examples of Middle Byzantine steatite carving. Because of the softness and fragility of this stone, most extant steatite icons, like this one, are fragmentary and worn. Here, however, enough of the fine carving remains to indicate that it was executed by an accomplished artist. In style, it is comparable to a number of the outstanding ivories attributed to the Romanos Group, including the Harbaville Triptych (cat. no. 80).¹

The icon is also noteworthy for its iconography. The Hetoimasia, the throne prepared for Christ's Second Coming, appears above four frontally depicted standing saints. The subject of the Hetoimasia is all but unique among surviving steatite icons. With the exception of this work and the Deesis in the State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, the representations on all other eleventh-century steatites are restricted to saints.² In the upper register of the present icon, the archangels Michael and Gabriel flank the Hetoimasia, on the cushion of which rest Christ's robe and a Gospel book. Instruments of Christ's Passion — the cross, lance, and sponge on a staff — are visible behind the throne. Heavily embroidered *loroi*, which, according to the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945–59), symbolized the Cross as the instrument of Christ's victory over death,³ form part of the courtly costumes of the archangels. The entire composition of the top register signifies the impending Last Judgment and the salvation made possible by Christ's incarnation and crucifixion.



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In the lower register the four popular military saints — Demetrios, Theodore, George, and Prokopios — have been selected as representatives of the righteous, who will be rewarded at the Last Judgment. The standing saints wear courtly garb rather than the military apparel in which they are more customarily shown. Instead of weapons the saints carry crosses, symbols of their martyrdom.

The small size of these steatite icons, their iconography, and the discovery of several

examples in the excavated remains of private homes indicate that they were used for personal devotion.⁴ The Hetoimasia icon would have encouraged the worshiper to contemplate Christ's Second Coming and the anticipated salvation of the righteous. It also motivated the faithful to emulate the example set by the four saints in the bottom register and to seek their intercession before God. The inscription on the frame of the icon between the two registers makes this

intention explicit, proclaiming to the worshiper that these four saints have earned a place in heaven. O Z P

1. Durand 1988, p. 190. For the ivories belonging to the tenth-century Romanos Group as first defined by Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, see Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, pp. 14–17. For the redating of some of the ivories in the Romanos Group to the second half of the eleventh century, see Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1977, pp. 307–25.
2. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, pp. 63–64.
3. *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 1251.
4. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, pp. 65–67, 87.

LITERATURE: Schlumberger 1902, pp. 229–36; Froehner 1905, pp. 4–6; Wulff 1914–18, vol. 2, p. 615; Diehl 1926, vol. 2, p. 671, fig. 331; Bréhier 1936, p. 24; Coche de La Ferté 1958, no. 60; Bank, “Stéatites,” 1970, p. 362; Weitzmann 1972, p. 96; Bank, *Prikladnoe*, 1978, pp. 92, 103, fig. 77; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, no. 3; Durand 1988, pp. 190–94; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 175.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1990, no. 31; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 175.

104. Icon Fragment with Saint Theodore Stratelates

Byzantine, 11th century

Steatite

21.5 × 11.7 cm (8½ × 4½ in.)

Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican City (982)

His attributes of shield and spear propped incongruously against the neutral background, Saint Theodore Stratelates (the General) stands in the familiar profile posture of prayer, interceding for the viewers who venerate his image. A knotted column behind him supports the beginnings of an arch, and Theodore is shown in what amounts to a mirror image, his sword hanging to his right for left-handed use. These features indicate that the relief was once larger, no doubt displaying a pair of praying saints who both faced the center. The image is broken, illustrating the friability of steatite, or soapstone, favored from the tenth century onward for small private icons. Though softer than ivory, it was carved with scenes like those in ivory, probably by the same craftspeople. This image shares the broad, neutral ground and dry meticulousness that characterize eleventh-century ivories, and it is attributed to the same date.

The saint, Theodore Stratelates, became prominent in the tenth century, when he was venerated by Byzantium's warrior emperors, especially John I Tzimiskes (r. 969–76),



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who built a church dedicated to him in the capital. Along with George, Demetrios, and the older saint Theodore Teron (the Recruit), the higher-ranked Theodore Stratelates became one of Byzantium's most popular defenders, and he occurs on many icons either alone or paired with a fellow soldier, most often George or Theodore Teron. Civilians as well as soldiers turned to military saints as protectors in the court of heaven, so this icon need not have had a military

patron. In its later life, however, it must have belonged to a Western knightly aristocrat, who had his own arms engraved on Theodore's shield.

A W C

LITERATURE: Volbach 1935, p. 17, pl. VII; Bank, "Stéatites," 1970, p. 368; Matt et al. 1974, no. 121; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 63, 99–100, no. 6.

EXHIBITIONS: Edinburgh 1958, no. 139; Athens 1964, no. 124.

105. Icon with the Crucifixion and the Entombment

Byzantine, 12th century; 13th century (Latin recarving)

Steatite, partially gilded
24.4 × 15.5 cm (9⁵/₈ × 6¹/₈ in.)

PROVENANCE: Basilewsky collection, Paris; entered the collection of the Hermitage in 1885.

The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (0-31)

This large rectangular icon is carved out of steatite, a soft, dense stone of a light gray-green color, which beginning in the tenth century became a popular medium for private icons. The two registers show the Crucifixion above and the Entombment below. The Crucifixion includes not only the Virgin and John but also Mary Magdalen and the centurion Longinus. The Entombment, or Lamentation, became a common subject in the twelfth century and is often found in church decoration. The Virgin, lamenting the loss of her son, bends over his body to embrace him. Her left arm stretches across his body, her face close to his but not touching it, as it is in late-twelfth-century examples. John holds Christ's hand, while Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea lift the shroud.

During the twelfth century a new type of image was developed in diptychs and bilateral icons, most of them for private use. In a single composition Christ's suffering and death was juxtaposed with the suffering of the mother for her son. In the same tradition this steatite icon brings together in a small panel the scenes of the suffering of Christ and the lament of the Virgin.

The Greek inscription identifying the Crucifixion has been scratched off; that of the Entombment (ΕΝΤΑΦΗΑCΜΟC [*sic*]), although rubbed away, is visible at the top right and left of the scene. The inscriptions for Christ and the Virgin have been retained, as have the faint remains of ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟC for John in the Crucifixion; all secondary figures in the scenes, even those the Byzantines did not label, have been given Latin inscriptions: S M MADALENE, S IOHN, CENTVRION, M IA (Maria Iacobi), M SA (Maria Salome), S IOHNS, NICOD'M', IOSEP. This relabeling is accompanied by recarving of folds and faces. Not all the figures have been reworked equally: the Virgin in the Entombment, hardly touched at all, is the most representative example of twelfth-century Byzantine carving style. The most extensive recarving was done on John's garment and Christ's loincloth in both scenes, where the deep-cut folds are unlike those seen in the centurion's



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mantle in the Crucifixion. Christ's hair and beard and the beards of the other figures have been reshaped. Christ's beard is quite unusual; it looks as if a braid has been arranged around his face, and he has also gained a long moustache. These features and the carving technique used are distinctly non-Byzantine. Presumably this icon was recarved when it

came into Latin hands in the early thirteenth century, to judge from the paleography.

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LITERATURE: Bank, *Byzantine Art*, 1978, no. 146; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, pp. 136–38, no. 45.

106. Votive Plaque with Saint Hermolaos

Byzantine, early 11th century
Copper repoussé, with chasing and engraving
32 × 23 cm (12½ × 9 in.)

CONDITION: The plaque is incomplete on three sides; most of the border, the first two letters of the inscription at the top left, and the feet of the saint are missing; the green patina is modern.

PROVENANCE: G. Feuarent, Paris; Galerie Segredakis, Paris; Nicolas Koutoulakis, Paris and Geneva.

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (87.2)

Standing frontally in the center of the rectangular plaque is a nimbed, bearded saint with short hair combed in loose locks over his forehead. The inscription, O AΓΙΟC ΕΡΜΟΛΑΟC, identifies him as Saint Hermolaos. Dressed in liturgical vestments, he wears a *phelonion* that falls in V-shaped folds, a tunic with decorated cuffs (*epimanikia*), an embroidered square cloth (*encheirion*) that hangs from his waist over his right thigh, and a long stole (*epitrachelion*) around his neck that falls in two long bands, ending below the knees; that he is a priest and not a bishop is indicated by the absence of an *omophorion*, the cross-decorated scarf that only bishops were permitted to wear. In his left hand he holds a book with a decorated cover, and he blesses with his right. Hermolaos was a medical saint, believed to have taught the healing arts to Saint Panteleimon; he is frequently shown in the company of two other healing saints, Kosmas and Damianos, known as *anargyroi* (without money) because they offered their services and performed cures for free.

The plaque originally had a border on all four sides. Framed by two narrow decorative bands, the surviving border consists of an incomplete dedicatory inscription in Greek, engraved in double-line letters. Beginning at the upper left corner and originally ending probably at the lower right, it reads: ΥΠΕΡ ΗΓΑC ΚΕ CΟΤΗΡΗΑC ΚΕ ΑΦΕCΕΟC ΑΜ (For the health and salvation and forgiveness of the sins [of] . . .); the name of the donor has been lost. Such plaques were offered as ex-votos to a church or shrine in the hope that the efficacy of the prayer would continue as a result of their physical presence.¹ Five holes along the upper and lower edges of the Saint Hermolaos plaque indicate that it was attached by nails to an architectural element, such as a column or templon screen, as at Hosios Loukas, in Phokis, where there are shallow cavities for the attachment of circular plaques on several columns of the



107. Icon with Saint Demetrios

Byzantine (Constantinople), first half of 11th century
Gold and cloisonné enamel
14.5 × 8.6 cm (5¾ × 3⅜ in.)

INSCRIBED: Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ/ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (Saint Demetrios)

CONDITION: There are several steeply diagonal scratches in the gold background.

PROVENANCE: Icon or Gospel book cover(?), Monastery of Gelati, Georgia; J. P. Balachov collection(?), Saint Petersburg; A. W. Zvenigorodskii collection, Saint Petersburg.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, Germany (27.21)

A youthful, bearded Saint Demetrios, the deacon martyr and patron saint of Thessalonike, is shown frontally, standing on a decorated dais, both hands raised in prayer. Richly patterned and colorful, this relatively large enameled image is both dramatic and imposing.

The coloristic style of the panel has been compared both with that of the Monomachos enamels (cat. no. 145) and with that of the prophets — a generation later in date — on the Pala d’Oro in San Marco, Venice. Klaus Wessel¹ proposed a date closer to that of the Monomachos plaques (about 1042–50), which is confirmed when the icon is compared with earlier, simpler, and smaller enamels assigned to the late tenth century or to about 1000 — as, for example, the Demetrios enkolpion in Halberstadt (cat. no. 108). If the Berlin enamel was part of a book cover, the ensemble may have resembled the book covers from the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (cat. no. 41).

The popularity of the image of Saint Demetrios in the Byzantine realm is attested by the number of preserved reliquaries, enkolpia (cat. nos. 108, 116, 117),² icons, ivories (cat. no. 81), steatites (cat. no. 203),³ enamels (cat. nos. 108, 117), miniature mosaics,⁴ panel paintings (cat. no. 69), glyptics (cat. no. 132),⁵ and glass cameos.⁶ The saint also appears, in monumental scale, in the mosaics at Hosios Loukas, Phokis,⁷ and in the stone relief on the west facade of San Marco.⁸ His richly patterned chlamys, with its inverted hearts, probably reflects actual contemporary textile patterns. The earliest example of this motif may be seen in the seventh-century pier mosaics in the saint’s martyrion church in Thessalonike.⁹

W D W

templon.² Figured copper plaques also functioned as icons, as noted in the will of the statesman Eustathios Boilas in 1059.³

The quality of the workmanship is high. The eyes, hair, beard, and garment decorations are engraved in minute detail, and the facial features, figure, and garments are convincingly wrought. The figure style and double-line letters are comparable to those of a copper-repoussé medallion with Saint John the Theologian in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, dating to the eleventh century,⁴ and a gilded-copper votive plaque with the standing Virgin Hodegetria in London (cat. no. 331), dating to the eleventh or twelfth century. Related also is a very fine eleventh-century bronze relief in the Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp.⁵ In general,

the figure style is similar to that of ivory carvings of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

S A B

1. See *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 1286–87, under “Votives.”
2. Schultz and Barnsley 1901, p. 32.
3. Vryonis 1957, p. 268 n. 29 (“twelve icons of copper”).
4. Berlin 1983, p. 57, no. 36; Volbach 1930, p. 148, no. 2233 (I.6592).
5. Brussels 1982, p. 180, BR 23.

Unpublished.

1. Wessel 1967, pp. 108–11, no. 36.

2. A. Grabar 1950, pp. 3–28; A. Grabar, “Nouveau Reliquaire,” 1954, pp. 307–13.



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3. Bank 1966, nos. 150–52, 156; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, nos. 175, 176.
4. Demus 1991, no. 4, pl. v.
5. Bank 1960, no. 70b.
6. London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 204b.
7. Kazhdan and Maguire 1991, fig. 3.
8. Demus 1960, fig. 40; Baltimore 1979, pp. 30–32, no. 71, illus.
9. I am indebted to Irina Andreescu Treadgold for this observation.

LITERATURE: Kondakov 1892, color title page; Berlin 1963, no. 4, illus.; Bank 1966; Wessel 1967, pp. 108, 111, no. 36, illus.; Berlin 1985, no. 11, illus.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 493; Berlin 1939, no. 118, pl. 36; Essen 1956, no. 415; Athens 1964, no. 470, illus.; Brussels 1982, no. E.3, illus.

108. Enkolpion with Saint Demetrios and Saint Nestor

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1000
Silver gilt, with cloisonné enamel on gold
5.8 × 3.2 × 1.5 cm (2¼ × 1¼ × ⅝ in.); H. 4.5 cm (1¼ in.)
excluding suspension ring

INSCRIBED: Ο Α ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (Saint Demetrios)

CONDITION: There are vertical scratches in the background to Saint Demetrios's right.

PROVENANCE: Hagia Sophia; part of the booty from the sack of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204; Konrad von Krosigk, bishop of Halberstadt (r. 1202–8).¹

Domschatz, Halberstadt, Germany (16a)

The principal face of this small pendant reliquary box serves as a lid that opens into the interior. This door displays the standing

figure of Saint Demetrios rendered in cloisonné enamel on a gold plaque that is framed by a notched border in silver gilt. (The rest of the box is made entirely of silver gilt.) Beneath the lid are two interior sets of doors that reveal a tiny three-dimensional bust of Saint Nestor and a cavity for the blood and myrrh of Saint Demetrios.² At the back is an engraved image of the standing figure of Saint Nestor.³ Each saint holds a small martyr's cross in his right hand and raises his left palm in prayer.

Demetrios, a Christian deacon martyr and the patron saint of Thessalonike, was thought to have been executed along with Nestor, his companion and a Christian gladiator, by Emperor Maximian (d. 310). The link between the two men was created or expanded in the tenth century.⁴ Demetrios, as depicted here, is a youthful, beardless, princely martyr, clad in a tunic, chlamys, and slippers.⁵ Nestor is shown in similar garb. Later representations of Saint Demetrios tended to pair him as a warrior with Saint George (cat. nos. 69, 116, 132, 203) rather than as a courtier with Saint Nestor.

Along with the ninth-century Fieschi Morgan Staurotheke (cat. no. 34), the enameled plaque on this enkolpion may be regarded as one of the earlier Byzantine enamels, predating all other images of Saint Demetrios in this medium (see, for example, cat. no. 107). The configuration of the cloisons and the simple color scheme represent an early phase in the stylistic and technical evolution of enameling. Furthermore, the present enkolpion contains one of the earliest representations of a textile embroidered with inverted hearts—a motif that appears in far richer contexts in many later enamels, such



108. Front

as the Berlin Demetrios, the Cleveland enkolpion, and the Monomachos plaques (cat. nos. 107, III, 145).

W D W

1. Riant 1875, p. 192.
2. A. Grabar 1950, fig. 7; Gauthier 1983, p. 40, no. 17, illus.
3. A. Grabar 1950, fig. 8.
4. *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 606.
5. *Ibid.*

LITERATURE: Riant 1875, p. 192; Doering 1927, p. 66; A. Grabar 1950, p. 6, no. 2, figs. 6–8; Wentzel 1967, pp. 65, 67, fig. 3; Wentzel 1971, pp. 32, 36, fig. 22; Flemming et al. 1973, pp. 245–46, fig. 119; Wentzel 1973, p. 57, figs. 14a–c; Gauthier 1983, p. 40, no. 17, illus.; Effenberger 1993, pp. 151–52, 157, fig. 37; Wixom 1995, pp. 663–64, fig. 10.

109. Quatrefoil Enkolpion

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 10th to early 11th century

Gold, silver gilt, and cloisonné enamel
4 × 3.1 × .9 cm (1½ × 1¼ × ⅜ in.)

CONDITION: Three of the six pearls strung through the rings on the sides are lost, as is some beading around the edge.

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va.
Purchase, The Arthur and Margaret Glasgow Fund (66.37.8)



109. Front



109. Back

The gold-and-enamel quatrefoil plaques of this two-sided pendant reliquary are set in a silver-gilt container that encloses a cross-shaped compartment for the relic. The pendant was originally encircled with pearls strung on a gold wire threaded through rings on the sides, a common decorative technique used in medieval Byzantium (cat. nos. 41, 212). On the front Christ (IC XC) stands on a low footstool, holding a book in his left hand and blessing with his right. Dressed in a pale blue tunic and dark purple-brown mantle, he is flanked by half-length figures of Saints Peter and Paul (ΠΙΕΤΡ and ΠΑΥΛ). All are nimbed. On the back the Virgin Orans, inscribed “Mother of God” (MP ΘΥ), stands with her hands before her chest; she is dressed in a dark purple-brown *maphorion*, with a light blue head scarf and a white sash at her waist, and is flanked by half-length figures of the evangelists Luke and John (ΛΟΥΚΑ and ΙΩΑΝΝ). Their garments made of alternating stripes of light and dark blue. The Greek inscriptions are in red enamel, and touches of red, green, and yellow enamel enliven the otherwise muted colors.

The tiny figures of this enkolpion are silhouetted against the bare gold background (known as sunk enamel). Their facial features are simplified, with a single gold wire outlining the eyebrows and nose and small circles filled with black indicating the eyes. The poses of the figures are successfully rendered, although the folds of drapery are sparingly drawn. The simplified features most closely recall those of the enamels on the Crown of Leo VI in Venice, dating to the late ninth or early tenth century.¹ However, the proportions of the figures, the colors of the enamel, and the treatment of the drapery find closer parallels on the superb Limburg Staurotheke, dated 964–65.² Because both these objects are assigned to court workshops in Constantinople, the enkolpion has also been attributed to that city and dated to the mid-tenth century.³ However, David Buckton, writing about a closely related enamel cross in the British Museum, has concluded that although the earliest sunk enamel is that on the Limburg Staurotheke,⁴ the group of early sunk enamels with simplified features resembling those on the Crown of Leo VI should be dated to the early eleventh rather than to the mid-tenth century.⁵ His conclusion is supported by the enamels on the Chalice of the Patriarchs in Venice, dating to the late tenth or early eleventh century, which combine both the simplified features of the Leo VI crown and the more complex and detailed features typical of sunk enamels, that is, eyebrows filled with

enamel and eyes provided with whites as well as irises.⁶ For these reasons a dating to about 1000 seems likely for the Richmond enkolpion.

Enkolpia are small objects decorated with Christian imagery that were worn on a chain around the neck; some of them were reliquaries as well. Although worn as jewelry, they also served a pietistic function: their imagery, or in the case of a reliquary their contents, protected the wearer from harm.⁷ They were made of many different materials, but cloisonné enamel was the most precious. Contemporary descriptions mention them as gifts, thereby explaining their dissemination throughout the Byzantine sphere of influence (Georgia, Bulgaria, Greece, Ukraine) and the Latin West. Images of Christ and the Virgin were among the most popular subjects, but scenes of the feast cycle and portraits of certain saints, such as Demetrios and George, were also favored (cat. nos. 116, 117).

S A B

1. Hahnloser 1971, pp. 81–82, no. 92 (Grabar), pls. LXXII–LXXV; New York and Milan 1984, pp. 120–22, no. 8 (Frazer).
2. Wessel 1967, pp. 75–76, no. 22; Rauch 1955, pp. 201–40.
3. Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, p. 119.
4. London, *Byzantium*, 1994, pp. 150–51, no. 165.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 594–95.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 595.
7. *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 700, under *Enkolpion* (with bibliography).

LITERATURE: *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 700 (*Enkolpion*); Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, pp. 116–19, no. 41 (with earlier bibliography); Wixom 1995, p. 663.

EXHIBITION: Chapel Hill 1971.

110. Staurotheke

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 10th–early 11th century

Silver gilt and cloisonné enamel on gold, with precious stones

H. 6.4 cm (2½ in.); w. 8.4 cm (3¼ in.) wings open;
D. 1.8 cm (¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the *tabula* at the top of the enameled cross, IC XC (Jesus Christ); beside the Virgin, MP ΘΥ (Mother of God); beside Saint John the Theologian, Ο Α ΙΩ Ο ΘΕ; on the Saint Paul panel, Ο Α ΠΑΥΛΟΣ; on the Saint Peter panel, Ο Α ΠΕΤΡΟΣ; within the circles, flanking the cross on the back, IC/XC (Jesus Christ)

CONDITION: The gold surfaces of the enameled plaques show evidence of scratches; the cabochons from the exterior of the wings are missing.

Museo della Cattedrale, Monopoli, Italy



110. Front



110. Back

The movable gold panel in the center of this small, exquisite reliquary bears cloisonné-enamel images of Christ on the cross (the latter is of the arbor-vitae type) flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Theologian. The interiors of the shutters show Saints Peter and Paul standing, both rendered in cloisonné enamel on gold. The top and bottom borders of the center section are also decorated with a colorful cloisonné-enamel stepped-cross pattern that recalls the thin panels bordering the half-length figure icon of Saint Michael in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice,¹ as well as the small fragments in the J. Pierpont Morgan collection at the Metropolitan Museum.² The relic in the interior cavity could be seen when the Crucifixion panel was lowered. A decorated cross against an imbricated pattern appears in repoussé on the silver-gilt panel that forms the back of the reliquary. The silver-gilt exteriors of the shutters retain the bezels for gems. These rectangular panels and all the interior panels are framed by notched borders.

This reliquary of the True Cross is one of several that were produced in the Middle Byzantine period. Among the three best-known miniature triptychs of this type are the *staurothekai* formerly in Maastricht and now in the Vatican,³ the example formerly in Poitiers and now at the Abbaye Sainte-Croix in Saint-Benoît, France,⁴ and one at the center of the Stavelot Triptych (cat. no. 301).⁵

W D W



110. Interior

1. Boehm, in *New York and Milan 1984*, pp. 141–47 (color illus. p. 142).
2. Acc. nos. 17.190.653, 656, 657, 660.

3. See Riant 1875, pp. 202–3; Frolow, *Relique*, 1961, no. 427; Frolow 1965, fig. 13; Volbach, *Staurotheca*, 1969, p. 8, fig. 11.
4. See Frolow, *Relique*, 1961, no. 33; Frolow 1965, pp. 57–58, 147, 154, 178, 184, 252; Buckton, “Byzantine Enamel,” 1988, pp. 239, 240, figs. 7, 8, 10; Haseloff 1990, p. 20, fig. 19 (color); Skubiszewski 1992, pp. 65–68; Durand, “Reliquaire,” 1992, pp. 153–68.
5. Voelkle 1980, pp. 19–22, figs. 6, 7 (color), 37–39, 41.

no. 4, pl. i; Frolow 1965; Lipinski 1966, pp. 81ff., pls. xxv, xxvi; Belli Barsali 1968, p. 41; Volbach, *Staurotheca*, 1969, pp. 5–16, figs. 1–4; Lipinsky 1970, pp. 173–75; Farioli Campanati 1982, no. 245, figs. 328, 329; Turin 1986, pp. 170–71; Venice 1988, no. 13; Milan 1990, no. 66; Durand, “Reliquaire,” 1992; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 327, fig. 2; Venice 1995, no. 9.2, illus.

EXHIBITIONS: Venice 1988, no. 13; Ravenna 1990, no. 64.

LITERATURE: Frolow, *Relique*, 1961; Bari 1964,



111. Back

111. Enkolpion

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 11th–early 12th century

Silver gilt and cloisonné enamel

H. 5.1 cm (2 in.) including hinge; w. 4.1 cm (1 5/8 in.);

D. (approx.) .4 cm (1/8 in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front, Ο ΒΑ/ΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΙΧ/ΧΘΗ/ΔΟΞΗC (King Jesus, Christ of Glory); ΜΡ ΘΥ (Mother of God); Ο Α ΙΩ Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ (Saint John the Theologian); on the back, Ο Α ΘΕΟ/ΔΟΡΟΣ (Saint Theodore); Ο Α ΓΕΟΡΓ/ΓΗΘΟΣ (Saint George)

CONDITION: The raised areas of relief on the front are worn and abraded; the Virgin's face is missing and there is a loss in Christ's chest; the loops on the edges are crushed; small sections of the twisted wire and the bezel are lost; the enamel is pitted as a result of burial; a sliver of the background beneath Saint George's right arm and the lower corner near his feet are missing; a portion of the tongue-and-groove suspension mechanism is also lost.

PROVENANCE: Purchased from Mme Paul Mallon, 1972.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund (72.94)

This tiny enkolpion, or breast pendant, was designed to protect its owner both through its imagery and through the relic that it was to contain. Pendants of this type — part jewelry, part reliquary, and part amulet — undoubtedly were considered luxury objects because of their materials and their exacting techniques of manufacture. The front displays a silver-gilt relief depicting the Crucifixion with the mourning figures of the Virgin and Saint John the Theologian. Crafted from a single sheet of silver, the relief seems to have been achieved through the use of the repoussé technique. Rectangular portions of the corners of this sheet were removed and the remaining edges bent so that the corners

could be soldered to form a cavity behind the Crucifixion scene that would hold a relic.¹ Twisted silver wires and small loops were soldered to the edges of this container. Centered between the twisted wires are the partial remains of an encompassing thin silver wire that originally was held in place by loops. At one time small pearls were probably threaded on this wire, creating a frame that consisted of rows of pearls bordered on each side by the twisted wires. All the silver was fire-gilded.

The thin plaque set into the back shows the haloed figures of the bearded Saint Theodore Teron (the Recruit) and the beardless Saint George of Cappadocia, both in military costume. Their calf-length chlamyses are decorated with inverted hearts. Each soldier is identified by an enamel-filled Greek inscription with slight misspellings. The enameled figures seem to occupy shallow depressions, which were deformed or worked back from the base plaque in a technique described by David Buckton.² The evidence for this lies in the presence of slight ridges in the silver background, outside the perpendicular walls of the depressions, tracing the figures' silhouettes. Identification of the composition of the gold-colored cloisons has not been possible. They are made either of gold, silver gilt, or, most likely, electrum (a natural alloy of gold and silver). Cloisonné enamel overlying a silver-gilt sheet, as here, apparently is rare, because the base sheets of Byzantine cloisonné enamels heretofore have been described for the most part as made from gold alone.³

The iconography of the Cleveland enkolpion ties it to a number of other larger, better-known enameled works. The military saints Theodore and George were extremely popular and are represented frequently either singly, in pairs, or with other military saints.⁴ However, a precise dating of the enamel on the Cleveland enkolpion is elusive, since no dated works of comparable style and scale exist. The Halberstadt and Richmond enkolpia (cat. nos. 108, 109) present a simpler and earlier style. Only the inverted-heart motif on a chlamys worn by Saint Demetrios on the Halberstadt enkolpion holds particular relevance, as it may be one of the earliest manifestations of this motif.

The most significant analogies for the Cleveland figures' opulent coloristic effects and linear complications are found in several larger works. The earliest of these are the enameled plaques of Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–55), notable for their rich and intricate patterns not only in the imperial figures but also in those of the

dancing women and the personifications of Truth and Humility (cat. no. 145). The inverted heart motifs are a pervasive part of the decorative effect. Key military costumes are found on the frame of the icon with the full-length figure of Saint Michael in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice.⁵ More than twice the size of the Cleveland figures, the four pairs of military saints represented on the enameled oval plaques provide a useful comparison for the treatment of the chlamys, cuirass, skirt, and shield. While there are many differences between the Cleveland and San Marco figures — the details are more precise in the larger series — they share an emphasis on a richly variegated pattern of small units of color and intricately intertwining cloisons. This effect is also found in the enameled busts of Saints George and Demetrios on a Byzantine crown of 1074–77, made for a queen, which is incorporated into the so-called Hungarian Crown (see *illus.* on p. 187),⁶ as well as in the medallions of Saints Theodore, Demetrios, and George on the frame of the Djumati icon (cat. no. 234). The Theodore image is of particular note because of the use of the inverted-heart motif on his chlamys. From these analogies, and despite the differences in scale, a late-eleventh- or early-twelfth-century date may be proposed for the enamels on the Cleveland enkolpion. Presumably, the mounting with the repoussé Crucifixion plaque is contemporary. Stylistic comparison with the latest ivory reliefs in the Triptych Group and with the steatite plaques tends to confirm this dating.⁷

W D W

1. Christman 1990.
2. Buckton 1982, pp. 103, 109, fig. 11f; Wixom 1995, p. 663.
3. See discussion in Wixom 1995, p. 664, no. 45.
4. Dalton, *Byzantine Art*, 1911, p. 448, fig. 304; *Pala d'Oro*, 1965, nos. 113, 115–18, 126, 128, 139, pls. LIII, LV, LVI; Wessel 1967, nos. 22a, 28, 30, 47b; Khuskivadze 1984, p. 96, no. 137, *illus.* (color); cat. nos. 69, 116, 236, 301.
5. Boehm, in *New York and Milan 1984*, no. 19, pp. 171–75 (colorpl. p. 172).
6. Kovács and Lovag 1980, pp. 23, 30 (color *illus.*).
7. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, pp. 66–68, pls. 54–57; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, nos. 31, 38, 44, pls. 18, 22, 25.

LITERATURE: Christman 1990; Wixom 1995, pp. 662–65, figs. 8, 9.

112. Double-Faced Enkolpion

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 11th–early 12th century
Gold and cloisonné enamel

3.3 × 2.4 × .2 cm (1¼ × 1 × ⅛ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front, MP/ΘΥ (Mother of God); on the back, in the lobes, IC/XC (Jesus Christ), OB/ΤΑ (King of Glory)

CONDITION: One corner extension of the original frame is lost, as is the enamel on the body of Christ; much of the blue ground surrounding the Virgin is gone; only the cloisons remain of the Virgin's left hand and of the hand of God originally in the upper-right corner.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1994 (1994.403)

This double-faced enkolpion, or pendant worn around the neck, is one of the finest and most beautiful personal devotional works to survive from the Middle Byzantine period. The delicately detailed cloisonné-enamel images share a common backing, one thin sheet of gold foil, a technical tour de force without parallel.¹ On one side the bust of Christ as the Pantokrator (world ruler) stands alone on a golden frame level with the enamel.² The ground, symbolic of heaven, is reminiscent of the golden tesserae that surround mosaic images of the Pantokrator in the domes of Middle Byzantine churches (see illus. on pp. 25, 282). Christ holds the Gospel book with the hinges of the text open, as if to offer the viewer access to the word of God. The inscription in the four lobes refers to his role as heavenly ruler. Raising his hand in benediction, he remains distant, his gaze directed to the side. In the subtle language of Byzantine iconography, the sidelong gaze represents his recognition of the Virgin on the reverse.

The Virgin is shown looking toward her son in three-quarter pose as she raises her hands in prayer, probably on behalf of the owner of the enkolpion. The rich green lobes and light blue ground that surround her associate her with earth and with humankind. Above the Virgin, in the upper-right corner, cloisons are all that remain of the hand of God (or the dove of the Holy Spirit?), which emphasizes her location on earth as she addresses her son in heaven. Her pose is that of the Virgin Hagiosoritissa, or Virgin of the Holy Soros (Relic). This type of image is thought to take its name from an icon in one of the two churches in Constantinople that held her most holy relics. The mantle at the Monastery of Blachernai and the girdle in the Church of the Chalkoprateia were thought to represent the Virgin's lasting pledge to protect her city, Constantinople.³ This type of the Virgin was popularized in the Middle Byzantine



112. Front



112. Back

centuries. Similar images of the Virgin Hagiosoritissa are found on other enkolpia, such as those now in Maastricht and Sofia (cat. nos. 113, 226). The outline of a more monumental image survives on an icon frame (cat. no. 236).

The figures of Christ and the Virgin on the Djumati enamels (cat. no. 234) are very similar in style to those seen here, suggesting a date in the late eleventh or early twelfth century for the enkolpion.

H C E

1. Technical study by Pete Dandridge, Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
2. *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 438.
3. Der Nersessian 1960, pp. 61–76; *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 2171.

LITERATURE: Der Nersessian 1960; *Recent Acquisitions* 1995, p. 23.

113. Enkolpion with the Virgin Hagiosoritissa

Byzantine (Constantinople), fourth quarter of 11th century

Gold, silver gilt, and cloisonné enamel
9.1 × 7.3 × 1.6 cm (3¾ × 2¾ × ⅝ in.)

PROVENANCE: Documented in Maastricht by 1815, although possibly there much earlier.

Schatkammer van de O. L. Vrouwebasiliek (Treasury of the Church of Saint Mary), Maastricht, Netherlands

An enkolpion is a little reliquary casket designed to be worn at the breast as a precious jewel. Enkolpia are known from Late Antiquity onward in the Byzantine world, ranging in material from bronze to gem-studded gold. The Maastricht enkolpion opens to reveal four tiny reliquary chambers, which now contain granules identified in Maastricht since the fourteenth century as grains of the Magi's incense; they may originally have contained tiny relics of the Mother of God.



113. Front



113. Back

A gold plaque with cloisonné enamel on the enkolpion's front depicts the Virgin interceding with her son. She is identified by her customary sigla, MP ΘΥ (Mother of God), and by a partially destroyed epithet that Oskar Wulff reconstructed as [HBA]AXEP[NIT]ICA (Blachernitissa). The enamel, often compared with those enamels on the Crown of Saint Stephen (1074–77), made in Constantinople for Géza I of Hungary, reflects both the peak period of Byzantine cloisonné production and the period when epithets naming the Virgin proliferate. Blachernitissa refers to the great shrine at Blachernai on Constantinople's land wall containing the relic of the Virgin's veil that had protected the city from barbarian siege in 626, 717/18, and 960. With the quirky humor so typical of great icons, however, the image on the enkolpion is not one associated with Blachernai; rather, it is the one customarily known as Hagiosoritissa after the shrine housing Constantinople's other great Marian relic, her belt. Yet the pose appears with other names, too; only late in Byzantine history do epithets settle on particular poses, and it may well be that the pose here reflects no specific relic but was chosen instead for its supplicatory content, which is echoed in the donor's inscription in the border.

The inscription, which is only partly decipherable, takes the form of a Byzantine dodecasyllable, names one Irene Synadene as the owner, and implores the "radiant one"—surely both the Virgin herself and the radiant enkolpion—to intercede for her so the Lord will not condemn her for her sins. The Synadenoï were one of the most powerful Constantinopolitan aristocratic families. The Irene who is named here may have been the Irene Synadene who married Géza I, recipient of the Crown of Saint Stephen; on the other hand, she may have been the Irene Synadene who, according to a funerary inscription of the 1130s, placed an image of the Virgin on her tomb "and prays that she will step in as a fervent intercessor for her at the Judgment so that Irene will not see the back of the flaming sword."

The enkolpion's back is convex, allowing it to nestle on the breast and move with the movements of the wearer. The silver-gilt Annunciation on the back is less elegantly made than the enamel decoration of the front. Nonetheless, it seems to be contemporary with it, and the two were probably produced together. They create a coherent message, for it is by being "full of grace" that the Virgin can be an effective intercessor.

The enkolpion is first mentioned in Maastricht in 1815, but it must have been

there by the sixteenth century, when the cavities containing the incense were repaired. It may be that the enkolpion, like so many other precious objects, reached the West in the wake of the Fourth Crusade (1202–4).

A W C

LITERATURE: Bock and Willemsen 1872, pp. 149–52, pls. 59, 60; Wulff 1903, pp. 244–75; Wessel 1967, pp. 119–20, no. 39; Vogeler 1984.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 507; Edinburgh 1958, no. 194; Athens 1964, no. 471; Brussels 1982, no. E.4; Cologne 1985, no. H63.



114. Medallion with Gorgon's Head

Byzantine (Anatolia), early 12th century
Copper and cloisonné enamel
DIAM. 6.8 cm (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art,
Paris, France (OA 6276)

This copper medallion, covered on both sides with cloisonné enameling, probably was intended to enhance a woman's fertility or offer protection against the difficulties of childbirth. Its prophylactic function is indicated both by the image it bears and by the contents of its inscriptions. Framing the Gorgon's head is the *Trisagion*, an invocation from Isaiah (6:3) uttered by the seraphim and widely used to ward off malevolent forces: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; /the whole earth is full of [his glory]."¹ The medallion's back is inscribed with an abbreviated spell: "[O] womb, dark [and] black, like a serpent you writhe, like a dragon you hiss." In more complete versions the womb is urged to become "gentle as a lamb." A silver medallion in the Menil Collection, Houston, has the same pair of inscriptions and a similar Gorgon's head.²

Byzantine amulets were produced in materials of varying quality and cost, from pressed lead or molded glass to gold or gemstones. This one is unusual for its use of cloisonné enameling and for the degree to which its design and inscriptions are coordinated. The Gorgon has a flesh-colored face framed by dark blue hair; the seven serpents with blue-spotted bodies, green heads, and red tongues seem almost to hiss, and their arrangement—three above the Gorgon, one extended on either side, and a crossed pair below—parallels the depiction of the six-winged seraphim on Byzantine liturgical fans.³ Technical features of this medallion connect it with the Innsbruck bowl (cat. no. 281).

P S

1. Russell 1995, p. 39.
2. Vikan 1984, pp. 77–78, fig. 18; see also Durand, in Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 244, p. 330.
3. Abramishvili 1986, p. 98, figs. 130–33.

LITERATURE: Gay 1887, vol. 2, p. 615; Schlumberger 1895, pp. 136–37; Molinier 1901, vol. 4, p. 44; Dalton, *Catalogue*, 1911, p. 506, no. 2; Marquet de Vasselot 1914, no. 7; Laurent 1936, p. 304; Frazer 1989, p. 86; Durand, in Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, pp. 330–31, no. 244; Munich, *Artuquiden-Schale*, 1995, pp. 31–32, pl. 27.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 496; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 244.

115. Pendant Icon with the Anastasis

Byzantine, late 12th century
Gold, cloisonné enamel, silver, and niello, with silver mount
9.5 × 8.5 cm (3 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: H ANA/CTACIC (The Anastasis)

CONDITION: The icon is chipped in several places; there are small losses of enamel.

PROVENANCE: Formerly in the Blagoveshchenskii Cathedral, Moscow Kremlin.

State Historical and Cultural Museum "Moscow Kremlin," Moscow, Russian Federation (MZ 1147)

In this pendant with the scene of the Anastasis, Christ, dressed in a blue mantle and carrying a double-armed patriarchal cross in his left hand, is shown trampling the gates of hell. With his right hand he grasps the arm of Adam and drags him out of his sarcophagus. Behind Adam stands the figure of Eve, who raises her arms in a sign of supplication, and in back of her is the shepherd Abel, as indicated by his staff, who stands and gestures toward the scene. On the opposite side of this group are the Old Testament kings David and Solomon, standing

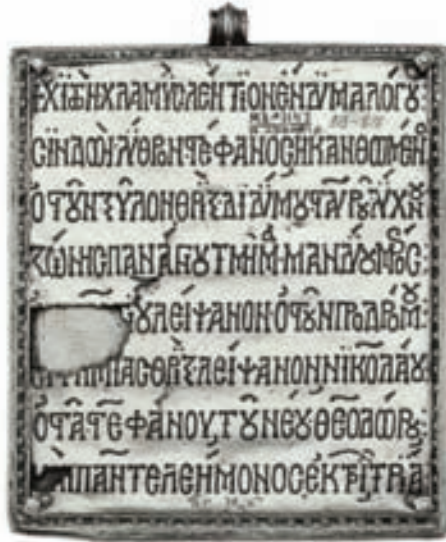


115. Front

in a sarcophagus, in front of Saint John Prodromos (John the Baptist), also shown standing, and blessing with his right hand. An incised line behind each group of figures denotes the hill of Golgotha, the site of the Crucifixion. The reverse bears a silver-gilt plaque with a Greek inscription in niello that refers to a relic or relics and a later incised inscription in Russian that alludes to the object's weight.

The iconography, which has been shown to date as far back as the first quarter of the ninth century, is typical of that found in scenes of the Anastasis from the Middle Byzantine period, although it did not come into general use until the eleventh century. One of the earliest surviving examples of this Anastasis iconography is seen in a lectionary now in the Lavra Skeuophylakion on Mount Athos.¹

During the Middle Byzantine period the Anastasis became one of the most popular scenes represented in works of art in all media (see, for example, cat. nos. 63, 68, 93, 230, 254), serving to symbolize Christ's Passion, the reenactment of which, during the celebration of the liturgy, would ensure the worshiper's salvation. Adam and Eve, as the primogenitors of humankind, were included to signify the salvation of all men and women; Abel, whose death is described in Byzantine homiletic literature as the antetype of Christ's human death on the cross, is present as a Christ type; and Saint John Prodromos is present as the one who prophesied the Passion. The hill of Golgotha is described by Byzantine writers as having been split apart through the power of Christ's scepter — here symbolized by the patriarchal cross — at the moment of the Anastasis.² The pendant, most likely



115. Back

the container for a relic, was thus a constant reminder of the suffering of Christ and, when used in private devotion, would ensure the ultimate salvation of whoever wore it.

The pendant is executed in cloisonné, the enameling technique preferred in the Middle Byzantine period, which involved soldering thin gold wires known as cloisons to a metal backing and then filling in the gaps with glass paste. Byzantine enamelists were highly regarded throughout the medieval world as masters of this technique. Here, the close placement of the cloisons not only demonstrates the perfection achieved in cloisonné enameling by the Byzantine artisans but also creates a sense of movement and animation that is typical of the "dynamic" Late Komnenian style, apparent as well in other works of the period (see cat. no. 77).

ST

1. See Weitzmann 1936, pp. 83–98.
2. Kartsonis 1986, pp. 204–26.

LITERATURE: *Gosudarstvennaia* 1958, fig. 134; Pisarskaia 1965; Moscow 1977; Bank 1985, pp. 303–4, no. 180; Kartsonis 1986.

116. Enkolpion Reliquary of Saint Demetrios

Byzantine (Thessalonike?), 12th–13th century
Gold and cloisonné enamel
DIAM. 3.8 cm (1½ in.), D. 1.1 cm (¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the back, on the Saint George medallion, Ο ΑΓΕΩΡ/ΓΗΘΟΣ (Saint George), around the border, ΑΙΤΕΙΣΕ ΘΕΡΜΟΝ ΦΡΟΥΡΟΝ ΕΝ

ΜΑΧΑΙΣ ΕΧΕΙΝ (He supplicates you to be his fervent guardian in battles); around the sides of the medallion, ΑΙΜΑΤΙ ΤΩ Ω ΚΑΙ ΜΥΡΩ ΚΕΧΡΙΜΕΝΟΝ (Being anointed by your blood and your myrrh); on the face of the annular addition, a mid-eighteenth-century Georgian inscription which translates as "Saint Kethevan [the] Queen's relic: Cross: True."

CONDITION: The front lid is missing; there are losses to the right side and to the inscription on the medallion of Saint George.

PROVENANCE: Purchased by the British Museum in 1926.

The Trustees of the British Museum, London, England (M&LA 1926.4–9.1)

The original front cover of this gold-and-enamel circular enkolpion of the military saint Demetrios, now missing, has been replaced by an annular gold cover bearing a Georgian inscription.¹ Beneath this cover, on a hinged rectangular flap, is an image of the saint lying within a ciborium dressed in his mantle, eyes closed and hands crossed on his chest. A lamp hangs over him from the center of the arch. Under the flap the face of the medallion carries another image



116. Back



116. Interior

of the saint, similar to the one above but executed in repoussé gold, that shows him lying in what appears to be his sarcophagus.

On the back a bust-length figure of Saint George in military attire holds a raised sword in his right hand and its scabbard in his left. The name of the saint is inscribed in enamel with red uncial letters on a white background. Running along the border of the back and on the sides of the medallion are two iambic verses referring to Saint Demetrios. The content of these verses suggests that the inscription must have begun on the missing front cover of the enkolpion, where it probably identified the medallion's patron.²

The close iconographic similarities between the image of Saint Demetrios in his ciborium here and the description of the saint's actual tomb in the church dedicated to him in Thessalonike indicate that the enkolpion may have been produced there. In addition, the inscription along the sides of the medallion implies that the enkolpion was originally created to contain the miraculous blood and myrrh that seeped from the tomb of Demetrios.³

Such enkolpia were favored during the Middle Byzantine period and functioned primarily as amulets for their patrons. The words of the inscription on the back as well as the image of Saint George — one of the most popular Byzantine military saints — suggest that the man who commissioned this medallion was a military official who sought the protection of Saint Demetrios in battle (most likely the lost front cover held an image of Demetrios). Here the close connection of these two military saints may be inferred by the direction of Saint George's glance; rather than gazing directly at the viewer, he looks to his right, toward the figure that would have been on the other side of the enkolpion. A comparable example in the exhibition is the enkolpion of Saint Demetrios from Dumbarton Oaks (cat. no. 117), which on its front depicts the bust of Demetrios dressed in military garb and on its back presents two other military saints, Sergios and Bakchos.

D K

1. The inscription suggests that the enkolpion contained a fragment of the True Cross and belonged to Saint Kethevan (a Georgian queen martyred by Shah Abbas I in 1624); *British Museum Quarterly* 1 (1926–27), p. 33.
2. Alexander 1956, p. 370.
3. According to A. Grabar (1950, p. 16), the incorrupt body of the saint is the basis for the belief in the miraculous properties of the myrrh exuded by the saint's body.



117. Front



117. Interior

LITERATURE: *British Museum Quarterly* 1 (1926–27), p. 33; Alexander 1956, p. 370; London, *Byzantium*, 1994, p. 186.

EXHIBITIONS: London 1968, no. 186; London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 200.

117. Enkolpion Reliquary of Saint Demetrios

Byzantine, 13th–14th century
Gold and cloisonné enamel
DIAM. 2.8 cm (1 1/8 in.), D. .6 cm (1/4 in.)

INSCRIBED: On either side of the saint's portrait, Ο Α ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (Saint Demetrios); encircling the portrait and the side of the reliquary, + CEITON

ΔΟΞΕΙΟΝ ΑΙΜΑΤΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ/ΚΥΝ ΜΥΡΩ
ΦΕΡΕΙ ΠΙΣΤΙΣ Η ΤΟΥ ΣΕΡΓΙΟΥ/ΑΙΤΕΙ ΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΖΩΝ
ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΩΝ ΡΥΣΤΗΝ ΕΧΕΙΝ/ΚΥΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΥΣΙΝ
ΜΑΡΤΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΛΟΦΟΡ[Ο]ΙΣ (The faith of Sergios
carries [wears] the venerable container with the
blood and myrrh of Saint Demetrios. He asks to
have you as protector both in life and in death
together with the two victorious martyrs).

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (53.20)

The small gold box-reliquary in the shape of a medallion has enamel representations of Saint Demetrios on its front cover and the military saints Sergios and Bakchos on its back. Saint Demetrios is shown bust length in cuirass and mantle, holding a spear and a sword. The reliquary is locked at the top by a screw which is attached by a hinge to a suspension ring. When the reliquary is opened, central doors with beaded borders are revealed. These part to show a small gold-relief image of Saint Demetrios in his sarcophagus. This inner part is much the same in concept as those reliquaries that imitated the whole sarcophagus in Thessalonike (see, for example, cat. no. 36). The profile view of the reclining saint is found only in another very similar medallion reliquary in the British Museum dating from the thirteenth century.

An inscription written in dodecasyllabic verse in white enamel letters on a blue background identifies the reliquary's owner and its contents. The two other martyrs mentioned in the inscription are Saints Sergios and Bakchos, who are represented full length on the back; each holds a martyr's cross and makes a praying gesture that identifies him as an intercessor. These two saints belong to the group of military saints, with whom Saint Demetrios had become increasingly associated over the centuries. On the top of the reliquary he appears in military dress, an iconographic representation that became more popular during the eleventh century. Saint Sergios was the patron saint of the owner, who was also named Sergios and who here asks to be protected in this life and after death. The owner may have been a military figure of high standing, perhaps a general, who wore this reliquary for protection and who, as the inscription states, hoped to be buried with it and to wear it after death.

I K

LITERATURE: A. Grabar, "Nouveau Reliquaire," 1954, pp. 305–13; Alexander 1956, pp. 369–70; M. Ross 1965, pp. III–12, no. 160.



118. Saint Demetrios

118. Pilgrim's Ampulla

Byzantine (Thessalonike), 13th century
Lead

H. 6.5 cm (2½ in.), DIAM. 4 cm (1½ in.)

PROVENANCE: Gratini, Western Thrace, Greece.
Archaeological Collection, Kavala, Greece (B30/
15-20-80, Eph. of Byz. Art)

This lead ampulla bears depictions of the heads of saints, produced by stamping into stone molds. On one side is Saint Demetrios in soldier's garb and on the other, Saint Theodora of Thessalonike — or perhaps the Virgin — in typical Deesis pose. The ampulla, which contained myrrh either from the ciborium of Saint Demetrios or from the tomb of Saint Theodora in Thessalonike, would have been carried by a pilgrim. It was found at Gratsianou (present-day Gratini), Western Thrace, during the excavation of a small church dating to the twelfth or thirteenth century. Byzantine lead ampullae of this type continued the Early Christian tradition of acquiring ampullae at holy sites. Those from Thessalonike were called *koutrouvia*. They are known to have contained depictions of other pairs of saints, including Demetrios with Nestor or George and Theodoulos with Matrona (cat. nos. 108, 116, 117). CB

LITERATURE: Bakirtzis 1982, pp. 523–28; Bakirtzis, "Ampullae," 1990.

119. Reliquary Cross

Byzantine, 10th–11th century
Bronze

15.5 × 7.8 × 2.1 cm (6¼ × 3¼ × ⅞ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front, beneath the crossarms, IAE O YO/COY (Here is your son); ΔΟΥ Η ΜΗΤΗΡ COY (Here is your mother [John 19:26, 27])

CONDITION: The surface of the cross is rubbed away in a few areas; the inscriptions in the medallions are no longer visible.

PROVENANCE: William M. Milliken, Cleveland.
Private collection, New York, N.Y.

This reliquary cross is made up of two separate crosses held together by a hinge at the bottom, which allowed the cross to be opened to expose the relic. The two outer sides are decorated with scenes in relief. The Crucifixion appears on the front. Christ, wearing a colobium, is shown standing against the cross rather than suspended from it, his head resting on his right shoulder, and flanked by the small figures of the Virgin and Saint John the Theologian standing, respectively, on the left and right arms of the crossbar. Above the cross are the sun and the moon. On the back of the reliquary is the Virgin Orans surrounded by four medallions containing bust-length portraits of unidentified saints who most likely are the Four Evangelists, given the close relationship between this cross and a similar one in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Froehner 766), which also shows the Virgin surrounded by medallions with bust-

length figures. In the Paris example, however, they are identified by inscriptions as the evangelists.¹

Both this cross and the one in Paris are related to a series of reliquary crosses with the Crucifixion on the front and either the Virgin Orans or the Virgin Nikopoios surrounded by medallions of saints on the back. Other examples of this type include the second Pliska cross (cat. no. 225).²

It would appear that this group of reliquary crosses was produced in the urban centers of the empire, as they repeat the same composition and iconographic types. The large number of surviving examples excludes the possibility that these crosses were used solely to contain fragments of the True Cross or other types of primary relics, such as the physical remains of saints. It is much more likely that the crosses contained secondary relics, such as earth or pieces of silk that had been made holy through contact with the body of a saint. As is the case with many surviving relics and reliquaries, this cross was probably brought to the West by Crusaders returning home from the Holy Land. ST

1. See Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 225, p. 312.

2. See also a cross in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin; Volbach 1930, p. 149, no. 6414, pl. 9.

EXHIBITION: New York, "Medieval Art," 1968, no. 85.



119. Front



119. Back

120. Enkolpion

Byzantine (Constantinople?), 10th–11th century
Gold and niello
H. 3.9 cm (1½ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front, ΗΑΕ/[ΥΙΟC C]ΟΥ (Here is your son); ΗΑΕ ΜΡ [C]ΟΥ (Here is your mother [John 19:26, 27]); on the back, ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ (All hail).

CONDITION: Several areas of the niello inlay are missing; there are small scratches on both sides.

The George Ortiz Collection, Geneva, Switzerland

The Crucifixion is depicted on the front of this reliquary cross. Christ, wearing a colobium, appears to be leaning against the cross rather than suspended from it. He is flanked by the standing figures of the Virgin and Saint John the Theologian, who occupy, respectively, the left and right arms of the crossbar. Below the cross two soldiers cast lots for Christ's garment.

In the scene on the back, the Chairete, Christ meets the Marys in the garden following his resurrection. He is shown standing, his body slightly turned to the left, as he gestures in benediction toward the Marys, who kneel at his feet. This composition is similar to such early representations of Christ Meeting the Marys in the Garden as those on folio 13a of the Rabbula Gospels of 586 and on a seventh-century icon from Mount Sinai.¹ Most later works with this subject have very different compositions. On a twelfth-century steatite icon, for example, Christ stands at the center, flanked by the kneeling figures of the Marys.²

This cross is part of a group of historiated reliquaries, all of which date from the ninth through the eleventh century and share some details of iconography. The most famous example in this group is the Fieschi Morgan Staurotheke (cat. no. 34). The Crucifixion always appears on the front, with Christ dressed in a colobium and flanked by the Virgin and Saint John the Theologian. Shortened versions of the verses from John 19:26, 27 (“Here is your son” and “Here is your mother”) frequently occur above the Crucifixion scene. These reliquaries are also decorated with christological scenes, as is the Fieschi Morgan Staurotheke, and sometimes contain bust-length portraits of saints in roundels, as does the example found at Pliska in Bulgaria (cat. no. 225).³ The present cross, in the Ortiz collection, is the only known instance of a historiated reliquary that includes this scene of Christ Meeting the Marys in the Garden.⁴

Syria-Palestine has been cited as the place of origin of the colobium-clad Christ of the Crucifixion scene, who is shown still

alive and propped against the cross.⁵ This does not, however, necessarily point to a Palestinian origin for the Ortiz cross.⁶ Anna Kartsonis has noted that depictions of Christ wearing the colobium in Crucifixion scenes were widespread at least until the end of the so-called Macedonian period (867–1056).⁷ While the place of origin of this iconography is certainly Syria-Palestine, the historiated reliquaries incorporating it were probably produced in a metropolitan locale in the empire, most likely Constantinople.⁸ By the tenth and eleventh centuries, Syria-Palestine had declined as a flourishing center of Christian art to such a degree that it is unlikely that an object of such high quality as the Ortiz cross could have been made there. The mistakes in the inscriptions do not rule out a Constantinopolitan provenance for this reliquary.

The cross probably was used as a container for a relic of the True Cross.

S T

1. For the Rabbula Gospels, see Cecchelli et al. 1959, fol. 13a; for the Sinai icon, Weitzmann, “Vorikonoklastische Ikone,” 1966, pp. 317–25.
2. See Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 163–64, no. 68, vol. 2, pl. 41.
3. Doncheva 1976, pp. 59–66.
4. Kartsonis (1986, p. 101 n. 18) provides a chart noting the occurrences of fifteen christological scenes on ampullae, rings, censers, and reliquaries. The



120. Front



120. Back

Chairete is not included among the scenes represented on the historiated reliquaries, probably because the Ortiz cross was unpublished at that time. The scenes that do occur on the historiated reliquaries of this group are the Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Baptism, Transfiguration, Crucifixion, Anastasis, and Ascension.

5. Rosenberg 1922, part 3, pp. 32ff.
6. As has been suggested by Jeffrey Spier, in London, *In Pursuit of the Absolute*, 1994, no. 259.
7. Kartsonis 1986, p. 99.
8. Kartsonis (1986, pp. 116–23) argues for a Constantinopolitan origin for the group of historiated reliquaries; she bases her assertion on literary sources, enameling and niello techniques, style, and iconography, as well as on the decline of Syria-Palestine as a center of Christian art.

EXHIBITION: London, *In Pursuit of the Absolute*, 1994, no. 259.

121. Cross-Shaped Enkolpion with the Crucifixion and the Virgin Orans Flanked by Saint Basil the Great and Saint Gregory the Miracle-Worker

Byzantine (Constantinople?), early 11th century
Gold and cloisonné enamel
6.1 × 3.1 cm (2½ × 1¼ in.), L. (chain) 62.2 cm (24¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: The Virgin, Saint Basil the Great, and Saint Gregory the Miracle-Worker are identified by abbreviated uncial inscriptions in Greek: ΜΡ ΘΥ (Mother of God); ΒΑ/CΙΑ (Basil); ΓΡΓΙ Ο Θ/ΑΥΜ (Gregory the Miracle-Worker)

CONDITION: The front of the cross, probably depicting the Crucifixion, is lost.

PROVENANCE: Said to have been excavated from the site of the Great Palace in Constantinople; in the Adolphe Stoclet collection, Brussels, and then the collection of Philippe R. Stoclet; purchased by the British Museum in 1965.

The Trustees of the British Museum, London, England (M&LA 1965.6–4.1)

This small gold enkolpion, cross shaped with slightly flaring arms, was originally composed of two halves that opened and were hinged at the foot of the cross. The surviving enameled back of the cross is made of two gold sheets joined together. The silhouettes of the enamel figures are cut out of the top sheet, creating a gold background.

On the vertical arm of the cross the Virgin is depicted frontally, standing on a footstool with hands raised to her chest, her palms facing the viewer. The arrangement of the enamel cloisons delineates the drapery of her dark *maphorion* and the simplified features of her face, where a single cloison is used to render her eyes and nose.

On the horizontal arm of the cross, bust-length likenesses of two bishops and Church Fathers flank the Virgin: on her right, Saint Basil the Great, and on her left, Saint Gregory the Miracle-Worker. Saint Basil is



121

portrayed as a middle-aged man with short, dark hair and a dark, pointed beard; the upper part of his *omophorion* is visible. Saint Gregory is shown with short gray hair and a trim, rounded beard; the upper part of his *omophorion* is also visible. The inscriptions and the outline of the Virgin's halo are executed in red against the gold of the cross. A variety of saints in different combinations can be seen surrounding the Virgin or the Crucifixion on small pectoral crosses such as this as well as on larger processional crosses (cat. no. 26), indicating that the individual taste of the cross's owner may be reflected in the particular choice of the two Church Fathers who flank the Virgin.¹

As the sign of Christ's victory over death, the cross was the most popular Christian symbol, and small cross-shaped *enkolpia* were worn around the neck as powerful amulets protecting their bearers from evil. The talismanic power of these objects was usually enhanced by placing little relics inside them; many pendant crosses were constructed as cases that could be opened to reveal their contents. Such *enkolpia* were very popular in Byzantium. Made in assorted shapes and materials, including gold, silver, bronze, and lead, they have been found not only in the territories of the empire but also in neighboring states, signifying the piety of their owners. A small silver pectoral cross was found in Bulgaria (cat. no. 225), for



122. Front

example, and similar cross-shaped *enkolpia* were excavated from tombs in Denmark (cat. no. 335).

Small gold and silver crosses were given as gifts by the emperor to the court on Palm Sunday and other occasions.² The present cross, said to have been found in the area of the Great Palace in Constantinople, may have been one such imperial gift.

D K

1. For instance, the depiction of bishops in the Metropolitan Museum's processional cross (cat. no. 25) seems to reflect the taste and profession of the man who commissioned it, the bishop Leo mentioned in the dedicatory inscription.
2. Vogt 1935–40, vol. 1, p. 161. See also M. Ross 1956–57, pp. 22–24.

LITERATURE: Vogt 1935–40, vol. 1, p. 161; M. Ross 1956–57, pp. 22–24.

EXHIBITION: London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 165.

122. Pendant Cross with the Four Evangelists

Byzantine, second half of 11th century
Gold, gold filigree, cloisonné enamel, gems, and pearls
9 × 5.8 cm (3½ × 2¼ in.)

CONDITION: The central enamel is missing, as are the cabochon gem on the right crossarm and five of the cabochon gems flanking the medallions; one pearl is missing from two of the pins issuing from the angles of the arms.



122. Back

PROVENANCE: Probably from Kiev; Uvarov collection, Moscow; State History Museum, Moscow.

State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Russian Federation (P-161 [AY 981, II 2b.328])

This small enameled cross has flaring arms that terminate in cloisonné medallions in sunk enamel, each with the frontal, half-length figure of an evangelist, identified by a red *champlevé* enamel inscription in Greek: Saint Matthew (top), Saint John the Theologian (bottom), Saint Luke (left), and

Saint Mark (right). Each saint has a halo of translucent green outlined with dark blue and wears a bright blue tunic and a dark blue(?) himation; each holds in his left hand a book with red endpapers and a yellow cover decorated with a green cross. The missing central enamel, slightly larger than the others, probably contained an image of Christ.

The surface of the cross is decorated in enamel with ornamental patterns (palmettes, florets, and zigzag border) in red and white against a dark blue background,¹ and each arm is set with a cabochon gem (one of these is now missing). Additional cabochon gems were originally placed at either side of each crossarm near the medallions. Radiating from each of the four angles made by the crossarms is a gold pin set with two pearls; around the medallions and cabochons runs twisted-wire filigree. On the back of the cross is a cruciform recess for the relic.

The function of this reliquary cross remains elusive. There is a wide suspension loop at the top, which is customary for a pectoral cross, but the presence of a smaller loop at the bottom indicates that this was not an enkolpion. It has been suggested that the cross served as an intermediary suspension device, perhaps for a votive crown or some other precious object,² but no such devices in precious metal survive from the Middle Byzantine period. Furthermore, a reliquary cross used for that purpose would be most unexpected. There are straps with enameled medallions on some chalices, such as the Chalice of the Patriarchs in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice, but these are all hinged.

The intricate overall enamel decoration of the cross links it to well-known eleventh-century enamels such as the *loros* pendant (cat. no. 146) and the recently acquired pendant in New York (cat. no. 112), though the patterns differ and the quality of the present work is less fine. The proportions of the figures and the drawing of the faces, with sharply arched, well-defined eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes glancing sideways, and clearly delineated hair outlined with slightly nervous cloisons, are related, if somewhat distantly, to the style of the Crown of Saint Stephen, dated 1074–77,³ and to the enamel medallions, dating to the second half of the eleventh century, on an icon frame at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.⁴ A date in the second half of the eleventh century seems likely.

The quality of the enameling is comparable to that of other enamels attributed to Constantinople. If the cross was found in Kiev, where it was first acquired,⁵ it demonstrates that enameled reliquaries made in



123. Front (left), relic container (center), and back (right)

Constantinople were widely distributed beyond the borders of the empire, mostly by gift but perhaps also by purchase. Cross reliquaries exported from Constantinople as courtly gifts include the Esztergom Staurotheke and the reliquary triptychs on the Stavelot Triptych (cat. nos. 40, 301).

S A B

1. The description of color is from Kondakov 1892, p. 168.
2. Ibid.; Frolow, *Relique*, 1961, p. 256.
3. Kovács and Lovag 1980.
4. M. Ross 1965, pp. 105–6, no. 154.
5. Kondakov 1892, p. 168.

LITERATURE: Kondakov 1892, pp. 168–69; Moscow 1977, vol. 2, p. 80, no. 539 (with bibliography); Bank 1985, p. 302, no. 174, colorpl. 174.

123. Cross-Shaped Enkolpion with the Crucified Christ (front) and the Virgin Orans (back)

Byzantine, 11th century
Silver and niello
7.1 × 3.3 cm (2¾ × 1¼ in.)
Benaki Museum, Athens, Greece (21992–21994)

Cross-shaped enkolpia were widely produced during the Middle Byzantine period, reflecting the popularity of these amuletic objects for the contemporary Byzantine. Combining the protective power of the sign of the cross and the relics they were made to contain, these reliquary crosses continued and enhanced the Christian veneration for the sign of the

cross, a tradition well developed since the fourth century.

This cross is one of the finest examples of its type. It is made of two separate silver crosses joined at the top and bottom, creating a case that swings open from the upper hinge. On the front the crucified Christ is depicted in niello: he stands erect—outstretched arms nailed to the cross, head slightly turned to the right, eyes wide open—and wears a colobium with two clavi; his feet, nailed to the cross, are supported by a large footrest.¹ Christ's name is inscribed over his head, and the sun and the moon flank the top of the cross. On the back the Virgin Orans, standing on a platform, is also executed in niello. The hand of God descends toward the Virgin's head, and two angels with staffs flank her on the horizontal arm of the cross. The exalted position of the Virgin, implied here by the hand of God and the adoring angels, is an unusual iconographic subject for such crosses. Customarily, the Virgin is portrayed flanked either by evangelists, as in the silver cross from Copenhagen (cat. no. 335), or by military saints and Church Fathers, as in the crosses from Komotini, Greece (cat. no. 124).

A second cross-shaped case, which would have contained the relic—probably a piece of the True Cross—was made to fit the hollow space formed by the outer case. A cross-shaped aperture cut from the middle of this second case allows the wearer to glimpse and touch the precious relic enclosed and protected within.

Although some iconographic elements may vary among Middle Byzantine reliquary crosses, scenes of the Crucifixion and the Virgin appear with the greatest frequency. Another reliquary cross in the exhibition (cat. no. 225), dating from the ninth century and most likely from Constantinople but found in Bulgaria, has many formal and iconographic similarities with the present cross. Both are made of precious metals (the Bulgarian cross is gold), as befit reliquaries destined to bear pieces of the True Cross, and both contain separate reliquary cases with cruciform apertures. While the iconography of the Bulgarian cross is the more extensive of the two, both include depictions of the Crucifixion and the Virgin Orans. DK

1. On the iconography of the crucified Christ, see Kartsonis 1986, pp. 33–39.

LITERATURE: Kartsonis 1986.

EXHIBITIONS: Athens 1964, no. 457; Athens 1986, no. 203; Athens 1994, no. 84.

124. Three Enkolpia with Military Saints

Byzantine, 11th–12th century
Bronze

A. 7.3 × 5.5 cm (2 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

B. 7.5 × 5.5 cm (3 × 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

C. 6.5 × 3.5 cm (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: Paterma, Rhodope, Greece.

Archaeological Museum, Komotini, Greece
(1300, 1301, 1302/25-5-1987)

These three bronze enkolpia were found during the excavation of a narrow, single-aisle Byzantine church dating from the eleventh or twelfth century, which stood near the modern village of Paterma in the mountain massif of eastern Rhodope in Thrace.

The arms of crosses A and B terminate in convex semicircular protrusions on either side of the four roundels. In each, a bust in relief of a military saint, holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in the left, fills the end; there is a fifth roundel at the point of intersection of the arms. The backs of the crosses are flat and without ornamentation.

One bears the crude carved inscription [A]ΓΗ[OC] ΓΕ[ΩΡ]Γ[ΙOC] (Saint George). The faces of the saints are rendered in broad, schematic lines and lack the usual individual features, thus making it impossible to identify them. Cross enkolpia of this type, with convex semicircular terminals and small protrusions, were common after the eleventh century; examples may be seen in Athens in the Benaki Museum (no. 11426) and in the Kanellopoulos Museum (no. 867).

Cross C, a simpler form of double-sided enkolpion, would have contained a relic of a saint or a fragment of the True Cross and would have been used by its owner as an amulet. One side of the cross is intact and contains a depiction in repoussé of the crucified Christ wearing a long colobium; on the back, which has not survived, the Virgin was shown as in a Deesis.

On the basis of their stylistic and iconographic features, these crosses have often been dated to the sixth through the ninth century. The examples from Paterma, however, and from other excavated sites in



124A, B, C

Thrace and elsewhere in the Balkans, are believed to date to the eleventh or twelfth century. Certainly they were manufactured in more than one Byzantine center.

N Z

LITERATURE: Bakirtzis and Zekos 1981, pp. 34–36.

125. Enkolpion with the Crucifixion

Byzantine (Thessalonike), early 13th century
Gold, cloisonné enamel, and gold filigree
9.7 × 6.2 × 1.3 cm (3¾ × 2½ × ½ in.)

CONDITION: Small areas of enamel at the top of the cross and on the body of Christ are damaged, and the surface of the enamel is slightly abraded; the lid does not fit securely into the reliquary box, and the container for the relic is missing; damage from soldering has occurred at the ends of all four arms of both box and lid, possibly evidence of early hinge attachments or perhaps part of the elaborate nineteenth-century (?) mount, now lost.¹

PROVENANCE: Mount Athos; P. Sevast'ianov, Saint Petersburg; N. P. Botkin, Saint Petersburg; Walter Burns, London; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss, Washington, D.C.

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (36.20)

This enkolpion is in two parts: a flat, fully enameled lid with the Crucifixion and a cross-shaped gold box missing its interior fitting for the relic. The back is decorated with an engraved and punched border, and the sides with a scroll of twisted-wire filigree between borders of twisted wire. Originally there was a loop for suspension at the top, indicating this was an enkolpion.² On the basis of a similar enameled reliquary cross in Leipzig, which has hinges at the ends of three



125. Lid

arms, the same attachments may be assumed for this cross.³ The enameled lid shows Christ wearing a white loincloth, his eyes closed and head tilted but standing relatively erect, blood spurting from his side; the nails in his hands and feet are small black circles outlined in gold. His translucent green halo has an inner white cross, and both nimbus and cross are outlined in red. A bright blue background with gold cloisonné spiral scrolls⁴ surrounds the black cross, which is outlined in red and has, at the bottom, a white skull (Adam) against a green hillock. Above the cross is an inscription in white against the blue enamel background that reads: IC/XC O BACIAEC THC ΔΘΞHC (Jesus Christ, King of Glory).

Fine gold cloisons are used sparingly to outline Christ's body, including the rib cage and stomach muscles, as well as his facial features, hair, and beard. There is no internal modeling of the hair or beard. In contrast, the loincloth is drawn with dense parallel lines that define its multiple folds. Because the figure lacks a strong S curve, the body does not hang heavily in death, as it does on the Cosenza cross, and there is a sense of calmness and repose rather than suffering and death.

The style of this cross is frequently linked with that of the Cross of Queen Dagmar in Copenhagen (cat. no. 335), dated about 1200, and the reliquary of Saints George and Demetrios in London (cat. no. 116), which is dated to the early thirteenth century and said to be from Thessalonike.⁵ An even more compelling comparison is with the enameled cross in Leipzig cited above, which bears a closely related Crucifixion and the identical inscription. This has also been assigned to Thessalonike but dated to the second half of the thirteenth century,⁶ a date that may be too late.

André Grabar has demonstrated the close association of a series of reliquaries of Saint Demetrios, dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with the shrine of that saint in Thessalonike. The shrine became a pilgrimage center in the Middle Byzantine period because the Holy Land, controlled by the Muslims, was closed to Christian pilgrimage. Further, on the basis of these reliquaries, most of which were enameled, Grabar established the likelihood that Thessalonike, in addition to Constantinople, was an important center of enameling (see cat. nos. 108, 116, 117).⁷ The bright, saturated colors of this cross are sufficiently like those of the London reliquary that an attribution to Thessalonike and a date in the early thirteenth century are also likely.

S A B



126. Front

1. Lacroix 1873, p. 133, fig. 89.
2. For the function of an enkolpion, see cat. no. 109; *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 700, under *Enkolpion* (with bibliography).
3. Effenberger 1983, pp. 114–27; Berlin 1977, pp. 60–61, no. 112.
4. Similar gold scrollwork within a blue enamel cross occurs on a book cover in Venice, dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century (Hahnloser 1971, pp. 27–28, no. 18, pl. XXII; Wessel 1967, p. 168, no. 52).
5. M. Ross 1965, vol. 2, p. 110, no. 159; Wessel 1969, p. 185, no. 59.
6. Effenberger 1983, pp. 114–24, esp. pp. 122, 124, fig. 1.
7. A. Grabar 1950, pp. 3–28.

LITERATURE: M. Ross 1965, pp. 109–10, no. 159; Wessel 1967, p. 186, no. 60; Effenberger 1983, p. 122 n. 61, fig. 6; New York and Milan 1984, p. 170, fig. 18c.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1865; Paris 1931; Boston 1940; Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, 1945.

126. Cameo with Christ Blessing (front) and Cross with Inscription Mentioning Emperor Leo VI (back)

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-10th century
Jasper
4.7 × 3 cm (1⅞ × 1¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the back, on the cross, IHCOY CΩCON (Jesus, save); in the corners, ΔEO/NTA ΔEC/ΠO[T] (*despotes* Leo)

CONDITION: The pendant was broken horizontally and is now repaired.

PROVENANCE: Vatican collection (eighteenth century); Hildburg collection; purchased in Spain by the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England (A.21–1932)

Cameos with religious imagery were objects of private devotion in the Byzantine world, used as portable icons or amulets, the precious or semiprecious nature of the material—in this case green jasper—enhancing their intrinsic value.

On the front of this oblong cameo Christ stands on a suppedaneum, making a gesture of blessing with his right hand and holding

a closed book in his left. On the back is a cross atop a small sphere. The inscribed invocation translates as “Jesus, save *despotes* Leo”; the term *despotes* was used primarily to designate the emperor but was also an epithet for God, the patriarch, or a bishop. The inscription here must refer to the emperor Leo VI (r. 886–912). Inscriptions that identify the patron or recipient provide an important basis on which a chronology for Byzantine cameos can be established (stylistic analysis alone does not, in most cases, yield conclusive results).

The well-proportioned figure of Christ is firmly planted on the ground. The garment’s free fall to a flowing hemline and the deeply incised folds further emphasize the three-dimensionality of the body. The figure’s material nature is also heightened by the cross nimbus and the suppedaneum which overflow the picture frame, extending onto the stepped border. The object is stylistically reminiscent of the ivory triptych associated with Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945–59) in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome; indeed, the incisions rendering the folds of the garment are almost identical in the two works. This pendant should be attributed to a Constantinopolitan workshop of the same mid-tenth-century period. The softness of the jasper accounts for the high-relief carving of the eyes, nose, and beard.

M G

LITERATURE: *Annual Review* 1933, p. 8, fig. 1; Wentzel, “Datierte,” 1959, p. 12.

EXHIBITIONS: Edinburgh 1958, no. 84; Brussels 1982, St. 2.



127. Front



127. Back

127. Cameo with Christ Pantokrator

Byzantine, 10th century

Bloodstone

4.6 × 3.9 cm (1¾ × 1½ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front, IC/XC (Jesus Christ); on the back, on either side of the patriarchal cross, KE BOHΘ CΩ ΔN IΩ (Lord, help your servant John)

CONDITION: The bottom corners and a section of the top are broken off; there are chips in several places on both sides; the surface of Christ’s nose is worn down through rubbing.

The George Ortiz Collection, Geneva, Switzerland

Christ Pantokrator is shown bust length and with a gemmed halo on the front of this cameo, holding an open book in his left hand and blessing with his right. While this subject in Byzantine art is usually reserved for monumental decoration, as on a dome, it is sometimes found on smaller-scale objects as well, as, for example, on this cameo and on ivories in the Louvre and in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (cat. no. 83A,B).

A number of cameos survive from the Middle Byzantine period. The majority are executed in jasper, bloodstone, and sardonyx, and contain the single figure of either Christ, the Virgin, or one of the more popular Byzantine saints, such as Demetrios or Theodore.

The Ortiz cameo probably was used for private devotion, as indicated by both the inscription on the back, which mentions the owner, John, and the wear on the surface of Christ’s nose. Anthony Cutler has described the practice of repeatedly touching the image of a holy figure and rubbing especially significant parts, such as the face of Christ.¹ It was believed that this would bring the worshiper into a closer relationship with that holy personage, increasing the likelihood that the

latter would intercede on behalf of the suppliant for his or her salvation.

The execution of the Ortiz cameo — specifically the close attention to detail in the face of Christ and the sharp delineation of each strand of hair and each drapery fold — is comparable to that of other fine cameos from the Middle Byzantine period. The high relief and the plasticity of the carving of the bust of Christ place the Ortiz cameo firmly within the context of other Byzantine cameos that date from the tenth century (see cat. nos. 126, 128, 129).²

S T

1. Cutler 1994, pp. 22–29.
2. Even closer in style is a large jasper cameo in the Kremlin, Moscow, showing a standing Christ. See Bank 1985, no. 152, p. 298.

Unpublished.



128. Front

128. Back

128. Cameo with Bust of Christ

Byzantine, late 10th–early 11th century

Bloodstone

DIAM. 3 cm (1¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front, IC XC O EAEHMΩN (Jesus Christ the Merciful); on the back, ΧΡΙCΤΕ Ο ΘΕΟΣ Ο ΕΙC CE ΕΛΠΙΖΩ ΟΥΚ ΑΠΟΤΥΧΑΝΕΙ (O Christ our Lord, he who puts his hope in thee will not fail).

CONDITION: The cameo is slightly chipped around the edges.

PROVENANCE: Formerly in the collection of the duc d’Orléans, Paris; to State Hermitage, second half of the eighteenth century.

The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (0-353)

On this slightly oval cameo is a bust of Christ carved in relief. He raises his right hand in blessing and in his left holds a Gospel book. The book cover carries a rhomboid ornament rather than the more usual cross; it may be intended to depict a jewel-encrusted copy of the Gospels. The inscription flanking the bust of Christ and especially the simple five-line prayer on the back suggest that the cameo was used as an amulet. It was probably worn as a pendant.

The artist made full use of the properties of the greenish stone, the dramatic red veins

signifying the blood of Christ on the cross and providing a concrete reminder of the promise of salvation. The cameo can be compared with coins and seals of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056). Five pellets decorate each arm of the cross nimbus, as they do on coins of the first half of the eleventh century. The broad face of Christ, his features, the folds of his garment, and the style of carving all suggest a date in the late tenth or early eleventh century. Particular attention has been lavished on the wide-open eyes and the stray lock of hair on Christ's forehead, a characteristic detail of the prevailing portrait type of Christ in tenth-century Constantinople, a type thought to derive from the miraculous impression of Christ's face on the Mandylion, or Holy Towel — a precious relic preserved in Constantinople since 944. M G

LITERATURE: Bank 1959, pp. 210–13, tables 1, 3, 4; Bank 1960, pp. 122, 125, 128, no. 70a; Bank 1962, p. 135; Bank 1971, p. 7; Moscow 1977, vol. 2, no. 634, pp. 120, 121; Bank, *Prikladnoe*, 1978, p. 122, fig. 108; Bank 1985, p. 300, figs. 162, 163.

129. Cameo with Christ

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th–11th century
Lapis lazuli and gold
15 × 7.8 cm (5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.) with mounting



129. Front

INSCRIBED: On either side of the halo, IC/XC (Jesus Christ); above and below the arms of the cross, IC XC NI/KA (Jesus Christ conquers)

PROVENANCE: Formerly in Blagoveshchenskii Cathedral, Moscow Kremlin.

State Historical and Cultural Museum "Moscow Kremlin," Moscow, Russian Federation (DK 143)

This large lapis lazuli cameo is rectangular in shape, with a rounded top. Carved in high relief, it shows Christ standing on a dais, holding a book in his left hand and blessing with his right. The arms of the cross inscribed in Christ's halo are decorated with gold dots, as is the Gospel book. On the back of the cameo is a cross, the arms of which terminate in a trefoil design. The gold mount, of later date, is Russian.

The subject matter of this cameo is quite common among examples surviving from the Middle Byzantine period. Cameos from this period usually bear images derived from icons, single images of either Christ or the Virgin, shown bust length or, as in this case, full length. Single images of some of the more popular Byzantine saints, such as John the Baptist, George, Theodore, or Demetrios, also appear. Narrative scenes are rare.

Of the several cameos that survive from the Middle Byzantine period, the majority are executed in bloodstone, jasper, or sar-

donyx. Cameos carved in lapis lazuli, such as this one, are less common. The use of this rare material, in conjunction with the cameo's large size, testifies to the love of display and to the use of rich materials in the artistic production of the period. S T

LITERATURE: Pisarskaia 1965, pl. xxxix, figs. 20, 21; Darkevich 1975, figs. 286, 287; Bank 1977, nos. 159, 160; Bank, *Prikladnoe*, 1978, p. 104, fig. 120.

130. Roundel with the Virgin Orans

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1078–81
Serpentine

DIAM. 17.5 cm (6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: Flanking the Virgin, MP ΘΥ (Mother of God); surrounding the Virgin, + ΘΚ [BO]HΘEI NIKHΦOPΩ Φ ΙΛΟΧΡΙCΤΩ ΔΕCΠOΗ ΤΩ ΒΟΤΑΝΕΙΑΘ (God-bearer, help the Christ-loving lord Nikephoros Botaneiates)

CONDITION: A diagonal break across the Virgin's face has been repaired; several letters are lost in the outer inscription.

PROVENANCE: In the Maconys collection in Lyons by the seventeenth century; the Heiligenkreuz Abbey, near Vienna, after 1661; acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1927.

The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England (A.1-1927)



129. Back



130

The serpentine disk contains a bust of the Virgin in low relief. She is veiled and haloed and is shown with her hands raised as if in prayer. The surrounding inscription invokes the aid of the emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates. This association of the piece with Nikephoros, who reigned from 1078 to 1081, provides a firm date.

The relief is unusual in many respects. The inscription includes the word *filochristo* (Christ-loving), an epithet often given to the emperor, but *despotes* (lord, master), which also appears, is a rarity before it was officially adopted as an imperial title in the twelfth century.

Stylistically, the broad, heavy features of the Virgin lack the delicacy normally associated with the end of the eleventh century, but the style may be compared with that of relief panels now in Berlin from the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Constantinople (cat. no. 12), which may also have been established by the patronage of Nikephoros Botaneiates. Following his forced abdication in 1081, Nikephoros passed his final days at the Peribleptos Monastery and was buried there.

The iconography of the roundel is also unusual. In representations of the Virgin

Orans, her arms are nearly always raised to the sides rather than to the front. However, this type is not unknown; numerous lead seals from the eleventh century represent the Virgin in a similar pose, as does the northwest dome of the Panagia Kosmosoteira in Pherrai, Greece, dating to 1152. On the back a bust of the Virgin has been roughly scratched.

The function of this roundel also presents a problem. It is too large to have been worn as jewelry, and no comparable pieces of this size have been preserved. It has been suggested that it was an inlay in a piece of church furniture or that it was set into a door surround. Given the stylistic similarities with the relief sculptures from Peribleptos, it may also have come from there, perhaps as part of the decoration of Nikephoros's imperial tomb. R O

LITERATURE: Belting 1972; Beckwith 1979, p. 245; Williamson 1986, pp. 90–91; Williamson, in London, *Byzantium*, 1994, p. 158.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 121; Edinburgh 1958, no. 100; Athens 1964, no. 119; Brussels 1982, St. 3; London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 171.

131. Cameo with Christ Enthroned

Byzantine, second half of 11th century
Bloodstone
3.3 × 2.7 cm (1¼ × 1⅛ in.)

INSCRIBED: IC XC (Jesus Christ)

CONDITION: The edges of the cameo are chipped.

PROVENANCE: Private collection; to the State Hermitage in 1961.

The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (0-1208)

This oval cameo depicts the enthroned Christ, rendered in relief. Christ is portrayed frontally, wearing a tunic and himation; he is seated on a backless throne and his feet rest on a footstool. The throne, furnished with a thick cushion, recalls the *sella curulis*, or magistrate's seat, of antiquity. Christ is shown in the guise of an ancient philosopher in the act of teaching, his right hand stretched out in benediction, his left holding the top edge of an open book. The inscription flanks the cross nimbus. The reverse is not worked, suggesting that the cameo was originally affixed to some other element. The slightly chipped edges of the stone further support the cameo's use as an ornamental attachment, possibly as the centerpiece in an image of the Great Deesis or on a jeweled book cover or reliquary.

The low-relief carving, the elongated, stern face of Christ, the folds around the knees, and the type of throne, when compared with examples on ivories and coins, point to a date in the second half of the eleventh century. Indeed, this type of representation of Christ appears on coins of Michael IV Paphlagon (r. 1034–41) and recurs in six issues of coins of the mid-eleventh century. The uniform iconography of these coins suggests that they were taken from a contemporary monumental image of the enthroned Christ.¹ As in the other cameo from the



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Hermitage (cat. no. 128), the striking appearance of the stone is particularly well suited to the depiction of Christ, the splashes of red functioning as a visual reminder of his sacrificial blood.

M G

1. Grierson 1966–73, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 159.

LITERATURE: Bank 1963, pp. 39–42; Bank 1971, p. 7; Moscow 1977, vol. 2, no. 644, p. 124; Bank, *Prikladnoe*, 1978, p. 124; Bank 1985, p. 299, fig. 159.

132. Cameo with Saint George and Saint Demetrios Blessed by Christ

Byzantine (Constantinople?), 11th–12th century; French, 16th century (mount)
Sardonyx in three layers (brown, blue, and red); enameled gold (mount)

6.7 × 5.2 × .7 cm (2½ × 2 × ¼ in.) with mount

INSCRIBED: IC XC (Jesus Christ); O ΑΓ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ (Saint George); O ΑΓ ΔΙΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (Saint Demetrios)

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, France (Babelon 342)

This oval, tricolor cameo depicts Saint George and Saint Demetrios, two of the most popular Byzantine military saints. Both saints are shown full length, standing and facing the viewer. Each is haloed and wears a chlamys, which is pulled back to reveal military armor; the left hand of each figure rests on an oval-shaped shield. Saint George, on the left, raises a sword to his right shoulder, while Saint Demetrios, on the right, touches the top of a long lance with his right arm. Above

them a bust-length and cross-haloed Christ extends both hands in the sign of blessing over the saints' heads.¹

The military aspect of the two martyrs, who were often depicted together during the Middle Byzantine period, became more prominent from the eleventh century on. The previous iconography of the military martyr, the body covered by the chlamys and the right hand holding a cross (see cat. nos. 108, 234), was replaced by the exposure of the cuirass and the addition of weapons shown as if ready for use. A very similar cameo, dating from the same period and now the centerpiece of the enkolpion of Gennadios, metropolitan of Serres (early sixteenth century), in the Treasury of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, shows another popular military pair, the two Theodores (Teron and Stratelates) being blessed by Christ above.² The only difference between it and the Paris cameo is that in the Great Lavra enkolpion both saints hold lances. The popularity of this composition may reflect the effort of the Byzantine state to reassess its military power, which in the second half of the eleventh century was rapidly fading.³

Worn as an amulet or incorporated in the decoration of a larger religious object, the medallion combines the power of the two saints — emanating from the blessing Christ above them and emphasized here by the slight turning of the saints' heads toward each other — and was probably intended to protect its patron from the dangers of combat. A similar iconographic type, Christ above blessing with both hands the figures below him, is shown in another object in the exhibition, the steatite icon of the three military saints Theodore, George, and Demetrios (cat. no. 203). The exquisite workmanship of this cameo — which, according to Ernest Babelon, combines in its composition the iconography of the Middle Ages with that of antiquity and the time of Constantine — indicates that it was probably commissioned by a member of the Byzantine nobility, possibly of the military class.⁴

D K

1. The blessing with both hands is not unusual. The same gesture can be observed among Orthodox bishops during liturgical ceremonies.
2. This cameo is unpublished. There is a photograph of the enkolpion in the travel guide of the monastery: Lavriotes 1988, p. 71.
3. The prominence of the military in the iconography of official imperial portraits in the eleventh century is exemplified in the coinage of the emperor Isaac I Komnenos (r. 1057–59), who is shown holding a sword.
4. Babelon 1897, p. 190.

LITERATURE: Babelon 1897, p. 190; Lavriotes 1988, p. 71.

EXHIBITION: Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 193.

133. Pendant Icon with Christ Blessing (front) and the Virgin Orans (back)

Byzantine (Constantinople), first half of 12th century
Lapis lazuli and gold filigree; silver-gilt set with pearls and turquoises (mount)

H. 10 cm (4 in.) with frame, 6.4 cm (2½ in.) without frame; w. 4.3 cm (1¾ in.) with frame

CONDITION: The lapis plaque is cracked through in several places, and some of the gold wire inlay is missing; almost all the stones and filigree rosettes are missing from both sides of the mount; the top hinge is incomplete; the brass ring is modern.

PROVENANCE: Trésor de l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis; first mentioned in inventory of 1505.

Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris, France (OA MR 95)

This two-sided, sigma-shaped lapis lazuli cameo is extremely rare in that it combines lapis, a precious stone imported from Afghanistan, with gold filigree inlay. On one side Christ stands frontally on a small footstool, holding a book in his left hand and blessing with his right. Small channels cut in the stone and filled with gold wire outline his cross nimbus, the abbreviation of his name in Greek (IC/XC), and the clavus of his tunic as well as the two flowering shrubs that flank him. The undulating trunk of each shrub consists of a single gold wire that rises from a triangular base; along its length are four flowers on short stems, each with four or five petals made of gold disks, probably cross sections of a thicker wire. On the other side, also in cameo technique, is the standing figure of the Virgin Orans, her hands held at shoulder level. Inlaid gold wire outlines her nimbus, the Greek abbreviation for "Mother of God" (MHP/ΘY), and the same flowering shrubs. As is typical of Byzantine hierarchy, the shrubs flanking the Virgin have only three flowers rather than four. Crosslets of gold disks decorate her *maphorion* at the forehead, shoulders, and knees.

Hard stones encrusted with gold wire are exceptional, and the technique is found on only three other examples: a miniature agate chalice in the Hermitage (tenth or eleventh century); a lapis cameo, with Christ standing and blessing, in the Kremlin, Moscow (eleventh century; cat. no. 129); and a lapis icon of the Crucifixion in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice (eleventh or twelfth century).¹ On the Louvre cameo



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133. Front



133. Back

the luxurious combination of gold and lapis lazuli, together with the high quality of the carving, points to Constantinople as the place of manufacture. Its technique recalls that of the bronze doors inlaid with silver that were produced in Constantinople and exported to Italy in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.² The style of the carving, with soft, clinging folds of drapery revealing the bodies beneath, is characteristic of the twelfth century, as are the proportions of the figures. A date in the first half of that century is indicated by the similarity of the design of the flowers to floral motifs in niello on the gold endpieces of a reliquary cross from Eine with a dedicatory inscription of Maria Komnene, daughter of Emperor John II Komnenos (r. 1118–43).³

The silver-gilt mount has fine beaded borders and is filled with a solid, waxy mastic to prevent the thin silver from being crushed. Regularly placed circular cuts on both faces were intended to hold pearls, turquoises, and filigree rosettes that were attached with wax. Around the edge of the frame there were originally metal rings, now filed off, that held a string of pearls like those on other objects in the exhibition (see cat. nos. 41, 109, 212). While not at first glance typically Byzantine, the mount is

comparable in overall design to a larger-scale silver-gilt icon frame set with gems at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., dated to the second half of the eleventh century.⁴ Further, a reliquary in the Louvre, dating to the twelfth or thirteenth century,⁵ displays a similar method of setting gems with wax through holes cut in the metal. Therefore the mount is most likely Byzantine and contemporary with the cameo.

Although the pendant is usually described as an icon, the suspension loop at its top indicates that it must have functioned as an *enkolpion*, and it was presumably worn on a chain around the neck. At what time it traveled to the West is unknown; it may have been brought to France by an emissary to the Byzantine court who had received it as a gift, or it may have been looted from Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade.

S A B

1. Bank 1985, p. 298, no. 151 (agate chalice), and p. 299, nos. 157, 158 (Moscow lapis); New York and Milan 1984, no. 35 (Venice Crucifixion).
2. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 284, no. 195; Paris 1991, p. 219, no. 39; compare Matthiae 1971.
3. Brussels 1982, p. 152, no. 0.21.
4. M. Ross 1965, pp. 105–6, no. 154; compare Hahnloser 1971, pp. 48–49, nos. 36, 37, pls. 36, 37.
5. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, pp. 335–37, no. 249.

LITERATURE: Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1973–77, vol. 1, 2, no. 40, vol. 3, pp. 46–47, pl. 29; Paris 1991, pp. 218–20, no. 39; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 284, no. 195 (with bibliography).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 137; Paris 1984, no. 35a; Paris 1991, no. 39; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 195.

134. Cameo with the Virgin Blachernitissa

Byzantine (Constantinople?), late 12th century
Bloodstone
H. 4.5 cm (1¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: MP/ΘΥ (Mother of God)

The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England (A.4-1982)

The tiny cameo depicts the Virgin in delicate relief, her arms raised in prayer. Her face is unusually thin. She is veiled and haloed and wears a *maphorion*. Before her is a smaller image of the infant Christ, with a distinctive, cross-inscribed halo and gesturing with his right hand. He appears as if wrapped in the Virgin's robe.

This representation of the Virgin is usually referred to as the Blachernitissa, after an icon, or possibly several sacred images, once



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housed in the monastery of the Blachernai Church in Constantinople. The iconography often includes a mandorla surrounding the Christ Child, which although absent here is suggested by the folds of the Virgin's robe. The same image is sometimes identified in Byzantine sources as the Virgin *Episkepsis* or the Virgin *Platytera*.

The image was popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when it became a "device of preference" on the seals of persons associated with the imperial family of Komnenos, which might also explain its appearance on a luxury gemstone—one perhaps originating from a piece of aristocratic jewelry. The popularity of the image in this period may correspond with the transfer of the primary imperial residence in Constantinople to the Blachernai Palace, which adjoined the monastery.

The interpretation of the terms *Episkepsis* and *Platytera* suggests the manifold meanings associated with the image. *Episkepsis* either means "visit"—referring to the belief that the Blachernai image was visited regularly by divine powers—or it is derived from the word *skepe*, meaning "shelter." The latter would refer to the protective role of the Virgin's *maphorion*, which was kept at the Blachernai Monastery and regarded as the sacred palladium of Constantinople. *Platytera*, meaning "one who is wider [than the heavens]," refers to the Virgin as the vessel of the Incarnation: she contained what the wide heavens could not. Both themes reflect the role of the Virgin as intermediary between God and humankind.

The image may be compared with the relief icon from Messina (cat. no. 291), which also reflects the Blachernitissa iconography. A small bloodstone in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, dating to the thirteenth century has an identical iconography.

R O

LITERATURE: Williamson 1986, pp. 86–87; Moscow 1995, p. 209, no. 110; Ousterhout, "Virgin of the Chora," 1995, pp. 94–96 (for Blachernitissa iconography).

135. Cameo with the Virgin Hagiosoritissa (front) and Cross (back)

Byzantine, late 12th century
Bloodstone; gold (modern mount)
4.9 × 2.8 cm (1 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the back, MP/ΘY (Mother of God)

CONDITION: There is a hairline crack through the Virgin's face and shoulder; small areas of stone are lost, especially at the top.

PROVENANCE: Private collection; acquired by Henry Walters in 1931.

Courtesy of The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (42.5)

On the front of this plaque is a cameo carving of the Virgin, turned to the right, full length, and standing on a suppedaneum. The upper part of her body is rendered in three-quarter view, with the head slightly bent and both arms raised in prayer or entreaty. The abbreviated inscription on either side of the figure identifies her as the Mother of God. Beginning in the 1040s, this type was known as the Virgin Hagiosoritissa, its name deriving from a now-lost monumental original in Constantinople. On the back a cross with flanged arms atop a disk is rendered in intaglio.

The decoration on the back, the arched top, and the position of the Virgin suggest that the plaque served as the left wing of a

diptych or triptych depicting the Deesis or the Crucifixion. Most likely it belonged to a diptych in which the Virgin was placed to the right of Christ as an intercessory figure, a composition that appears, for example, on the two ivory panels in the Staatsbibliothek, Bamberg.¹ A similar image of the Virgin is often seen as the pendant to an image of Christ in monumental church art, on the piers flanking the templon.

The size of the plaque suggests that the diptych was an object of private devotion used either at home or as an offering to the church. The elongated proportions and delicate carving of the figure of the Virgin, especially her dramatic facial expression and the softness of her features, point to a date in the late twelfth century. In the art and liturgy of that period the Virgin is portrayed as a sorrowful mother with clearly human emotions; considerable emphasis is placed on the role of the Mother of God, the Theotokos, as an intercessor on behalf of humankind.

M G

1. Cutler 1994, p. 123.

LITERATURE: M. Ross 1960, p. 45, fig. 4; Verdier 1961; Trümpler 1986, pp. 9–16, fig. 2.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore 1947, no. 555; New York 1970, vol. 1, no. 336.



135. Front



135. Back

136. Pendant with Medallion of Saint Theodore

Byzantine (Constantinople?), 12th century (glass medallion); probably 13th century (mount)

Gold and brownish glass paste

Medallion: 3 × 2.7 cm (1½ × 1½ in.); overall: H. 4 cm (1½ in.)

INSCRIBED: Ο ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ (Saint Theodore)

CONDITION: There is a small chip in the cameo.

PROVENANCE: Formerly in the Bliss collection; acquired in 1938.

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (38.28)

This oval medallion is mounted in a gold pendant with a filigree cross on the back and a loop for hanging that probably dates from the thirteenth century. On the medallion itself, cast of brownish glass paste, Saint Theodore is portrayed as a rider spearing a dragon. It is a scene of drama and movement: the horse is shown galloping, its tail in the air; the rider's cape flows behind him; a dragon is pierced by a lance. In monumental art and on icons Saint Theodore is depicted either frontally or, as here, in martial posture. On glass-paste medallions he is usually shown on horseback, though the other twelve



136. Front



136. Back

examples in European museums belong to a variant in which both horse and rider are less animated.¹

This medallion is one that Hans Wentzel ascribed to a Venetian manufacture.² Although there are few images of Saint Theodore in the basilica of San Marco in Venice, the saint's cult was extremely popular in Byzantium and many churches were dedicated to him in Constantinople. These facts, together with the medallion's iconographic similarities to Byzantine seals,³ point to a Byzantine — possibly Constantinopolitan — creation in the twelfth century.⁴

M G

1. Wentzel, "Medallion," 1959, no. 39.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 67, no. 43; see also cat. no. 336.

3. Schlumberger 1884, p. 502.

4. M. Ross 1962, p. 89, no. 106.

LITERATURE: Wentzel 1956, p. 256, no. 1237; Wentzel, "Medallion," 1959, p. 66, fig. 5; M. Ross 1962, p. 89, no. 106; *Handbook* 1967, pp. 100–101, no. 343.

EXHIBITION: Boston 1940, no. 206.



ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
ΠΑΡΜΕΝΑΝ

ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΣ ΚΩ

IMAGES OF THE COURT

HENRY MAGUIRE

What could be more delightful than to find oneself in the emperor's entourage, to participate in the imperial lifestyle, to wear magnificent costumes, to share an intimate association with the emperor?" So wrote an anonymous Byzantine courtier of the tenth century in a letter of consolation to a high official who had lost his post.¹ Yet in another letter the same courtier dwelt on the darker elements of court life: "What suspicion, jealousy, fear, flattery, servility, ignorance, deceit, softness, languor, insolence, senselessness, peevishness, slander, and other impurities and filth! All these vices have insolently invaded the imperial palace!"² Since the Middle Ages the Byzantine court, at the center of the empire, has provoked opposing reactions, whether in art or in literature. There was no single view of the palace and its functionaries, but rather many views, official and unofficial, internal and external, institutional and private, sophisticated and naive, flattering and hostile, which together make up a mosaic of the whole. Like all mosaics, the composite image of the court comes into a unified focus when seen at a distance, but when seen close-up the individual viewpoints contrast and conflict with one another. This essay attempts to create out of the opposing facets a general picture of courtly life in Byzantium, which will serve as a background to the material culture of the emperor and his entourage.³

PALACE AND CEREMONIAL

From the founding of Constantinople in the fourth century until the end of the eleventh century, the primary physical locus of court life was the Great Palace, which occupied the eastern tip of the city, extending southward from the Church of Hagia Sophia. There are few remains of the Great Palace, but it was an extensive complex of buildings, each with different functions, including an impressive vestibule, throne rooms and audience halls, a large state dining room, imperial bedchambers, and several chapels—all of which were arranged around courtyards—and gardens and even a polo

ground.⁴ The edifices were magnificent and drafty and owed much to Late Roman and Islamic palace architecture. In the twelfth century the Komnenian emperors, whose foreign policy was strongly engaged with Western Europe, moved the court to the more castlelike environment of the Blachernai Palace, located against the city walls in the northwest corner of Constantinople.⁵ The Blachernai became the principal imperial residence, although the Great Palace continued to be used for official purposes throughout the twelfth century.⁶

The official life of the court was centered on a succession of ceremonials, a political liturgy involving speech, costume, and action, which marked all types of state occasions, including imperial coronations, marriages, births and birthdays, the promotion of officials, the reception of ambassadors, and the celebration of triumphs. There was also a regular calendar of processions to churches on feast days. Many of these ceremonies took place within the confines of the palace and were witnessed only by members of the court and by privileged guests, such as ambassadors; others took place outside the palace in the city's streets and churches. The ceremonies not only codified the internal structure of the court and ensured its cohesion but also presented to the public an idealized image of the Byzantine state. The overriding message—the unchanging order and majesty of the Byzantine Empire—did not, however, preclude the expression of more transient concerns.⁷

An important site of public ceremonial was the Hippodrome, the large racetrack adjacent to the Great Palace, which was used for chariot races and other state functions, such as the proclamations of emperors and the staging of triumphs. The emperor received ritualized acclamations in his own box in the Kathisma, a two-story building that communicated directly with the Great Palace.⁸ Because the people of Constantinople saw the emperor at the Hippodrome, the place itself became a symbol of political power. Scenes from the Hippodrome were depicted in capital cities beyond the borders of Byzantium. The frescoes adorning the eleventh-century Cathedral of Sviata Sofiia (Saint Sophia) in Kiev show the Byzantine emperor seated in the elevated box of the Kathisma with his attendants standing beside him, as well as views of the arena itself, including the starting gates for the four chariot teams, musicians, acrobats, and mimes, and spectators in the galleries (see illus. on next page).⁹

Christ Crowning Michael VII Doukas (relabelled Nikephoros III Botaneiates) and Maria of Alania. Illustration from the Homilies of John Chrysostom (cat. no. 143), fol. 1(2bis)v



The Byzantine Emperor in the Kathisma at the Hippodrome. Fresco, 11th century, Cathedral of Sviata Sofia, Kiev. Photo: Valery A. Maruzhenko

TAXIS AND ATAXIA

Ceremonial presented an image of *taxis*, the harmonious order that was thought essential for the proper functioning not only of the court but also of the whole empire. *Taxis* was opposed to *ataxia*, the disorder abhorred by the Byzantines and considered characteristic of barbarians and heretics. The court's framework was an elaborate hierarchy of offices and titles, reaching from the emperor downward. The titles and their sequence in rank have been preserved in official lists drawn up primarily to aid in the organization of state banquets.¹⁰ The order of seating at dinner parties was a matter of great importance: in the tenth century the Western ambassador Liutprand of Cremona complained bitterly when he was placed in the fifteenth position from the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas, below the retinue of imperial officials.¹¹ Liutprand also wrote a vivid description of a ceremonial that took place during the week before Palm Sunday, when the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos distributed largesse to his courtiers in strict order of precedence. A herald summoned each recipient to come before the emperor and receive his payment, which was in the form of bags of gold coins and, for higher officials, silk cloaks.¹² The garment that a dignitary received was integral to his rank. Official instructions for ceremonials, such as the *Book of Ceremonies*, a tenth-century compilation, gave precise descriptions of the costumes to be worn by particular rank holders at different events. Fine clothes were an important component of the Byzantine self-image. When the foreigner Liutprand was returning from Constantinople to Italy, he

took some purple silk cloaks with him. But he was stopped by four palace officials who confiscated the garments, stating that only Byzantines had the right to wear such clothing. "As we surpass all other nations in wealth and wisdom," they reportedly said, "so it is right that we should surpass them in dress. Those who are unique in the grace of their virtue should also be unique in the beauty of their raiment."¹³

The *taxis* of the imperial court is represented in a well-known portrait of a Byzantine emperor and his retinue contained in a manuscript of homilies by the Church Father John Chrysostom, now in Paris (cat. no. 143).¹⁴ This miniature was painted for presentation to the emperor Michael VII Doukas, perhaps between 1071 and 1073, shortly after his marriage to Maria of Alania. It was later retouched for presentation to Michael's successor, Nikephoros III Botaneiates, perhaps in 1078 or 1079, after Nikephoros had married Michael's former wife, Maria.¹⁵ The use of the same painting to portray two different emperors demonstrates that imperial imagery was largely permanent and unchanging; for the second presentation it was necessary only to modify the ruler's face slightly and to attach new inscriptions. The miniature shows the emperor, magnificently attired in silks, sitting on a high throne. Over his blue and gold tunic he wears a darker blue cloak, fastened by a gold-and-ruby brooch and decorated with a large trapezoidal *tablion*, woven of gold thread. At the throne's top are personifications of Truth and Justice, two imperial Virtues, while below, four courtiers flank the emperor. The ranks of the officials are clearly marked by their silk

costumes and their titles, which are written above their heads. The men at the right wear red-tasseled headdresses and red and gold cloaks over blue tunics. The man to the far right is labeled *proedros* and *mezas primikerios*; the other courtier is identified as *proedros* and *dekanos*. The two courtiers on the left hold higher administrative posts; they are at the ruler's right hand, the more favored position, and wear white hats. Nearest the throne stands a beardless eunuch who wears the most splendid costume, a white silk robe decorated with large medallions containing lions woven in red and gold. He is designated *protoproedros* and *protovestiaros*. Originally the *protovestiaros* was the keeper of the emperor's wardrobe, but by the eleventh century he occupied a high administrative post. The beardless official beside the *protovestiaros*, wearing a red and gold cloak over a blue tunic, is called *proedros* and *epi tou kanikleiou*. The latter title indicates that he was the keeper of the imperial inkstand, that is, the emperor's private secretary.

A sense of order is conveyed not only through the titles and the costumes but also through the posing and arrangement of the figures. The emperor, larger and placed higher than his courtiers, sits in a strict frontality, his face turned toward the viewer. The officials stand in equally frozen poses, their faces turned toward the ruler in submission and respect. Only the abstractions, the Virtues, show signs of movement and life. The *taxis* seen here can be contrasted with the *ataxia* depicted in a ninth-century psalter now in Moscow.¹⁶ This work represents the heretical Council of 815, convened by the emperor Leo V to renew Iconoclasm within the Byzantine Empire. At the bottom right two Iconoclasts destroy an image of Christ, while to the left an enthroned figure dressed in purple presumably represents Leo V or his son Symbatios-Constantine, who actually presided over the council. Every element of the composition expresses *ataxia*. The ruler looks not to the front but turns his eyes shiftily to the side. He is flanked not by orderly and deferential courtiers but by a confused crowd of cronies. He does not wear the heavily jeweled imperial crown with its pearly pendants; instead, his wild and unkempt hair bunches out in an exaggerated fashion. The whole disorderly court literally flows with blood, which gushes out at the right and washes around the conspirators' feet.¹⁷

IMAGES OF THE EMPEROR

As the miniature of Nikephoros III Botaneiates demonstrates, the emperor was at the center of the court, and its order or disorder was reflected in his person. Byzantine artists and orators developed strongly idealized images of the emperor's physique, deportment, and costume, to which a good emperor was supposed to conform. They also employed a stylized set of models and metaphors to evoke the ruler's unseen qualities, his wisdom and his virtue. All of these images had negative counterparts, which were applied to bad rulers.

Since the end of the Roman period Byzantine orators had praised the physique of the emperor by following a simple formula. The speaker began his description of the imperial body with the head and worked his way down to the feet. A typical example of this procedure is found in an anonymous panegyric description of the twelfth-century emperor Manuel I Komnenos presiding over a jousting tournament. According to this encomium, the emperor had a tall body, resembling a palm tree. His hair was long and waving in the wind, while the imperial eyebrows were symmetrical and graceful. The eyes of the sun king were like violets and gave flashing glances. His shoulders were broad and heroic but symmetrical; his chest was strong and manly; and his stomach was lean and beautifully proportioned like a cuirass.¹⁸ Such an imperial body, strong and gracefully symmetrical, is seen in a frontispiece miniature in early-eleventh-century Psalter of Basil II, now in Venice. The emperor stands in full physical glory over his groveling enemies.¹⁹

The reverse of *enkomion* (praise) is *psogos* (invective), an example of which is Liutprand of Cremona's well-known description of Nikephoros II Phokas. Although he was Italian, Liutprand knew Greek well. He had spent enough time in Byzantium to be familiar with the conventions of its rhetoric, and here he turns each element of a Byzantine pane-



The Iconoclast Council of 815. Illustration from the Khludov Psalter (cat. no. 52), fol. 23v. Photo: Mikhail Kravtsov

gyric into its opposite.²⁰ Thus Liutprand also begins his description of the imperial person with the head and proceeds down the body, but he does not start by exclaiming that the emperor is tall like a palm tree; rather, he compares him to a pygmy. The emperor does not have long and waving hair but a thick growth of bristles like those of a pig; his eyes are tiny like those of a mole; his belly is not lean but large. And so the parody goes on; every shining imperial virtue is turned by the malicious Westerner into a vice.²¹

The emperor also had to conform to idealized standards of deportment. He had to be seen as fixed, stable, and unmovable, a ruler whose character and judgment were unswayed by emotional excess. Such a demeanor was described by the eleventh-century courtier and orator Michael Psellos in a speech addressed to Isaac I Komnenos: “You are straight, true, stiff . . . steadfast, firmly fixed, lofty . . . an impartial judge, unwavering in judgment . . . a secure counselor, noble, unshaken in [stormy] waves.” Psellos stressed the ruler’s lack



Basil II Triumphs Over His Enemies. Illustration from the Psalter of Basil II, Constantinople, 976–1025. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. gr. z 17, fol. 111r



Dionysos in His Chariot. Detail of the Veroli Casket (cat. no. 153)

of emotions: “Where is there any anger in you, where are there streams of laughter, where are there traces of rage, and where is there babbling of speech? Where is there boasting, or violence, and a wily mind? Where [is there] a knitting of the brows or an angry expression? For there are no unseemly qualities in you, neither easily excited emotion . . . nor delight, nor any graces, nor much laughter.”²²

A portrait of Nikephoros III Botaneiates and Maria of Alania that appears on another frontispiece page of the Homilies of John Chrysostom in Paris shows the rulers as straight, tall, impassive, and without the superfluous graces dismissed by Psellos (see illus. on p. 182).²³ These rigid and severe depictions, against a gold background with no graceful ornament, express the ideal imperial demeanor praised by Psellos and other Byzantine orators.

But when emperors were the object of censure, they were described in terms of softness, licentious movement, and instability. Often such rulers were compared to animals or to the pagan god Dionysos and his followers, whose revels were sometimes seen on the subversive ivory and bone plaques that decorated tenth-century Byzantine boxes. Thus an invective against the emperor Michael III, which was composed on the initiative of his usurper’s grandson, accuses him of staging drunken parodies of the liturgy in the palace. Michael is said to imitate Dionysos, “the giver of graces,” in his pursuit of “what was soft, loose, voluptuous, and without rigor or moral fiber.” His followers are derided as “unbridled satyrs, ready for all shameless conduct, the devotees of Dionysos.”²⁴ The association of Dionysos and his entourage with playfulness, frivolity, and lack of dignity is evident in the Veroli Casket (cat. no. 153); there the god reclines in a chariot drawn by two panthers, while above him a naked boy disappears headfirst into a basket.

Just as the emperor’s body and behavior were held to ideals of beauty and decorum, his costume and regalia were

the visible expression of his majesty and virtues. “Your might is made known . . . by the throne, and by the tiara, and by the pearl-spangled robe,” said Euthymios Malakes to Manuel I Komnenos in 1161.²⁵ For the rhetorician each jewel of the emperor’s regalia symbolized an aspect of his virtue. The anonymous description of Manuel I presiding over the jousts says that the gold of his crown “flashed like lightning, the pearls appeared white, and the precious red stone glistened, these being a mirror of the treasury of wisdom that resides in the emperor’s head.”²⁶ A hostile writer would denigrate the emperor’s garb. To Liutprand of Cremona, the imperial robe worn by Nikephoros II Phokas was dirty, foul smelling, and faded with age, and his regalia were ancient and ill fitting.²⁷

A less sophisticated interpretation of the imperial regalia is given in the *Oneirokritikon* (dream book) of Achmet Ben Sirin, a Byzantine primer on the interpretation of dreams that was probably composed in the tenth century. According to Achmet, “If someone dreams that he had the distinction of wearing an imperial crown that had been studded with pearls and gems, he will have dominion and glory analogous to the crown; and if he dreams that the gems and pearls were hanging down from it like earrings, his dominion will be in accordance with their length and beauty. If the emperor dreams that the



John II Komnenos. Mosaic in the south gallery, ca. 1122, Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York



Holy Crown of Hungary: Christ Flanked by the Archangels Michael and Gabriel and Four Saints. Enameled plaques, Constantinople, 1074–77. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest



Holy Crown of Hungary: Michael VII Doukas Flanked by His Son Constantine and Géza I of Hungary. Enameled plaques, Constantinople, 1074–77. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest

pendants of his crown were cut off, his reign will be disorderly and short-lived.”²⁸ Here the jewels and pearls that hang from the emperor’s crown represent the emperor’s prowess in a concrete way: the longer the pendants, the better the prognosis. Perhaps it was for this reason that some imperial portraits, such as that of the twelfth-century emperor John II Komnenos in Hagia Sophia, depicted pearly pendants that descended almost to the shoulders (see illus. on preceding page).

Byzantine orators and artists expected the emperor to conform to a number of revered models, with whom he was constantly compared. If he fell short, he might be compared to models of vice and wickedness. The most important of the virtuous prototypes was Christ himself, whom the emperor imitated on earth. The twelfth-century writer and intellectual Michael Italikos wrote to Manuel I Komnenos, “You go about here below as a living and moving statue of the king above who governs you, and I don’t know of anyone else on earth more like him.”²⁹ At the end of the eleventh century the archbishop Theophylaktos of Ohrid observed: “Every emperor is an image of God . . . just as the archetype is higher than all [creation], so the likeness will be above all [others].”³⁰ This analogy between the divine and the earthly ruler was expressed in Byzantine works of art such as the enamels now adorning the Holy Crown of Hungary (see illus. on preceding page). These plaques, whatever the object that they originally adorned, form two distinct groups, centered respectively on Christ and on the emperor Michael VII Doukas, who alone occupy arched frames. Christ is flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel and by four saints, all of whom pay deference by turning their heads or eyes toward him. The emperor is flanked by his son Constantine on his right and by the lower-ranked Géza I, the king of Hungary, on his left; like the saints accompanying Christ, the Hungarian king indicates his submission to his overlord by turning his eyes toward the emperor.³¹

Old Testament models, especially David and Solomon, were also significant. At the end of the twelfth century the writer Michael Choniates compared the living emperor Isaac II Angelos with painted icons representing the biblical king David: “The emperor resembles David in almost all characteristics that adorn not only the soul but also the body. It is not possible to set them side by side at the present time, except insofar as one can be pleased by an icon of David, and by means of the icon briefly demonstrate the identity of the original characteristics. . . . If, then, the emperor may be shown to resemble the icon of David, it is plain that the emperor must be much like David himself in all respects.”³² These resemblances were dramatized through the rhetorical device of *synchrisis*, or comparison. For example, in the Psalter of Basil II the portrait of the emperor standing in triumph over his enemies was associated with a second frontispiece showing six scenes from the life of David.³³ Each of these Davidic scenes can be read as a reference to the emperor. The



Six Scenes from the Life of David. Frontispiece from the Psalter of Basil II, Constantinople, 976–1025. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. z. 17, fol. 4v

killing of the bear and the lion exemplifies the destruction of the ruler’s enemies, who were often compared to wild beasts in imperial rhetoric. David kneeling before the prophet Nathan in remorse for his adultery with Bathsheba alludes to the emperor’s humility and contrition, virtues necessary for imperial success.³⁴

Comparisons with biblical figures also gave force to invective. Bad emperors might be associated with Pharaoh, with Saul, or with Herod. Saul was especially important in the Byzantine rhetoric of blame, for his character and history allowed a usurper (the new David) to vilify his deposed predecessor (the old Saul) and thus to justify the coup. This theme was also illustrated in Byzantine art.³⁵

More rarely, the emperor might be compared with models from pagan mythology. If he was being condemned, he might be associated with the many-headed Hydra³⁶ or, as we have seen, with the unbridled Dionysos. However, if he was being praised, he might be set beside Herakles for his strength³⁷ or Orpheus for his powers of taming and persuasion.³⁸ There is a hint of the Orphic comparison in the opening miniature of the Paris Psalter, a tenth-century manuscript directly or indirectly associated with the imperial court, where David is depicted as a musician (see illus. on p. 86). He

is surrounded by an admiring audience of animals, together with personifications evoking different facets of nature (a nymph represents a fountain at the upper right; a bronzed youth portrays Mount Bethlehem at the lower right).³⁹ The image reflects ancient portrayals of Orpheus, in which he is shown as a lyre player in a mountainous landscape with animals clustered around him.⁴⁰

Another aspect of imperial panegyric was the use of conventional metaphors to describe the qualities of the emperor, of which the most common was the identification of the emperor with the sun. The emperor is the sun in a blooming springtime, the new, rising sun that replaces the setting sun of his predecessor, the sun that dispels the clouds of invaders, and the Sun of Justice; he is even greater and higher than the sun itself.⁴¹ In art this solar symbolism was conveyed by the emperor's halo and by the brilliant gold of the background. Solar symbolism may also have been embodied in a marble roundel containing an image of John II Komnenos (cat. no. 137), which once probably had a gilded background, so that the imperial portrait was silhouetted against a circle of gold.⁴² But here, too, the lofty solar symbolism could be brought down to earth by the barbs of invective. Liutprand of Cremona sneered that the emperor Nikephoros was a "burnt-out coal," not the "morning star" or rising sun.⁴³

THE COURTIER

The courtiers, the supporting cast of the imperial theater, were regarded officially as the creators and upholders of good

order, or *taxis*, but their own perspective was that of ambitious and often fearful individuals. The official view held that the court functioned as a well-regimented liturgy, with a prescribed place and costume for each participant on every occasion, thus creating a harmonious pattern that reflected heaven above and formed a model for the imperial dominions below. In contrast, the anonymous tenth-century correspondent quoted at the opening of this essay observed that while court life had its pleasures ("the friends, the celebrity, the splendor, the glamour of living in the city"), the palace was full of jealousy, flattery, deceit, and fear. He consoled his banished friend by urging him to look to higher things: "Everything [in mundane affairs] is a game and a stage, offering only a faint trace of the truth."⁴⁴

In another letter of consolation, addressed to an official named John who had lost his position as chamberlain, the same writer complains of the liars at court, who were goaded by malice and envy into making false accusations, so that even though he was known for intelligence and integrity, John had been excluded from the palace.⁴⁵ He was lucky in that he had lost only his post; intrigues at court could cost a trusted official his sight or even his life. According to the historian Niketas Choniates, the emperor Manuel I Komnenos gave Theodore Styppeiotos, who held the post of keeper of the inkstand, a gold inkwell set with precious stones. This special favor aroused the envy of another courtier, who framed his rival for treason. As a result, the emperor had Styppeiotos blinded.⁴⁶ We can visualize what type of gift it was that started this drama with the help of an inkpot belonging to an



Serpent Column Flanked by River Personification(?) and Ares. Detail of a silver-gilt inkpot, Byzantine, late 9th–early 10th century. Cathedral Treasury, Padua



Gorgon. Lid of the silver-gilt inkpot at left

earlier epoch, the late ninth or early tenth century (see illus. on preceding page). This vessel is made of gilded silver and decorated with figures from pagan mythology executed in relief, such as a nude Ares seated with his weapons. The metrical inscription on the base identifies the owner as “Leon, the delightful marvel among the calligraphers.”⁴⁷ A fine Gorgon’s head is framed by writhing serpents on the lid. The monster safeguarded the contents of the inkpot, and possibly its owner, from misfortunes such as those that befell Stypeiotes.

An intimate glimpse of the mentality of an individual courtier is given by an illuminated manuscript of the Psalter and New Testament now in Washington, D.C. We know from the contents of the book that it was made in Constantinople in 1083 or 1084, and its small size indicates that it was intended for private use.⁴⁸ What kind of use this was is revealed by the opening pages, which contain a series of prognostications, somewhat resembling a modern horoscope. The predictions themselves strongly suggest that the owner had a career at court. They are preceded by instructions telling the user to open the book at random to find a psalm number, to count a further six numbers, and then to

find that number on the list of predictions. Several forecasts are suggestive of the conflicts, intrigues, hopes, and fears of court life: “Number 20: Many enemies, but they will not injure you . . . number 55: An office [*axia*] is in store for you after a little while . . . number 67: This matter bears a grudge . . . number 77: Bend in submission and you are raised up . . . number 84: Fear not, you will be elevated after some days . . . number 89: A hidden matter is revealed . . . number 109: You are successful, and favor lies in store for you.”⁴⁹

THE COURT OF THE WOMEN

An important part of imperial life was the women’s court. Presided over by the empress, it consisted of the wives and widows of high court officers, each of whose title and position in the hierarchy was analogous to her husband’s rank. In the tenth century there were parallel ceremonials for men and for women, and even simultaneous state banquets for the two genders.⁵⁰ For example, the *Book of Ceremonies* describes the reception for the wives and widows of court officials after the birth of a male child to an empress: “Know well that on the eighth day after the birth the bedchamber of the *augusta*



Prognostications from a Psalter and New Testament, Byzantine, 1083–84. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, Ms. 3, fols. 84v, 85r

[empress] is beautified with veils interwoven with gold and with chandeliers. . . . The child . . . is placed in the crib and he and the *augusta* are covered with spreads woven with gold. . . . Then are led in the *zostai* and *magistrissai* and the *anthypatai* and *patrikiai* and the official *protospatharai* and the other senatorial wives, and then likewise the high-ranking widows corresponding to the aforesaid offices, one after another, from the New Palace dining room. And they pray in thanksgiving for the *augusta*, and acclaim her, and they give fitting respect, each one bringing in a gift of her own choice."⁵¹

These careful instructions reveal that ceremonials for women were as elaborate as those for men. The female ceremonials were not confined to the palace but occasionally took place in the public arena. Women played a prominent role in the *adventus*, or arrival, of an imperial fiancée at Constantinople. The wives of court officials processed beyond the city walls to greet their future mistress and to dress her in imperial garments and red shoes. On some occasions the foreign princess would arrive with a magnificent retinue, including gifts such as leopards riding behind their trainers on horseback.⁵² An *adventus* is depicted in a manuscript containing an epithalamium that may have been written for the daughter of Louis VII of France, Agnes, who arrived at Constantinople in 1179 to marry Alexios II, the heir of Manuel I Komnenos. The poem describes how more than seventy high-ranking ladies went out to welcome the new arrival, and how one of them went on ahead to dress the princess in a costume befitting an empress. The miniature shows the princess in Western dress and then in resplendent imperial costume, including a silk robe decorated with eagles. Below, she sits on a central throne receiving the homage of the women in the palace.⁵³

Like the emperor, the empress was presented in rhetoric and art by a complex of ideal images. Many panegyrics of empresses employed the same conventions as those of their husbands: the women were lauded for their noble birth, their imperial virtues, and their physical beauty and perfection. The same similes were employed: they shone like the sun, and they caused those around them to burgeon as if in the springtime.⁵⁴ There were, however, some differences. When the empress was praised together with the emperor, she was often compared to the moon, with her husband being the sun.⁵⁵ There was also a greater emphasis on physical beauty in the encomiums of empresses; comparisons might even be made with Aphrodite and Cleopatra, always, of course, in the empress's favor.⁵⁶ The power of the empress's beauty is revealed by an incident from the reign of Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–85). This usurper had murdered Maria of Antioch, the beautiful mother of his predecessor. When he wished to attack her memory, he had the faces of her images repainted to look old and wrinkled, so that her loveliness would not arouse the viewer's sympathy.⁵⁷



A Foreign Princess Arrives at Constantinople for Her Wedding. Manuscript illustration, Byzantine, 1179. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. gr. 1851, fol. 3v

CONCLUSION

In summary, not only was the Byzantine court highly regulated, with its hierarchy of offices, its costumes, and its ceremonials, but the perceptions of the court were also regulated. Whether positive or negative, these perceptions responded to a fixed set of ideal images that were repeatedly conveyed in speech, in writing, and in art. Both the panegyrics of court life and the invectives were highly stylized, although there were significant variations within that stylization. In this respect Byzantine imperial art appears to resemble church art in following established patterns of iconography and expression. However, the Byzantines were not totally chained to the artistic conventions imposed by Church and state. There was still room for an art that played around the edges of the dominant ideology, providing some relief from its discipline. Here is found the life, movement, and freedom of expression that the official images denied—in the undignified putti of the ivory and bone boxes or in the portrayals of pagan gods and monsters in silver. These marginal images, engaging, subversive, and sometimes disturbing, both denied and confirmed the fixity and good order of the center.

Ἐπιπέδου καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ
καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ οἱ σὺν



καὶ τὸ ἀνοίγει τὰς θυ
τὴν κλεῖ ἀδκαὶ ἡροῖξ

SECULAR ARCHITECTURE

ROBERT G. OUSTERHOUT

The setting of everyday life is perhaps the most elusive aspect of Byzantine society after the ninth century. Although many examples of church architecture survive, there is little physical evidence of houses, palaces, towns, or urban architecture. However, the meager archaeological remains, in conjunction with literary descriptions, wills, and other legal documents, provide a picture of Byzantine secular architecture.

From the late sixth through the eighth century the Byzantine Empire experienced a decline, and the character of the Byzantine city was dramatically and irrevocably altered.¹ Ruralization increased, and large centers were depopulated or abandoned. Often the inhabited area of a city was reduced to its fortified acropolis; this occurred at Ankara, Sardis, and Corinth, where the rest of the ancient city was virtually deserted. Constantinople's population declined from perhaps five hundred thousand at the end of the fifth century to a few tens of thousands in the eighth century. Following the devastating plague of 747, Constantine V found it necessary to resettle peasants from Greece and the Aegean islands in the capital.² Portions of the city fell into ruin, and public services were neglected.

A cultural revival began after the middle of the eighth century, and the peaceful period of the ninth through the eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed an increase in urban populations and in trade and industry, although cities never achieved their former prominence. Moreover, life in the Middle Byzantine period was considerably different from what it had been before. As Byzantium had been transformed from a Late Antique to a medieval empire, it had changed from an open to a closed society. From the fourth through the sixth century Byzantine society was characterized by public activity in open urban spaces; in the subsequent period it became more private and inward-turning, with the home and

the extended family as the dominant focus. Architecture followed a similar course. The significant monuments of the earlier period were public in character, integrated into the larger design of the city. The Middle Byzantine period is distinguished instead by private initiative and a domestic orientation. Public architecture was limited almost exclusively to small churches and to defensive systems, and domestic architecture was poorly built and of little architectural interest.

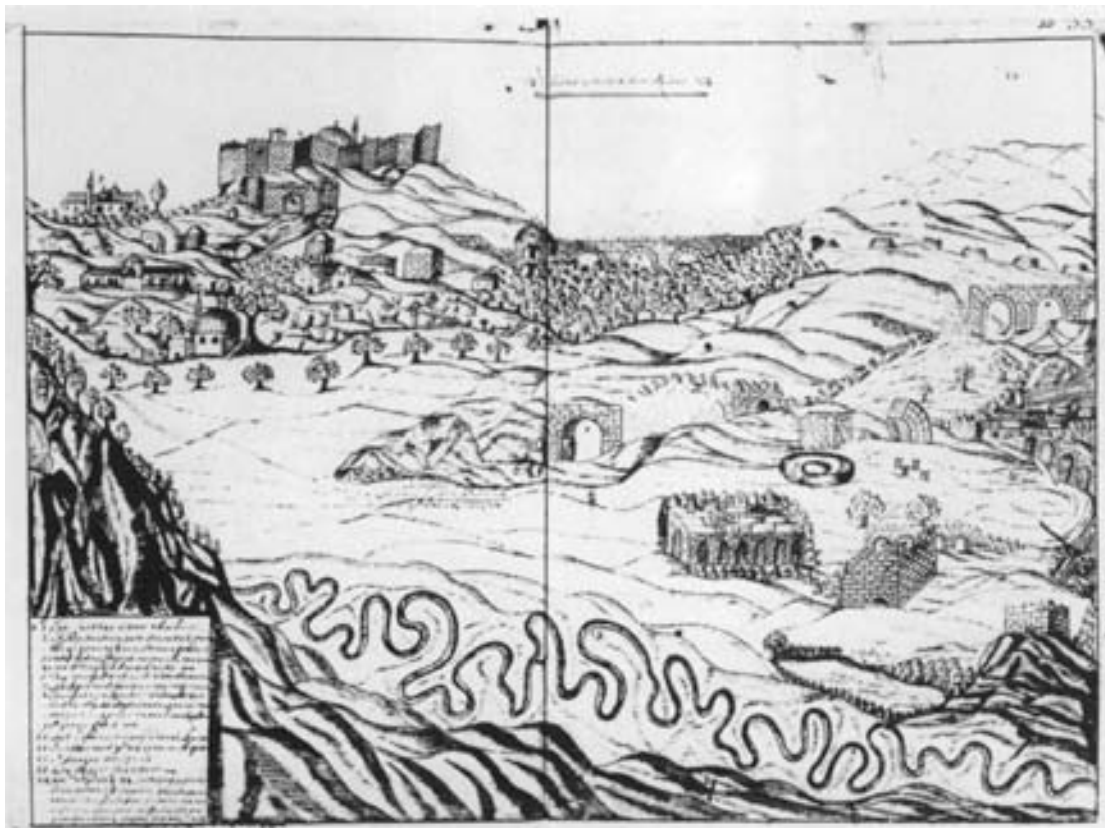
Excavations have begun to reveal the changing patterns of habitation after the ninth century. Some centers were apparently abandoned and resettled under new names, the older ones having been forgotten. Abdera became Polystylon in its medieval incarnation, and Sparta was resettled as Lacedaemon.³ Settlements that were not abandoned shrank, and new, smaller circuits of fortifications were built, incorporating the standing remains of older buildings.⁴ Texts often refer to these communities as *kastra* (fortresses) rather than as *poleis* (cities).

The few new towns of the period were developed because of their strategic location, either during the Dark Ages of the seventh through the ninth century (as at Monemvasia) or during the Latin occupation of the thirteenth century (as at Mistra).⁵ Whether the site was old or new, defense was normally the most important consideration, and urban development was completely dependent on the topography.⁶ In Cappadocia in the tenth and eleventh centuries numerous new settlements were cut into the soft volcanic rock formations. Although often identified as monastic, many of these must have been secular and agricultural in origin.⁷ At Ephesus the ancient center adjacent to the harbor shrank significantly during the Dark Ages and then was gradually abandoned in favor of the more easily defended hill of Aya Soluk, about a mile inland. Its sturdy fortifications survive around the Church of Saint John.⁸ At Sparta the ancient acropolis was reinhabited in the ninth century and then abandoned in the thirteenth century, when the settlement was relocated at Mistra on the steep slope of a nearby hill.⁹

House of Eglon, King of Moab. Illustration from the Vatican Octateuch, Byzantine, 12th century. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 746, fol. 473v



Plan of Constantinople during the Middle Byzantine period. From Magdalino 1993



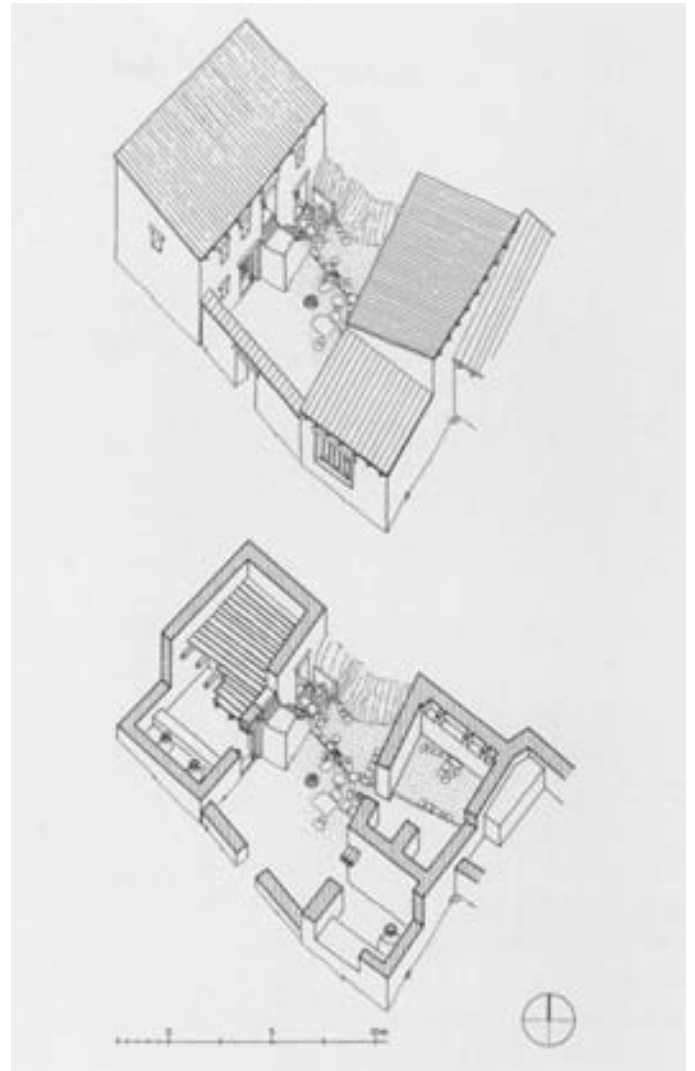
Ephesus in 1670, drawn by John Covel. From Foss 1979



Isometric reconstruction of a late-13th-century neighborhood in Pergamon. From Rheidt 1990

Although main streets continued to function in many older sites, new patterns of growth emerged within the rubble of ancient Byzantine cities. At Nicaea both the *cardo* (the main street) and the *decumanus* (the principal gate) of the ancient city continued to be used, as they are today, but this example is almost unique.¹⁰ The new areas of settlement exhibited a lack of urban planning and grew in a dynamic, ad hoc manner rather than following the orthogonal street systems of antiquity.¹¹ In their most basic forms, streets appeared as the area between private properties, varying considerably in width and direction, and they were normally unpaved and unmaintained. The new street systems also responded to the topography or to the accumulated debris of the ancient city. Such patterns have been observed in the American excavations at Corinth and Athens.¹²

Public spaces—the agoras and forums of antiquity—were abandoned, and their functions were taken over by streets of mixed use, with shops, workshops, and residences side by side. Some of the more polluting establishments, such as slaughterhouses, were moved outside the walls.¹³ Market fairs and other large gatherings (for example, the festival of Saint John at Ephesus) must have taken place outside the walls.¹⁴ Conversely, some activities that had been extramural in ancient times were moved within the confines of the medieval city. Because vegetable gardens had to be close to consumers, large areas within the walls of Constantinople were devoted to this purpose.¹⁵ Cemeteries and burial grounds, which



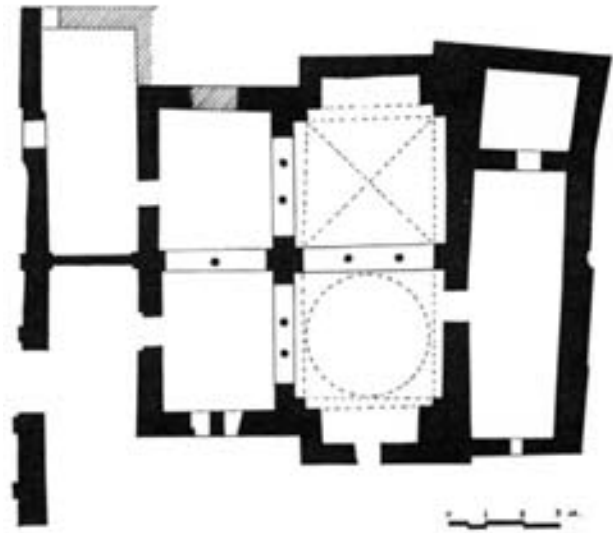
Schematic reconstruction of a late-13th-century Byzantine house in Pergamon. From Rheidt 1990

Roman law forbade within the city limits, gradually penetrated the city, many perhaps associated with religious foundations.¹⁶

Another defining factor of the Byzantine city was the remains of ancient settlements. Standing ancient buildings could be reused or, more likely, given new functions, and standing walls, foundations, and colonnades could be employed in new construction. Even individual building elements, such as ashlar blocks, bricks, roofing tiles, and architectural sculptures, were reused as *spolia*. At Pergamon, for example, an unpretentious medieval town arose within the grand ruins of the Hellenistic and Roman acropolis. From the eleventh through the thirteenth century a dense settlement developed on the slope of the hill, composed of irregular rooms and constructed almost entirely of *spolia*, incorporating the remains of ancient walls.¹⁷ When he visited Pergamon, the emperor Theodore II Laskaris (r. 1254–58) was struck by the contrast between the ancient and the medieval: “Between the [ancient] buildings are low hovels, which appear . . . to be the remnants of the houses of the departed,



Exterior of a 13th-century Byzantine bath building in Thessalonike.
Photo: Robert G. Ousterhout



Plan of the Byzantine bath building at left. From Xyngopoulos 1985

and the sight of them causes much pain. For, as mouseholes are compared to the houses of today, so . . . the latter are compared to those that are being destroyed.”¹⁸

A water supply was, of course, necessary. Cities of the Roman period were well equipped with aqueducts for the public distribution of water. With a declining urban population, most of these systems fell into disrepair in the Byzantine period. The aqueducts supplying Constantinople and Thessalonike were maintained only with difficulty.¹⁹ A few new aqueducts were constructed in the Middle Byzantine period (as at Thebes), and an extensive system of water distribution was developed in some parts of Cappadocia.²⁰ At Corinth, Brusa, and elsewhere natural springs solved the water problem. In most cases, however, public systems of waterworks were replaced by private ones relying on wells or on small cisterns to collect rainwater. Nevertheless, many cities were able to maintain public as well as private bathing establishments, albeit much reduced in scale and with considerably less water than ancient examples.²¹ A well-preserved thirteenth-century bath survives in Thessalonike.²²

In antiquity the city administration was housed in a variety of buildings, but in the Middle Byzantine period it was concentrated in the residence of its governor, who was often a member of the military, and in its churches. The governor’s palace, usually located on the acropolis or in the most secure part of the city, might include rooms that served as the treasury, as lodging for troops, and as the prison.²³ Churches were used for civic meetings, and after the sixth century standard weights and measures were kept in churches.²⁴

Throughout the Middle Byzantine period Constantinople retained its unique urban character and was appreciated by contemporaries for its wealth, its size, and its paved streets and for the presence of the imperial court. By the twelfth century

the population of the Byzantine capital may have reached four hundred thousand.²⁵ About 1100 Fulcher of Chartres, a participant in and chronicler of the First Crusade, wrote admiringly: “O how great is that noble and beautiful city! How many monasteries, how many palaces there are, fashioned in a wonderful way! How many wonders there are to be seen in the squares and in the different parts of [Constantinople]! I cannot bring myself to tell in detail what great masses there are of every commodity: of gold, for example, of silver . . . and relics of saints.”²⁶ Many of the city’s great monuments and buildings from the fourth through the sixth century were still standing. The ancient streets, forums bedecked with triumphal monuments, and basilicas and public buildings formed the backbone of the medieval city, and they were used throughout the Middle Byzantine period—if perhaps in a diminished way.²⁷ The city’s surviving grandeur allowed emperors of the ninth and tenth centuries to stage imperial triumphs in the antique manner.²⁸

Constantinople was roughly triangular in plan, with its landward side closed off by the Land Walls, built in the fifth century and kept in constant repair. At the end of the peninsula was the Great Palace, the sprawling complex that was the official imperial residence, with the Hippodrome and the Church of Hagia Sophia nearby. In the twelfth century the Blachernai Palace, located in the northwest corner of the city, became the primary imperial residence, although the Great Palace was maintained for official use. At the entrance to the Great Palace was the Augustaion Square, bounded by Hagia Sophia to the north. To the south, a short, colonnaded street, the Regia, led from the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace to the Milion, the principal milestone from which distances were determined. From there the main colonnaded street, the Mese, led to the circular Forum of Constantine, through the Bakers’ Quarter, and then through a series of large imperial

forums to the Golden Gate, where it connected with the Via Egnatia. A northern route led past the Church of the Holy Apostles to the Adrianople Gate and thence into the Balkans. The area closest to the walls remained largely uninhabited, with the densest area of settlement toward the end of the peninsula. Major harbors, emporiums, and foreign trading colonies lay along the Golden Horn.²⁹

During the Middle Byzantine period most new constructions were the private undertakings of the wealthy, and what might be regarded as public buildings—baths, docks, warehouses, hospitals, and orphanages—were frequently controlled by monasteries. Moreover, new buildings were often of wood rather than of stone and thus less permanent and vulnerable to fire.³⁰ As prosperity increased, private estates grew in size and prominence, and by the twelfth century the great imperially sponsored and privately endowed monasteries and the mansions of the wealthy had become landmarks in the capital. The French Benedictine monk Odo of Deuil, who visited Constantinople in 1147, described elegant, lavishly decorated palaces but noted: “The city itself is squalid and fetid and in many places harmed by permanent darkness, for the wealthy overshadow the streets with buildings and leave these dirty, dark places to the poor and to travelers; there murders and robberies and other crimes which love darkness are committed.”³¹

There are few remains of Byzantine domestic architecture. The houses of the lower classes had little architectural interest. About 1200 the author Nicholas Mesarites described village houses made of reeds plastered with mud and covered with thatched roofs.³² A few are known from excavation, such as a simple country house at Andravida in Elis (Peloponnesos) with small rectangular rooms and a porch.³³

The excavations at Pergamon give some sense of a middle-class neighborhood development.³⁴ The houses consist of several rooms, often with a portico, arranged around a courtyard and are connected by an irregular pattern of alleys and culs-de-sac. Similar house forms have been noted in other Byzantine settlements, with the house focused away from the street.³⁵ At Corinth two adjacent medieval houses excavated in 1964 have courtyards with wells and ovens, surrounded by rooms and storerooms. Some concern for comfort and efficiency is evident, but virtually none for aesthetic issues.

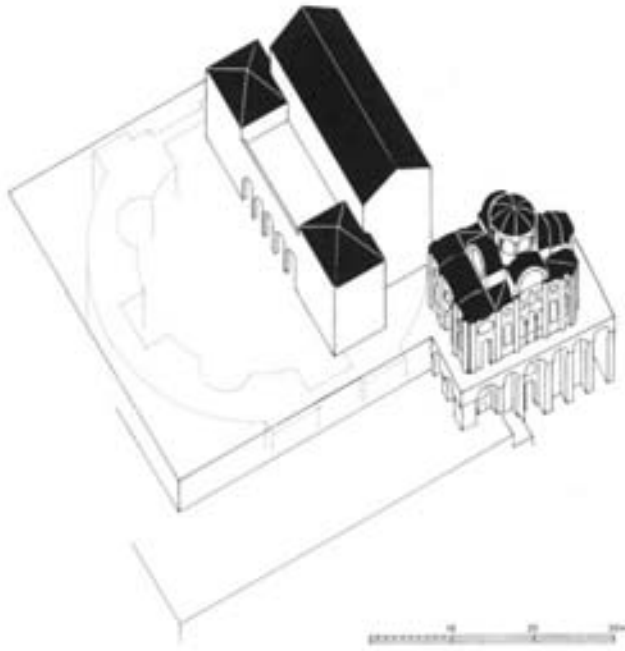
During this period Constantinople continued to have multistoried residences, similar to Roman *insulae* (apartment houses). In the twelfth century the poet John Tzetzes described living in a three-storied tenement; above lived a priest and his family and pigs, and the ground floor below was used by a farmer to store hay.³⁶ This description suggests a dramatic contrast between the exclusive and contained private realm—from which Odo was apparently excluded—and the often disordered, unpleasant, and uncontrolled public spaces.

The Myrelaion complex, one of the few sites with remains of wealthier homes, demonstrates the changes that took place over the centuries. The foundations of a huge rotunda from a fifth-century palace were used as the substructure for the tenth-century palace of Romanos I Lekapenos. The rotunda was filled in with a colonnaded cistern that formed a level platform for the palace. It is noteworthy that except for the chapel, all the components of Romanos’s palace were built on the area taken up by just the vestibule of its predecessor.³⁷ The building was pi-shaped, with a portico along the main facade and a chapel off to one side. Such urban forms may be reflected in the rock-cut courtyard dwellings of Cappadocia, which have the rooms organized around a courtyard, a portico along the main facade, and a chapel to the side (see illus. on next page).³⁸ In numerous Cappadocian examples a hall—the main formal room of the complex—was given distinctive architectural ornamentation, and a smaller cruciform hall might also be included. The kitchen, with a conical vault and a chimney, was set to one side, and stables were often adjacent to the courtyard complex.

The great mansions became Constantinople’s most distinctive features. In each an extended family and their retainers lived in a sprawling network of buildings, and each was the center of a vast economic and social network. The *oikos*, or household, became the fundamental social organization of the city.³⁹ By the eleventh century the monumentality of early forms was commonly replaced by complexity. The mansion of the eleventh-century historian Michael Attaleiates consisted of several buildings connected by a common courtyard; it had a projecting sunroom on an upper floor, a chapel,



Plan of Middle Byzantine houses in the agora area of Corinth. From Robinson 1964



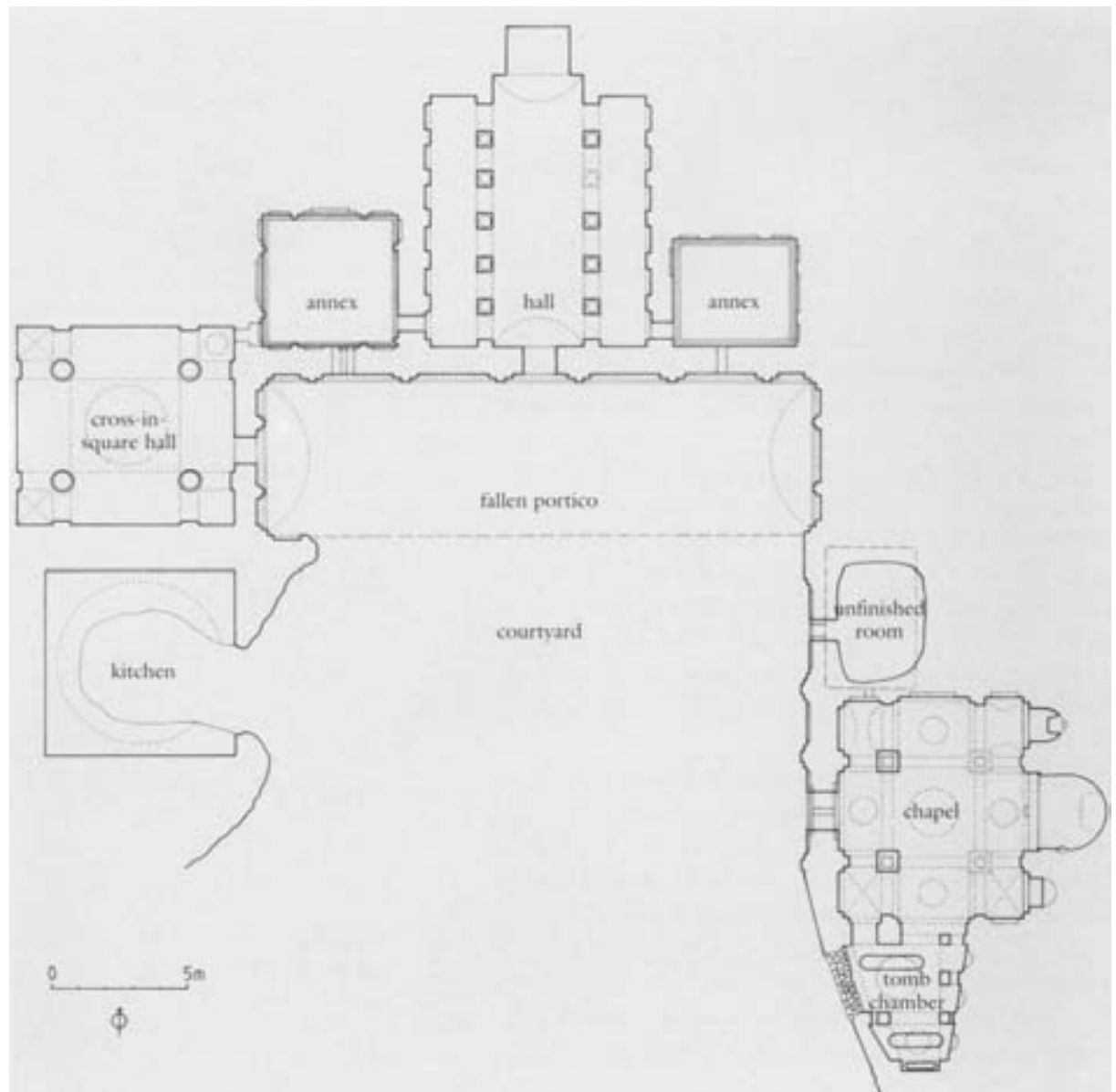
Isometric reconstruction of the early-10th-century Myrelaion Palace, Constantinople. From Striker 1981

and another building with a mill on the ground floor and dwellings on the upper two stories.⁴⁰

None of these *oikoi*, with their mansions, courtyards, chapels, and gardens, survives, but one is described in a document detailing the 1203 concession to the Genoese of the Botaneiates Palace, a sprawling, walled complex that included gatehouses, two churches, courtyards, reception halls, dining halls, residential units, terraces, pavilions, stables, a granary, vaulted substructures, cisterns, a bath complex, and rental properties.⁴¹ Such mansions may be seen in manuscript illustrations of the period.⁴² They are said to be “cities within a city” and to “resemble cities in magnitude and be not at all unlike imperial palaces in splendor.”⁴³ Wealthy estates in the countryside may have been fortified; one described in the twelfth-century romance *Digenes Akritas* was surrounded by gardens and defended by walls and towers; the main building is said to have been decorated with biblical and classical figures.⁴⁴

Middle- and lower-class residences had little decoration, but those of the upper class were embellished with marble floors and revetments, as well as with mosaics and frescoes.⁴⁵

Plan of a Middle Byzantine rock-cut residence in Hallaç, Cappadocia. Redrawn from Rodley 1985



Carpets and wall hangings were not uncommon, and a taste for Islamic ornamentation was sometimes evident.⁴⁶

The contents of the houses were relatively rudimentary, except for those of the upper class. Simpler residences had rubble or wooden benches permanently fixed against the walls for sitting and sleeping. Only the wealthy had movable furniture, such as tables, chairs, and frame beds. Meals were taken while seated; they were served from common dishes and were eaten with the hands (the upper class had cutlery). Only at ceremonial banquets did diners recline on couches in the antique manner. Bedding, particularly if it was of silk, was often one of the most valuable items in the home. Chests provided storage for household objects, and storerooms were equipped with *pitthoi* and amphorae (large ceramic jars for the storage of foodstuffs and liquids). Jewelry and other luxury

items were kept in small ivory boxes. Legal documents also mention bathing equipment, kitchenware and serving dishes, garments, and icons among household possessions. Books were luxury items, available only to the well-to-do, but surprisingly they are mentioned in wills more often than weapons, which rarely appear.⁴⁷

On almost every level, from urban design to home furnishings, evidence of Byzantine daily life is fragmentary. But the everyday was never the major concern in a society where the physical and the spiritual were intertwined. Salvation was attained through good deeds, not great mansions. As the statesman and scholar Theodore Metochites noted in his praise of Nicaea's poorhouses and hospitals, "It is not so much the external appearance of the buildings that is to be commended as the display of compassion, the *philanthropeia*."⁴⁸



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137. Relief Tondo with a Byzantine Emperor

Byzantine (Constantinople), probably 12th century
Marble, probably Aphrodisian (Asia Minor)
DIAM. 90 cm (35½ in.)

CONDITION: The stone is a reused ancient piece, possibly from a column, column base, or plinth; there is a diagonal break from the upper right to the lower left, as well as a vertical break to the right; the face has suffered losses; conservation analysis in 1984 revealed traces of pigment on 2 percent of the surface area, dating from perhaps two or more phases of painting, the dates of which are not ascertainable.¹

PROVENANCE: Taken from Constantinople to the Veneto, 1204(?); acquired by Prince Karl Friedrich Alexander of Prussia before 1860, most likely in the Veneto region; by 1860 in the Klosterhof of Prince Karl's

Schloss Glienicke in Potsdam; in the collection of Prince Friedrich Leopold of Prussia; Bliss collection, 1937.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (37.23)

Despite the great number of imperial portraits in various media, there is scant evidence of large-scale sculpted images after the Early Byzantine era. Only two known tondi survive that attest to the continuation of this tradition into the Middle Byzantine period, the present work and a portrait preserved in Venice.² Here, standing on an oval suppedaneum, the emperor wears a long-sleeved tunic (*divetesion*) and the imperial *loros*, chlamys, and crown;³ in his right

hand he supports the labarum, and with his left holds a *globus cruciger*. The radiating rosette background has been associated by Henry Maguire with the popular literary image of the emperor as the sun.⁴

The sculpture's original function is unknown. It could have been designed for either public or private display, perhaps even in the imperial palace of Constantinople.⁵ Its similarity to twelfth-century imperial coinage is striking, and while John II Komnenos (co-rulership 1092–1118) has been suggested as the possible emperor depicted, a specific identification should be considered with

caution, given the abstract nature of numismatic portraiture and the subjectivity that marks both imperial panegyrics and accounts such as Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*.⁶ It has also been proposed that the two imperial tondi formed a symmetrical composition around a central saint or Christ figure,⁷ but it is equally possible that the two were part of one or two separate imperial or dynastic sculpture groups. Mid-twelfth-century portrait groups of the Komnenian dynasty, displayed on a palace exterior, are mentioned in thirteenth-century poetry,⁸ and a series of haloed imperial busts, resembling the tondi in format, appears in a Late Byzantine copy of the History of John Zonaras.⁹ ST B

1. Vikan 1995, p. 104.
2. Rizzi 1987, p. 513. A stone sculpture in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, inv. no. 4207 (Firatli 1990, pp. 40–41), variously identified as an emperor or an archangel, may constitute a third example.
3. Vikan 1995, p. 104.
4. See Maguire essay in the present volume.
5. Magdalino and Nelson 1982, pp. 135, 152.
6. Vikan 1995, pp. 104–8.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 105–7; Magdalino and Nelson 1982, pp. 140–42.
8. Poem from Codex gr. Z. 524, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice. Magdalino and Nelson 1982, pp. 135–37; see also pp. 146–47.
9. Codex gr. 122 (a.S. 5.5), Biblioteca Estense, Modena (formerly Milutin III D, S. 14). Spatharakis 1976, pp. 172–83.

LITERATURE: Peirce and Tyler, *Three Byzantine Works*, 1941, pp. 3–9; Weitzmann 1943, pp. 163–64; Magdalino and Nelson 1982, pp. 152–83; Vikan 1995, pp. 104–8.

138. Ivory with Christ Flanked by Disciples (front) and the Archangel Gabriel with the Virgin Crowning Leo VI (back)

Byzantine (Constantinople), 886–912
Ivory
10.3 × 10 × 2 cm (4 × 4 × ¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front, KE EN TH ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙ COY EYΦΡΑΝΘHCET ΛEΩN O BAC; on the back, KAI EΠH TΩ CΩTHPIΩ COY AΓAΛΛIACETAI CΦOΔPA (Lord, in your power the emperor Leo will rejoice and in your salvation he will exult exceedingly; cf. Ps. 20:2 [21:1]); on the front lintel, + AITAI C ΦOITHTΩN XPICT [H]ΓOY CΩ ΔOYΛΩ (By the prayers of the disciples, Christ, go before your servant); on the back lintel, + ENTEINON K KATEYΘAΔOY K BACIAEYE ΛEΩN ANAΞ (Strive, prosper, and reign, Lord Leo; cf. Ps. 44:5 [45:4])

CONDITION: There are losses from the frames around the figures on both front and back and from the scepters of Leo and Gabriel on the back; the leaves at the upper corners are broken off.



138. Front



138. Back

PROVENANCE: Purchased in Chios in 1892. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin, Germany (2006)

This important but enigmatic ivory has yet to yield all its secrets. There is now a scholarly consensus that the “Emperor Leo” referred to in the inscriptions is Leo VI the Wise

(r. 886–912)¹ rather than the Iconoclast emperor Leo V the Armenian (r. 813–20), as proposed by Kurt Weitzmann.² However, there is no agreement about the original function of the ivory; holes drilled in its base and in its two acanthus acroteria suggest that at some stages of its career it either served as an attachment or had other objects attached to it.³ But whether it was the tip of a scepter,⁴ a

grip on the lid of a casket containing a crown,⁵ or some other object connected with imperial ceremonial cannot today be determined.

The figures on the ivory, which are shown half length and identified by flanking names, are enclosed in an elaborate frame of four columns at the corners, supporting lintels on which there are inscriptions. On both the front and the back large arches, also carved with inscriptions, rise from the columns. Each of the arches encloses a tall, shell-headed niche with three windows flanked by two smaller shell-headed niches without windows. This frame has been compared with the interior architecture of the east end of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople—that is, the ivory appears to suggest the great eastern arch that supports the dome, and beneath it the semidome of the central apse with its upper tier of three windows, flanked by the two semidomes of the lateral niches.⁶ On the front of the ivory is Christ, beneath his invocation inscribed in the lintel,⁷ with Saint Paul on the left and Saint Peter on the right (the “disciples” mentioned in the inscription). Between the columns on the narrow sides of the object appear two doctor saints, Kosmas on the left and Damianos on the right, each carrying a medicine box in his left hand and a surgical instrument in his right.

The scene on the back depicts the Virgin, who does not so much crown Leo as add to his diadem a jewel, which she holds between the thumb and forefinger of her right hand.⁸ This action refers to Psalm 20:4 (21:3), “You set a crown of fine gold on his head,” which follows Psalm 20:2 (21:1), quoted in the inscription on the front and back arches.⁹ In Byzantine oratory the gemstones of the emperor’s regalia were associated with his wisdom and piety.¹⁰ On the other side of the Virgin is portrayed Gabriel, who echoes the emperor in dress and pose. Each of them wears the long jeweled *loros*, or scarf, carries an orb in the left hand, and holds a staff at the same angle across the right shoulder. This association of the emperor with the angels, as a colleague at the heavenly court, follows a convention of imperial panegyric that gained currency during the Macedonian period.¹¹ Thus the images and inscriptions on the ivory are both a statement of Leo’s divinely sanctioned political power and a prayer for his reception into the mansions of heaven.

H M

1. Corrigan 1978, p. 407; Wessel 1978, vol. 3, cols. 391–92; Schminck 1985, p. 231 n. 139; Arnulf 1990, pp. 74–75; Cutler 1994, pp. 200, 277 n. 56.
2. Weitzmann, “Ivory Sculpture,” 1971, pp. 10–11.
3. Arnulf 1990, pp. 70–72; Cutler 1994, p. 200.
4. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, p. 52, no. 88; Corrigan 1978, p. 407.
5. Cutler 1994, pp. 200–201.

6. Corrigan 1978, p. 413; H. Maguire, “Heavenly Court” (forthcoming).

7. Cutler 1994, p. 138.

8. Arnulf 1990, p. 82.

9. Corrigan 1978, p. 409.

10. Arnulf 1990, p. 83. See also the essay “Images of the Court” in this volume.

11. H. Maguire 1995, pp. 65–69; H. Maguire, “Heavenly Court” (forthcoming).

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, pp. 52–53, no. 88, pl. 35; Weitzmann, “Ivory Sculpture,” 1971, pp. 10–11, pl. 14; Corrigan 1978; Wessel 1978, vol. 3, cols. 391–92; Schminck 1985, p. 231; H. Maguire 1989, p. 223, fig. 13; Arnulf 1990; Cutler 1994, pp. 135, 138, 193, 200–201, 211, 220, 224, 249, fig. 158; H. Maguire (forthcoming), figs. 5, 6.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 67; Munich 1957, no. 18; Edinburgh 1958, no. 59; Athens 1964, no. 81; Brussels 1982, no. Iv. 6.

139. Triptych Wing with a Byzantine Emperor

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 945–75

Ivory

16.4 × 6.5 cm (6½ × 2½ in.)

CONDITION: The corners near the hinges are stained, chipped, and cracked; there is a small loss in the upper-left corner; an insert, probably original, is located in the lower-right corner on the front; a vertical crack runs through the relief; traces of pigment survive.

PROVENANCE: Stroganoff collection, Rome; Arthur Sachs collection.

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (47.11)

The Dumbarton Oaks plaque is the only surviving part of an ivory triptych made about the middle of the tenth century. The curvature at the right side and the socket holes confirm that it was the left wing. Carved on the back is an elegant cross. The nimbed man dressed in imperial costume gestures toward what would have been the major scene on the triptych, that of its center panel. Because the inscription written on the background has been rubbed away, the figure’s identity must be a matter for conjecture. One of two possibilities is that the emperor is Constantine the Great. Constantine was one of the few saints represented by the Byzantines in imperial regalia. The identification can also be supported by a plausible reconstruction of the entire triptych that would have the Crucifixion at the center and Constantine’s sainted mother, Helena, on the opposite leaf. The Crucifixion was one of the most popular devotional themes for ivory carvers, and the combination of Constantine



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and Helena with this subject or with a plain cross is well known from Byzantine enamel work and ivory carving of the Middle Ages (see cat. nos. 40, 301). During his lifetime Constantine the Great was represented beardless, as he was depicted in the late-tenth- or early-eleventh-century mosaic over the south door leading into Hagia Sophia.¹ More often, though, the Byzantines showed Constantine with a trim beard, usually shorter than that of the emperor on the plaque.

The second possibility, and one that cannot be ruled out by the nimbus, is that the carver depicted a contemporary ruler venerating the subject of the lost center panel. The portrait type suggests either Leo VI (r. 886–912; see cat. nos. 138, 147C) or his son, Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945–59; see cat. nos. 140, 147D), both of whom were represented with beards like that of the figure on the ivory; the imperial regalia tends to favor Constantine VII over Leo VI. Kurt Weitzmann has suggested

that the plaque was intended to portray Constantine VII in the guise of Saint Constantine the Great.² The Romans had made double portraits—Augustus as Jupiter, Commodus as Herakles, for example—but it remains uncertain whether the Byzantines continued or revived this ancient tradition in a christianized form in their visual arts.

JCA

1. Whittemore 1936, pl. XII.
2. Weitzmann 1972, pp. 59–60.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 47, pls. XXIX, LXIII; Weitzmann 1972, pp. 58–60, pls. 5, XXXVI; Cutler 1985, pp. 31–32, fig. 30.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore 1947, no. 148; Athens 1964, no. 90.

140. Plaque Fragment with Christ Crowning Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos Emperor

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-10th century
Ivory
18.6 × 9.5 cm (7¼ × 3¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: At the top and below the emperor's left hand, ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΕΝ Θ[Ε]Ω ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ (Constantine in Christ Emperor and Basileus of the Romans); on either side of Christ's head, ΙC ΧC (Jesus Christ)

CONDITION: The ivory has cracked and split, resulting in the loss of its bottom and side borders; the surface has darkened, possibly as a result of varnishing.

PROVENANCE: Ējmiatsin, Armenia; Uvarov collection; History Museum, Moscow, 1932.

State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Russian Federation (II 2 b 329)

Under a baldachin, once supported by columns, the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (r. 945–59) is represented being proclaimed emperor by Christ. The identification of the emperor Constantine named in the inscription is based on the unmistakable portrait of Constantine VII known from his coinage. Constantine became sole ruler of Byzantium in 945, and this scene confirms and commemorates his accession to the throne. Christ is standing frontally in contrapposto on a footstool that elevates him above the emperor. In his left hand he holds a scroll and with his extended right hand he touches the emperor's crown. His head is slightly turned toward Constantine, who bows before Christ, holding both hands in a position of prayer and adoration. This image



of the emperor shows him in all humility. Except for his crown and *loros*, he has no imperial attributes, not even the commonly shown halo. The inscription, however, in spelling out his full titles, states his rightful and legitimate claim to the Byzantine throne, which he was deprived of for thirty years.

Iconographically this scene is one of the best-known imperial images of Byzantium, although it was not developed until the ninth century, beginning with Emperor Basil I (r. 867–86), the founder of the Macedonian dynasty. The composition confirms in visual terms what is uttered in ceremonial acclamations. In *De ceremoniis* we read, for example, that on the feast of the Epiphany, when Christ's baptism was celebrated, the most graphic acclamation chanted by the Green faction to the emperor returning from Hagia Sophia was: "He who today was baptized through the hand of the Prodomos [the Precursor] proclaims you today emperor with his awesome hand and points you out as worthy throughout the universe." These words draw on the image of Christ's baptism: as John's hand had baptized Christ, so now Christ's hand presents the emperor, confirming his divine selection. Not only visually but also symbolically and ideologically the parallel between Christ's baptism and the imperial proclamation is made manifest.

The plaque was most likely produced as a commemorative gift at the time of Constantine VII's accession, following an established tradition whereby appropriate images of the donor were handed out on such occasions to friends and high officials. Best known in this category of objects are the ivory consular diptychs and the Missorium of Theodosios I from the Early Christian period. I K

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 35; Bank 1977, pl. 122; Kalavrezou 1996.

EXHIBITION: Moscow 1977, vol. 2, p. 96.

141. Casket with Emperors and Hunters

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th or 11th century
Ivory, pigment, and silver
13.4 × 26.4 × 13 cm (5¼ × 10¾ × 5½ in.)

CONDITION: There are cracks in the lid and end panels.

PROVENANCE: Said to have been brought from Constantinople to Troyes by Jean Langlois, chaplain to Cramier de Traisnel, bishop of Troyes, after the sack of 1204.

Trésor de la Cathédrale de Troyes, Troyes, France

The Troyes casket is a precious statement of Byzantine imperial ideology. Its very construction suggests patronage at the highest level of society, for the ivory panels are not affixed to a wooden core, as was usually the case, but themselves make up the sides, lid, and base, having originally been held together at their beveled edges by means of ivory pegs. In their style of carving the ivories belong to the so-called Romanos Group, which is named after a famous panel, now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, showing Christ crowning an emperor and

empress labeled as Romanos and Eudokia. Since there were two Byzantine rulers named Romanos who married women named Eudokia, the ivory in Paris has been dated either to 945–49, during the life of Romanos II,¹ or between 1068 and 1071, in the reign of Romanos IV Diogenes.² The casket strongly resembles the Romanos ivory in the carving of the faces and crowns of the emperors portrayed on the lid.³ Furthermore, some details on the front and back of the box, such as the lion, the boar, the dogs, and the oak tree, can be compared in their naturalism with the frieze of animals and plants at the foot of the cross on the back of the Harbaville Triptych in the Louvre, another member of the Romanos Group (cat. no. 80). Even the trunk of the oak tree, with its triangular hollows providing shelter for small animals, finds an echo in this triptych.

The lid shows two emperors on horseback in almost symmetrical poses, flanking a walled city. The horses are richly caparisoned with jeweled bands, while the riders wear armor and crowns with long pearly pendants. At the open gates of the town, its personification,



141. Back



141. Lid



141. Front

a woman with a mural headdress, offers a crown, apparently to the emperor on the right. On the battlements of the city and in the doors of the buildings, citizens acclaim the emperors with outstretched arms. The image raises several problems. Are two different emperors represented, or is one emperor repeated twice, “for decorative reasons”?⁴ One detail argues for the portrayal of two rulers: the poses of the riders are not completely symmetrical, as they would be,

for example, in the bilateral design of a drawloom silk: the head of the horseman on the right, who is in the more honorific pose, is completely frontal, while that of the other is turned to the left.

The imagery of the lid closely matches written descriptions of the *adventus*, the ceremony in which the emperor was received in a town or city after a victorious military campaign. According to a description of the *adventus* of Basil I after an eastern expedition

in 878, the emperor and his son Constantine approached the Golden Gate in the walls of Constantinople on “white horses equipped with gem-encrusted caparisons.” The emperor wore an imperial diadem and a “gold-embroidered breastplate-tunic,” while his heir wore golden greaves and held a gilded spear. When they came to the gate, the emperor was presented with a golden crown by the eparch of the city before he entered and processed through the capital to the Great Church of



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Hagia Sophia.⁵ The image on the lid does not present a narrative of the event, with movement linked in space and time, so much as a symbolic tableau in front of the city. The emperors should not be visualized as departing from the walls, but as facing the viewer in a hieratic composition, with the more senior ruler on the right, in the more frontal pose, and with the junior partner on the left. A parallel method of composition can be seen in frontal portrayals of chariots, such as the ivory from Darmstadt showing the Ascension of Alexander (cat. no. 151). There the two griffins drawing the vehicle are shown in profile, flying to either side, even though the royal rider is facing the viewer. The city, with its personification and its gesturing citizens, is depicted as the locus of the ceremonial, not at one point in time but at different phases: first the proffering of the crown at the gate, and then the progress of the procession inside the city, where the inhabitants appear at their doorways to acclaim their triumphant rulers, as described in the Byzantine texts.⁶

The front and back of the box bear scenes of the hunt, which in imperial panegyric was evoked as a metaphor for imperial victory.⁷ On the front two horsemen attack a lion; their symmetrical poses on outward-facing steeds parallel those of the two emperors flanking the city on the lid. The rider on the left wears a crested *toupha*, the ceremonial helmet worn by the emperor at Byzantine triumphs.⁸ On the back of the casket is carved a boar hunt remarkable for its naturalism. The tree that rises behind the beast, with its carefully depicted acorns, is explained by a passage from an encomium of the oak tree written by the tenth-century rhetorician John Geometres: "The oak is able to feed not only domestic but also wild boars, from which and against which comes all the strength of the hunt, the daring, the skill and the practice [directed] against the enemy."⁹

The two ends of the casket are remarkable in another way, for they provide one of the few incontrovertible examples of Chinese influence on the art of Byzantium. Each ivory depicts a scrolling plant that frames a bird with a long, undulating neck, a tall crest, and a long, upward-curving wing and tail. This creature bears a striking resemblance to the phoenixes portrayed on Chinese silks, dishes, and mirrors.¹⁰ Even here there may be a political message, for the imperial panegyrics were rich with horticultural imagery conveying the ideas of flourishing growth and renewal,¹¹ while the imitation of exotic imports was a form of cultural appropriation also expressive of Byzantine power.

1. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, pp. 232–33; Cutler 1995, pp. 605–10.
2. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1977, pp. 305–25.
3. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, p. 63, no. 122; Cutler 1994, p. 207.
4. A. Grabar 1936, p. 50; A. Grabar, *L'Art de la fin de l'Antiquité*, 1968, vol. 1, p. 222; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 258.
5. Haldon, *Three Treatises*, 1990, pp. 142–44. Compare *ibid.*, pp. 148–50 (triumph of Theophilos); Van Dieten 1975, p. 108 (triumphal entry of Manuel I into Antioch).
6. Hörandner 1974, p. 223.
7. Patlagean 1992, pp. 257–63; H. Maguire, "Imperial Gardens," 1994, pp. 191–93, 197.
8. *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 2100; Hunger 1990, p. 30.
9. Littlewood 1972, pp. 4–5.
10. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, p. 63, fig. 37; H. Maguire 1994, pp. 194–97, fig. 6.
11. H. Maguire, "Imperial Gardens," 1994, pp. 189–91.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, p. 63, no. 122, pls. 69, 70; A. Grabar 1936, pp. 50–51, pl. 10; A. Grabar, *L'Art de la fin de l'Antiquité*, 1968, vol. 1, p. 222, pl. 35; A. Grabar, "Rayonnement," 1971, p. 696, pl. 22; Cutler 1994, p. 207; H. Maguire, "Imperial Gardens," 1994, pp. 193–97, figs. 4–8.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 75; Edinburgh 1958, no. 135; Athens 1964, no. 52; Paris 1965, no. 172; Brussels 1982, no. Iv. 23; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 168, pp. 258–59.

142. Psalter

Byzantine (Constantinople?), 1058–59
Tempera on vellum; 63 gatherings, most of which are quaternions; bound together in 2 vols. (31 gatherings in vol. 1, 32 gatherings in vol. 2); 221 illustrations
33 × 27 cm (13 × 10⁵/₁₆ in.)

INSCRIBED: Multiple inscriptions; see De Wald 1942

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in the Monastery of the Virgin Pantanassa (perhaps in Mistra, in the Peloponnesos, Greece); entered the Vatican's collections in the fifteenth century (first inventoried in 1475).

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
(Vat. gr. 752)



142. The Dance of Miriam and the Israelite Women, fol. 449v

This unusual psalter contains not only the psalter text proper but also a catena, and for each psalm it has at least one illustration. It also has at the beginning a series of miniatures of the life of David, which accompany the paschal tables, and from folio 3 to folio 16v there are illustrated prefaces taken from various commentaries on the Psalms by Church Fathers. With its over two hundred miniatures it is one of the few richly illuminated codices of the Middle Byzantine period. Its paschal tables establish 1058–59 as the date of its production, a few years after the schism of the Eastern and Western Churches in 1054. Recent research has shown that an independent story is encoded within the biblical narrative that is ostensibly the subject of the illustrations. These also address contemporary issues and events involving Church and state by means of figures from the Old and New Testaments and from Christian history.

One of the most revealing of such images is the full-page illustration of the Canticle of Moses, sung after the Crossing of the Red Sea. It is immediately clear that the circular arrangement of dancing women is an unusual image. Traditionally this canticle is illustrated with the Crossing of the Red Sea and Miriam, the sister of Moses, leading the Israelites as she dances, sometimes followed by other women, at the head of the group. Here Miriam, identified by the inscription above her head, and thirteen other women are represented dancing in a flattened circle, holding each other at the shoulders as Greek dancers do today. Their long, colorful silk brocade dresses with elaborate designs are of the type worn at court in the eleventh century; many are patterned in a style familiar from surviving examples. They have long, pointed sleeves, a sign of aristocratic dress, and sashes around the waist trailing almost to the ground, which float away from the body as the women bend to do the crossing step. Each dancer wears a large hat extending to either side of her head.

A long inscription runs around the circle, between the heads of the dancers. It is composed partly of the last words of Exodus 15:20–21—where we are told that Miriam was followed by all the women, who danced and played tambourines, and she sang to them: “Sing to the Lord, for he has triumphed gloriously; horse and rider [Pharaoh] he has thrown into the sea”—and partly of short phrases taken from the canticle itself.

Within the circle made by the dancing women, set against a gold background, there are eight musicians who play a variety of instruments: a flute, a viol, a drum, cymbals, a tuba, a small and a large harp. These figures are part of the choruses of musician-prophets

who often surround David and assist in composing the Psalms. An inscription that runs at the feet of the women makes reference to them.

On the one hand, therefore, this illustration represents David’s musicians, with Miriam and the Israelite women, celebrating the victory over Pharaoh—all part of the Bible narrative. On the other hand, the type of round dance shown, the women’s attire, and the instruments played are features of Constantinopolitan life in the eleventh century.

We do not know exactly how to understand the secondary meaning of this image. Clearly it has a celebratory purpose, possibly referring to a specific victory that now escapes us. What is evident, however, is the immediacy that it must have had for a Byzantine viewer at the time it was painted. To find such an anomalous image in a psalter would surely have aroused curiosity and perhaps drawn attention to the other illustrations and the message that they were intended to convey.

I K

LITERATURE: De Wald 1942, pp. 41–42, pl. LIV; Kalavrezou et al. 1993.

143. The Homilies of John Chrysostom

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1071–81
Tempera and gold on vellum; 324 fols.
42.5 × 31 cm (16¾ × 12¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: ΩC ΦΩCΦΟΡΟΝ ΦΕΡΕΙC
ΕΛΑΜΠΟΝΤΑ ΘΡΟΝΟΝ/ΤΑΙC ΑΡΕΤΑΙC ΜΑΛΙCΤΑ
ΚΑΤΕCΤΕΜΜΕΝΟΝ/ΠΑΡΙCΤΑΤΑΙ CΟΙ
ΠΙCΤΟΤΑΤΩΝ ΑΚΡΟΤΗC/ΑΝΔΡΕC ΛΟΓΑΔΕC
ΕΥΓΕΝΕΙC ΨΥΧΗΝ ΠΛΕΟΝ/ΠΑΗΝ ΤΩ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΙ
CΥΜΠΑΘΗC ΕΛΘΟΙC ΑΝΑΞ/ΠΙCΤΗΝ ΦΕΡΕΙ ΓΑΡ
ΕΙC ΤΟ CΟΝ ΠΛΑΙCΤΗΝ ΚΡΑΤΟC

(You hold the throne, which shines like the morning star, / Wreathed above all with the virtues. / Beside you stands the pinnacle of those who are most loyal to you, / Chosen men, moreover noble in their soul. / But, O king, may you show sympathy to the scribe. / For he brings the utmost loyalty to your sovereignty.)

CONDITION: The miniature displays some abrasions and loss of paint, especially on the costume of the *protoproedros*.

PROVENANCE: In the library of Chancellor Seguier (d. 1672); bequeathed by his son Henri-Charles, duke of Coislin and bishop of Metz, to the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris, in 1731; transferred to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1795.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, France
(Ms. Coislin 79)

One of four introductory miniatures that preface a copy of the Homilies of John Chrysostom, folio 2r shows a Byzantine emperor sitting on an elaborate throne, behind which appear the two imperial virtues of Truth and Justice, each identified by an inscription. Below stand four high court officials. Reading

from left to right they are: “the *proedros* and *epi tou kanikleiou*,” “the *protoproedros* and *protoves-tiarios*,” “the *proedros* and *dekanos*,” and “the *proedros* and *me-gas primikerios*.”¹ The other side of the folio shows the same emperor standing between the archangel Michael and Saint John Chrysostom, who offers a book of his homilies to the ruler; at the emperor’s feet is a small kneeling figure, either the scribe or the painter of the manuscript.² The other two prefatory miniatures are on folio 2 bis. On the front appears another portrait of the emperor, who sits on a high throne while he listens to a monk identified as Sabas. The latter stands before him expounding the text of the homilies from an open book supported on a lectern (see illus. on p. 82). On the back of the folio is a double standing portrait of the emperor and his empress, crowned by a half-length figure of Christ emerging from the golden background (see illus. on p. 182).

The history of these illuminations is somewhat complicated. It appears that originally three paintings were created, all depicting Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071–78): the emperor and his courtiers (fol. 2r), the emperor with John Chrysostom and the archangel (fol. 2v), and the emperor with his Georgian spouse, Maria of Alania (fol. 2 bis v). After Michael had abdicated, the miniatures were reused—cut out of their original folios, which probably contained texts referring to Michael by name, and pasted into new parchment frames. At the same time the face of the emperor was retouched slightly to make him appear older, especially through the lengthening of his beard, and the inscriptions were changed so that he was now identified as the successor of Michael VII, namely Nikephoros III Botaneiates (r. 1078–81). Because Nikephoros III also married Maria of Alania, her features were left untouched. Finally, a new dedication miniature was painted on the front of folio 2 bis (which had previously been blank) showing the monk Sabas before Nikephoros III. Laudatory verses were inscribed on the frames of the newly prepared miniatures, and these were inserted into the homilies for presentation to the new emperor.³ This procedure of “updating” an older imperial image through interventions in the faces and inscriptions was not unique; similar alterations had been made to the well-known mosaic of Constantine IX Monomachos and Zoe in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, which had earlier depicted the same empress together with her first husband, the emperor Romanos III.⁴

The miniatures are justly famous as luminous diagrams of imperial power. Folio 2 bis v shows the derivation of the emperor’s authority from God, while folio 2r shows the

ΘΣ ΦΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΦΕΒΕΙΣ ΕΛΛΗΠΙΟΝ ΤΑΘΥΝ
ΠΑΡΙΓΑΤΑ ΣΟΠΙΤΟΙ ΑΤΩΝ ΑΚΡΟΤΗΣ
ΠΛΗΝ ΤΩ ΠΑΦΟΝ ΤΙΣΥΝ ΠΑΘΕΛΘΙΣ

ΤΗΣ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΜΑΛΙΤΑΚΑ ΤΕ ΤΟΜΜΕΝΟΝ
ΑΝΔΡΕΣ ΛΟΓΑ ΔΕ ΣΕΙΤΟΝΕΙΣ ΨΥΧΗΝ ΠΑΕ
ΠΙΤΗΝ ΦΕΒΕΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΣΟΝ ΠΛΕΙΤΗΝ ΚΡΕ



143. Emperor Nikephoros III Botaniates and Courtiers, fol. 2r



144. Emperor John II Komnenos and His Son Alexios, fol. 10v

emperor as the light that shines upon the high officials of his court, who turn their faces, like four sunflowers, toward him. A contemporary courtier, Michael Psellos, expressed the relationship of God, emperor, and subjects in a similar way: “What the creator is in relation to you, this you may be in relation to us.”⁵

H M

1. Spatharakis 1976, p. 110.
2. Dumitrescu 1987, p. 42.
3. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 112–16; Dumitrescu 1987.
4. Kalavrezou 1994, pp. 249–51.
5. Kurtz 1936–41, vol. 1, p. 31; see H. Maguire 1989, p. 228.

LITERATURE: Omont 1929, pp. 32–34, pls. 61–64; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 107–18, figs. 69–76; Spatharakis 1981, no. 94, pls. 173–76; Dumitrescu 1987, figs. 1–4; H. Maguire 1989, pp. 221–28, figs. 7, 8; Kalavrezou 1994, pp. 249–51, fig. 8; H. Maguire, “Heavenly Court” (forthcoming), figs. 3, 4.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 664; Paris 1958, no. 29; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, pp. 360–61, no. 271.

144. The Gospels of John II Komnenos

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1128
Tempera and gold on vellum; 325 fols.
18.5 × 12 cm (7¼ × 4¾ in.)

PROVENANCE: In the possession of Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino (1464–82); remained in the possession of the dukes of Urbino until 1657, when the library was acquired by the Vatican.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Urb. gr. 2)

This copy of the Four Gospels contains a double portrait of Emperor John II Komnenos (r. 1118–43) and his son and heir to the throne, Alexios, who died before his father in a hunting accident. Using the common visual formula of the enthroned Christ bestowing the crowns, the artist expresses the Byzantine belief in the divine origin of imperial power. Flanking Christ are personifications of Charity, at the left above John, and Justice, at the right above Alexios. Delicately painted on a chalky white ground, the faces of the emperor and

his son differ from all the others in the manuscript, a departure from convention which suggests that the artist attempted to capture the actual appearance of John and Alexios.

The manuscript is notably smaller than most others with imperial portraits (see, for example, cat. no. 143), perhaps because it was intended for devotional use by Alexios or another family member. Bound at the start of each Gospel is a full-page devotional image: Christ’s birth (Matthew) and baptism (Mark), the birth and naming of John the Baptist (Luke), and the Anastasis (John). Although the addition of icons to portable copies of the Gospels had become popular in the mid-eleventh century, the examples in the Gospels of John II stand apart from others on two counts: the lavish use of gold and the thick layers of pigment give the miniatures an especially rich appearance, and an affinity with Byzantine illumination of the tenth century lends a pronounced naturalism.

Both these characteristics may have been viewed as appropriately imperial.

The Gospel book had a privileged place in the library of Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, who no doubt saw his own power reflected in the ownership of a book once read by the Byzantine emperor.

J C A

LITERATURE: Stornajolo 1895, pp. 3–8; Stornajolo 1910, p. 93, pls. 83–91; Canart and Peri 1970, p. 329; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 79–83; Weyl-Carr 1980, p. 134; Buonocore 1986, p. 713; Ceresa 1991, p. 288; Anderson, “Past Reanimated,” 1995, pp. 319–24.

EXHIBITIONS: Vatican City 1975, no. 184; Ravenna 1990, no. 94; Cologne 1992, no. 24.

145. Enamel Plaques and Medallions: “The Crown of Constantine IX Monomachos”

Byzantine, 1042–50
Gold and cloisonné enamel

- A. 11.5 × 5 cm (4½ × 2 in.)
- B. 10.5 × 4.8 cm (4½ × 1⅞ in.)
- C. 10.7 × 4.8 cm (4¼ × 1⅞ in.)
- D. 10 × 4.5 cm (4 × 1¾ in.)
- E. 9.8 × 4.5 cm (3¾ × 1¾ in.)
- F. and G. 8.7 × 4.2 cm (3¾ × 1⅞ in.)

INSCRIBED: A) ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟC ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ ΜΟΝΟΜΑΧΟC (Constantine Monomachos, *autokrator* of the Romans); B) ΖΩΗ ΟΙ ΕΥΧΑΙΒΑΙCΤΑΤΗ ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΑ (Zoe, the most pious *augusta*); C) ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ Η ΕΥΧΑΙΒΕCΤΑΤΙ ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΑ (Theodora, the most pious *augusta*); F) Η ΑΛΙΘΗΑ (Truth); G) Η ΤΑΠΙΝΟCΙC (Humility); Η) Ο Α ΠΕΤΡΟC (Saint Peter); Ι) Ο Α ΑΝΔΡΕΑC (Saint Andrew)

CONDITION: There are losses of enamel on all the plaques.

PROVENANCE: Reportedly found during plowing at the village of Nyitra-Ivánka in Slovakia; sold to the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum between 1861 and 1870.¹

Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, Hungary (99/1860)

That the seven arched plaques were made to be sewn onto a cloth or leather backing is suggested by the small, irregularly spaced holes drilled into the narrow strips soldered around the backs of the enamels just inside their edges. Because the holes are not set at the same levels on plaques of the same size, they could not have been intended for joining the plaques together by means of hooks or wires. Nor is it likely that the holes at the bottoms of the plaques were designed for attaching pendent pearls and jewels, as they are not noticeably more torn or bent out of shape than the holes at the sides.² Arabic sources speak of Byzantine belts of cloth

encrusted with gold and enamel plaques.³ A similar use must be envisaged for these objects, although the arched tops suggest that they were intended for a diadem of some kind rather than for a belt. A parallel is provided by five tenth-century enamel plaques found at Preslav, Bulgaria, which are decorated with the Ascension of Alexander and with fabulous beasts; these also have arched tops and are perforated by small holes at their edges for sewing.⁴

The two medallions with Saints Peter and Andrew, which were reportedly found together with the seven arched plaques, were originally attached by a different method and probably came from another object. Each medallion is pierced by four nail holes, which, because they damage the inscriptions, likely represent a subsequent use. In addition, the colors of the medallions are slightly different from those of the plaques, especially in the flesh tints, which are darker.

The tallest plaque shows an emperor dressed in full imperial regalia. The upper part of his body is flanked by an inscription identifying him as “Constantine Monomachos, *autokrator* of the Romans”; the lower part is framed by vine scrolls in which are perched six colorful birds. Next in order of height are four enamels, two of which portray empresses, and two, dancers. Inscriptions identify the empresses as “Zoe, the most pious *augusta*” (the wife of Constantine IX), and her sister, “Theodora, the most pious *augusta*.” Standing stiffly in full regalia, they are framed by lush vine scrolls with birds. Vines and birds also surround the two dancers, each of whom kicks one leg behind her and holds a long, billowing scarf over her head. The two smallest plaques depict the virtues of Truth and Humility, each personification flanked by two cypress trees, each with two birds in its branches. The inscriptions contain many faults of orthography, a feature shared with the Byzantine enamel of Irene Komnene on the Pala d’Oro in Venice.⁵

Byzantine parallels can be found for most of the apparent anomalies in the imperial costumes.⁶ A parallel for the form of the female crowns, with small “toothed” projections at the top, is provided by the portrait of Constantine IX between Zoe and Theodora that appears in a contemporary manuscript at Mount Sinai (Ms. 364, fol. 3r).⁷ Although it has been claimed that on the enamels Theodora’s crown is surmounted by a little cross, whereas those of Constantine and Zoe are not,⁸ in fact none of the crowns bears a cross, so there is no breach of protocol. Theodora’s crown is topped only by a rounded finial. The form of the *pendoulia*, or hanging ornaments, of all three crowns, which make a

curve following the shape of the hair rather than falling straight down, can be matched in the enamel medallions depicting mounted imperial falconers that are now on the Pala d’Oro.⁹ The arrangement of the imperial garments worn by the women also finds parallels in other Byzantine works. The miniatures of the nearly contemporaneous Theodore Psalter (cat. no. 53), illuminated in Constantinople in 1066, provide parallels for the single long sleeve and the underside of the *loros*, framed by a clear border as a “shield” enclosing a cross. The same manuscript contains examples of the “shields” with their points arranged on both the left and right sides of the body.¹⁰

Considerable discussion has been devoted to the directions in which the imperial figures turn their eyes.¹¹ Because Constantine looks to his left, it has been proposed that originally there must have been a plaque with Christ, the emperor’s suzerain, toward whom the emperor would have been turning his glance. Zoe, who also looks to her left, would have been placed at Constantine’s right, so that she would be looking at him. And Theodora, who looks to her right, would have been placed at the emperor’s left. It would appear, however, that the Byzantines were not always as consistent as modern scholars in following the logic of the gaze. In the miniature at Sinai, Zoe, standing at Constantine’s right, looks to her right, *away* from her husband.

Parallels for the virtues can also be found in other works of Byzantine art. Truth appears as an imperial virtue flanking the throne of Nikephoros III Botaneiates in the manuscript of John Chrysostom’s homilies in Paris (cat. no. 143). On the enamel she points to her mouth, indicating the source of veracious speech. Although the appearance of Humility is without parallel in surviving Byzantine imperial art,¹² Byzantine writers frequently associated this virtue with emperors and empresses; in the case of the male rulers, humility implied the emperor’s imitation of David and of Christ.¹³ Humility’s pose on the enamel, with the arms folded across the chest, is matched by an illustration of monastic humility (*tapeinophrosyne*) in a twelfth-century copy of *The Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimax, now at Mount Sinai.¹⁴

The poses of the dancers, with their legs kicked out behind them, have generally been associated with Islamic art, but there are also Byzantine parallels.¹⁵ The women have been given a variety of identities by modern scholars, ranging from the Daughters of Jerusalem, dancing in honor of King David after his victory over Goliath,¹⁶ to Skleraina, the celebrated mistress of Constantine IX, performing in the private gardens of the



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145. Detail



145. Detail

palace in Constantinople.¹⁷ Because the women have halos, however, it is probable that they represent neither Old Testament nor contemporary dancers, but rather carry metaphorical connotations associated with the virtues. They can perhaps be interpreted as the chorus of graces, whose circular dance was described by one Byzantine orator as a “ring of praises” in honor of the emperor.¹⁸ Likewise, we can understand the plants, the trees, and the birds as metaphors for imperial virtues. In Byzantine oratory the emperor either creates a garden (his kingdom) or he is himself a bird-filled garden of the virtues,¹⁹ or the imperial virtues are compared to trees.²⁰ Because similar imagery was applied to empresses, it is impossible to determine whether these enamels were intended to be worn by a man or by a woman.²¹

H M



146. Pear-Shaped Pendant from a *Loros*

Byzantine (Constantinople), second half of 11th century
Cloisonné enamel on gold
2.1 × 1.5 cm (7/8 × 5/8 in.)

CONDITION: The green enamel has dulled.

PROVENANCE: Gift of William R. Tyler to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss, 1940.

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (40.69)

The extraordinary intricacy of the finest cloisonné enameling is exemplified by this tiny pear-shaped pendant. It is divided into four ornamented panels by narrow vertical bands of green rectangles bordered by thick gold cloisons. The panels are decorated alternately with red crosslets on white enamel and elaborate red palmettes outlined in white against a cobalt blue background; delineating these interior designs are very fine cloisons. Each panel is subdivided by a horizontal band, identical to the vertical bands, which runs around the widest part of the pendant and outlines four semicircular fields just below, their backgrounds alternately red and blue. Each field encloses a tiny trefoil within a white heart-shaped motif, red trefoils on the blue grounds alternating with blue trefoils on the red. Similar semicircular patterns, outlined by wide cloisons, decorate the bottom of the pendant. A long gold pin with a bead at the bottom and a hook at the top runs through the center of the pendant.

Although this object is sometimes identified as a button,¹ the closest parallel for its shape occurs on imperial costume, specifically the jeweled *loros* worn by the emperor (and by archangels), which had similar pear-shaped

pendants sewn along its edges. Such pendants are found, for example, on the *loroi* of the archangels Michael and Gabriel on the mid-tenth-century Limburg Staurotheke,² on the eleventh-century enamel plaque with the crowning of Emperor Michael VII Doukas in Tbilisi,³ and on the twelfth-century marble roundel of an emperor in Washington, D.C. (cat. no. 137). Although the white color of the enameled examples may suggest pearls, it is equally likely that richly enameled pendants such as this were used as ornaments on imperial and possibly other court costume. As such, this exquisite pendant represents the very highest level of secular ornament and reflects the extraordinary opulence of the Byzantine court.

The existence of several secular enamels closely related in scale and design suggests a common workshop: the tip of a hexagonal scepter formerly in the Stoclet collection (cat. no. 175); a four-sided finial (or scepter tip) now in Princeton;⁴ an enameled lunate-shaped pendant recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. no. 170); the lunate enamel plaques, probably from earrings, mounted on the reliquary cross at Vyšší Brod in the Czech Republic (see illus. on p. 441); and a pair of enameled earrings found in 1984 and now in the Museo Nazionale di Taranto.⁵ This group of enamels is not firmly dated, although their origin in Constantinople is universally accepted and the association with the imperial court, proposed for this pendant, further supports such an origin. Marvin Ross, followed by Klaus Wessel, has suggested an eleventh-century date on the basis of a cloisonné enamel ring in Berlin, similar in its colors and palmette ornament. The ring has recently been redated from the

1. Bárány-Oberschall 1937, p. 49.
2. The backs of the plaques are illustrated in *ibid.*, pls. 3–10.
3. Canard 1964, p. 54.
4. Totev 1993, pp. 20–37, figs. 6–12.
5. Oikonomides, “Couronner,” 1994, p. 249.
6. The anomalies are listed in Oikonomides, “Couronner,” 1994, pp. 247–49, 260.
7. Weitzmann and Galavaris 1990, p. 66, fig. 185.
8. Oikonomides, “Couronner,” 1994, p. 247.
9. Hahnloser and Polacco 1994, p. 65, pl. 57, nos. 148, 149.
10. British Library, Ms. Add. 19352, fols. 130r (Sion) and 167r (Saint Catherine); Rudt de Collenberg 1971, p. 345, figs. 45, 46. See also fol. 44v of the Skylitzes manuscript in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. vitr. 26–2 (imperial women venerate an icon, cat. no. 338); Rudt de Collenberg 1971, fig. 79.
11. Mihalik 1963, p. 223; Kádár 1964, pp. 115–16; Oikonomides, “Couronner,” 1994, pp. 246–47.
12. Oikonomides, “Couronner,” 1994, pp. 252, 255.
13. See, for example, PG, vol. 102, cols. 579B–82A (a poem on Basil I by the patriarch Photios); Vogt and Hausherr 1932, p. 76.22–3 (funeral oration on Basil I by Leo VI); Bones 1941–48, p. 556.23–33 (oration by Euthymios Malakes on Manuel I); Gautier 1972, p. 148.5–6 (eulogy of Irene Doukaina by Michael Italikos).
14. Ms. gr. 418, fol. 197v; J. Martin 1954, p. 98, fig. 207.
15. See, for example, the illustration of the Dance of the Hebrew Women in a psalter at Mount Sinai, Ms. gr. 61, fol. 235v; Cutler 1984, p. 114, fig. 401.
16. Bárány-Oberschall 1937, pp. 75–76.
17. Mihalik 1963, pp. 209–14. This identification was rejected in Wessel 1967, p. 98.
18. Regel 1982, p. 85.6–7 (oration by Eustathios of Thessalonike in honor of Agnes of France, the future bride of Alexios II Komnenos).
19. H. Maguire, “Imperial Gardens,” 1994, pp. 187–97.
20. Hörandner 1974, p. 401.1–24.
21. H. Maguire, “Heavenly Court” (forthcoming).

LITERATURE: Bárány-Oberschall 1937, pls. 1–10; A. Grabar 1951, pp. 42–47, fig. 6; Deér 1955, pp. 433–41, fig. 60a; Mihalik 1963; Kádár 1964; Wessel 1967, pp. 96–104, fig. 32; Drossoyianni 1982, p. 532; Cormack 1992, pp. 231–36, figs. 4, 5; Oikonomides, “Couronner,” 1994, pls. 1–3; Munich, *Artugiden-Schale*, 1995, pp. 46–47, fig. 22; H. Maguire, “Heavenly Court” (forthcoming).

early eleventh century to the second half of that century.⁶ Supporting this later date is the similarity of the intricate ornament on the New York and Washington pendants to that on an icon with the standing figure of Saint Michael in the Cathedral of San Marco, Venice,⁷ for which a date in the second half of the eleventh or the early twelfth century has been proposed.⁸ In view of the redating of both the enamel ring and the Venice icon to the second half of the eleventh century (or a little later), a similar date is likely for this pendant.

S A B

1. M. Ross 1965, p. 103, no. 151. Ross also mentions a larger "button" in the National Museum of the History of Ukraine (unpublished).
2. Rauch 1955, figs. 9, 11, 13, 16, 17, 26.
3. Wessel 1967, p. 115, no. 38.
4. Princeton Art Museum, acc. no. y 1986-69: *Record of the Princeton Art Museum* 46, no. 1 (1987), p. 48 (not illustrated); London 1985, no. 60 and fig.
5. D'Angela 1989, pp. 12, 36, no. 11 and colorpl.
6. Wessel 1967, pp. 163-64, no. 50, fig. 50a-c; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1991-92, pp. 84-85, 131 (no. 21), fig. 72, colorpls. 7.8, 13.3 (with bibliography). A date as early as the mid- to late tenth century has also been proposed (Ciggaar 1984, pp. 182-83), but this seems too early (cat. no. 341c).
7. Wixom 1995, p. 661.
8. There is no agreement regarding this icon's date; suggestions range from the tenth or eleventh century to the twelfth. However, Barbara Boehm (New York and Milan 1984, pp. 171-75, no. 19) presents good arguments for a date in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.

LITERATURE: M. Ross 1965, p. 103, no. 151, pl. LXVIII and colorpl. C, Wessel 1967, pp. 95-96, no. 31; Wixom 1995, pp. 660-61, figs. 4-5.

147. Byzantine Imperial Coinage

A. Gold Solidus of Justinian II

Byzantine (Constantinople), 692-95

Obverse

DIAM. 20 mm (¾ in.); 4.31 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, IHSCRISTDSREX REGNANTIYM (Jesus Christ, king of those who rule)

Bust of Christ Pantokrator facing, bearded, with a cross behind his head, wearing a tunic and himation; he raises his right hand in benediction and holds a Gospel book in the left.

Reverse

INSCRIBED: Around, DIYSTINI AN YS SERYCHRISTI (Our lord Justinian, servant of Christ); beneath, CONOP (Pure gold of Constantinople)

Emperor standing, bearded, wearing a *loros* and a crown with a cross; in his right hand a cross potent on a base and two steps; in his left, an *akakia*.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (1977.158.1095)

B. Gold Solidus of Michael III

Byzantine (Constantinople), 843?-56

Obverse

DIAM. 19 mm (¾ in.); 4.36 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, +IHS⁴IS X³RISTOS* (Jesus Christ)

Bust of Christ facing, bearded, with a cross behind his head, wearing a tunic and himation; he raises his right hand in benediction and holds a Gospel book in the left.

Reverse

DIAM. 19 mm (¾ in.); 4.37 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, +MIXAHL S ΘΘOPA (Michael and Theodora)

Two busts facing. On the left, Michael III, beardless, wearing a chlamys and a crown with a cross; on the right, Theodora, larger, wearing a *loros* and a crown with *pendoulia*, two pinnacles, and a cross. Above, a cross.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (obverse: 1968.131.275; reverse: 1977.158.1148)

C. Gold Solidus of Leo VI

Byzantine (Constantinople), 886-908

Obverse

DIAM. 18 mm (¾ in.); 4.32 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, +MARIA+ (Mary); in field, left and right, MP-ΘY (Mother of God)

Bust of the Virgin Orans facing, wearing a tunic and a *maphorion*.

Reverse

DIAM. 19 mm (¾ in.); 4.36 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, LEONENX
ΩBASILEYSROMΩN (Leo, in Christ, king of the Romans)

Bust of Leo facing, with long beard, wearing a chlamys with an elaborate *tablion* and a crown with a cross of four pellets; in his right hand, a *globus cruciger* surmounted by a patriarchal cross.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (obverse: 1968.131.282; reverse: 1968.131.283)

D. Gold Solidus of Constantine VII

Porphyrogenetos

Byzantine (Constantinople), 945

Obverse

DIAM. 19 mm (¾ in.); 4.41 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, +IHS XPS REX REGNANTIYM+ (Jesus Christ, king of those who rule)

Bust of Christ Pantokrator facing, wearing a tunic and himation, with cross nimbus with three pellets in each crossarm; he raises his right hand in benediction and holds a Gospel book in the left.

Reverse

DIAM. 19 mm (¾ in.); 4.36 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, +CONSTANT AYTCRAT B RO' (Constantine, emperor of the Romans)

Bust of Constantine facing, with long beard, wearing a chlamys with a *tablion* and a crown with a cross and *pendoulia*; in his right hand a *globus cruciger* with a patriarchal cross.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (obverse: 1946.51.81; reverse: 1968.131.297)

E. Gold Histamenon of Basil II

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1005-25

Obverse

DIAM. 26 mm (1 in.); 4.39 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, +IHSXSREXREG NAHTIhm (Jesus Christ, king of those who rule)

Bust of Christ facing, with cross nimbus having serifs at ends of arms and crescents in upper quarters; he raises his right hand in benediction and holds a Gospel book in the left. Triple border of dots.

Reverse

DIAM. 27 mm (1 1/8 in.); 4.38 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, BASIL C CONSTANTI B R (Basil and Constantine, kings of the Romans)

Two busts facing. On the left, Basil, bearded, wearing a modified *loros* and a crown with a cross and *pendoulia*, above which is a suspended crown; on the right, Constantine, wearing a chlamys and a crown with *pendoulia*. Each holds a long, plain cross. Triple border of dots.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y.

(obverse: 1958.76.7; reverse: 1968.131.310)

F. Silver Miliareion of Romanos III

Argyros

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1030?

Obverse

DIAM. 23 mm (¾ in.); 2.91 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕ COI ΠΙΟΑΒΑΙΝΕ; in field, left and right, MP-ΘY (Mother of God)

The Virgin Hodegetria, nimbate, wearing a tunic and *maphorion*, stands on a dais with her right hand on her breast and cradling in her left arm the infant Christ, who raises his right hand in benediction and holds a scroll in the left. Triple linear border of dots with eight globules.

Reverse

INSCRIBED: Around, OC ΗΑΠΙΚΕ ΠΑΝΤΑ

KATOPΘOI. This legend, which reads from obverse to reverse, is a dactylic hexameter, Πάρθενε σοι πολύαινε ὅς ἤλπιε πάντα κατορθοί (Much-praised Virgin, he who trusts in you succeeds in all things).

Emperor, wearing a modified *loros* and a crown with a cross and *pendoulia*, stands facing on a round cushion, holding in his right hand a long patriarchal cross and in the left a *globus cruciger* surmounted by a patriarchal cross. Triple linear border of dots with eight globules.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y.

(1963.38.1)

G. Gold Histamenon of Zoe and Theodora

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1042

Obverse

DIAM. 25 mm (1 in.); 4.39 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, +ΘKERΘTACRACIAICC (Mother of God, come to the aid of the queens); to left and right, MP-ΘV (Mother of God)

Bust of the Virgin Orans, nimbate, wearing a tunic and a *maphorion*, with a cross of pellets on each shoulder and on her brow; on her breast, a medallion with the infant Christ facing, with cross nimbus. Double border of dots.



147A. Obverse



147A. Reverse



147B. Obverse



147B. Reverse



147C. Obverse



147C. Reverse



147D. Obverse



147D. Reverse



147E. Obverse



147E. Reverse



147F. Obverse



147F. Reverse



147G. Obverse



147G. Reverse



147H. Obverse



147H. Reverse



147I. Obverse



147I. Reverse



147J. Obverse



147J. Reverse



147K. Obverse



147K. Reverse

Reverse

DIAM. 25 mm (1 in.); 4.41 gm
INSCRIBED: Around, +ZΩHNSΘEOΔΩ' (Zoe and Theodora)

Busts of Zoe (at left) and Theodora facing, each wearing a crown with *pendoulia* and alternating triangular plaques and pinnacles; they hold a labarum between them. Double border of dots.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (obverse: 1977.158.932; reverse: 1968.131.321)

H. Gold Histamenon of Isaac I Komnenos
Byzantine (Constantinople), 1057–59

Obverse

DIAM. 16 mm (5/8 in.); 4.37 gm
INSCRIBED: Around, +I ΔSXISHEX RCNANTHm (Jesus Christ, king of those who rule)

Christ, with cross nimbus, seated on backless throne facing, wearing a tunic and himation; he raises his right hand in benediction and holds in his left a Gospel book resting on his knee. Single border of dots.

Reverse

DIAM. 15.5 mm (5/8 in.); 4.41 gm
INSCRIBED: Around, +ICAAKIOC BACIAEVC RWM (Isaac, king of the Romans)

Isaac stands facing, wearing scale armor, a cloak, and a crown with a cross and *pendoulia*; in his right hand he holds a sword, which rests on his shoulder, and in his left he grasps the scabbard. Single border of dots.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (obverse: 1954.237.141; reverse: 1944.100.14721)

I. Gold Histamenon of Romanos IV
Diogenes

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1067–71

Obverse

DIAM. 23 mm (7/8 in.); 4.40 gm
INSCRIBED: Around, KΩN - MX - ANA (Constantine–Michael–Andronikos)

Three figures standing on separate cushions. In the center, Michael VII Doukas, wearing a modified *loros* with a *loros*-waist and a crown with a cross and *pendoulia*, holds in his right hand a labarum-headed scepter and in his left an *akakia*. On the left, a similar figure of Constantine, holding a *globus cruciger* in his right hand and an *akakia* in the left. On the right, a similar figure of Andronikos, holding an *akakia* in his right hand and a *globus cruciger* in the left. Double border of dots.

Reverse

DIAM. 26 mm (1 in.); 4.47 gm
INSCRIBED: Around, +PΩMANS EVAUKIA (Romanos and Eudokia); in field, IC-XC (Jesus Christ)

Three figures standing. In center, Christ, nimbate and wearing a tunic and himation, stands on a square footstool, crowning Romanos on the left and Eudokia on the right. Romanos wears a modified *loros* and a crown with *pendoulia*; his right hand is at his breast and in his left he holds a *globus cruciger*. Eudokia wears a modified *loros* with a diamond-shaped panel and a crown with pinnacles and *pendoulia*; in her right hand she holds a *globus cruciger* and her left hand is at her breast. Double border of dots.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (obverse: 1977.158.1178; reverse: 1944.100.14730)

J. Gold Histamenon of Nikephoros III
Botaneiates

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1078–81

Obverse

DIAM. 28 mm (1 1/8 in.); 4.37 gm
INSCRIBED: In field, IC-XC (Jesus Christ)

Christ seated on a square-backed throne, wearing a tunic and himation, with a cross nimbus that has a pellet in each arm; he raises his right hand in benediction and holds in the left a Gospel book with a quincunx on the cover. Double border of dots.

Reverse

DIAM. 26 mm (1 in.); 4.39 gm
INSCRIBED: Around, +NIKHΦPAECP TΩROTANIAT (Lord Nikephoros Botaneiates)

Emperor standing facing on dais, wearing a modified *loros* and a crown with a cross and *pendoulia*; he holds in his right hand a labarum and in the left a *globus cruciger*. Double border of dots.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (obverse: 1968.131.359; reverse: 1961.180.5)

K. Gold Histamenon of Alexios I
Komnenos

Byzantine (Constantinople), 1092–1118

Obverse

DIAM. 30 mm (1 1/8 in.); 4.47 gm
INSCRIBED: Around, +K BO - HΘ (Κύριε βοήθει [Lord, help])

Christ nimbate, wearing a tunic and colobium, seated on backless throne; he raises his right hand in benediction and holds a Gospel book in the left. Double border of dots.

Reverse

DIAM. 30.5 mm (1 1/8 in.); 4.37 gm
INSCRIBED: In two columns on either side (completing the obverse legend), Λ/ΑΕ/ΣΙΩ/ΔΕC/ΠΙΟ/ΤΗ and ΤΩ/ΚΩ/ΜΝ/ΝΩ (Lord Alexios Komnenos); in upper right field, Manus Dei (Hand of God).

Alexios stands facing, wearing a stemma, a *divetesion*, and a chlamys; he holds in his right hand a labarum-headed scepter and in his left a *globus cruciger*.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (obverse: 1944.100.14745; reverse: 1944.100.14746)

Coins provided the most frequent form of contact that the average person had with the government. Citizens of the empire purchased the stuff of daily life, stored surplus, and—most important—paid taxes in “coin of the realm.” In return each received a guarantee of value that was acceptable throughout the empire and beyond, as well as political information from the capital.

Byzantine coins emerged directly from the Roman tradition. Normally they bear the portrait of the ruler, with identifying legends

on one face and an indication of the mint and a pious inscription on the other. The standard reverse type during the Iconoclastic period (723–843) was the cross potent or a variant. Earlier, coincident with the Council in Trullo (691–92), Justinian II had introduced an image of Christ Pantokrator on the obverse (A), demoting himself to the reverse. The subsequent suppression of the Iconophiles put an end to such innovation with figural religious images, but with the accession of Michael III in 842 they reemerged (B), with a virtual line-for-line replication of Justinian's solidus. Moreover, Michael took advantage of the implicit symmetry of coins: while Christ is clearly the superior figure on the coin of Justinian, the coins of Michael and his successors combine religious and secular figures in such a way that neither is clearly dominant. (For consistency, numismatists define the religious side as the obverse, but this is purely conventional.)

Perhaps owing in part to the choice of frontality or near frontality for the imperial bust—always a difficult job of engraving—and of the geometric cross potent reverse of early gold coins, solidi had always tended toward engraved, linear representations. In this exhibition the coins of Leo VI and Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (C, D) are exceptional both for the realism of their portraiture (which perhaps goes so far as to convey a family resemblance) and for the plasticity of their design, quite apart from the detail of their ornament. The only other attempt at realism seen on a coin in this exhibition is the striking miliaresion of Romanos III Argyros (F), with a magnificent rendering of the Virgin Hodegetria.

This general indifference to realism was perhaps a consequence of the role of the Byzantine emperor as a symbol rather than as an individual. From the moment that the human ruler became the earthly representative of the divine ruler, his own image became less significant. While both the divine and heavenly figures who appear on coins do so in the simplest of attire, the earthly rulers wear ceremonial garments that define and reinforce their position—from a crown of gradually increasing elaboration to orbs, crosses, and ultimately the robe of Alexios I Komnenos (K), which seems to dwarf the emperor himself.

Even from the beginnings of coinage there is a correspondence between the expenditure of artistic effort and the intrinsic quality of the coinage. This is evident with the decline of Byzantine political power and economic strength and the associated debasement of the solidus, a coin whose stability had been

unmatched in history. From early in the eleventh century the solidus declined steadily. The reasons for this are not entirely clear. As one writer has put it, "The state had faced greater financial difficulties in earlier centuries, and its rulers had resisted the temptation to debase the currency. Eleventh-century emperors evidently saw things differently."¹ Basil II (r. 976–1025) introduced a lighter tetarteron alongside the histamenon (established) gold coin (ϵ, γ, η), and during his reign the module of the histamenon was increased to make clear the distinction between it and the lighter coin. This distinction was later reinforced by the introduction of the concave shape (ι–κ), which would be characteristic of most later Byzantine denominations. (This shape was called *scyphate* even in antiquity. The etymology, from *CKYΦOC* [cup], is seductive but wrong,

since the term was used before the introduction of the shape.)

The debasement accelerated after the Battle of Mantzikert (1071). Alexios I attempted to restore something like the old standard in 1092 (κ), but the new coinage, like Byzantine economic domination of the Mediterranean, was to be short-lived. Even so, Byzantine coinage had for so long provided a stable currency that others, particularly in the eastern Mediterranean, continued to imitate it. Theodore I Laskaris (cat. no. 266) was only one of the successors to Byzantine rule during the Latin occupation of Constantinople who reinforced his pretensions by striking coins virtually indistinguishable from those of past Byzantine emperors. The coins described in catalogue numbers 237, 265, 280, 339, and 340, struck at locales as diverse as Italy and Georgia, show

just how far the influence of both style and fabric extended beyond the realm of Byzantium.

The epitaph of Byzantine coinage appears symbolically in the grossi of Venice (cat. no. 340). This denomination, peculiar to Venice but typical of Western silver coins of the period, was itself imitated in later Byzantine coins of Andronikos II Palaiologos (ι), which epitomized the shift of economic domination in the Mediterranean from West to East.

W C M

1. Grierson 1982, p. 197.

LITERATURE: Grierson 1982, p. 197.



LUXURY OBJECTS

IOLI KALAVREZOU

As long as Byzantium was alive, as long, that is, as its artists continued to work, Byzantine art was greatly admired, desired, imitated, and even appropriated by others. For Europe this art not only set standards for quality of craftsmanship in media such as mosaic and enamel, but it also demonstrated the heights that court art and ecclesiastical imagery could attain. Yet, not long after the fall of Byzantium, its artistic achievements were relegated in the Western mind to a stereotyped, unchanging world of static images with figures painted in the *maniera greca*, a misconception that lasted well into the twentieth century. Only one category of artworks never lost the earlier regard for its quality and craftsmanship. These were luxury objects that had entered collections and church treasuries in Western Europe during the Middle Ages and had found a place within that culture. They were highly prized, however, not because they were Byzantine but because they were precious and “beautiful.”

Luxury art as a category includes a large variety of objects made primarily of costly materials such as gold and silver, precious and semiprecious stones, ivory, silk, and pearls. The term also refers to objects that were created by a technology which cannot be duplicated today and that were unmatched in sophistication during their own time. Most highly admired were Byzantine works in enamel and mosaic, whether ecclesiastical or secular. All these objects were created mainly for the emperor and the court (that is, ranking officials in the government) and for the Church. They are representative of Byzantine material culture, even though limited to the affluent sections of society. For example, a manuscript can be considered a luxury codex because of the size of the parchment folios, the number of illustrations, and the fine quality of its paintings (see cat. no. 163). Icons, such as the twelfth-century mosaic icons of the Transfiguration (cat. no. 77) and of Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 306), are other examples.

More often, however, we think of luxury objects of a secular nature and associate them with notions of decorative and ostentatious display rather than of functionality. For the most part these objects consist of jewelry, imperial regalia, crowns, silk garments and materials, and whatever other goods with

which the emperor and the court surrounded themselves. Such objects, which have an intrinsic material value, represent imperial and aristocratic taste in Byzantium at the time that they were made.

Religious art is discussed elsewhere in this catalogue, and so in this essay I focus on luxury art representative of those spheres of life outside the strictly religious one, keeping in mind that in Byzantine society and culture there was never a clear-cut division between the secular and the religious. These worlds coexisted, tightly interwoven in daily life. Objects with a secular function and appearance often included religious imagery. Depictions of biblical stories on secular works did not necessarily make them religious—on the contrary, these stories were often used in the context of worldly actions and ambitions.

Not many luxury objects, unfortunately, have survived the passage of time, especially those of the secular sphere. Their material value worked to their detriment. If they were composed of precious metals, they were liable to be melted down; if they incorporated gems and valuable stones, they were disassembled and their parts reused.

The most famous works are those in the collections and museums of Western Europe and Russia. Many came to the West as the result of the Crusades. Others were gifts sent by Byzantine emperors during the Middle Ages. The few that have been excavated or uncovered accidentally have been found mainly in Russia and Ukraine. I will begin by reviewing briefly the objects and their decoration produced in the “formative centuries” of Byzantine culture, the period in which the Mediterranean world began to redefine its cultures as a result of historical events. I refer on the one hand to the invasions and successful settlements of the numerous Gothic tribes in the western parts of the empire, and on the other to the Arab threat to and conquest of much of the territory along its eastern and southern borders.

Most secular luxury objects of the Early Byzantine period, from the fourth to the seventh or eighth century, maintain the visual tradition well known today as that of the Greco-Roman world. Not only the forms of the objects but also their decoration, figural or otherwise, have their origin in the visual vocabulary and the mythology of the ancient classical tradition. For example, silver-gilt amphorae for storing water

Detail of the Veroli Casket (cat. no. 153)



David Battling a Lion (based on an antique model of Herakles fighting the Nemean lion). Silver, Constantinople, 628–30. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.394)

or wine, with perfect classical proportions and decorative motifs, were in use in churches as well as privately.¹ Dishes with images modeled on antique precedents such as Herakles fighting the Nemean lion were still being made. Thus, what exists as luxury art and its decoration in the secular world in these centuries is a continuation of the classical tradition and its classicizing style. Where figural scenes were concerned, the subject matter was chosen from the large mythological repertoire available to artists. Usually the theme selected for a luxury object was appropriate to its function. A ewer, now in the State Hermitage, for example, being a container for water, has on its outer surface motifs from the marine world: a variety of fish and other animals on its sides and a Nereid riding a sea monster on the front.² On the other hand, it is still not clear if a plate of about twenty years earlier (613–30) with Silenus and a dancing Maenad had a specific function other than being a fancy object for festive occasions involving wine and dance.³ A classical subject that was to be important also for Middle Byzantine ivory boxes is that of small erotes or putti and Nereids engaged in pleasurable activities in natural settings. The theme was quite widespread in the early period and is found in almost all media—metalwork, ivory, even textiles—and on mosaic floors. This imagery comes from the vast repertoire of Dionysiac and river and sea scenes of Hellenistic origin. Putti are shown riding on animals or sitting in boats, or engaged in dancing and music making. In representations where they are the main protagonists, the meaning of what is depicted has another dimension: these are not straightforward genre scenes of marine life or the

pleasures of dancing while intoxicated. The putti, with their childlike appearance, nudity, and affected movements, are figures of parody, turning the subject of the scene almost into a farce and emphasizing the element of pleasure and fun in their activities.

When we turn to luxury works for secular use in the Middle Byzantine period, from the ninth to the thirteenth century, the general picture appears much more complex. No longer unified by its sources or style, the material becomes more diverse in subject matter and in its overall aesthetic. The types of objects surviving are, however, more limited. Basically what is extant are textiles, jewelry, and a large number of vessels and containers in every shape and medium.

The major problem with these containers is that we know very little about them. We do not know how common or unusual they were, and for most of them we do not know their date. Although they must have been restricted to the upper classes of society, we do not know exactly for whom they were made. Some things we can guess, but it has been difficult to determine with any certainty how the containers were used or what the Byzantines put in them. In the Treasury of San Marco in Venice, for example, there are a number of dishes identified as Eucharistic patens. All are similar in shape and overall decoration and luxury. One among them, however, has no indication that it was to be used as a liturgical vessel, since it bears no Christian symbol or any inscription suggesting that it was given to a church as an act of piety.⁴ It is a piece produced with a great sense of design. The shallow bowl is made of glass cut so as to create a honeycomb pattern, which rests on a silver-gilt foot connected with the wide lip by four silver-gilt bands. Large oval and rectangular cabochons of green and blue stones alternate to form a decorative chain on its silver-gilt lip, bordered on either side by a row of pearls. The presence of these pearls in combina-



Honeycomb bowl. Glass, silver gilt, and pearls, Constantinople, 10th–11th century. Treasury of San Marco, Venice



Cup. Gilded and painted glass and silver gilt, Constantinople, 10th century. Treasury of San Marco, Venice

tion with the green and blue cabochons classifies the bowl as destined for imperial use, perhaps for display in an emperor's private apartments. A second piece, very similar in appearance and decoration but carved out of alabaster, may originally have had a similar function.⁵ An inscription, repeated on all four of the silver-gilt bands that connect the foot with the decorative metal lip, reads: ΘΕΟΤΟΚ[Ε] ΜΑΡΙΑ ΒΟΗΘΗ ΒΑΧΙΑΕΙΣ (Mary, Mother of God, help the emperors). With the addition of this short prayer the object becomes a liturgical paten, the gift to a church of at least two emperors seeking the Virgin's aid. The orthographic mistakes in the inscription are surprising for an imperial offering of such high quality. One suspects that this bowl also was created for secular use, and that later it was made an ecclesiastical gift and the inscriptions were added, probably not by the original workshop. Such objects are very difficult to date. These dishes, for example, have been attributed to the tenth century because of the severe "classical" approach of their decoration, which is associated with the period.⁶ But this is not always a satisfactory line of reasoning, because Byzantine artists maintained throughout the centuries a rather restrained mode of expression in their highest-quality productions.

When we turn to secular luxury objects with figurative decoration, we find, broadly speaking, that the images are drawn from a number of sources: classical mythology, the world of the heroic and the fantastic, and human activities such as war, hunting, and entertainment. To these we should add biblical narrative, specifically Old Testament figures and their histories.

An exceptional work of art in this category is a glass cup, now in the Treasury of San Marco, that reveals tenth-to-eleventh-century Byzantine taste in decoration.⁷ The glass is a very dark purple that appears to be black. Its surface has been painted with a number of glass colors applied while still hot and fluid, almost like enameling. The cup has been mounted in a delicate silver-gilt frame with two sweeping handles ending in volutes with quatrefoils, which add volume to its small size. Its figural representations, enclosed within seven medallions, recall those of classical Greek vases. The flesh-toned figures set off against the very dark glass create the same color contrast as in red-figure vase painting. We can conclude that the Byzantine craftsmen who produced this object knew what ancient Greek vase painting looked like and chose to incorporate it in their scheme of decoration. The result comes closer to reproducing an ancient art than any other surviving Byzantine painting. The choice of figures of different types — athletes and warriors, nude or in classical garb — suggests that the compositional scheme is visual rather than thematic. Its arrangement does not follow a single narrative; rather, it seeks to present an air of the antique through citations of a great past and to affect a certain form or appearance. In contrast to the antique-looking medallions is the decorative pattern that frames them. It consists of bands of rosettes in various colors, which have also been used for the outer lip of the cup. The bands are a decorative motif typical of the Middle Byzantine period and occur as the main framing device on ivory boxes. The decorative scheme of the cup thus combines purely Byzantine with antique forms to create a



Rosette casket with the Deesis, apostles, and saints. Ivory, Constantinople, 950–1000. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

contemporary look. This cup also serves as an example of a third decorative source: together with the ancient figural images and the Byzantine rosettes, pseudo-Kufic inscriptions are found on the bottom and on the inner lip of the cup. Thus, for the modern viewer this small, precious object displays the aesthetic of tenth-to-eleventh-century Byzantium and the value that it assigned to the artistic forms of the past as well as to those of neighboring cultures.

One other famous category of Byzantine luxury goods is that of the so-called ivory caskets. These are also represented in greater numbers throughout Europe than any other type of Byzantine secular work, especially when we consider the objects that came to the West during the Middle Ages. Not all are made of ivory — many are of bone — but there is no doubt that the most elaborate pieces, as, for example, the Veroli Casket, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cat. no. 153 and illus. on p. 218), and the one in the Musée de Cluny with scenes from the *Iliad*, must have been very costly to produce.⁸ They vary in shape and subject matter, although almost all have bands of rosettes that define the borders and spaces for the placement of figures and scenes in the overall decorative scheme. The figurative subjects again were drawn from mythology, the world of the heroic and fantastic, the animal world, and biblical narrative, and to a large extent from the repertoire of playful erotes, who, as in the earlier period, through their small size, nudity, and affected poses, create a parody of the subjects they represent.

The most exquisite ivory boxes are thought to have been made to order, while others would have been ready-made for purchase. In either case, images that decorated them would

have been chosen with a view to their relevance both to the purpose of the individual box and to the interests of its eventual owner. Although animals, hunters, and warriors can be seen as subjects appropriate for male clients, the boxes with Old Testament subjects are harder to understand. We may, however, venture some theories as to their owners. For instance, there are caskets with scenes from the story of Adam and Eve, showing them first in paradise, then at the moment of their expulsion and shame, and finally toiling for their survival on earth, at work either on the land or in the forge (cat. no. 158). The key to an interpretation of this theme is a figure extraneous to the biblical story, identified by an inscription as Ploutos (Wealth), who is occasionally shown between Adam and Eve. Such caskets could have belonged to young couples embarking on a new life together. The story of Adam and Eve could have reminded them of the difficulties they would encounter but at the same time spurred them on to an industrious and, it was to be hoped, prosperous existence.

Another biblical figure is Joshua, who appears, for example, on panels from a casket now in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. no. 152).⁹ The story of Joshua could have been appropriate for the celebration of a successful event, an accomplishment in someone's life. Most likely it would have been for a man, probably one with a military career. Biblical subject matter and in particular the lives of Old Testament figures were not limited to objects intended for religious use; they lent themselves, too, to expressions of worldly or heroic ambitions. In this connection it is interesting to compare a box with a so-called secular subject to an object such as the

Dumbarton Oaks Apostles Casket.¹⁰ Both strike us immediately as luxury goods, but it would be hard to imagine the Apostles Casket as intended for anything but an ecclesiastical purpose. The aesthetic treatment immediately signals the difference between the two. The religious images are those expected of Byzantine religious art: easy readability is attained through a clear division of the surface and the frontality of the figures.

Ivory boxes represent the kind of luxury item that might have been encountered in the houses of Byzantine courtiers and high officials in general. To this type of precious object we should add a variety of silver-gilt dishes with distinctive aesthetic and thematic characteristics. It should be noted that almost all of these vessels, dating mainly from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are today in Russian and Ukrainian collections; some were excavated in the region, others brought as gifts. Their figurative subject matter is based on the themes of hunting, war, and entertainments such as dancing, playing musical instruments, and performing.

There is, for example, in the State Hermitage a deep bowl with a round body that has twelve different figures embossed on it, among them two riders with a spear and a bow, a dancing girl, two warriors, and even Alexander the Great ascending to heaven.¹¹ Another remarkable piece is the lid of a cylindrical vessel of the twelfth century, also in the State Hermitage. Its

whole exterior is covered with an interlace pattern that creates medallions containing engraved figures: six musicians play the lute, the cymbals, and other instruments; two are acrobats and two are dancing.¹² There is also a great variety of animals—birds, hares, hounds, peacocks, a stag, a panther—depicted in a small frieze of interlace medallions.

What has been presented in this essay is a series of examples to give a sense of the variety of form and subject matter with which Byzantines liked to surround themselves. The objects cited are not necessarily representative of all that existed, since what survives had much to do with the tastes of those who preserved it or who brought it out of Byzantium to Western Europe; another relevant factor was the monetary value of its materials. The Byzantine origin of some of these objects may come as a surprise, since not all of them conform to our notions of Byzantine art and its canon. One purpose of an exhibition such as this is to introduce less familiar works of art, and so to extend our perception of Byzantine culture. Even from this small sample of surviving works it can easily be seen that Byzantine art set high standards for quality in craftsmanship and for the application of luxury materials. In its aesthetic appreciation and achievements Byzantium attained a unique level of sophistication that still commands our admiration.



Musicians, Dancers, and Acrobats. Lid of a cylindrical vessel, silver gilt and niello, 12th century, found near Tartu, Estonia. The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg. Photo © 1997 The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg

148. Textile Fragment with *Senmurvs*

Byzantine, 9th–10th century

Silk

32 × 40 cm (12⁵/₈ × 15³/₄ in.)

PROVENANCE: Purchased in 1894 from Stanislas Baron, Paris.

Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire–Koninklyke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, Brussels, Belgium (Tx. 609)

The designs of Byzantine silks often included Near Eastern motifs. In this textile Sassanian *senmurvs* dominate the pattern of adjoining medallions and interstitial rosettes.¹

The *senmurv*, a mythical creature with a dog's head, a lion's paws, and elaborate tail plumage and wings, is identified in Sassanian lore as a beneficent creature that disperses plant seeds.² Used primarily in royal contexts, the *senmurv* motif appeared in sixth- and seventh-century Sassanian stucco and textile designs.³ The image may have been introduced to Byzantium about 628 with the booty from the victory of Emperor Herakleios over the Sassanian Persians. Subsequently in Byzantine decorative arts during the Middle Ages it appeared among other fabulous animals in all media⁴ but above all in silks, of which at least five versions, both monochrome and polychrome, are known.⁵ The majority of these have survived in the church treasuries of Western Europe,⁶ though a related *senmurv* fabric was recently found in a ninth-century burial site at Moshchevaya Balka in the Caucasus.⁷

Among the *senmurv* silks, the textile exhibited here is richest in color.⁸ The creatures are outlined in yellow on a blue background, with red, green, and blue details and filling. While the animals adhere to the Sassanian model, their leonine heads indicate an assimilation of the more familiar lion-headed griffin. The rest of the design (adjoining medallions with a garlandlike frame, four-petal motifs of connecting disks, and interstitial rosettes) is rooted in Romano-Byzantine ornament. The medallion pattern, popularized in the Early Byzantine period,⁹ is especially evident in medieval Byzantine silks (see cat. nos. 150, 344).

A G

1. Technical information — compound weft-faced twill in blue, red, green, and yellow.
2. As related in Persian legend and Zoroastrian religious texts; see Harper 1978, pp. 94–96.
3. As seen on the costume of Chosroes II (r. 590, 591–628) from the reliefs of Taq-i-Bustan; see *ibid.*, pp. 121, 123, figs. I, K, M. For a stucco relief, see *ibid.*, p. 118; Brussels 1993, pp. 114–15, figs. 100, 101.
4. For its appearance in other media, see the following: on Prokonnesian marble reliefs, see Firatli 1990, pp. 170–71, nos. 343, 344, pl. 104; on ivory caskets, see Weitzmann 1972, p. 54, no. 23, pl. XXXI,



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and Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930 (1979 ed.), vol. 1, p. 58, no. 106b, pl. LXI.

5. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, nos. 281–83, pp. 374–76; Dolcini 1992, pp. 3–25, figs. 1–4, 13; Kendrick 1925, nos. 1000, 1005, pp. 12–13, 25–26, pls. I, III. Some *senmurv* silks may not be Byzantine.
6. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, nos. 281–83, pp. 374–76; the present silk is said to come from a reliquary in Verdun (Errera 1907, p. 14).
7. Saint Petersburg 1992, no. 1, pp. 14–15, figs. 1, 2; *Great Art Treasures* 1994, vol. 1, pp. 464–67.
8. Other fragments of this silk, of which the present piece is the largest, are in Florence (Museo Nazionale del Bargello; see Ghirshman 1962, fig. 276, p. 229; also Dolcini 1992, pp. 11–13, fig. 9), in London (Victoria and Albert Museum; see Kendrick 1925, no. 1005, pp. 25–26, pl. III), and in New York (Cooper-Hewitt Museum; see Ann Arbor 1967, no. 65, p. 143).
9. Trilling 1983.

LITERATURE: Errera 1907, no. 3, pp. 14–15; Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, 1913, vol. 2, p. 11, fig. 236; Kendrick 1925, p. 26; Volbach, *Early Decorative Textiles*, 1969, pp. 106, 124, 126, pl. 57; Starensier 1982, no. XXXV, pp. 591–93.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 331; Edinburgh 1958, no. 67; Athens 1964, no. 576; Brussels 1982, textile 11.

149. Textile Fragment from the Reliquary of Saint Germanus

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1000

Silk

170 × 120 cm (67 × 47¹/₄ in.)

PROVENANCE: Reliquary of Saint Germanus (German), Church of Saint-Eusèbe, Auxerre

Musée Saint-Germain (former Abbaye de Saint-Germain), Auxerre, France

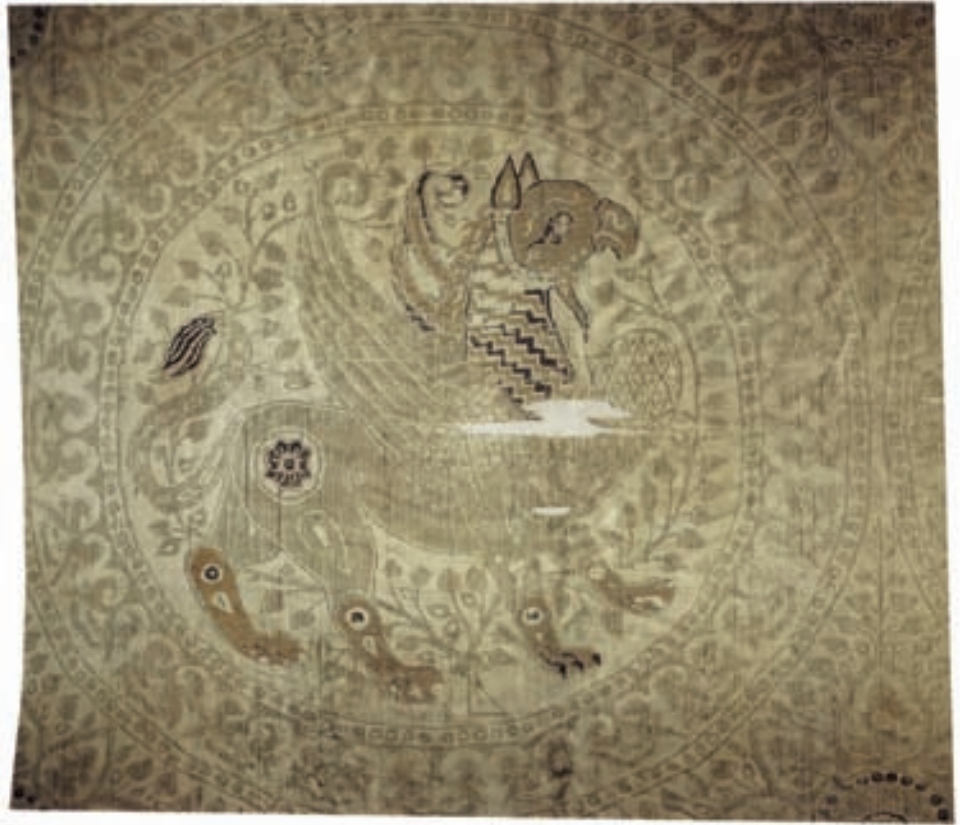
In this silk textile fragment, majestic eagles with heads turned to the right stand frontally on beaded pedestals in registers of about 76 cm (30 in.) high, alternating with rows of rosettes. The images of the eagles are created with scale imbrications separated by bands of beading. The largest scales cover the birds' breasts and the fronts of their wings, the smallest the necks and the lower legs; bands of heart-shaped petals constitute the tails, and striated vertical bands shape the flight feathers. The rosettes are formed by graded-scale imbrication. Both rosettes and eagles are yellow on a blue background; the eagles' talons and the pendant rings in their beaks are dark blue.¹

The design of this silk combines Roman and Near Eastern motifs common in Byzantine decorative arts. The vivid heads recall Roman imperial eagles, and the raised wings and emphatic tails resemble legionary standards, while the ornamentalized plumage, the beading, and the pendant rings reflect their

6. This silk is purple-red with a dark green design.
Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, 1913, vol. 2, p. 17, figs. 250, 251; Beckwith 1974, p. 351, fig. 29.
7. Lopez 1945; Muthesius 1984; Jacoby 1991–92; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, pp. 370–73.

LITERATURE: Schlumberger 1896–1905, vol. 1, p. 409; Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, 1913, vol. 2, p. 18; Vollbach et al. 1933, pp. 75–76, pls. 91, 92; Bréhier 1936, p. 100, pl. 87; Vollbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, pp. 193–94, pl. XIX; Vollbach, *Early Decorative Textiles*, 1969, pp. 128, 134, pl. 63; Beckwith 1974, p. 351, fig. 28; Beckwith 1979, p. 217, fig. 186; Geijer 1979, p. 133, pl. 22; Beckwith 1982, pp. 205–6; Starensier 1982, pp. 644–46, no. LIII; Wixom 1986, pp. 298–99, fig. 10; Martiniani-Reber, “Tissus,” 1990, pp. 173–76; Girault-Kurtzemann and Vial 1993.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1965, no. 810, pl. 10; Auxerre 1990, no. 104; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 285; Hildesheim 1993, vol. 2, no. 20.



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150. Textile Fragment from the Reliquary of Saint Siviard

Byzantine, 11th–12th century
Silk and gilded membrane
89 × 135 cm (35 × 53¼ in.)

PROVENANCE: Reliquary of Saint Siviard,
Cathedral Treasury, Sens.

Trésor de la Cathédrale de Saint-Étienne, Sens,
France (B 8)

This textile fragment exemplifies both the large-scale designs and the medallion patterns of many Byzantine silks,¹ including court costume as seen in manuscript illuminations.² Here the medallions, 66 cm (26 in.) across and framed by split palmettes and beading, enclose imposing griffins and stylized trees; the interstices between the medallions are filled with large composite rosettes. The fabric is woven in the lampas technique in white on a white background, with gold and violet threads highlighting the griffins' heads, wings, paws, and tails. Invented in the eleventh century, the lampas technique enhances the visibility of the design by contrasting the textures of the motifs.³

Griffins, mythical beasts of antiquity, occur very frequently in Byzantine art. Whatever their ancient significance, in the Middle Ages griffins served a predominantly decorative purpose, although, like lions and eagles, they continued to be emblematic of power and

might.⁴ This textile shares its motifs with other Byzantine fabrics,⁵ including a late-tenth-century elephant silk now in Aachen, which has similar medallion frames, tear-shaped leg fillers, and joint disks, as well as a segmented trunk reminiscent of the griffin's tail.⁶ Despite the fact that textile motifs remained in use for long periods of time over large geographical areas, the similarities between this griffin silk and the Aachen elephant fabric are so great that we can postulate their origins within the same artistic milieu.

The present silk comes from the reliquary of Saint Siviard (d. 687), whose remains reached Sens in the ninth century from Saint-Calais in the Maine, which was threatened by the Vikings. The relics were certainly rewrapped on that occasion; eleventh- and twelfth-century tags indicate subsequent openings of the reliquary, when rewapping in the griffin silk could have taken place.⁷ Although this textile survived wound around relics, its first use in the West was likely as an ecclesiastical vestment.

A G

1. Trilling 1985.
2. See, for example, the costume of a *protovestiarios*, keeper of the emperor's wardrobe, in the Homilies of Saint John Chrysostom, ca. 1078–81 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Coislin 79, fol. 2; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 360); Alexios V Komnenos's(?)

costume with medallions and griffins in a fourteenth-century manuscript of Niketas Choniates's History (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. hist. gr. 53, fol. 291v; Spatharakis 1976, pp. 155–58, fig. 99).

3. Technical information — lampas; warp: white silk; weft: white and violet silk, gilded membrane. On lampas weaves, see Beckwith 1974, p. 353.
4. Brandenburg 1983, cols. 951–95.
5. The head of the griffin on a Byzantine silk fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is strikingly similar. Kendrick 1925, no. 1015, pp. 49–50, frontispiece.
6. The Constantinopolitan origin of the elephant silk, generally dated about 1000, is indicated by a woven-in inscription. Aachen, Cathedral Treasury; Muthesius 1984, pp. 251–54, figs. 8–10b; Beckwith 1979, pp. 216–18, fig. 185; Wilckens 1991, pp. 52–54, fig. 49.
7. Chartraire 1911, p. 372; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 379.

LITERATURE: Chartraire 1897, p. 13, no. 11; Chartraire 1911, pp. 372–73, no. 18; Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, 1913, vol. 2, pp. 14–15, fig. 244; Kendrick 1916, p. 226, pl. D; Kendrick 1925, pp. 37, 50; Ebersolt 1928, p. 56, pl. XII; Vollbach et al. 1933, pp. 77–78, pl. 97; Vollbach, *Early Decorative Textiles*, 1969, p. 113; Beckwith 1974, p. 353, fig. 32; Beckwith 1979, p. 218; Starensier 1982, pp. 657–60, no. LVII; L. Bouras 1983, pp. 48–49, no. 54; Trilling 1985, p. 10, fig. 4; Wilckens 1991, pp. 71–73, fig. 72.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 278, p. 106; Paris 1976, no. 372; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 287, p. 379.



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origins in Sassanian art. From an early date, Byzantine silk designs included stylized Sassanian animals as well as floral and other motifs, the appreciation of which continued into the Middle Ages (see cat. no. 148). One of the most powerful symbols of might, in addition to a traditional decorative motif, the eagle occurs frequently in Byzantine silks and other medieval textiles, which were often influenced by Byzantine models.²

This eagle silk came from the reliquary of Saint Germanus (Germain), bishop of Auxerre, who died in 448 in Ravenna but who was buried in Auxerre. A focus of local worship, his remains were repeatedly wrapped

in newer, more precious fabrics. Historical sources mention several such translations, but most relevant for the date of this silk are ninth-century citations documenting a new church³ and one of 1030 mentioning the gift of an eagle textile by Bishop Hugh of Châlons, the description of which, however, does not match the extant fragment.⁴ The Auxerre eagle silk is generally considered a Constantinopolitan work of about 1000. Recent conservation efforts revealed that this textile, similar to confirmed tenth- and eleventh-century imperial silks, could have been originally of considerable size, reaching a width of 236 cm (93 in.).⁵ The date of about 1000

is further supported by the textile's resemblance to the Byzantine eagle silk of the chasuble of Saint Albuin (d. 1006) in Bressanone.⁶ Like the Auxerre and Bressanone textiles, other Byzantine silks, wound around holy relics or worn as ecclesiastical vestments, survived in the church treasuries of Western Europe.

Such silks were among the most coveted luxury products of the Middle Ages, as highly valued as gold and other precious materials. Although Byzantine silks were crafted in both imperial and private workshops, their manufacture and trade were overseen by the state. Until the late sixth century these textiles were made mostly from imported yarn. Silk fabric was used in clothing and ecclesiastical vestments as well as in domestic and church furnishings; the finest weavings from all workshops were reserved for the imperial family and court officials. With export and foreign trade restricted, the best-quality Byzantine silks reached other countries mainly as official gifts or tributes.⁷

Patterned silks, exemplified by the present fragment, were the finest products of the Byzantine textile industry. Fine but strong silk thread was well suited for the mechanical type of weaving needed to accomplish the complex repeat patterns (often quite sizable, as in this piece and in the Sens griffin silk, cat. no. 150) made possible by the orderly warp control of the drawloom process. The excellent dyeing properties of silk fiber further enhanced its decorative possibilities. This and other Byzantine silks in the exhibition all employ the repeat patterning of drawloom weaving and demonstrate the coloristic richness of silk fabric, also shown in the costumes of the officials in a manuscript painting with Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates from about 1078 (cat. no. 143). A G

1. Technical information — weft-faced compound twill; warp: dark yellow silk; weft: yellow, blue, and dark blue silk. A small piece of this silk is in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence; Auxerre 1990, p. 176, and Dolcini 1992, p. 73.
2. The best-known eagle-silk imitation comes from the tomb of Canute the Saint (d. 1086) in Odense Cathedral, given by his widow in 1101. Geijer 1979, p. 133, pl. 23b.
3. Auxerre 1990, pp. 99–100, 161–62, and passim.
4. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 377; see also Volbach, *Early Decorative Textiles*, 1969, p. 134, and Beckwith 1974, p. 351.
5. The present textile is assembled from fourteen different fragments, which may or may not have come from a chasuble. The proposed reconstruction would have four eagles in each register (Girault-Kurtzemann and Vial 1993, pp. 27–29). Regarding size, the Siegburg lion silk (ca. 921–23), for example, was at least 234 cm (92 in.) long, and the Aachen elephant silk (ca. 1000) was originally at least 239 cm (94 in.) wide (Muthesius 1984, pp. 238–40, 251–53).

151. Sides of a Casket with Mythological Scenes

Byzantine (Constantinople?), first half of 10th century
Ivory

Long panels: 9.5 × 23.5 cm (3¾ × 9¼ in.); short
panels: 9.5 × 17 cm (3¾ × 6¾ in.)

CONDITION: There is some damage to the
borders, baldachins, and projecting relief.

PROVENANCE: Hüpsch collection, Cologne.

Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, Germany
(Kg. 54:215 a-d)

These four plaques have recently been reassembled to form the sides of a casket. Their shared decorative motifs—on the frames, the latticelike baldachins, and the median columns—recall motifs found on ivory plaques and steatite carvings with religious subjects made in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This decorative superstructure unifies the panels stylistically, though no such continuity is apparent in the iconography.

Beneath the three baldachins on each of the front and back panels are three scenes that appear to be unrelated but that perhaps held some special meaning for the owner. Above the columns and schematically rendered capitals, winged genies resembling classical victory figures extend wreaths toward the center, as on antique sarcophagi. The scene on the left of the front panel, which bears the lock, has been interpreted as Herakles taming the horses of Diomedes.¹ The central vignette, usually read as a theatrical scene, shows a bearded man who carries a pierced round object following two women, one of whom holds what is probably a mask. The scene on the right shows an equestrian figure, possibly Saint George or Saint Theodore, about to kill a dragon. On the back panel, on which traces of five hinges remain, a Byzantine emperor on horseback is shown in front of a small figure in a tree in a scene that possibly represents the emperor's triumphant entry into his city (*adventus*). In the center Herakles is seated in front of the statue of one of the Dioskouroi. On the right is a puzzling scene of a naked man reclining on a bed and pulling a bare-breasted woman toward him.

The end panels have one scene each. At one end (A) is one of the earliest representations of the Ascension of Alexander the Great, a scene based on a myth popular in Byzantium at the time. Alexander, portrayed with the insignia of a Byzantine emperor, is seated in his chariot, which is pulled by two griffins crowned by winged genies. At the left a small figure offers fruit; at the right another figure carries a basket and holds on to a rock. A similarly composed tripartite scene is shown on the opposite side (B). A naked man who



151. Front



151. Side A



151. Back



151. Side B

plays a lute is seated cross-legged on an elaborate throne supported by two winged lions. At the left a naked child climbs a tree, and at the right is a figure with a drawn sword. This scene has traditionally been regarded as deriving from Sassanian art, but it can also be thought of in

the context of the “princely cycle” so popular in the arts of the Islamic court. Its appearance alongside the Byzantine Ascension of Alexander suggests a close affinity between the subjects. The casket, with its few decipherable scenes pointing to a courtly environment, may

have been intended as a gift for a foreign dignitary.

On the basis of the type of crown worn by Alexander and the similarities of his face to imperial portraits on a coin of Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–44) dated 931, N. S. Trahoulia has proposed a date for the casket in the first half of the tenth century. The range of cultural traditions (classical, Byzantine, Sassanian) displayed on this one work demonstrates the availability of diverse themes in the marketplace and reminds us that the decoration of luxury objects such as precious metals, textiles, and ivories could transcend cultural boundaries to meet the fashion (or status) prerogatives of the wealthy clientele of Byzantium, Islam, and Western Europe.²

M G

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, no. 125.
2. O. Grabar 1972, pp. 173–89.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, no. 125; Weitzmann 1951 and 1984, p. 162, fig. 194; Schnitzler 1960, p. 201; Cutler 1994, pp. 154–55, fig. 174; Trahoulia, “Alexander the Great” (forthcoming).

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 111; Munich 1950, no. 153; Essen 1956, no. 405; Edinburgh 1958; Athens 1964, no. 47; Darmstadt 1964, no. 2; Brussels 1982, pp. 118–19, no. IV. 26.

152. Three Panels from a Casket with the Story of Joshua

- A. Joshua’s Ambush of the Army at Ai
- B. Joshua Condemning the King of Ai
- C. Joshua Receiving Ambassadors from Gibeon

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th century
Ivory, with traces of polychromy and gilding; bone, with traces of polychromy and gilding (border strips)
A. 6.6 × 13 cm (2 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
B. 5 × 8.5 cm (2 × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
C. 6 × 9 cm (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

INSCRIBED:

A. ΚΑΙ ΕΞΕΤΕΙΝΕΝ ΙΗCOYC ΘΗΝ ΧΕΙΡΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΕΞΑΝΕΘΗCΑΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΧΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΕΚΤΗΝΑΝ ΠΑΝΤΑC (And Joshua stretched out his hand toward the city . . . and they rose up quickly . . . and they slew all [Josh. 8:18–19])

B. ΚΕ ΠΡΟΧΗΓΑΓΟΝ [ΤΟΝ ΒΑCΙΑΕΑ] ΓΑΗ ΠΡΟC ΤΟΝ ΙΗCOΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΡΕΜΑCΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ (And they brought the King of Ai to Joshua . . . and they hanged him [Josh. 8:23,29])

C. On the frame above Joshua’s head, ΙΗCOΥC (Joshua); Η ΓΑΒΑΟΝΗΤΕ ΕΠΗ ΑΦΙΚΝΥΜΕΝΟC ΤΑ ΗΜΑΤΗ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΔΗΡΟΦΟΤΑ (The Gibeonites Displaying Their Torn Clothes [adapted from Josh. 9])

CONDITION: A) There is a horizontal break at the upper left; a portion to the right of the lock is missing. B) The center section is worn through, with losses in the inscription. C) There are cracks and losses to the panel.

PROVENANCE: Said to be from the Cathedral of Lucca; in 1912 purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan from G. Brauer in Paris.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.137a–c)

The three plaques and their borders ornamented with rosettes and medallion heads were once fastened to the wooden core of a box of the type called a rosette casket, of which about fifty examples survive.¹ The plaques illustrate events in the biblical story of Joshua’s conquest of the Promised Land; each is inscribed with a direct quotation from or a paraphrase of the Book of Joshua. On plaque A, which was shaped to accommodate a lock, twenty-two armed warriors advance from the left and the right, while their fallen comrades appear in the middle, below the lock. Plaque B represents the enthroned Joshua surrounded by eight soldiers who have brought before him the captive king of Ai, bent in submission and with his hands bound behind his back. At the upper right the king is hanged on a forked stake and speared by an executioner. Plaque C depicts Joshua enthroned, with five soldiers standing behind him holding swords and shields, while two emissaries from the people of Gibeon advance toward him in torn clothes with their hands extended in a gesture of respect or supplication.

The carving of the plaques, in varying depths of relief, represents a technical tour de force; the clear articulation of forms and space and the realistic and accurate details are astonishing for a work of such small scale. Some elements are deeply undercut or carved in the round, and the backgrounds of the plaques are reduced to a translucent paper-thinness. The plaques can be closely associated in style and iconography with other ivories of the classicizing movement of the tenth century, the so-called Macedonian renaissance, but most specifically with an illuminated manuscript, the Joshua Roll (cat. no. 162), dating to about 950.² In both roll and ivories there is a classical feeling for the structure of the body beneath plastically rendered drapery. The illusion of depth created through overlapping and through the subtle relief carving is comparable to the masterly

juxtaposition of figures and settings and the delicate modeling in the roll. We can assume that a manuscript was used as a model for the ivories and that they were created in a workshop in the imperial palace of the Byzantine emperors in Constantinople. The rosette caskets may have served as gifts or as luxury objects for display.³

In their abundant preservation of polychromy, the Joshua panels and their borders represent an important aspect of Byzantine ivories.⁴ Although some traces of green, blue, red, black, brown, and gold can be seen with the naked eye, the color scheme can be almost completely restored on the basis of microscopic analysis. All the pieces had bright blue backgrounds and red frames; red also occurs on the edges of tunics, on Joshua’s mantle, on boots, and on the petals and backgrounds of rosettes. The garments of a number of figures were once a bright green, as were the borders of the shields and the legs of Joshua’s throne. The armor and helmets and the edges of garments were gilded. Black accentuates the dotted pattern on the chair cushions and the eyes of all the figures and is also used for the inscriptions. Gold, blue, red, and green, sometimes in layers, appear in the medallions of the borders. The color scheme is thus comparable to that found in the sumptuous illuminated manuscripts of the period, such as the Paris Psalter (cat. no. 163), as well as in other precious, brilliantly colorful media such as enamels, icons, mosaics, and textiles. Pigment tests on the ivories reveal that the colors are lapis lazuli, vermilion, malachite, and gold, all of which were used for painting in the medieval period. On the basis of these pigment tests and studies of a group of one hundred Late Antique and Byzantine ivories, the great majority of which bore traces of color, the polychromy such as that found on the Joshua plaques is very likely to be original.⁵

C C

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, pp. 23–24.
2. Schapiro 1949, p. 173; Weitzmann 1948, p. 35.
3. Connor, “New Perspectives,” 1991, pp. 108–10.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 105–8.
5. Connor, *The Color of Ivory* (forthcoming).

LITERATURE: Nye 1919, pp. 401–12; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, p. 23, nos. 1–3; Weitzmann 1948; Schapiro 1949, pp. 161–76; Beckwith, *Veroli*, 1962; Cutler 1984–85, pp. 32–47; Connor 1991, pp. 100–111; Connor, *The Color of Ivory* (forthcoming).

EXHIBITIONS: (A) Baltimore 1947, no. 114; Athens 1964, no. 39.

162A



162B



162C





153

153. The Veroli Casket

Byzantine (Constantinople), middle or second half of 10th century

Ivory and bone on wood core; metal hardware
11.2 × 40.5 × 16 cm (4 3/8 × 16 × 6 1/4 in.)

CONDITION: One entire figure (a flying eros?) is missing from the left plaque on the rear of the box, while the undercut limbs of several figures and animals are lost; there are traces of gilding, especially on architectural details on the front of the box and on surrounding rosette strips; the lock fittings may be original.¹

PROVENANCE: Purchased by John Webb, a London dealer, or an agent acting for him, directly from the Treasury of the Cathedral of Veroli in 1861; sold by Webb at Verona in 1865 to the Victoria and Albert Museum for £420.

The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England (216-1865)

This most familiar of Byzantine boxes is celebrated for the fineness of its workmanship and for its apparent preservation of scenes from classical mythology. Indeed, it is easier to recognize the Greco-Roman prototypes of these scenes than to identify the models used in their reproduction or the way in which they were understood by their Byzantine audience. Where formal parallels are convincing, these tend to be of Late Antique rather than of classical date. The same holds true for the literary sources that have been proposed for the program of the casket, most notably the fifth-century poet Nonnos of Panopolis.² Given the absence of inscriptions, the iconography in the following description is therefore identified according to Greco-Roman types, without prejudice as to the Byzantine interpretation of their significance.

The main plaque on the sliding lid of the box depicts, at left, the Rape of Europa,

accompanied by stone-throwing youths missing from a similar representation, also in the Victoria and Albert Museum,³ in which the assailants are replaced by a flirting couple akin to that on the right plaque at the back. The rest of the lid plaque displays a lyre-playing figure of Herakles type, followed — on a distinct but carefully joined piece of ivory — by erotes (often described as putti), by centaurs, and by dancing figures usually identified as maenads.

Erotes likewise populate five of the other six scenes on the casket. On the left plaque at the front, one eros gazes through a mask at a young woman while another draws a thorn from her foot. The woman's nude companion (identified either as Kastor or Hippolytos) holds a rearing horse. A third eros provides the bridge to a discrete scene in which a physically indistinguishable male leads a winged horse (perhaps Pegasus) to drink at a spring. The female to the right has been variously identified as Demeter, Persephone, Hekate, or the nymph Peirene. Only the right front plaque lacks some overtly comic element. Clearly, it represents the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, although the identity of such figures as Achilles, holding an offering and with his left leg raised on a plinth, is compromised by their beardlessness. The seated figures of Asklepios and Hygeia are unrelated to the theme of sacrifice.

The eclectic nature of the decoration is borne out by the ornament on the ends of the box. On the right side a brassiered eros rides Nereid-like on a sea horse in emulation of Europa and is watched by one who plays at being Triton, perched on a snake-draped altar. At the left the majestic procession of

Dionysos on his panther-drawn wagon is disrupted by a bare-bottomed figure diving into a basket. The Dionysiac tenor of the scene continues on the left plaque at the back. Here one eros kisses a female panther, while another suckles. Perhaps missing from above the panther is a third eros to match one who clambers onto the neck of a deer. Of two other such figures, one tries to bridle a stag while a second, borne on an eagle, watches. The carnivalesque quality is carried to even greater extremes in the right plaque, where, beside an amorous couple (Hippolytos and Phaedra or Ares and Aphrodite), Europa's predicament is mocked by a naked eros who assumes her position while another eros goads the bull into flight. A youth tethers a stallion while, again on a separate section of material, a third performs fellatio upon the beast.⁴ And in the upper-right corner the cheeky motif of the Boy in the Basket, seen in such Late Antique floor mosaics as those at Madeba, in Jordan, recurs to no less humorous effect.⁵

The comic aspect of the figural scenes is reinforced by the fact that although the overall shape of the box and its rosette decoration imitate Late Antique exemplars, the intervening profile heads on the lid are parodies in bone of ancient coin types.⁶ Notwithstanding the humor, the carving is of the highest quality. No other Byzantine work offers such a wealth of difficult, time-consuming undercutting, though a number of technically and stylistically closely related ivory icons display the precautionary measure whereby undercut limbs are anchored to or inserted into the beveled frames of the plaques.⁷ Such technical features, unknown in antique ivories, belie the recent argument that the

plaques on the Veroli Casket, made up as they are of conjoined sections, are constituted from Late Antique fragments.⁸ Further weakening this thesis is the fact that Christian as well as secular box plaques of the Middle Byzantine era are similarly composed of conjugate pieces.⁹ This economy, which may indicate a shortage of ivory, was not needed when bone was employed, as it is on the version of the casket now in Pula, Croatia.¹⁰ A modern imitation of the casket, made after its removal from the Cathedral of Veroli, fifty miles southeast of Rome, to London, has both plaques and ornament revealingly carved in ivory and is housed in the Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid.¹¹

A C

1. Vikan and Nesbitt 1980, p. 7, fig. 15.
2. Simon 1964.
3. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, no. 23.
4. This motif recurs on a plaque, together with an eros masquerading as a Nereid on a sea horse, and on a box plaque recently recovered by the Louvre. See Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 155A.
5. Piccirillo 1993, figs. 3, 6.
6. Cutler 1984–85, p. 45.
7. Cutler 1988.
8. Speck 1993–94.
9. For example, Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, no. 70.
10. *Ibid.*, no. 28.
11. Cutler 1994, pp. 117–19, fig. 129.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, no. 21 (for earlier literature); Weitzmann 1951 and 1984, pp. 169–77, 180, 184, 191, 202; Beckwith, *Veroli*, 1962; Simon 1964, pp. 279–336; Hunger 1965, pp. 207–8; Vikan and Nesbitt 1980; Cutler 1984–85, pp. 32–47; Cutler 1988, pp. 21–28; Speck 1993–94, pp. 79–85; Cutler 1994, pp. 56, 59, 63, 117, 150, 151, 187, 224, 241, 243, figs. 61, 128.

EXHIBITION: Edinburgh 1958, no. 122.

154. Four Plaques from a “Mythological” Casket

- A. “Hippolytos” I
- B. “Hippolytos” II
- C. Warrior
- D. Drunken Herakles

Byzantine (Constantinople), middle or second half of 10th century
Ivory

Each: approx. 6.4 × 4.7 × .6 cm (2½ × 1⅞ × ¼ in.)

CONDITION: There are minor cracks in the frames of plaques A, B, and C; Herakles, on plaque D, has lost the central portion of his spear; the upper-right corners of plaques C and D have been cut off; plaques



154A



154B



154C



154D

A, C, and D have four attachment holes in the corners of the frames, some of which retain vestiges of pegs, while plaque B has five such holes; all reverses have been roughened to enhance their adhesion.

PROVENANCE: Nothing seems to be known about the three plaques in Dresden (A–C) before their entry into the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Grünes Gewölbe; the Drunken Herakles was acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum from John Webb in 1867.

- A. Grünes Gewölbe, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Germany (II 447)
- B. Grünes Gewölbe, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Germany (II 448)
- C. Grünes Gewölbe, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Germany (II 449)
- D. The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England (288-1867)

It is generally supposed that these four plaques, along with three others now in Xanten, Germany, depicting scenes from the life of Joseph, belonged to an octagonal casket.¹ This is a conceivable arrangement, but the combination on one ivory object of figures from both classical and biblical mythology depends on the notion that the warriors depicted on such boxes² derive from illustra-

tions of the Book of Joshua³ and were used in conjunction with images of the labors of Herakles.

There are other uncertainties, particularly with regard to the identity of the figures on the first two plaques. Using analogies with antique sculpture, Kurt Weitzmann first suggested that plaque A showed Hippolytos sacrificing, while B depicted Meleager.⁴ He later argued that both represented Hippolytos, basing this opinion on similarities to sarcophagi that illustrate events from the life of the mythological hero. Ultimately, he argued, both plaques depended on Euripides' drama *Hippolytos Crowned*, a hypothetical illustrated version of which was available to the carver.⁵ Despite the physical resemblance between the main figures on both plaques—in one case (A) making an offering to what appears to be an idol on an ashlar pedestal and in the other (B) turning toward a similar wreath-bearing figure standing on an outcrop of rock—the lack of further evidence and the pervasive presence in Middle Byzantine art of youthful hero types, nude except for a chlamys over



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one shoulder, suggest that even if their sources could be identified, little would be known about how the plaques were perceived in the tenth century. The Byzantines may have responded only to the vaguely “classicing” flavor of such images. Whether or not the smirking actors on plaque B were seen as figures of fun, the tipsy Herakles (D) clutching a woman for support (instead of the bearded Priapus, on whom he leans in a Pompeian version of the scene), was surely read as laughable.⁶ Scarcely less comic are the figures of fighting men (C), confined within their frames and thus deprived of any discernible foe. Obvious favorites of a large audience, such figures became ubiquitous on bone plaques.⁷

As on the Veroli Casket (cat. no. 153), the Herakles in London (D) is composed of distinct sections of ivory, here horizontally joined at the level of the hero’s hips. Again as on the casket, limbs and weapons on the first three plaques (A–C) penetrate the frames, a device that has generally helped to secure their often deeply undercut forms.⁸ The illusion of three-dimensionality conveyed by these means is amplified by the real depth of the relief in relation to the overall thickness of the plaques: the material, 6 mm thick, is cut back to a depth of 5 mm, leaving a translucent ground that has resisted the breakage common to ivory icons worked in this manner, presumably because these plaques were attached to a wooden matrix. Indeed, they are at least as notable as technical tours de force as they are for their putative role in the transmission of antique forms. A C

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, nos. 13–19.

2. For Xanten, *ibid.*, no. 10; for New York, *ibid.*, no. 12, and below, cat. no. 155.
3. With regard to a box in Milan, this relationship has been contested in Zastrow 1978, no. 21.
4. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, nos. 17, 18.
5. Weitzmann 1951 and 1984, pp. 174–77. This hypothesis is repeated in Beckwith, *Veroli*, 1962, p. 14.
6. Beckwith, *Veroli*, 1962, fig. 11.
7. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, nos. 6, 9–12, 29, 30d, and *passim*.
8. Cutler 1994, pp. III–12.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, nos. 13–19; Sponcel 1932, vol. 4, p. 46; Beckwith, *Veroli*, 1962; Cutler 1994.

EXHIBITIONS: (A–C) Berlin 1977, nos. 23–25; (D) Edinburgh 1958, no. 153a; Athens 1964, no. 48; Brussels 1982, no. Iv. 22.

155. Casket with Warriors and “Mythological” Figures

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th–11th century
Bone plaques and ornamental strips over wood;
silver lock plate

11.6 × 43.7 × 18.1 cm (4 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: The sliding lid is warped, particularly toward the left end of the box; approximately half the bone plaques have split; some of the filler strips are modern restorations; the silver lock plate, with incised and nielloed birds, is a Western European addition.

PROVENANCE: Originally from the parish church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in Kranenburg (near Kleve, Germany); bought by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1909 from the dealer G. Brauer.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.237)

In its construction, design, and iconographic diversity, this large box is representative of Byzantine bone-clad caskets made in emulation of similar boxes in ivory. Despite the use of cheaper material, the plaques fashioned from bone of widely varying quality are skillfully carved, probably by a craftsman who also worked in ivory. The fine observation of anatomical and other detail, the creation of numerous planes of recession, and the technique whereby limbs and weapons are anchored to the frames of the plaques are all found as well on the Veroli Casket (cat. no. 153). The rosette bands surrounding the plaques directly imitate forms used on more luxurious boxes and, like them, are cut from prefabricated strips. On the other hand, the plaques are crudely attached to the wooden core with an excessive number of pegs, many of them passing through important elements of the figures or their accoutrements.

There appears to be little overall scheme in the decoration beyond a certain concern with the exotic. Traditional military and hunting motifs (horsemen are equipped with stirrups and their mounts with girths) are combined with fighting men in Turkic hats and trousers;¹ some figures — notably the paunchy dotard at the extreme right on the front² — are surely comic in intent and recur on other such boxes.³ The relationship of this repertoire of stock figures to those taken to represent mythological personages is unclear. If, for example, the winged youth holding a snake in the central plaque on the rear of the box is Triptolemos,⁴ he would be as out of place in this context as the enthroned military leader, said to depict Joshua,⁵ at the beginning of the same row of plaques. Perhaps we should

approach the subject matter as an eclectic *mélange* of curious types intended to delight rather than to convey any coherent program.⁶

A C

1. Cutler 1984–85, p. 46, fig. 23. For a similar figure on a bone plaque found in the Khersones, see Moscow 1977, vol. 2, no. 607.
2. Cutler 1984–85, p. 41, fig. 16.
3. For example, Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, pl. LXXVHC.
4. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, no. 12.
5. *Ibid.*
6. On such an aesthetic, see Cutler 1974, pp. 235–54.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, no. 12; Weitzmann 1951 and 1984, pp. 155–56; Rorimer and Forsyth 1954, p. 129; Cutler 1984–85, pp. 32–47; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, “Cup of San Marco,” 1985, pp. 167–74.

156. Casket with Warriors and Dancers

Byzantine (Constantinople), 11th century; Italian (?), 15th century (?) (hinges, flanges, and lock)
Ivory and bone; copper gilt (hinges, flanges, and lock)
23 × 19 × 28.8 cm (9 × 7½ × 11⅜ in.)

CONDITION: There are minor cracks in some of the bone strips.

PROVENANCE: Formerly in the Hoentschele collection.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.239)

Over fifty ivory and bone caskets with secular decoration survive from the Middle Byzantine period.¹ Usually embellished with a variety of mythological scenes, warriors in combat, or erotes dancing and playing musical instruments, these caskets are among the few extant Middle Byzantine objects that allow us a glimpse into the Byzantines’ nonreligious art.

The Metropolitan Museum casket is made of plaques of ivory depicting erotes, framed by decorative bands of bone repeating a rosette-in-circle pattern. All the erotes on the side panels—three on each of the long sides and two on the short ones—are seminaked, wearing only a chiton; most hold a sword in the right hand and a shield in the left.² They all have similar grotesque and comical features, generally associated with classical comic masks. The sides of the truncated pyramid lid of the casket are decorated with a frieze of a vine scroll enclosing similar erotes. On the front panel they perform a scarf dance (a female custom) or play musical instruments (drum and cymbals). On the back and on the right side panels they appear as warriors confronting each

other in pairs. On the left side panel one of the erotes struggles with a lion while the other aims with a bow and arrow from behind the beast. The panel on the top of the lid depicts two erotes grappling with a tame female panther—she has a leash around her neck—and a canine, while a third has fallen headfirst into a chalice-like vessel.³

The plaques and strips of the decoration are secured by pegs to a wood core.⁴ A recent study has suggested that many of these Middle Byzantine caskets were originally polychrome, a practice that would explain the usual combination of ivory and bone for their construction.⁵ It is likely that the individual components of these works were produced en masse and then combined to form caskets with a limited range of shapes and subject matter.⁶ The interruption of the rosette pattern on the bone strips on the front of the casket indicates that these sections were first carved in long strips, then cut to order for a specific object.

Warrior contests, battles of men and beasts, dancing, music making, and buffoonery were

all favorite subjects for the courtly arts of the eastern Mediterranean, including those of Byzantium and Islam. Caskets such as this were often exchanged as royal gifts.⁷

D K

1. See Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1.
2. The eros on the left plaque on the front of the casket is the only one to hold a spear instead of a sword.
3. A very similar representation may be seen in two other caskets, one in the Cathedral of Sviataia Sofia (Saint Sophia) in Novgorod and one in the State Hermitage in Saint Petersburg; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, pls. xxvIa, xxvIIa.
4. See Harrington 1927, pp. 42–46.
5. Connor, “New Perspectives,” 1991, pp. 100–111.
6. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1.
7. See Connor, “New Perspectives,” 1991, p. 109, figs. 14, 15.

LITERATURE: Harrington 1927, pp. 42–46; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1; Connor, “New Perspectives,” 1991, pp. 100–111.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1970, vol. 1, no. 77; Providence 1987, fig. 15, p. 21; Milan 1991, no. 10a.



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157. Casket with Scenes from the Stories of Adam and Eve and Cain and Abel

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th or 11th century
Ivory on wood, with traces of gilding
12.5 × 4.6 × 19 cm (4¾ × 18⅞ × 7½ in.)

CONDITION: The box is missing two plaques on the lid, some portions of the border, and its lock.

PROVENANCE: Until the eighteenth century, in the sacristy of the Church of Saint Maximin at Trier; Lindenschmidt family.

Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, Germany
(Kg. 54:219)

This casket belongs to a group of Byzantine boxes decorated with carved plaques of ivory and bone that are often referred to as rosette caskets.¹ Usually dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries, they feature border strips adorned with circles containing either profile heads or rosettes. In all probability many of them were used for holding coins and other small valuables, as is suggested by the locks that were often provided to protect their contents from pilferage. In the majority of cases the subject matter portrayed is secular, or even profane, in character—as, for example, the scenes from pagan mythology depicted on the Veroli Casket (cat. no. 153). On some boxes, however, the imagery conveys a more pious message, which seeks to tie prosperity to the practice of Christian virtue. On the present casket we find the story of Adam and Eve, which originally began on the lid with two plaques showing the creation of Adam (now lost) and of Eve, the latter inscribed ΑΔΑΜ ΥΠΝΟCΑC ΕΥΑ ΕΞΙΛΘΕΝ ΕΚ ΤΙC ΤΙC ΠΛΕΒΡΑ Α[Υ]ΤΟΥ (When Adam was asleep, Eve came out of his rib). The narrative continues on the back of the casket, with carvings that depict Adam and Eve in paradise, their temptation and their fall, and

God accusing a cowering and remorseful Adam with the words ΑΔΑΜ ΠΟΥ Η (Adam, where art thou?). The left end of the casket, inscribed ΑΔΑΜ ΕΞΕΒΑΙΘΙ (Adam was cast out), illustrates an angel expelling the guilty pair from paradise. The plaques on the front show them first sitting and weeping, their heads in their hands, and then Adam tilling the ground, reaping the harvest, and carrying it home. The right end of the box has three plaques, two on either side of the original lock plate and one beneath it. The flanking plaques show the unusual scene of Adam and Eve at the Forge, with Eve pumping a pair of bellows and Adam working at an anvil. Beneath the lock sits a man labeled Ο ΠΛΟΥΤΟC (Wealth) holding a moneybag. Finally, two plaques on the lid showed the murder of Abel by Cain (one is now missing). A similar selection of subjects, including the personification of Wealth beneath the lock plate flanked by the lamenting figures of Adam and Eve, is found on a box preserved in the State Hermitage in Saint Petersburg.²

This association of Wealth with his moneybag and Adam and Eve's toil and grief is a typical example of the antithetical thinking characteristic of Byzantine Christianity. Just as the emperor who is humble will be powerful, so too the private citizen who grieves for his or her faults will be wealthy. Byzantine authors who wrote commentaries on the Book of Genesis explained that God, having created the fruits of the earth, reserved the possibility of withholding them as a means of punishment: "For when they are sinning, the fruits dry up, but when they are atoning for their trespasses through their remorse, the fruits [of their labor] are abundant."³ There was, then, a perceived equation, in which grief and repentance were balanced by an assurance of plenty. This is the message conveyed

by the antithetical scenes of grieving and productivity portrayed on the boxes in which the Byzantines kept their valuables.

H M

1. On these boxes, see Cutler 1984–85.
2. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, pp. 49–50, no. 68, pls. 48, 49. There is no doubt that the weeping pair always occupied their present position on the Saint Petersburg box, flanking the lock with Wealth between them, because the frame of the left plaque, showing Eve, makes a jog to accommodate the plate.
3. Prokopios of Gaza, *Commentarii in Genesim* 3.17; *PG*, vol. 87/1, cols. 213B–C.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, p. 50, no. 69, pl. 50; Cutler 1984–85, p. 47 n. 8; Papanastasiou 1992; Cutler 1994, pp. 61, 242, fig. 65.

EXHIBITIONS: Essen 1956, no. 410; Athens 1964, no. 43; Brussels 1982, no. Iv. 24.

158. Three Panels from Adam and Eve Caskets

A. Sorrowing Adam

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th or 11th century
Ivory

7 × 7.6 cm (2¾ × 3 in.)

INSCRIBED: ΑΔΑΜ (Adam)

PROVENANCE: Comte Auguste Bastard; purchased from Léon Gruel, Paris, 1926.

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (71.296)

B. Adam and Eve Harvesting

C. Adam and Eve at the Forge

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th or 11th century
Ivory

B. 7 × 9.5 cm (2¾ × 3¾ in.)

C. 6.7 × 9.8 cm (2¾ × 3¾ in.)



INSCRIBED: On both panels, ΑΔΑΜ (Adam),
ΕΥΑ (Eve)

CONDITION: Parts of the borders are missing
from each panel; the holes in the centers of the
panels were probably used for attaching metal strips
to the casket.

PROVENANCE: G. Brauer, Paris, 1909; J. Pierpont
Morgan, 1917.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (B: 17.190.138;
C: 17.190.139)

These high-quality ivory panels were formerly dated to the twelfth century,¹ though recent research has brought into question the existence of an ivory-carving industry in Byzantium during that period.² The three ivories have been associated with another panel, now in the British Museum, London, that depicts the archangel Michael in a composition of the Expulsion of Adam from Paradise.³ All four panels share the characteristic of having been not merely attached to the wood core of a box with pegs, as was usually the case, but being slotted into place by means of grooves or bevels cut into their edges.⁴ The panels are also closely related in their style of carving, and all are approximately the same height. These shared features have prompted the suggestion that the four plaques came originally from the same casket, which, like the box from Darmstadt (cat. no. 157), would have shown Old Testament scenes, including the fall of Adam and Eve and their expulsion from paradise.⁵ Given the assembly-line method of construction of Byzantine boxes, it is impossible to ascertain whether these panels in fact decorated the same object, though it is reasonable to attribute all four ivories to the same workshop. A fifth panel, showing the killing of the king of Hazor, which is now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, is similar in its style of carving and in its original means of attachment, but its height is greater.⁶

The panel from the Walters Art Gallery portrays Adam, identified by an inscription, sitting in dejection after his expulsion from paradise. Inscriptions also identify the figures on the two ivories in the Metropolitan Museum, which are carved with scenes of Adam and Eve toiling after the fall, gathering the harvest from the fields and working at the forge. The three panels can be related in their subject matter to the similar portrayals on the ivory box in Darmstadt (see cat. no. 157 for a discussion of the significance of these scenes on Byzantine boxes). The portrayal of Adam grieving on the ivory in Baltimore has attracted considerable comment. The pose of the figure, with the head resting on one hand and the elbow propped up on the knee, was used frequently by Byzantine artists to convey grief



158A



158B



158C

or sorrow.⁷ In this case, however, there is an echo of a specific classical model that survived in the Hippodrome of Constantinople. Adam sits not on a tree trunk, as on the casket in Darmstadt, but on a cylindrical object with a diaper pattern that resembles the weave of a basket. This detail may have been inspired

by the well-known sculpture of Herakles by Lysippos, in which the naked Herakles was shown sitting in the same pose on the basket that he had used to clear out the refuse from the Augean stables. The statue was destroyed by the Crusaders after they captured Constantinople in 1204 but is known from literary

descriptions. It is reproduced on another casket, now in Xanten, Germany, where the lion skin spread out over the basket unambiguously identifies the dejected hero as Herakles.⁸

H M

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, pp. 54–55, nos. 90, 92, 93, pl. 55; Randall 1985, pp. 116, 130, no. 202, colorpl. 55.
2. Cutler 1994, pp. 217–19, 247.
3. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, p. 54, no. 91, pl. 55.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 54, fig. 26; Cutler 1984–85, pp. 36, 47 n. 13, fig. 3b.
5. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, p. 54; Randall 1985, p. 130.
6. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, p. 54, no. 89, pl. 55; Cutler 1994, pp. 77–78, 141, figs. 79, 80, 163.
7. H. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow," 1977, pp. 132–40.
8. Dörig 1957, pp. 23–26, figs. 1–3; H. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow," 1977, pp. 133, 135–36, 140, figs. 14, 20; Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, 1984, p. 161, fig. 189. The detail of the basket also appears on another panel showing Adam grieving, on a box in the Walters Art Gallery: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, pp. 51–52, no. 82, pl. 52b; Randall 1985, p. 128, no. 201, fig. 23.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, pp. 54–55, nos. 90, 92, 93, pl. 55; Dörig 1957, p. 26, fig. 3; H. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow," 1977, pp. 133, 140; Cutler 1984–85, pp. 36, 47 nn. 13, 14, figs. 3a,b; Randall 1985, pp. 116, 130, no. 202, colorpl. 55.

EXHIBITION: Baltimore 1947, no. 120, pl. 23, p. 43.

159. Floriated Plaque

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 10th–early 11th century

Ivory with metal attachments
8.1 × 10 × .9 cm (3¼ × 4 × ⅜ in.)

CONDITION: There is a large hole at the center of the lower edge of the field, with damage as well to the adjacent molding; the molding has suffered several other small holes and abrasions; the crack running from the molding on the upper right across nearly the entire field, as well as the hairline cracks at the upper-left edge and at both lower corners, probably necessitated the addition of the metal brackets; the back of the ivory is chamfered.

PROVENANCE: Gift of L. André, 1929.

Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris, France (OA 7380)

This ivory and an almost identical one in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon (CA. T. 330), are thought to have been companion pieces of the same box.¹ Unlike most Byzantine box plaques, which were made to be riveted

to wood cores, the Paris and Dijon plaques both exhibit chamfered edges on their backs, a technique (peculiar to Byzantine ivory working)² that allowed the plaques to be joined directly to each other without the need for a core. The casket from the Treasury of the Cathedral of Troyes (cat. no. 141) is a complete box fitted in this manner, a construction that required thick pieces of ivory, which were more commonly used for the carving of devotional images.

The delicate high-relief pattern of symmetrically paired flowers encircled by vines that both interlace to form a central heart motif and emerge to fill the field with sinuous tendrils is a masterpiece of design and execution, unique in known Byzantine box decoration. The crisp carving may be compared to that of the plaque of Saint John the Baptist, possibly from the mid-tenth century,³ in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and the individual floral motifs duplicate those in late-tenth-century manuscripts such as Ms. Laud. gr. 75 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.⁴ In its overall complexity and fluidity, however, the pattern anticipates those found on objects of the mid- to late eleventh century from throughout the Byzantine Empire, such as a chancel panel from the Church of the Dormition, Nicaea,⁵ and the silver book cover of the Sacramentary of Frontale in the Pierpont Morgan Library (cat. no. 303).

M L C

1. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 240.
2. Information kindly provided by Anthony Cutler.
3. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 45, no. 68, pl. xxvii; Williamson 1982, p. 28, pl. 10, for a twelfth-century date.
4. Spatharakis 1981, vol. 1, p. 14, no. 20, vol. 2, fig. 46.
5. Peschlow 1972, pp. 145–87, esp. pp. 176ff.

LITERATURE: *Catalogue historique* 1883, no. 330; Migeon 1922, vol. 1, p. 12, no. 25; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 191; Maurice 1983; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 240.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1903, no. 1; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 153a.



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160. *Theriaka* and *Alexipharmaka*, by Nikander

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th century
Tempera on vellum; 48 fols.
12.5 × 16 cm (4⅞ × 6¼ in.)

CONDITION: The manuscript has been trimmed and is missing folios.

PROVENANCE: Two Latin notes in an Italian hand suggest that the manuscript was in Italy in the fourteenth century; acquired by the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1748 and taken from there to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1795.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, France
(Ms. suppl. gr. 247)

The Paris Nikander contains two treatises in verse by the second-century-B.C. Greek poet Nikander of Colophon, the *Theriaka* and the *Alexipharmaka*, both of which contain information about the poisonous bites of snakes and other animals, along with remedies and antidotes; fifty-four illustrations accompany the text. The manuscript can be dated to the tenth century on the basis of its script and the style of the miniatures. Because its classicizing style and antique subject matter can be related to other manuscripts produced in the capital during this period, it is generally assumed to be Constantinopolitan in origin. The miniatures of the Paris Nikander derive in large part from a model from the Late Antique or Early Christian period. Tertullian, writing in the third century, states that Nikander both wrote about and painted scorpions, suggesting that an illustrated version of the text was already circulating by that time. Presumably, this early example would have contained simple depictions of snakes and other poisonous creatures and the plants from which remedies could be extracted. Most of the illustrations in the Paris manuscript are of this type, with depictions of animals or plants placed above, below, or within the text column.

There are also a number of illustrations with human figures, possibly additions made by the medieval artist. Interestingly, the same striding figure appears in a number of the scenes—perhaps because it was easy to repeat. There are also several full-page illustrations with figures set in landscapes. On folio 47v three figures on a grassy groundline move toward the right while a snake floats above them. On folio 48r a shepherd with a staff walks through a tree-filled landscape. Since there is no text on either of these folios (folio 47r contains another full-page image and folio 48v is blank), it is difficult to determine a specific meaning. It has been suggested that these folios were originally at the front of the volume and may relate to the opening passage of the text, "I will expound the forms of



160. Three Figures and a Floating Snake, fol. 47v; Shepherd, fol. 48r

savage creatures and their deadly injuries which smite one unforeseen, and the countering remedy for the harm. And the toiling ploughman, the herdsman, and the woodcutter, whenever in forest or at the plough one of them fastens its deadly fang upon him, shall respect you for your learning in such means for averting sickness.²¹ Research on this small, richly illustrated manuscript has not yet clarified the purpose for which it was made. Did it hold some practical value or special meaning for a wealthy owner living in Constantinople? Was it meant to embellish a country estate? Or was it a collector's item, indicating an educated interest in the antique?

K C

1. Gow and Scholfield 1953, p. 29.

LITERATURE: Lenormant and DeChanot 1875, pp. 69–72, 125–27, pls. 18, 32, and 1876, pp. 34–36, 87–89, pls. 11, 24, with color illus.; Omont 1902, pls. LXV–LXXII; Gow and Scholfield 1953; Weitzmann, *Studies*, 1971, pp. 35–38, 141–43; Kádár 1978, pp. 37–51, pls. 1–19.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 663; New York 1979, no. 226; Brussels 1982, no. M4; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 259.

161. *De materia medica*, by Dioskorides

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid-10th century
Tempera on vellum; 385 fols.
39.7 × 29.2 cm (15½ × 11½ in.)

CONDITION: Several gatherings are missing at the beginning.

PROVENANCE: The manuscript must have been in Constantinople in the fifteenth century, when some of its pictures were copied by the artist of Vatican Chis. gr. F. VII 159; in the possession of an Arabic-speaking person, who added a number of inscriptions in Arabic as well as genitalia to some of the animals; Manuel Eugenicos, Constantinople, 1578; Domenico Sestini, about 1820; Marchese C. Rinuccini, Florence, 1820–49, as Cod. 69; the dealers Payne and Foss, London, 1849–57; Charles Phillipps, 1857 to about 1860/65; with T. Phillipps, as Cod. 21975, from about 1860/65 until estate sale in 1920.

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N.Y. (M652)

Pedanius Dioskorides of Anazarbos was a Greek physician and pharmacologist writing in the middle of the first century A.D. In his treatise *De materia medica* (The Materials of Medicine) he discusses the preparation and medicinal use of substances derived from plants, minerals, and animals. A major resource on pharmacology throughout the

Middle Ages, the text was rearranged in alphabetical order about the third century A.D. to facilitate its use. It was translated into many languages, including Latin, Syriac, and Arabic, and paraphrased in Hebrew; there were also later vernacular translations. The extensive commentaries and scholia that accompany the text in some manuscripts—bringing it up to date and sometimes questioning its veracity—attest to its ongoing use. The popularity of Dioskorides continued to be widespread through the sixteenth century, when the medical faculties of many universities included a lecturer on his work.

It is not certain whether *De materia medica* was illustrated from the very beginning, though the illustrations certainly seem critical to its usefulness. The earliest illustrated copy is the codex in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. med. gr. 1), which was made in 512 for Anicia Juliana, a member of the Byzantine imperial family. This luxurious manuscript contains nearly five hundred miniatures of various plants and animals, most of them full page. At the beginning of the manuscript are two group portraits of famous physicians from antiquity, two portraits of Dioskorides, and a dedication portrait of Anicia Juliana. The numerous other important illus-



161. Processing Oil, fol. 225v

trated copies of the treatise include a seventh-century manuscript in Naples (Biblioteca Nazionale, Suppl. gr. 28), a ninth-century example in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 2179), another tenth-century manuscript, in the Vatican (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 284), and several Islamic examples (cat. nos. 288, 289).

Like many other Dioskorides manuscripts, Morgan Library M652 includes not only the *De materia medica* but also paraphrases of Nikander's *Theriaka* and *Alexipharmaka* (see cat. no. 160) and Oppian's *Halieutika*, a work on fishing. The Morgan Dioskorides includes more than 750 miniatures, many of which seem to have been copied from the Vienna codex (or a manuscript closely related to it). Its miniatures are not full page but are placed within the text column.

Their naturalistic style is in keeping with the tenth-century date generally assigned to the manuscript.

The page shown here, in a section devoted to the preparation of various kinds of oils, gives instructions on how to whiten oil. The illustration is inscribed ΕΛΛΙΟΝ ΛΕΥΚΑΚΙΑ (whitest oil). Sunlight, the most important element in the process, is indicated by the disk in the center of the picture. The reader is told to put the oil in a large-mouthed earthenware vessel and then to place the vessel in the sun for eight days. Around noon each day it should be poured in a long stream from one jar into another so that the rolling and beating action will change its character. The nude figure at the left is apparently engaged in this activity. The pot on the fire at the right must repre-

sent the next stage in the operation, in which fenugreek is crushed into heated water and poured, along with *taedum pinus*, into the oil. After another eight days the oil is stirred again, melilot and iris flowers are added, and then it is poured into a new vessel, which has been rinsed with wine. If at the end of this operation the oil still is not whitened, the instructions are to place it out in the sun until it is.

K C

LITERATURE: Gunther 1934; *Pedani Dioscuridis Anazarbaci*, 1935; Weitzmann 1959, pp. 15ff.; Weitzmann, *Studies*, 1971, pp. 25–34, 135–48; Kádár 1978; Riddle 1980; Riddle 1984; Riddle 1985; *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 632.

EXHIBITIONS: Princeton 1973, no. 6; New York 1979, no. 181.

162. Three Sheets from the Joshua Roll

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 950
 Tempera and gold on vellum
 Sheet 10: 31 × 78.5 cm (12¼ × 30⅞ in.)
 Sheet 11: 31.5 × 76.3 cm (12½ × 30 in.)
 Sheet 12: 31.5 × 75 cm (12½ × 29½ in.)

PROVENANCE: In use by Greek speakers until the thirteenth century; about 1500 in the collection of Leonico Thomeo, Padua; recorded in the 1571 inventory of the library of Ulrich Fugger, Augsburg; donated in 1584 to the Palatine Library of Elector Frederick IV, Heidelberg; in 1623 Maximilian of Bavaria donated the Palatine Library to the Vatican Library.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
 (Vat. Pal. gr. 431)

The Joshua Roll is composed of fifteen sheets of parchment, each between 30 and 31.5 cm (11⅞ and 12⅜ in.) in height and 42 and 89.5 cm (16½ and 35¼ in.) in length. Before their separation in 1902 the sheets were glued together to form a roll slightly more than 10.5 m (35 ft.) in length. Truncated figures and missing text confirm the loss of sheets at both the beginning and the end of the roll. Just how many have been lost is a matter for conjecture, but it is widely assumed that the roll never contained the entire Book of Joshua.¹ As preserved, it recounts episodes from the second through the tenth chapter. The back, originally blank, now has entries in several thirteenth-century hands. Sheets 5 and 6 have excerpts from the writings of Dionysios of Alexandria, Basil the Great, and Gregory of Nazianzos as well as scholia to the Old and New Testaments; at an unknown date George Kourtikes, who held the ecclesiastical post of reader, recorded notes pertaining to the building of a house on the back of sheet 13.



162. The Defeat of the Men of Ai, sheet 10



162. Joshua Condemning the King of Ai, sheet 11



162. The Embassy of the Gibeonites, sheet 12

Exhibited are sheets 10–12. On sheet 10 the story begins with Joshua listening as God promises to deliver the city of Ai (Josh. 8:1–2) and then goes on to show Joshua leading the army, the battle for Ai, and the city’s destruction by fire (Josh. 8:3–23). The story of Ai ends on sheet 11 with the king’s capture, judgment, and execution (Josh. 8:23–29) and Joshua giving thanks before the altar on Mount Ebal (Josh. 8:30–31). At the end of sheet 11 two men are shown coming from the city of Gibeon; on sheet 12 they arrive and speak with Joshua (Josh. 9). Sheet 12 ends with the battle against the Amorites, in which Joshua answers the Gibeonites’ request for aid (Josh. 10:1–11).

A masterpiece of Byzantine painting, the Joshua Roll is a complex, allusive work of art, relating in pictures a famous battle narrative in a form that recalls works from Roman antiquity. By the Middle Ages books had replaced rolls, although the latter were retained for legal documents, special prayers used in the liturgy, letters, and the Torah. In ancient scrolls lines of text were relatively short and ran parallel to the main axis of the visual field. In medieval scrolls the line of text was perpendicular to the axis, so that the reader’s relationship to the field was entirely altered. The maker of the Joshua Roll reinstated ancient practice, although he varied the length of the lines in order to help the reader scan the visual field and to more legibly divide the work into episodes. In addition to presenting the biblical story in a form that had long fallen out of use, the maker devoted most of the roll to a frieze of figures reminiscent of stone sculpture, an effect he achieved with nothing more than the inks commonly used by scribes — brown, black, blue, and vermilion — to which he added white. The result recalls Roman triumphal columns carved with battle narratives, a form of victory monument represented in Constantinople by the columns of Theodosios I and Arkadios.

The Joshua Roll’s narrative has long been thought to represent a specialized kind of allegory known as typology, the relating of stories from the Old Testament that are thought to foreshadow later events. While Joshua’s successful campaigns had been conducted long before in the area around Jerusalem, some event in Byzantine history must have transformed the story of Joshua into a divinely inspired antecedent. Two hypotheses about the typological relationship have emerged. The first identifies Emperor Herakleios’s capture of Jerusalem in 630 as the occasion for making a roll on the Joshua theme; this hypothetical roll would then have been copied in the tenth century in a spirit of interest in the

imperial past. The second hypothesis sees the Joshua Roll as a new creation of the tenth century. Following the crushing losses inflicted by Muslim armies in the eighth and ninth centuries, the tenth-century Byzantines took the offensive in an effort to recapture Syria, Palestine, and the holy city of Jerusalem. Late in his reign, Emperor John I Tzimiskes (r. 969–76) brought the Byzantine army to within sight of Jerusalem. Yet difficulties surround both views. Little is known of the painting styles popular during the reign of Herakleios, so the suggestion that the source originated at that time seems little more than conjecture. Attribution to the time of John Tzimiskes, however, places the roll uncomfortably late on the basis of style, which we know relatively well. What we can say with fair certainty is that the strong parallel with the Paris Psalter (cat. no. 163) places the Joshua Roll, whether copy or fresh creation, in the middle of the tenth century.

J C A

1. Weitzmann 1948, pp. 89–99; Anderson 1982, p. 101; Lowden, *Octateuchs*, 1992, pp. 114–15.

LITERATURE: H. Stevenson 1885, p. 279; Franchi di Cavalieri 1905; Weitzmann 1948; Schapiro 1949, pp. 161–76 (reprinted with addendum in Schapiro 1979, pp. 49–66); Tselos 1950, pp. 275–90; Mango 1969, p. 126; Canart and Peri 1970, p. 286; Kitzinger 1973, pp. 141–44; Anderson 1982, p. 101; Narkiss 1982, pp. 440–41; Mazal 1984; Buonocore 1986, p. 500; Kresten 1989, pp. 111–29; Ceresa 1991, pp. 194–95; Lowden, *Octateuchs*, 1992, pp. 105–19.

EXHIBITIONS: Vatican City 1975, no. 166; Heidelberg 1986, no. C II.

163. The Paris Psalter

Byzantine (Constantinople), second half of 10th century
Tempera and gold leaf on vellum; 449 fols.
37 × 26.5 cm (14½ × 10½ in.)

INSCRIBED: At the top, MWYCHC (Moses); below left, above the seated man, OPOC CINA (Mount Sinai); below right, beside the standing figure, MWYCHC (Moses)

PROVENANCE: Acquired by Jean Hurault of Boistaillé, ambassador to Constantinople (1557–59); Louis XIII; sold to the Bibliothèque Royale, Paris, in 1622.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, France (Ms. gr. 139)

This has become the most famous illustrated codex in Byzantine art and is featured in almost all books on the subject. A luxurious imperial psalter, associated with the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945–59), it is unique among the seventy-

five illuminated Byzantine psalters extant. No other example combines its large size, high quality of script and text decoration, and magnificent full-page illustrations, fourteen in all. Seven are bound one after the other as a self-contained set preceding the psalter text; these depict events of David’s life in chronological order. The remaining seven are connected with the text. The scene of David’s repentance precedes Psalm 50 (51), the most important of the penitential psalms. The other six illustrations are each placed before an ode or canticle, commonly found at the end of a Byzantine psalter.

These miniatures are famous for their apparent classicism in figural style, painting technique, and coloration. Among the classicizing features are personifications that have been incorporated in the compositions. In the scene of Moses receiving the tablets from God on Mount Sinai (fol. 422v), for example, which refers to the Canticle of Moses in Deuteronomy, a seminude figure seen from the back is seated on a rock in the left foreground. Identified as Mount Sinai by the inscription, he holds a dead tree stump, which, together with his nakedness, signifies the barren wasteland of the setting. In the upper-left corner Moses stretches upward to the hand of God to reach for the tablets. At the summit of the mountain the Burning Bush is visible. Below, in the center, a group of Israelites engaged in conversation awaits Moses’ return. To the right, on an almost separate plane, Moses is shown again, this time attentively listening to God’s instructions on how to build the temple that will house the Tablets of the Law. His finger-to-chin gesture indicates that he is thinking.

In addition to personifications of time and place that help the viewer to identify the event depicted, the psalter illustrations contain personifications representing abstract concepts and virtues such as clemency, penance, and wisdom. These figures are usually interpreted as the clearest sign of a revived interest in the antique. For this reason the Paris Psalter as a whole has served as one of the key documents supporting the notion of a Macedonian renaissance during the tenth century. The large full-page illustrations have also given rise to the theory of an “aristocratic” system of psalter illumination in Byzantium. It was thought otherwise incomprehensible that a repertoire of pagan forms and subjects could have a place within a manuscript of Christian liturgical or private devotion.

David and the events of his life, however, were used in the Middle Ages in two primary ways: religious (David as a type of Christ) and imperial or secular (David as the model for an



163. Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law, fol. 422v

emperor or king). David's victory over Goliath, for example, could be seen as an antetype of Christ's victory over Satan or as a reference to the emperor's defeat of an enemy. In the Paris Psalter the secular significance of the personifications clearly outweighs the liturgical and devotional aspect of the manuscript.

The illustrations focus on presenting the image of the ideal ruler in the eyes of God and his people according to contemporary, that is, tenth-century, notions of imperial ideology. In sequence they follow closely the structure of imperial *enkomia* in praise of a ruler, and specifically of such tenth-century texts as the *Vita Basilii*, an *enkomion* on the life of Basil I (r. 867–86), founder of the Macedonian dynasty.

The Paris Psalter has become an important work in the history of Byzantine art mainly because of its splendid full-page illustrations and its unusually classical-looking compositions. It can now be better understood as the exceptional work of art that it is, not only because of its aesthetic value but also because of the innovative and sophisticated way in which it incorporated political ideas in traditional subject matter and imagery.

The psalter was influential in its own time and during the centuries that followed. A number of its compositions introduced new ways of illustrating psalters and other manuscripts in Byzantium. The popularity of the Paris Psalter illustrations was lasting. We know that as late as the thirteenth century some of them were still used as models for the creation of luxury manuscripts. I K

LITERATURE: Buchthal 1938, pp. 33–39, fig. 10; Weitzmann 1939; Kalavrezou 1982, pp. 50–51; H. Maguire 1989.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, no. 659, Brussels 1982, p. 57; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 261.

164. *Barlaam and Ioasaph*

Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1075–1125
Tempera and gold on vellum; 135 fols.
17 × 23 cm (9 × 6¼ in.)

CONDITION: The manuscript is defective at the end; scattered leaves are missing throughout; a later hand has obliterated evil figures.

The Holy Monastery of Iveron, Mount Athos, Greece (Cod. 463)

Barlaam and Ioasaph tells a fascinating story set in an exotic land. At some time during the early centuries of the Christian Church the pagan king of India, Abenner, undertakes to rid his kingdom of Christians. He isolates his only child, Ioasaph, to shield the boy from Christianity and from all earthly concerns. Eventually Ioasaph is released, but he is confronted by sickness and poverty. Responding to divine inspiration, Barlaam, a seventy-year-old monk, travels from his native Egypt and, disguised in secular clothing, gains entrance to the palace and to the prince, converting and baptizing him after a series of conversations. Finally reconciled to his son's faith, Abenner divides his kingdom into two parts; that which he has allocated to his son flourishes while his own falls into decline. Grasping the significance of the disparity, the king is converted to Christianity, then dies. Ioasaph renounces the throne to join Barlaam in the wilderness.

We do not know who wrote *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. It was not John of Damascus, with whom it has often been associated since the Middle Ages. Evidence points to the text's creation in the early ninth century in Palestine, probably in the milieu of the Great Lavra of Saint Sabas.¹ For Christian monks living in Muslim Palestine the story would have given shape to their hopes for the conversion of the caliph—following, as it does, a pattern known from medieval chronicles in which a non-Christian ruler converts and leads in the baptism of his people. The story of Barlaam and Ioasaph, in which elements of the life of the Buddha have been recognized, was immensely popular throughout the Middle Ages. At least 140 copies of the text in Greek are known, and of them 6 are extensively illustrated.

The Iveron manuscript takes the form of strips of episodes. The miniature on fol. 4v (1:5–7) introduces the main forces, whose clash gives the tale its structure. At the left the Indian king Abenner appears, like a Byzantine emperor, in a court epiphany; he then reclines for a meal attended by servants. At the right monks work to convert the king's people to Christianity. The scene of a disputation between monks and turbaned Indians is followed by one in which a monk places his hand on the head of a seated man, as a companion looks on. The miniature displays the illuminator's considerable skills. The tall figures are individually characterized in strongly three-dimensional portraits. Stylistically similar works in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Suppl. gr. 1262), and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (gr. 1927) suggest a late-eleventh- or early-twelfth-century date for the manuscript. The closest and most revealing



164. King Abenner at Court, and Monks Converting the Populace, fol. 4v

parallel is a heavily illustrated Gospel book in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence (Plut. VI.23).² The Florence and Iveron manuscripts share conventions of author portraiture as well as extensive narrative cycles, in which the selection of consecutive pictures emphasizes dramatic action over dialogue.

The popularity of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* reflects a taste that led in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to a colorful and more obviously secular literature. The rise of the so-called romance was a broad European phenomenon; it is notable that an early-thirteenth-century Frenchman added a vernacular translation in the margins of the Iveron manuscript.

JCA

1. Kazhdan 1988, pp. 1187–1209.
2. Velmans 1971.

LITERATURE: Lampros 1900, p. 149; Der Nersessian 1936–37, pp. 23–25, 204, and passim, pls. I–XXI; Velmans 1971; Pelekanidis et al. 1975, pp. 306–22, figs. 53–132; Kazhdan 1988, pp. 1187–1209.

165. Jewelry from a Thessalonian Hoard

A. Pair of Bracelets or Wrist Cuffs

Byzantine (Thessalonike?), probably late 9th–10th century

Gold and cloisonné enamel

H. 5.7 cm (2¼ in.), MAX. DIAM. 7.6 cm (3 in.)

Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessalonike, Greece (AE 2506, 2507)

B. Pair of Earrings

Byzantine (Thessalonike?), 10th–14th century

Gold and pearls

MAX. H. 4 cm (1½ in.), MAX. WIDTH 3.2 cm (1¼ in.)

CONDITION: A number of pearls are missing from their gold posts, particularly in the center row projecting from the lower hemisphere of each earring.

Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessalonike, Greece (AE 2508)

The bracelets and earrings are part of a hoard of Byzantine jewelry unearthed in Thessalonike in 1956 that also included an additional pair of gold earrings, a pendant cross, a stone amulet, and seventeenth-century gold coins.¹

The postmedieval coins provide some indication of when this treasure was buried, but the precise date and provenance of the medieval jewelry, as well as the relationship of one object to another, are impossible to confirm from the archaeological record.² It is possible that these Middle Byzantine bracelets and earrings were produced in Thessalonike, which during medieval times was an important economic and cultural center in the southern Balkans. After Basil II's conquest of Bulgaria in the early eleventh century the city gained even greater prominence.³

The bracelets are formed from two tapering symmetrical halves joined by pins inside gold hinges; similar bracelets can be seen worn by figures depicted in Middle Byzantine art (see, for example, the Virgin in cat. no. 112). On the exterior of each half an inner border of gold filigree work in a beaded design frames ten rectangular panels inset with cloisonné enamels representing three alternating motifs: a bird in profile, a cruciform rosette, and a floral design—the anthemion; a tripartite braided border serves as an outer frame for each group of ten enamels. The technique of applying cloisonné enamel to a solid green



165A



165B



ground, known as *zellenschmelz*, was especially popular among Byzantine artists during the late ninth and tenth centuries.⁴ A date in the late ninth or the tenth century is further suggested for the present bracelet by a jewelry hoard excavated on Crete; these objects, dated to the tenth century by the accompanying coin finds, included several pairs of earrings decorated with *zellenschmelz* enameling.⁵

The earrings from Thessalonike have a semicircular body, framed at each end by a gold sphere, and a semicircular hoop, open at one side. Circular earrings of this type were popular from the tenth to the fourteenth century.⁶ The present pair would have been worn hooked over the entire ear, the pinna, rather than suspended from the earlobe.⁷ Three rows of projecting gold wires, once entirely threaded with pearls, decorate the convex underside of each earring. In view of the number of pearls that remain, one can convincingly make the case that these earrings are rare surviving examples of allover pearl decoration (see also cat. nos. 166, 228A,B).

On stylistic and technical grounds, the bracelets and earrings serve as outstanding examples of secular goldsmithing and enameling from the Middle Byzantine period, providing important evidence of the highest quality achieved in the production of objects for personal adornment.

The bracelets in the Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessalonike, are the only surviving examples from the Middle Byzantine era of bracelets decorated with enamel work. Other extant examples from this period are fashioned exclusively from precious metals (see cat. nos. 174, 218). Given the great expense of gold and enamel, the Thessalonike bracelets most likely were owned by a wealthy—probably female—member of the aristocracy.⁸ The brilliance of the varying shades of blue and green enameling and the pearls used to embellish the earrings attest to the richness of color, material, and ornamental effects of Byzantine luxury objects.

STB

1. Pelekanidis 1959, pp. 55–77, esp. p. 55. The hoard was discovered along the Dodekanesos Road, Thessalonike.
2. Haseloff 1990, p. 31.
3. *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 2071–72 (“Thessalonike”).
4. Haseloff 1990, pp. 32–33. While the majority of scholars have assigned the Thessalonike pair to the late ninth–tenth century, Haseloff has most recently dated them to the seventh or eighth century, based on comparisons with Langobard enamel and gold filigree work.
5. Athens 1964, nos. 437–41.
6. Pelekanidis 1959, p. 57.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56.
8. A. Grabar 1962, p. 294; Pelekanidis 1959, p. 61; Iberites 1930, pp. 366ff.

LITERATURE: Iberites 1930, pp. 366ff.; Pelekanidis 1959, pp. 55–77; A. Grabar 1962, pp. 293ff.; Athens 1964, nos. 428, 463; Wessel 1967, p. 62; Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, p. 196; Bouras, in Brussels 1982, p. 190; Hackens and Winkes 1983, pp. 141–63; Tourta 1986, pp. 80–84; Haseloff 1990, pp. 31–33.

EXHIBITIONS: Athens 1964, no. 428; Brussels 1982, no. E1.

166. Pair of Earrings

Byzantine, first half of 10th century
Gold, cloisonné enamel, and pearls
H. 4.7 cm (1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: Burges collection; Franks collection; bequeathed to the British Museum by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, 1897.

The Trustees of the British Museum, London, England (MLA.AF 338)

Expertly described by David Buckton, these hollow, crescent-shaped earrings are decorated on front and back with enamel.¹ At the center of the crescent's upper edge is a gold bead surmounted by a hollow disk composed of two enamel medallions (one earring is missing the back of its disk). On the crescent's lower edge triangles of granulation once alternated with pairs of pearls on projecting wires (only a few pearls remain). Wire loops are soldered to the circumferences of the disks and to the edges of the enamel plaques that form the body of the earring. Originally every enameled section was framed by strings of pearls, which are now missing. On both ends of the earring's body is a large gold sphere, which holds the ends of the gold hoop that passed through the wearer's earlobe.

The front of both earrings is decorated with three birds, each with a twig in its mouth

and an almond-shaped wing. Those at the ends face outward, and the one in the center looks upward. On the disk above, a similar bird looks backward. On the back a central bird—similar to that on the front—is flanked by a scrolling-vine motif; the disk above bears a double quatrefoil rosette (this reverse disk is missing from one earring). The enamel, which is now iridescent, has lost almost all of its original color. Traces indicate that the backgrounds originally were translucent green and that the birds had opaque white heads and necks, translucent blue bodies, and opaque blue wings. The heads and necks of the birds on the disks were probably the same color as their bodies; according to Buckton, the wings were probably opaque white.

The presence of birds and rosettes has led Günther Haseloff to argue that these earrings date to the sixth or seventh century.² However, rosette caskets and ceramic bowls with birds confirm that both these motifs were equally popular in the Middle Byzantine period. The combination of birds and rosettes is seen on a tenth-century earring of similar form in the Historical Museum of Crete, Iráklion.³ Both birds and rosettes appear on a pair of enameled bracelets in the Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessalonike (see cat. no. 165A), whose green background is characteristic of ninth- and early-tenth-century enamel work.⁴

This earring form was originally placed in the tenth century by Helmut Schlunk,⁵ and Buckton noted that examples of this sort of enameling were part of the Preslav Treasure (cat. no. 228A,B), which included fifteen silver coins from the reigns of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (945–59) and Romanos II (959–63). Thus, both form and enameling technique place these earrings well within the confines of tenth-century Byzantine jewelry.⁶

KRB

166



1. London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 142.
2. Haseloff 1990, pp. 21–22, 24, 46, fig. 22a–d.
3. Athens 1964, no. 440.
4. A. Grabar 1962, p. 293.
5. Schlunk 1940, pp. 42–47.
6. London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 142.

LITERATURE: A. Evans 1884, p. 51; Rosenberg 1922, pp. 8–9, figs. 16, 21; Dalton 1925, p. 338; Schlunk 1940; Coche de La Ferté 1953–63, vol. 2, p. 19, fig. 5, p. 20; A. Grabar 1962; Haseloff 1990, pp. 21–22, p. 47, figs. 22a–d.

EXHIBITIONS: Athens 1964, no. 440; Speyer 1992, no. 3; London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 142.

167. Pair of Earrings with Busts of the Virgin and Emperor John I Tzimiskes

Byzantine (Constantinople?), 969–76
Gold, granulation, gemstones, and cloisonné enamel
4.7 × 3.8 cm (1 7/8 × 1 1/2 in.)

INSCRIBED: Lower border: on the left earring, KE BOHΘH (Lord, save); on the right earring, IΘ ΔECPOTH (John, Despot). Within busts: on the left earring, MP/ΘOY (Mother of God); on the right earring, IΘ/AN (John)

CONDITION: The central gem is missing from the left earring; the central gem and hoop are missing from the right.

PROVENANCE: Acquired in 1929 from the collection of M. Rosenberg.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin, Germany (9596, 9597)

As rare examples of datable Byzantine jewelry, these earrings of half-moon design establish a chronological reference for other earrings

of similar design. While figural decoration, such as images of saints, is not uncommon on Byzantine earrings, this pair is unusual for its depiction of an emperor. Identification with the emperor John I Tzimiskes (r. 969–76) is strongly supported by the inscriptions and by the pairing of the emperor with the Theotokos (God-Bearer), which also occurs in the emperor's legends and coin types.¹

Coins were clearly models for this pair of earrings, the Virgin medallion being comparable to a coin's obverse and the imperial medallion to its reverse. Such an association between jewelry and coinage dates from the Roman and Early Byzantine periods, when coins themselves were incorporated into earrings and other jewelry.² The consistent purity of the gold found in both coinage and art objects of the Middle Byzantine period,³ coupled with the iconography of this pair, suggests a close link between goldsmithing for private adornment and die engraving for the minting of coins. Considering the Early Byzantine emperors' practice of giving jewelry as gifts to members of the court,⁴ the Berlin earrings, with their official images and inscriptions, may have been a gift from John I to a member of his family or court, serving as a reward for allegiance.

S T B

1. Schlunk 1940, p. 43.
2. New York 1979, pp. 298–301.
3. Oddy and La Niece 1986, pp. 19–27, esp. pp. 25–26.
4. Weitzmann 1979, pp. 298–301; Henig 1983, p. 160.

LITERATURE: Schlunk 1939, p. 32; Schlunk 1940, pp. 42–47; Effenberger and Severin 1992, p. 232.



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168. Pair of Basket Earrings

Byzantine, 10th–11th century
Gold
2.9 × 2.2 cm (1 1/8 × 7/8 in.)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Rogers Fund, 1970 (1970.70.1,2)

Earrings such as the present pair—usually called basket earrings—were extremely popular throughout the eastern Mediterranean from the third century B.C. to the twelfth century A.D. They usually consist of three or five hemispheres soldered together to make a globular form that is open at the top and has a loop for suspension. (Only the five-sphere type was made in the Middle Byzantine period.)

Each of the present earrings consists of five hemispheres made of gold sheet and soldered to an inner cylinder. These elements are elaborately decorated with perforations, bosses, granulation, and twisted wire, reflecting the Middle Byzantine predilection for elaborate surface detail. A wide, flat ring around the open top is fitted with hinges and an ear wire.

This pair is closest to one in the Benaki Museum, Athens, which is dated to the sixth century.¹ Like most early examples, these earrings have an inner cylinder. More typically, Middle Byzantine examples consist of twisted wire and granulation with no inner cylinder.² The Metropolitan's earrings are also close to a pair in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (see cat. no. 169), which are made around an inner cylinder but are dated to the tenth or eleventh century because of their granulation and filigree, features that became widespread during those years.³ Marilyn Jenkins points out that earrings like the Metropolitan pair enjoyed a vogue from Egypt to Iran and should perhaps be considered exemplary of an international style.⁴

K R B

1. Segall 1938, no. 235.
2. M. Ross 1965, no. 134.
3. Kondoleon, in Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, no. 29, p. 94.
4. Jenkins and Keene 1983, p. 70.

LITERATURE: Ricci 1910; Segall 1938; M. Ross 1965; Jenkins and Keene 1983, p. 70, no. 386; Kondoleon, in Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, no. 29.

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169. Basket Earring

Byzantine, 10th–11th century
Gold
H. 2.8 cm (1 1/8 in.)

CONDITION: One hemisphere decorating a side panel appears to be a replacement (perhaps Byzantine).¹

PROVENANCE: De Clercq-de Boisgelin collection, Paris.

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va. Purchase, The Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund (67.52.16)

The body of this single earring consists of a hollow gold cube. The ear wire is attached at each end to a flat top panel decorated with a granule surrounded by openwork circles. Wire loops form a border around each of the panels on the earring's six sides. At the center of each of its five remaining, square sides is a hemisphere of gold filigree openwork; the hemispheres are formed, in turn, of clusters of coiled wire bordered by delicate beading. Four projecting triangles of gold filigree enframe the central hemisphere. The granulation technique and the filigree work suggest that the earring dates to the tenth or eleventh century, when these methods of decoration were widely employed.²

The origin of the basket shape has been the subject of recent scholarly debate. Similar examples have been dated to as early as the third century B.C.³ The simultaneous development of this type has also been associated with eleventh-century Fatimid goldsmiths' work (cat. nos. 274, 275B). Judging from the number and quality of surviving related examples,⁴ the basket shape appears to have enjoyed considerable popularity as a form for objects of personal adornment during the Middle Byzantine period, both within the empire and in the Islamic East. Scholars have thus expressed varying opinions as to whether such earrings were originally produced in Byzantine or in Islamic workshops.

STB

1. See Kondoleon, in Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, no. 29, p. 94.

2. Ibid.

3. See the classical example cited in cat. no. 168. For an example attributed to the sixth century in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (67.52.13), see Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, no. 22, p. 83.
4. See in addition the Bodrum earrings, mentioned in cat. no. 274 n. 2, as well as examples in the Stathatos collection, Athens, at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., and in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel—all cited by Kondoleon, in Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, no. 29, p. 94. See in particular the Kanellopoulos earrings dated to the Early Byzantine period but associated with the Virginia earring; in the Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens, figs. 135a,b. Athens 1994, no. 38, pp. 296–97.

LITERATURE: Ridder 1911, p. 296, no. 1628, pl. 3; M. Ross 1968, fig. 45; Athens 1994, no. 38; Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, no. 29.

170. Temple Pendant and Stick

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 11th–first half of 12th century
Gold and cloisonné enamel
Pendant: H. 4.9 cm (1 7/8 in.) with loop, 2.3 cm (7/8 in.) excluding loop, W. 2.4 cm (1 in.), D. 1.2 cm (1/2 in.)
Stick: H. 5.1 cm (2 in.)

CONDITION: There is evidence of wear from usage as well as scattered, minute pitting of the enamel on both objects resulting from burial; much of the enamel is missing from the stick.

PROVENANCE: Purchased from Robert Haber in 1990.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Rogers Fund, 1990 (1990.235a,b)

The pendant, a hollow, crescent-shaped gold receptacle, has an opening and a suspension loop at the top. The convex sides are covered with exquisitely worked cloisonné enamels containing colorful patterns of florets, interlocked palmettes, variegated borders, and a medallion with a beardless male head that may represent an angel or possibly Saint John the Theologian. The accompanying thin, tapering stick is embellished with a pattern of crosses in cloisonné enamel.

The meticulous craftsmanship and minute scale of the enameling on both objects, as well as their individual motifs, ally them with a group of enameled works that may be the luxury products of a highly specialized workshop active in Constantinople during the late eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth. These objects include a pear-shaped pendant from a *loros* (cat. no. 146), a hexagonal tip of a scepter formerly in the Adolphe Stoclet collection (cat. no. 175),¹ a four-sided tip of a scepter in Princeton,² and convex

lunate plaques mounted on a later reliquary cross at the Monastery of Vyšší Brod (see *illus.* on p. 441).³ The enamel inserts in a seventeenth-century reliquary cross in Torcello⁴ are new additions to this group of primarily secular enamels. To the group also should be added the enamels on works clearly made for religious use: a reliquary cross in Mantua⁵ and the mounts of a small reliquary for the Holy Blood in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice.⁶ Some of the same motifs recur in Western enamels, attesting to the influence of Byzantium, including those on a finger ring from the “Gisela” Treasure, formerly thought to be Byzantine but now regarded as Ottonian (cat. no. 341C), and on a reliquary cross from the second half of the eleventh century in the Treasury of Cologne Cathedral.⁷

The purpose of the pendant is clarified by the presence of its vessel-like cavity, which relates it to the Kievan Rus' gold and cloisonné-enamel pendants from the eleventh and twelfth centuries (see cat. nos. 212A–C, E–G, 214). Several of these objects, referred to since the nineteenth century by the Ukrainian ethnographic misnomer *kolby*,⁸ are thought to have been worn in pairs by both men and



170. Front



170. Back

women near the cheeks or temples, suspended from caps, headbands, the hair, or from the flaps of a headdress.⁹ They probably contained bits of cloth soaked in aromatic oil. This type of ornament, as well as the cloisonné-enamel technique, may have originated with Byzantine craftsmen in or from Constantinople, and our pendant is the first physical evidence to support this theory. The enameled gold stick most likely was an aid for inserting the cloth into the narrow cavity of the pendant.

The wearing of aromatic cheek or temple pendants may well have been a regular practice for highly placed individuals at the Byzantine court.¹⁰ Unfortunately, the little pictorial evidence available showing their use is ambiguous. A Byzantine silk tapestry in the Treasury of Bamberg Cathedral depicts a personification offering a *toupha*, or ceremonial helmet, to a triumphant emperor (Basil II?).¹¹ This figure wears a crown, and her long golden hair covers her ears. In front of her hair is an open disk, or possibly a closed lunette ornament, from which three pairs of pearls are suspended. The clearest pictorial evidence is Western and may be seen on the underplate of the Ottonian portable altar from Watterbach (cat. no. 298).

The temple pendant is a prestigious object because of its extreme refinement and style. As such, it was undoubtedly an element of court costume and may even have been part of imperial regalia. By its very form and opulence it may represent a source of influence of Byzantine luxury products abroad, as in Kievan Rus' and Ottonian Germany.¹²

W D W

1. Salles and Lion-Goldschmidt 1956, pp. 166–69, color illus.; M. Ross 1965, p. 103; Wixom 1995, p. 661, fig. 6.
2. Wixom 1995, p. 661 n. 21.
3. Wessel 1967, p. 164, no. 50, illus.; Wixom 1995, p. 661.
4. These enamels were brought to my attention by Irina Andreescu-Treadgold.
5. Gauthier 1983, no. 9.
6. *Tesoro e il Museo*, 1971, pp. 180–81, no. 172, pls. CLXX–CLXXII.
7. Cologne 1985, vol. 3, no. H-38 illus.
8. *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, 1973–81, vol. 12, p. 593; Griffin 1993; Wixom 1995, p. 660.
9. Kondakov, *Histoire*, 1892, p. 324; Bock 1896, p. 41; Dalton, "Byzantine Enamels," 1912, p. 65; Brown 1980, p. 8; Wixom 1995, p. 660.
10. These pendants may have been visually similar to the suspended pearls and stones of imperial diadems. According to Anna Komnene, "The imperial diadem, decked all over with pearls and stones, some encrusted, some pendant, was shaped like a half-sphere, fitting the head closely; on either side of the temples clusters of pearls and precious stones hung down, lightly touching the cheeks" (Komnene p. 111). For the use and ownership of Byzantine enamels, see Hetherington 1988; Wixom 1995, p. 662.

11. A. Grabar 1956, pp. 7–26, fig. 1; Beckwith 1961, pp. 98–100, fig. 124; Wixom 1995, p. 662.

12. Wixom 1995, p. 662.

LITERATURE: Dandridge 1990; Deppert-Lippitz 1990, pp. 56–57, no. 11 (color illus.); Tokumaru 1990; Wixom, in *Recent Acquisitions*, 1991, p. 15 (color illus.); Griffin 1993, p. 20; Wixom 1995, pp. 659–62, figs. 1, 2.



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171. Crescent-Shaped Earring

Byzantine (Constantinople?), 11th–12th century
Gold

2.8 × 1.9 cm (1 1/8 × 3/4 in.)

CONDITION: The earring is slightly dented; the loop is modern.

PROVENANCE: Said to have been found in Constantinople.

Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (53.12.26)

This crescent-shaped earring is composed of two convex sheets of gold soldered together. A rim of gold granules extends along the soldered edge, and single granules, as well as groups consisting of three to seven, adorn the body of the earring. Hinges at the two peaks of the crescent supported the original suspension loop, which has been replaced with a modern one.

The origin of crescent-shaped earrings may be traced back to the mid-second millennium B.C. in both Eastern and Western civilizations. Such earrings incorporating some form of granulation in their decoration were common in the ancient Greek world and continued to be produced through the Roman period and into the Byzantine era. In the medieval period the convex crescent-shaped earring form, often decorated with granulation, filigree, or enamel, appears to have been widespread not only in Byzantium (see cat. no. 170) but also in lands that maintained a cultural dialogue with the Byzantine Empire. Similar

Fatimid earrings survive that may have been made in Syria, a meeting ground for Byzantine and Islamic cultures.¹

Byzantine crescent-shaped earrings served as prototypes for the temple pendants produced in Kievan Rus' (cat. nos. 212, 214), a state that developed intimate ecclesiastical and cultural ties with Byzantium. Although most extant crescent-shaped gold temple pendants are embellished with enameled designs, stone molds for such pendants, with decoration imitating granulation, as well as lead examples cast from such molds survive.²

The crescent-shaped granulated earring from Dumbarton Oaks, seen in conjunction with Fatimid and Kievan Rus' works, documents the esteem for this form in Byzantium, Islam, and Eastern Europe during the Middle Byzantine period. O Z P

1. Lester 1987, pp. 26–27.

2. See Pasternak 1961, p. 571; Sedova 1978, pp. 149–59; Kolchin et al. 1985, pp. 289–90.

LITERATURE: M. Ross 1965, p. 94; Lester 1987, pp. 21–29; Griffin 1993, p. 8, n. 23.

172. Signet Ring of John, Imperial *Spatharios*

Byzantine, 10th century

Gold and niello

DIAM. 2.4 cm (1 in.)

INSCRIBED: + K[YPI]E BO[H]/Θ[ΕΙ] ΤΟ Δ[ΟΥ]Λ[Ω] IΩ[ANNH]/B[ACIAIKΩ] CΠ[A]Θ[AP]f[ω] . . .? (Lord, help [your] servant John, imperial *spatharios* . . .)

CONDITION: There is some loss of niello on the hoop.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Gift of Guy and Valerie Tempest Mcgargee, 1992 (1992.239)

The ring's oval bezel with small projections at the top and bottom is practically identical in design to that on a gold-and-niello ring of the ninth to the tenth century in the collection of the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,¹ each bearing a retrograde Greek inscription beginning with an invocation imploring the Lord's help, followed by the owner's name and title(s). The hoop, like many on gold and silver rings of the Middle Byzantine period, is decorated with a stylized vine scroll.² The ring can be reasonably dated to the tenth century from the manner in which the engraver has set the abbreviation marks. One notes at the end of the first line the mark of abbreviation has



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been placed in the middle of the line, which is the standard position for abbreviation marks on related tenth-century media in metal, namely Byzantine lead seals and coins.³ While the date offers no problem, the meaning of the inscription is another matter, as only the first half can be readily understood. This portion may be translated as follows: “Lord, help [your] servant John, imperial *spatharios*. . . .”

The retrograde inscription suggests that the object may have been used as a signet ring, though the niello on the face of the bezel is fairly intact, perhaps an indication that the inscription simply imitates those on objects used for sealing in wax, such as silver and bronze signet rings and bronze cone seals.⁴

J N

1. See J.-C. Cheynet in Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 221. For further comparanda, see, for example, Davidson 1952, no. 1888 (bronze); M. Ross 1954, pp. 169–71; M. Ross 1965, nos. 110, 116, 124 (bronze); Chadour and Joppien 1985, no. 180.
2. For close parallels, see Ricci 1912, nos. 837, 862, and Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 221.
3. For examples on coins, see Grierson 1973, pl. xxxvii, no. 16. *iff.* Regarding abbreviations on lead seals, see Oikonomides 1986, p. 158. The engraver has also attached abbreviation marks to letters, as in the case of the initial beta on line 3. Such a placement is reminiscent of inscriptions on metal of the ninth to the early tenth century; see, for example, the coin of Emperor Alexander (r. 912–13) in Grierson 1973, pl. xxxv, no. 3.
4. Concerning cone seals, see Vikan and Nesbitt 1980, pp. 20–23.

LITERATURE: Ricci 1912; Davidson 1952; M. Ross 1954, pp. 169–71; M. Ross 1965; Grierson 1966–73; Vikan and Nesbitt 1980; Chadour and Joppien 1985; Oikonomides 1986; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992.



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173. Ring of Leontios, *Patrikios* and Count of the God-Guarded Imperial Opsikion

Byzantine, ca. 990–1030
Gold and niello
DIAM. 2.25 cm (7/8 in.)

INSCRIBED: ΚΕΘΘ/ΛΕΟΝΤΙΩ/ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩC/
ΚΟΜΜΙΤΗ/ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΥΛΛΑ/ΚΤΟΥ ΒΑCΙ/ΛΙΚΟΥ
ΟΨΙΚΙΟΥ (Lord, help Leontios, *patrikios* and count
of the God-guarded Opsikion [i.e., northwestern
Turkey])

CONDITION: The niello on the hoop shows signs of wear.

PROVENANCE: In the possession of the antiquities dealer Feuadent, Paris, in 1924.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Rogers Fund, and Rogers Fund by exchange, 1982 (1982.282)

At 30 g (1.1 oz.) this massive gold ring is equivalent in weight to six and one-half Byzantine *solidi* (gold coins of full weight), a sum equal in 987 to the asking price for a pair of buffalo cows.¹ For adornment of the fingers, the aristocracy of the ninth and tenth centuries typically favored heavy gold or silver rings having bezels decorated with niello-filled inscriptions that often, as in the present instance, commence with an invocation and continue with stipulation of the owner's name and title(s).² The ring has two unusual features. The first is the selection of an acanthus scroll to ornament the hoop,³ and the second pertains to the multilobed design of the bezel. A close parallel is found on a massive gold ring in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, which has a high bezel supported by two leopards whose edges are indented in very much the same manner as those on the Metropolitan's ring.⁴ The Walters Art Gallery ring, however, dates from the fourth century.⁵ Could it be that Leontios possessed an antique ring of this style, brought it to a goldsmith, and commissioned him to fashion another ring of the same design?

The date of the Metropolitan's ring is a matter of some delicacy. John Haldon is inclined to date it to the 680s and to identify the owner as Emperor Leontios (r. 695–98).⁶ One epigraphic aspect supports this early date. The engraver has employed in lines 1 and 6 a double-loop beta, the type in use before the introduction in 850 of a beta in the form of a Latin *R*. Adrien Blanchet, on the other hand, has assigned the ring to the tenth century on the basis of its elegance.⁷ This estimate is probably more accurate, judging from the way the last line of the inscription has been set: the last syllable of the final word is set on its own line between two bars. The practice of ending an inscription in this manner first appears among Byzantine lead seals (a related genre) only about the year 1000, and for this reason the ring is dated here to the period from approximately 990 to 1030.⁸ It is interesting to note that the niello on the face is practically pristine while that on the hoop is well worn. One might hazard a guess that Leontios was a fidgety person and was in the habit of playing with his ring.

J N

1. Ostrogorsky 1932, p. 331. The Metropolitan Museum ring was first published in Blanchet 1924; the weight is given on p. 173.
2. See, for example, the gold-and-niello ring of “Maria *patrikia*” (Dumbarton Oaks: M. Ross 1965, no. 110; dated ninth century but probably tenth or early eleventh century); a gold-and-niello ring of “Michael imperial messenger” (Walters Art Gallery: M. Ross 1954, pp. 169–71; ninth century); and a gilt-silver-and-niello ring of “Theodore imperial *spatharios* and member of the *hetaireia*” (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles: J.-C. Cheynet in Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 221; ninth to tenth century).
3. By contrast, all the rings cited above feature a hoop embellished on each shoulder with an invocative monogram above and a rinceau, a vine or stylized foliage, below. M. Ross (1954, pp. 170–71) has published a heavy silver-and-niello ring of the ninth century without the monogram decoration on the hoop. The sole ornament is a leaf scroll, the verticality and sparseness of which differ markedly from the swirling acanthus foliage that covers, with its ragged edges, the whole hoop of Leontios's ring.
4. The Walters Art Gallery ring has twenty grooves.
5. See no. 425 in Baltimore 1979. I wish to thank Dr. Martin Dennert for this reference.
6. Haldon 1984, p. 359, no. 5.
7. For Blanchet citation, see note 1.
8. For comparison, see the seal of Patriarch Sergios II (1001–19) published in Oikonomides 1986, no. 74. If the ring were to date from the middle or later decades of the eleventh century, one might reasonably expect Leontios to have identified himself by the title *strategos*. For further consideration of this issue, see Cheynet et al. 1991, no. 191.

LITERATURE: Blanchet 1924, pp. 173–76; Haldon 1984, p. 359, no. 5.

174. Bracelet

Byzantine (Constantinople?), 11th century
Gold and niello
W. 3 cm (1¼ in.), DIAM. 7 cm (2¾ in.)

Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens, Greece (11.14)

This bracelet consists of two semicircular sections of sheet gold whose edges are curved toward the center, connected by means of cotter pins. Each section is ornamented with a broad band containing five roundels showing lions, griffins, and birds in relief. The bands are framed by a border of entwined vine tendrils inlaid with niello, which animates and enlivens the gold surface. Along the vertical edge of each section are four raised schematic leaves with stamped-dot ornamentation.

An early instance of this decorative motif—with roundels of vine tendrils enclosing animals or birds—is seen on a gold bracelet in the British Museum that may have originated in Syria and dates from the Early Byzantine period.¹

The Kanellopoulos Museum bracelet is a superb example of the Byzantine goldsmith's art and displays similarities to other well-known bracelets from the Middle Byzantine period. While a border of floral rinceaux also appears on two silver bracelets in the

Benaki Museum, Athens, which date from the eleventh century,² the present bracelet is worked with a more confident hand and its patterns are less schematically represented.

There is a striking resemblance between the Kanellopoulos Museum bracelet and a silver bracelet at Dumbarton Oaks,³ which probably originated in Constantinople and dates from the eleventh century. It could be hypothesized, despite the difference in metals, that the two bracelets were made in the same workshop, if not, indeed, by the same artist. Although in Byzantium jewelry worn by ordinary people was made of silver, it was in no way inferior in terms of beauty and artistic value to the gold ornaments made for the wealthy and the wellborn. The gold bracelet and its silver counterpart in Washington are equally fine ornaments, made to adorn the arms of Byzantine ladies.

N S

1. Dalton 1901, no. 279.
2. Athens 1986, nos. 199, 200.
3. M. Ross 1965, no. 108.

LITERATURE: Dalton 1901; M. Ross 1965, no. 108; Athens 1986, no. 198, pp. 158, 159; Athens 1994, no. 149, p. 303.



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175

175. Tip of a Scepter

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 11th–first half of 12th century
Gold and cloisonné enamel
H. 2.5 cm (1 in.)

PROVENANCE: Adolphe Stoclet, Brussels.

Private collection, Switzerland

The sides of this hexagonal finial are decorated with geometric and pseudofoliolate ornamentation rendered on a minute scale in a way that is reminiscent of the details in certain borders and headpieces of contemporary Byzantine manuscripts (see cat. nos. 58B, 60).¹ The meticulous care evident in the enamel work, as well as some of the particular motifs, also recalls a small group of enamels probably produced in a Constantinopolitan workshop active over several generations beginning in the second half of the eleventh century; two other key examples are included here (cat. nos. 146, 170). The function of the present object is unclear, although it has always been identified as a scepter tip in the literature. However, a similar example in Princeton has been called both a “finial ornament” and “possibly the . . . tip of a liturgical reading pointer.”² W D W

1. See also the headpiece for Luke in a Gospel book (Byzantine, third quarter of the eleventh century) in the Cleveland Museum of Art (42.152), in Princeton 1973, pp. 82–83, no. 12, illus. p. 83 (fig. 21).
2. From the registrar's catalogue-card description, the Art Museum, Princeton University (1968–69). The height is 2.8 cm (1¼ in.) and the diameter 1.5 cm (¾ in.).

LITERATURE: Salles and Lion-Goldschmidt 1956, pp. 166–69, illus. (color); M. Ross 1965, p. 103; Wixom 1995, p. 661, fig. 6.



170. Front

176. Incense Burner in the Shape of a Domed Building

Byzantine, 12th century
Silver, partially gilded
36 × 30 cm (14¼ × 11¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: Next to the heads of the standing figures on the double door, on the left, ΑΝΔΡΙΑΑ (Courage); on the right, Η ΦΡΟΝΕΤΙΚΗ (Intelligence)

Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice, Italy
(Hahnloser 109)

This container in the shape of a miniature building is a splendid example of Byzantine metalwork and a rare specimen of a type of building—the garden kiosk or similar structure—known mostly through textual evidence. Since at least 1283 the container was used to house the important relic of the Holy Blood, which had been sent to Venice by the doge Enrico Dandolo from Constantinople in 1204, and thus it often has been categorized as a reliquary in the form of a miniature church. Although domed and reminiscent of reliquaries shaped like a church or more specifically like the tomb of Christ, as in a reliquary in Aachen (cat. no. 300),¹ the piece does not in fact represent a church (crosses on its roofs are not original). It is a centralized structure based on a square plan with four projecting apses, each covered by a dome, alternating with four triangular projections, each covered by a pyramidal roof. The central square is topped by a larger dome that rises above the other roofs. The building is supported by a low base.

The upper parts of the walls, the pyramidal roofs, and the domes are decorated with openwork designs consisting of foliage roundels, flowers, and palmettes. Narrow bands of scrollwork and rosettes in low relief divide the walls of the building into two parts. The repoussé panels of the lower part depict a variety of animals from a repertoire of the imaginary and fantastic commonly found on secular objects such as ivory caskets or other examples of metalwork: included are a striding lion, a griffin, two confronted sirens with tails ending in serpents' heads (one of them playing a flute), a centaur, and a putto diving into a basket.

The building has a double door on the exterior side of one of the apses. On each panel is a standing personification depicted in relief, identified by inscriptions as Courage on the left and Intelligence on the right. Although both Greek nouns are feminine, Courage is dressed like a male soldier in cuirass with helmet, shield, and spear—obviously an attempt to represent the concept of courage in visual terms. Intelligence, a woman wearing a long skirt with a short tunic over it, points to

her forehead as the source of her mental powers. Gestures of this kind, which assist the viewer in identifying the quality personified, are typical of Byzantine art. Although the coupling of Courage and Intelligence in the textual tradition is not uncommon, it is difficult to understand the role of these two figures here.

Like its decoration, the original function of this object was not religious. Most likely it served as a container in which incense was burned to perfume the air of a room. This is suggested by its construction: the door of the building is hinged to open, and inside there is a circular base with a metal ring at its center that would have held the incense in place. Except for the lower part of the container, most of its surfaces are perforated, allowing the perfumed smoke to escape. In addition, there is a partitioned ceiling under the four smaller domes so that in the center, under the main dome, a shaft with a direct draft could be created, thus helping to keep the incense lit. This particular construction argues against the theory that the perforated container might have served as a lamp. The interior ceilings would have blocked off the light of a flame from the smaller domes and the pyramidal roofs.

The object's place of origin is not easy to determine. As a luxury item of high-quality workmanship with a plethora of motifs and designs, it could have been associated with the court of Constantinople, especially since after the ninth century personifications such as Courage and Intelligence appear only in connection with imperial images (the specifically monastic virtues and vices in the manuscripts of John Klimax excepted). The iconographic parallels with objects from southern Italy mentioned in previous studies do not necessarily exclude a Byzantine source, for most of these parallels derive from a classical vocabulary common throughout the Mediterranean world. Unfortunately we are missing the Byzantine, especially Constantinopolitan, secular objects that could have served as a context for comparison.

I K

1. Brussels 1982, pp. 152–53, no. 020.

LITERATURE: A. Grabar, *L'Art de la fin de l'Antiquité*, 1968, vol. 1, pp. 282–84, 427, pls. 61, 62; Hahnloser 1971, no. 109, pls. LXXVIII–LXXX (with bibliography).

EXHIBITIONS: Venice 1974, no. 44; Brussels 1982, no. 0.23; New York and Milan 1984, no. 33, pp. 237–43.



176. Side



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177. Hard-Stone Fluted Cup

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th–11th century;
Parisian, ca. 17th century (mount)
Sardonyx (cup); gold and enamel (mount)
H. 6.9 cm (2¾ in.), MAX. DIAM. 15.2 cm (6 in.)

CONDITION: The exterior surface is slightly worn.

PROVENANCE: In the inventory of the collection of Louis XIV in 1681 and 1684; thereafter transferred to the Musée du Louvre.

Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris, France (E.271)

This cup from the Musée du Louvre is composed of seven gadroons of unequal width that meet at the round, hollow base. The height of the rim is also uneven.¹ The impression of somewhat careless workmanship is probably caused by the absence of the cup's original mount. Ancient hard-stone cups usually were not mounted; on Middle Byzantine examples, however, mountings were integral to the overall aesthetic. The variegated and translucent color of the sardonyx, a hard stone, complemented and enhanced the richness and polychromy of the mounting, which was often gilded and decorated with enamel.

The lobed shape of these vessels may have been inspired by Sassanian metalwork.² Little is known of their intended use. The surviving

hard-stone cups that retain their original mountings are chalices, indicating that many of them were made as luxurious drinking vessels probably to be used in ceremonies, as is attested in the primary sources.³ These opulent and unique objects were frequently presented as gifts to Western European rulers. The emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–44) offered an onyx vessel to Hugh of Provence in 926, and Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118) gave a sardonyx chalice and a rock-crystal bowl to the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV.⁴ The great appreciation for and the prestige of these hard-stone vessels in Western Europe are perhaps exemplified by the Chalice of Abbot Suger of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis (cat. no. 296); although produced in the West, it was clearly inspired by a Byzantine work. DK

1. Other hard-stone cups with similarly shaped lobes share with the Louvre example the same inconsistencies in proportions and measurements; see New York and Milan 1984, p. 292.
2. *Ibid.*
3. A shared drink from the same bowl marked the sealing of an agreement and the dispelling of fears of poisoning between Emperor Basil II (r. 976–1025) and his long-standing adversary, the Byzantine nobleman Bardas Skleros; Sewter 1966, p. 43.
4. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 289.

LITERATURE: Sewter 1966, p. 43.

EXHIBITIONS: New York and Milan 1984, p. 292; Paris 1991, fig. 2, p. 156; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 208.

178. Hard-Stone Cup

Byzantine, 10th–12th century; Parisian, ca. 17th century (mount)
Sardonyx (cup and base); gold and enamel (mount)
H. 12.4 cm (4¾ in.), MAX. DIAM. 13 cm (5¼ in.)

CONDITION: The foot is mended.

PROVENANCE: Probably from the collection of Louis XIV of France.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.594)

The Metropolitan Museum cup is an excellent example of fine hard-stone carving during the Middle Byzantine period. Oval in shape, the cup has a highly polished surface, the sumptuous polychrome reflecting the contemporary Middle Byzantine aesthetic of rich, colorful finishes on portable objects. Although now mounted on a footed base belonging to a later date, the cup shows distinct traces of its original support. Several indentations parallel to the rim as well as



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holes piercing the stone near the rim and base suggest that the cup's initial mounting, consisting of an additional piece around the rim and a base unlike the present one, bore close formal similarities to those of a number of Byzantine cups from the Treasury of San Marco, Venice, including the Chalice of Emperor Romanos (cat. no. 31).

The oval shape occurs frequently among the corpus of Byzantine hard-stone cups. The use of these Middle Byzantine vessels remains a puzzle; they were most likely intended for secular use, but precise documentation is lacking. Along with other luxury items that found

their way to Western collections, such cups reflect the Byzantine appreciation of lustrous hues, high-quality workmanship, and cultivated taste. The production of these cups during the Middle Byzantine period may have been inspired by the tendency at that time to revive Late Roman and Early Byzantine models: hard-stone cups were considered representative of the art and technical achievements of the empire's Hellenistic and Roman past. Both the recarving of classical hard-stone cups, such as the Chalice of Emperor Romanos, and the superior cameo carving of the same period (see cat. no. 126) evidence the era's attraction to

hard-stone objects. The production of such works seems to have declined after the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61); however, the export of these luxury objects to Western European courts contributed to their great admiration in the West.

D K

LITERATURE: Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 300, fig. 1.



CERAMIC ARTS OF EVERYDAY LIFE

EUNICE DAUTERMAN MAGUIRE

Pottery is an art made joyous by unpretentiousness. In contrast to religious and official art, Byzantine glazed vessels are a reflection of popular taste. Enriched by a vernacular freedom from preciousness and by the influence of luxury goods from exotic neighbors, the pottery—deftly stylized, purposefully distorted, and compressing planes and volumes in the depiction of human and animal scenes—pleases with its economy of line and its humor of expression.

The domestic pottery included in this exhibition is engraved slipware, chosen for its design repertoire. Commonly called sgraffito or sgraffiato ware, it is earthenware partially covered with a pale slip layer and then coated with a transparent glaze. The patterns are made by cutting through the slip with a sharp point or by scraping it away to reveal the darker ground. The dishes and bowls are overwhelmingly secular, used either for serving or, as indicated by pieces that have been mended, for display. Because they were produced neither for the Church nor for the court, they have tended to be studied more by archaeologists than by art historians.¹ Many entered the art market as a result of Byzantine trade; indeed, the great numbers found in shipwrecks suggest that they served areas far broader than that of their local manufacture and were used as well for export and trade.² The shipwrecked bowls have for the most part been preserved unbroken in the water; when they are taken from the sea, the homes of marine creatures still encase their surfaces in a rippling, calciferous crust, traces of which often remain embedded in their unglazed, porous exteriors after cleaning. Despite occasional loss of glaze through scouring or chemical treatment, they are easier to appreciate at a glance than the often fragmentary, haphazardly buried finds dug out of the earth. Until recently, excavators searching for more ancient remains at Mediterranean sites have been fairly casual in their study of medieval Byzantine material. Now, however, sites containing Byzantine pottery are being carefully researched. Places where pottery was manufactured are being identified

Lovers in a Garden (cat. no. 192)

by the discovery of kiln sites and by the application of new investigative technologies for tracing materials to their sources.³ As a result, it will soon be possible to make firmer geographical and chronological attributions.

Corinth, for example, is an important and well-published site for both the manufacture and the import of ceramics.⁴ Current excavations and studies are refining the chronology of the Byzantine and Frankish periods. From the extensive collection of pottery found at this site alone, the five examples in the exhibition (cat. nos. 183, 184, 189, 190, 192) give some idea of the richness and variety of its glazed domestic pottery, offering comparison not only with other pottery but with metalwork, textiles, bone and ivory carvings, sculpture, paintings, and mosaics, both Eastern and Western, and providing clues to the place of pottery in the wider history of medieval art. By contrast, single fragments, such as that depicting an equestrian figure (cat. no. 268), can be of interest in their very uniqueness and in the mystery of where they were made. The equestrian fragment, for example, reflects the fusion of three cultures in the Mediterranean imagination at the time of the Crusades.

In an attempt to create a pictorial typology, the pottery in this section has been placed in an interpretive framework. Typologies of shape, material, and technique are also possible, but the category of the image and its format often overlaps several categories of shape and decorative method. The identification of subject matter is therefore particularly important, making it essential for us to learn the language of stylization used by the ceramic artist.

For example, a feline sporting a conspicuous manelike fringe (cat. no. 186) might at first glance be assumed to be a lion, but in fact a cheetah displays a similar ridge of hair along its spine and has other traits seen in Byzantine depictions. Because ceramic decoration calls for two-dimensional definition rather than modeling, such a “mane” of parallel hatching along the neck may serve to create a linear continuity between the back of a turned head and the front edge of a torso. This slanting fringe is not uncommon on Byzantine pottery and sculpture, where it is also seen on ani-



Mourning Figure (left) and Leogrieff (right). Molded and glazed rim shard, engraved slipware, Corinth, 1100–1125. Archaeological Museum, Ancient Corinth. Photo: Corinth Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens

mals such as hares and rabbits and on birds. The suggestion of fur or feathers by means of rows of punched or linear marks tooled into a surface follows techniques used in metalworking that are traceable at least as far back as the first century, when they are seen in Roman silver. In pottery the aesthetic of tonal contrast encouraged a simplification of surface detail. Cheetahs, for example, appear either with or without their

spots, serpents with or without scales, and birds with little indication of plumage. Not surprisingly, the figures with minimal engraving are usually those rendered by cutting, scraping, or gouging away the slip to make them stand out in reserve, in salient contrast to the ground, a technique that has been called by the misnomer *champlevé* (see, for example, cat. nos. 190–192).⁵ Indeed, much of the standard vocabulary used in describing the technology of pottery is inaccurate or patronizing. The words *gouging*, *incising*, and *engraving* have been used indiscriminately. The term *measles ware* implies a rash of random spots instead of the use of colored glaze in imitation of the rows of incised or engraved marks seen on metalwork (cat. no. 189). Even the word *sgraffito* has become unfortunate for an anglophone audience; it brings to mind spray-painted graffiti rather than the literal, technical Italian meaning (to scratch). But as scholars increasingly use other, more accurate terms, the skill of the Byzantine potter becomes recognized and appreciated.

Both the popular scenes depicted on the pottery and the nonfigural decoration are expressions of status and social influence. The best-known class of secular Byzantine art, the boxes of bone and ivory known as rosette caskets, appears to have been made for a literate audience familiar with the culture of antiquity (see cat. nos. 151, 153–156, and pp. 222–23).⁶ Occasional pieces of pottery seem to share the same visual frame of reference. One example is a naked warrior whose head is covered with tight curls and who in a battle against a monstrous serpent uses a hand mirror instead of a shield.⁷ This learned joke refers to Perseus's overcoming Medusa, as well as to Byzantine protective images such as military saints



Warrior, Accompanied by a Falcon, Slaying a Serpent; “jewelwork” decorations on rim. Glazed bowl, engraved slipware, Athens, 1150–1200. Agora Museum, Athens. Photo: Agora Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens



Human Arm in the Jaws of a Feline Head. Glazed base shard, engraved slipware, Corinth, mid-12th century. Archaeological Museum, Ancient Corinth. Photo: Corinth Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens



Animals Disgorging Human Victims at the Last Judgment. Glazed and molded chafing dish support, engraved slipware, Corinth, late 10th–11th century. Archaeological Museum, Ancient Corinth. Photo: Corinth Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens



Monkeys Holding Their Noses. Glazed and molded chafing dish support, engraved slipware, Corinth, late 10th–11th century. Archaeological Museum, Ancient Corinth. Photo: Corinth Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens

who slay serpents. Another example, although perhaps less daring, is an amusing scene on an ivory panel in the Musée du Louvre, in which a naked child captures a lion by collaring it as it looks into a mirror; a hound refuses to be similarly distracted. This appears to be a spoof on a method of capturing tigers, seen, for example, on a mosaic at Piazza Armerina in Sicily.⁸

Like many figural initials painted in sacred books, these designs on pottery at times divert the viewer by combining secular with religious references. Censers, possibly for home use, were often made in the shape of a church; two such examples in ceramic with openwork domes were found in Constantinople.⁹ On one dish (see illus. opposite) a doleful nude figure sits under a cypress tree—like Adam expelled from paradise. Beside him an open-winged griffin whose habitat joins earth to sky takes flight, as if in mockery of the mournful, earthbound figure.¹⁰

Both the celebration and the protection of social status and well-being are common themes of pottery decoration, related to the prosperity of the owners and to their capacity to provide good food and to embellish their houses with glazed pottery. The abundance of pictorial depictions on these plates and bowls may be unexpected, used as we are to floral and geometric ornament on tableware. Food, as such, is not a common theme. There are no still-life subjects, like the ones we know from Roman dining rooms. Most of the birds and animals belong not to garden themes but to the tradition of the hunt. And, predictably, they do not emphasize hunting as a way of obtaining food but rather as a sign of power and well-being. Among the examples in this exhibition, we can identify a falconer on horseback (cat. no. 183), a falcon (cat. no. 184), a crane, a favorite falconers' quarry (cat. no. 188), and a courting couple with a hunting motif (cat. no. 192).

The hunt as a noble or imperial pastime associated with

authority and with success, more than with leisure, is the key to this imagery. It is a popular theme also on incised and engraved Roman and Late Antique tableware, both in silver and in glass, some of which bears auspicious inscriptions.¹¹ Because similar inscriptions appear in Arabic on medieval pottery vessels as well as on metal vessels with hunting scenes, the hunting scenes on the Middle Byzantine vessels may, by implication, be interpreted as bearing the same auspicious connotations.¹² Riders and serpent-slayers likewise find a parallel in the long Byzantine tradition of military saints assimilated with the hunt.¹³ The scenes also may refer to the imperial rider, known from depictions on vessels from the earliest days of the empire; one example is a silver plate in the State Hermitage engraved with the equestrian emperor Constantius II (r. 337–61).¹⁴ Even the prestigious hunting cheetah, given a human head and torso, is seen on pottery plates and bowls, hunting a serpent foe, the embodiment of danger to the security of home life.¹⁵

The glaze on the inside of the bowls worked as a sealing agent, preventing absorption of oils and liquids; a gleaming band of glazed slip, often found on the exterior of the rim, recalls the metal mounts on precious vessels. Some rim borders actually imitate the jewelwork of such mounts.¹⁶ Yet every social pretension in the design of Byzantine pottery comes with a comment, like a literary aside. A bowl, once emptied, discloses a beast's head devouring a human arm.¹⁷ Hands and fingers, as well as beasts' heads, were familiar as fixtures of hardware, used for holding or suspending things.¹⁸ The ceramic motif also reflects, in reverse, animals at the Last Judgment spitting up their victims endwise.¹⁹ A chafing dish found at Corinth was designed to refer to the juices kept warm within by a shining glazed flow modeled on its spout, while the monkeys that form the handles hold their noses against the fragrant steam.²⁰



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179. Amphora Stamp

Byzantine, 10th century
Bronze

H. .5 cm (1/4 in.), DIAM. 3.8 cm (1 1/2 in.)

PROVENANCE: Synaxis, Maroneia (Thrace).

Archaeological Collection, Kavala, Greece
(PMS/90.60)

This circular bronze amphora stamp was found during the excavation of the courtyard of a Middle Byzantine monastery at Synaxis in Maroneia. In the upper center of the flat side is a broken link, to which a handle would have been attached; on the lower part of the reverse side, within a circular border, is the monogram IΩA[NNH]C (John), which would have been stamped on the amphora. The three circular holes on the flat surface of the disk allowed the air trapped between the stamp and the surface of the vessel to escape during stamping. A similar type of stamp, with the monogram BA[CIAEIO]C (basileus, ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire), in the Menil Collection in Houston, is attached to four keys on a key chain.¹ Amphorae with various combinations of letters stamped on their shoulders date to the ninth through the eleventh century.² Stamps were applied not by the manufacturers of the amphorae but by those who produced or traded in the goods they contained as a certification of quality or for purposes of taxation.³

C B

1. Vikan and Nesbitt 1980, p. 27, and front cover.
2. Demangel and Manbourey 1939, fig. 201: 49, 52, 55; Cangova 1959, fig. 7: 5, 6; Barnea 1967, fig. 154: 2, 4, 7; Iakobson 1979, p. 14, fig. 44.
3. Bakirtzis, *Tsoukalolagena*, 1989, pp. 82–83.

LITERATURE: Demangel and Manbourey 1939; Cangova 1959; Barnea 1967; Iakobson 1979; Vikan and Nesbitt 1980; Bakirtzis, *Tsoukalolagena*, 1989; Bakirtzis, "Excavations," 1990, p. 578, figs. 11, 12; Bakirtzis and Hadzimichalis 1991, p. 95, fig. 123.

180. Amphora

Byzantine (Thessalonike), 10th–11th century
Terracotta

H. 47 cm (18 1/2 in.), DIAM. of rim 6.7 cm

PROVENANCE: West vault, Church of Hagia Sophia, Thessalonike.

Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessalonike, Greece
(BK 3038/6)

This beautifully proportioned spherical amphora, with a rounded base and tall neck, has two thick, flattened handles that join the body at the shoulders. There is a perforation that measures from 6.3 to 7.7 cm (2 1/2–3 in.) in diameter at the bottom. Containers of this type, made of chestnut-red terracotta, were employed to transport various products — chiefly liquids — by sea; in the Byzantine era they were known as *magarika*.¹ Many such amphorae, usually reddish-yellow ter-

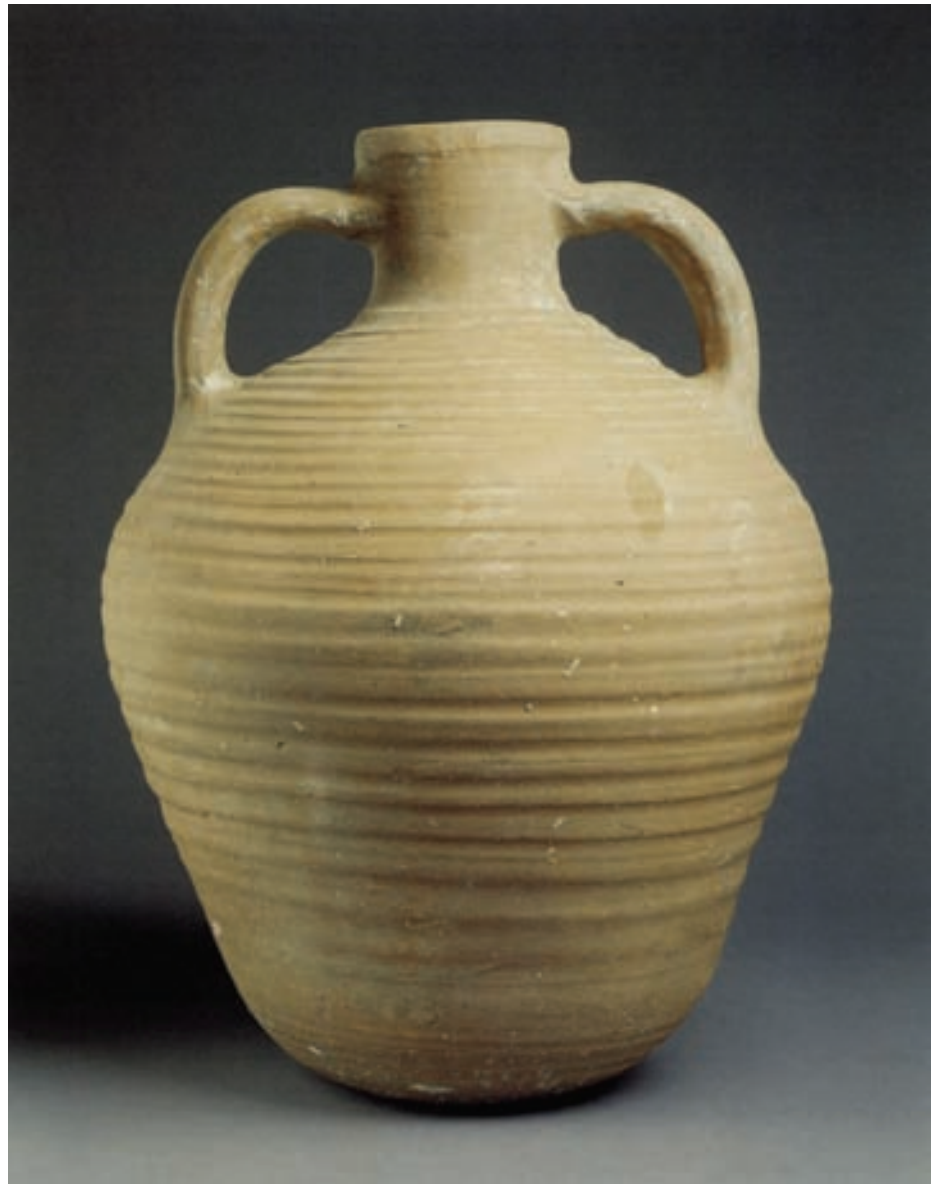
racotta, were produced in Ganos, in the Propontis.²

This amphora was used, along with other terracotta containers, to fill the spaces in the vault above the narthex of the late-seventh-century Church of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike, and to form the upper floor on the west side, which can be dated, on the basis of numismatic evidence, to the eleventh century. The perforations in the bottoms of the amphorae allowed the damp that accumulated within the vault to drain away.

C B

1. Bakirtzis, *Tsoukalolagena*, 1989, pp. 70–88; Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Amphorae," 1989, pp. 73–77.
2. Günsenin 1993, pp. 193–201.

LITERATURE: Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Amphorae," 1989; Bakirtzis, *Tsoukalolagena*, 1989; Günsenin 1993.



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181. Interior

181. Bowl with Geometric Rosette

Byzantine, first half of 12th century

Engraved slipware: orange clay, cream slip, and transparent yellowish glaze

H. 7 cm (2¾ in.), MAX. DIAM. 19.9 cm (7¾ in.)

CONDITION: Cleaned of marine incrustations, the interior shows scattered pitting, flaking, and minor rim damage; an area of staining may be the result of contact with iron oxide during burial at sea; the exterior has been abraded in cleaning.

PROVENANCE: From an unspecified shipwreck. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Rogers Fund, 1994 (1994.306)

The bowl's nearly conical, flared shape, as well as aspects of its engraved decoration, groups it with pottery whose prototypes were Iranian bronze vessels.¹ Its two concentric bands filled with stylized vine scroll are revealing in their variations. Although neither imitates an Arabic inscription, as Byzantine decoration of this type often does, the breaks in the inner band reveal the outlines of the lobed medallions that punctuate

inscription bands on Iranian metal vessels. A stem-and-leaf pattern, not unlike that on an ivory appliqué found in Corinth, fills the wider band. The narrower band, divided into three sections, has a different pace. In one section the pattern is a careful down-scaling of the outer band's formulaic vine; in the other two it is more sketchily worked, accelerating into an incised chevron of nested V's. This change shows not only how the medium permits the close imitation of expensive metalwork but also how it encourages the loosely abstract stylizations permitted by the soft material and necessitated by the haste of cheaper production.

The center of the bowl bridges the typological distinction between fine-sgraffito ware, which exposes little of the clay beneath the slip, and gouged and cut-slip or champ-lévé ware, which is defined by the tonal contrast between the two layers. A wreath of lightly incised volutes with leafless stems alternating in direction frames a geometrized rosette on a gouged field. The rosette's



181. Profile

eight points suggest a device of magical protection; eight-part rosettes with a similar effect of contrast occur in textiles and in inlaid marble, where again they mimic an inlaid-metal prototype.² E D M

1. Tabbaa 1986, p. 98, figs. 1a, 2, 3.
2. R. Stevenson 1947, p. 38, pl. 15, no. 41, and p. 42, pl. 17.4; Content 1987, no. 14; Frazer 1973, p. 154, fig. 14.

LITERATURE: *Recent Acquisitions*, 1995, p. 24.



182. Interior

182. Bowl with a Scrolling Rosette

Byzantine (Corinth?), first half of 12th century
Tooled slipware: fired red earthenware, greenish-gray cream slip, and clear glaze

H. 9.6 cm (3 7/8 in.), MAX. DIAM. 23.4 cm (9 1/4 in.)

CONDITION: Cleaned of marine incrustations, the interior is stained and streaked, with cracking over much of the surface.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of Professor Maan Z. Madina in honor of Margaret English Frazer, Curator Emeritus of Medieval Art, 1994 (1994.517)

The central medallion of this bowl is encircled by a band composed of a delicate two-strand chevron filled with scrolling tendrils. Texturing the central field is a complex rosette of finely incised scrollwork formed of paired stems that cross at the center along quadrants to curl into heart-shaped frames. Within, four petals with double outlines enclose tendril-palmettes, while the spandrels are filled with

scrolling tendrils nestled in heart- or leaf-shaped frames that lightly needle the surface, countering the weightiness of the clay and creating a dynamic balance of symmetry and restless movement.

After the initial cleaning, the bowl's glaze remained patinated with gray blue rather than its original cream color. This occurs in bowls found in shipwrecks, unlike those that are buried in the earth.

Fine-sgraffito ware of this type is associated with Corinth and with what Charles Morgan called the "spiral style";¹ a close match for the medallion pattern can be found in a base shard in the Louvre, in which the ground is cut to make the scrollwork stand out in contrast.² Similar patterns appear in eleventh- and twelfth-century scrolled-wire filigree, in gold embroidery, and even in enamel work. An allover version carpets the ground of the Hermitage cross reliquary (cat. no. 38), while



182. Profile

depictions of vessels in twelfth-century paintings and mosaics offer evidence of the pattern's currency in inlaid silver.

EDM

1. C. Morgan 1942, no. 1137, fig. 198.
2. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 298.

LITERATURE: *Recent Acquisitions*, 1995, p. 24.

183. Bowl with Presentation to a Hunter

Byzantine (Corinth), first half of 12th century
Engraved slipware

DIAM. approx. 20 cm (7¾ in.)

CONDITION: A large portion of the bowl is missing, along with most of the information from the lower part of the engraved scene.

Archaeological Museum, Ancient Corinth, Greece
(C.66.43)

The hunter engraved on this fragmentary bowl, though heroic, remains enigmatic. While hunting and military concerns were closely associated, it is not clear whether the scene represents a legend or a ceremonial occasion. The bareheaded rider has the curly hair of a military saint; the full sleeves and repeated rows of loops on his shirt may indicate protective quilting. He opens his arms as if in prayer, but a falcon returns to his left wrist, while a fleeing hare, the mark of many hunting scenes, runs in the opposite direction. Above, a bareheaded figure

hovers in a full suit of mail, wings attached by long, wiry ribbons; he holds out a cross-topped lance.¹ Below, a second falcon, identified as such by its lure, holds in its beak a giant ring or wreath. A shard also found at Corinth shows, similarly, a hunter (though not a rider) with two falcons.²

The lance offered to the hunter appears to be an empowering gift. Two eleventh-century manuscripts depict similar scenes: in the Marciana Psalter (see illus. on p. 186) Emperor Basil II (r. 976–1025) receives his lance from one angel, while a second crowns him with a wreath; and in the Theodore Psalter (cat. no. 53) a Constantinopolitan abbot, Michael, receives his staff of office from an angel. The falcon on the ground also appears to offer a prize, like the wreathed crowns proffered by eagles or suspended from their beaks in mosaics and bronzes of earlier periods.

The hunter or riding dignitary offered a crown by a flying figure appears in Early Byzantine secular art as well as in Seljuk art,

while enamels and textiles that survive in the West illustrate the absorption of the falconer into triumphal imagery. In pottery a falcon may attend a slayer of serpents, as on a vessel excavated in the Athens agora.³ Both hunter and victor, the rider on the Corinth bowl expresses beneficent wishes to the user or owner, as do inscriptions on Late Roman and Islamic vessels with hunting scenes.

In execution, the bowl has much in common with twelfth-century Corinthian pieces attributed to the Interlace Master.⁴

E D M

1. Compare Bahrām Gūr with two birds, in Pope 1945, p. 51, pl. 31.
2. Morgan 1942, no. 1568, pl. La, and, for a hand with a falcon, no. 1124, fig. 197.
3. Frantz 1938, fig. 30.
4. C. Morgan 1942, p. 118.

LITERATURE: Biers 1977, pp. 333–37.





184. Interior

184. Bowl with a Falcon and Lure

Byzantine (Corinth), 12th century

Engraved slipware

H. 7.9 cm (3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.), MAX. DIAM. 27 cm (10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: The bowl and rim are complete, reassembled from large fragments.

PROVENANCE: Excavated in Corinth.

Archaeological Museum, Ancient Corinth, Greece (C.36.489)

This bowl and a slip-painted bowl found with it in a deposit at a Corinth agora were evidently intended to be glazed; their unglazed state is an indication of local manufacture. Both bowls depict a single large bird that fills the entire field of the well and stands in front of a curling branch. In this bowl the bird is engraved, internally divided, and patterned with plumage; an enclosed-leaf design spangles its breast. The aquiline head, together with the powerful legs and large feet with talons, marks it as a bird of

prey. The branch behind it, mounted with a bird's wing, is a falconer's lure.¹

The transformation of branch into lure bespeaks the human power to command the bird, while the double outline, like paired wires to be filled with color, and the treatment of the bird's body as a compartmented surface mimic work in gold and enamel. Both the subject and the manner of presentation are signs of prestige and status. The scale of the bird and the mantling of its partially spread wings impart an impression of great size; the most sought-after falcons were those strong and fast enough to catch large quarry. Similar head profiles and close horizontal rows of body plumage appear on eagle and falcon silks.² The curled, foliate wing tip is another widely imitated feature found in silks.³ The compartments formed by the bars across the plumage would perhaps have been filled with the monochromatic dots of colored glaze that stud other vessels from Corinth (see cat. no. 189).

EDM



184. Profile

1. Frederick II (Frederick II 1943) in bk. 3 (and at the beginning of bks. 5 and 6) describes the manufacture and use of the lure.
2. For example, the Auxerre silk, cat. no. 149; Durand and Vogt 1992, fig. 2; see also the bird design of a Spanish eleventh-century silk in Florence; Mariani and Cassano 1995, no. 11.1.
3. See also cat. no. 185.

LITERATURE: C. Morgan 1942, p. 120, no. 1028, fig. 157a; L. Bouras, in Brussels 1982, p. 230, no. C5.

EXHIBITION: Athens 1964, no. 649.

185. Bowl with Griffin Attacking a Doe

Byzantine, 12th century

Engraved slipware: earthenware and glaze
H. 8.5 cm (3 3/8 in.), DIAM. 24.3 cm (9 5/8 in.)

CONDITION: The intact bowl has been cleaned of marine incrustations, leaving its surface in good condition, with slight pitting from impurities in the clay; there is some loss of slip and glaze over the rim; staining is apparent across the exterior.

PROVENANCE: From an unspecified shipwreck.
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (66.17)

The elegant form of the griffin diverts our attention from the violence of the act of clasp- ing the head of a doe and plucking out the eye, a striking expression of power in this society whose splendors privileged the eye

and whose rulers were known to blind their enemies.

Similar iconography is seen in other media. A bird of prey gouges out the eye of a hare on a marble disk from the floor of the Church of Saint Sophia in Trebizond, now in the Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessalonike. Luxury manuscripts record similar scenes.¹ Images of a bird holding an eye in its beak are found repeatedly in pottery from Corinth. Even today, in Uzbekistan, hunting eagles are trained, by sockets packed with meat, to select the quarry's eye.²

Stylized leaves with spiky tips here radiate from the scene to accentuate the griffin's energy and speed; indeed, its body pattern suggests a fusion of eagle and cheetah rather than of the Roman eagle-and-lion

combination.³ A single diaperlike unit and a pair of concentric rings, decorative elements derived from silks and enamels, circle the griffin's tail.⁴

E D M

1. Brussels 1982, no. 12; compare this with an initial in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 654, fol. 36v; Ebersolt 1926, pl. LV 4.
2. Moorhouse 1990, p. 40.
3. Compare with Randall 1968, nos. 48.2290 and 48.2291, and Athens 1986, no. 281.
4. Compare with R. Stevenson 1947, pp. 20 (no. 9), 51; Content 1987, pp. 89, 194, no. 51; and Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 297H.

LITERATURE: *Handbook* 1967, no. 306; Providence 1987, p. 160, no. 45.





186. Interior

186. Bowl with Cheetah between Curved Branches

Byzantine, 12th century
Engraved slipware

H. 9.8 cm (3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), MAX. DIAM. 25.5 cm (10 in.)

CONDITION: The bowl is intact and cleaned of marine incrustations; the interior is stained and pitted, the exterior and rim abraded; calcite inclusions and traces of slip are visible on the exterior.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Rogers Fund, 1971 (1971.147.1)

Tame cheetahs were signs of status and wealth both in medieval Byzantium and in the Islamic East. Used in the hunt for their speed, they were also included in imperial bridal retinues. As hunters or denizens of palatial gardens, they frequently decorate Byzantine manuscripts.¹ Close variations of the design on this bowl were apparently widespread in the pottery trade, as evidenced on bowls discovered in shipwrecks. On a shard

found in Corinth, a cheetah rides a horse behind a costumed serpent-slayer, an expression of Byzantine romanticism imposed on a hunting theme.² An imperial cheetah spectacle is displayed on the carved-ivory hunting scene on the Clephane Horn, in the British Museum, London.³

The cheetah on this bowl exists independent of narrative. The rows of short marks on its rectangularized body continue conventions of metalwork engraving that began in antiquity and were copied in Early Byzantine pottery,⁴ and the more abstract elements reflect the influence of graphic conventions developed in the Middle Ages.⁵ In contrast to felines on vessels of precious metal (see cat. no. 299), whose formal symmetry is derived from silks, this beast ambles haphazardly, nibbling the end of a branch. The pose, in combining those of grasping and of striding lions — images of security and



186. Profile

protection — makes this cheetah the generic feline peer of the lion.⁶

E D M

1. See cat. no. 191 n. 2; Lohvin, *Kiev*, 1971, p. 99.
2. C. Morgan 1942, no. 1181, fig. 109.
3. London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 158.
4. Hayes 1992, p. 225, pl. Ig.
5. See Müller-Christensen 1966, fig. 80.
6. See Darkevich 1975, fig. 82, and Weitzmann 1972, no. 23, pl. xxxg.

Unpublished.



187. Interior

187. Shallow Bowl with Raptor between Branches

Byzantine, 12th century

Engraved slipware

H. 5.3 cm (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.), MAX. DIAM. 24.4 cm (9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: The bowl shows some pitting and flaking of the glaze and a blackish stain across its exterior.

PROVENANCE: From an unspecified shipwreck.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Anonymous Gift, 1984 (1984.302)

This vessel's shape and rudimentary, molded foot ring derive from metalwork, while the engraved raptor—with its flattened head, hooked, overhanging beak, characteristically distributed plumage, and huge feet—finds its best surviving parallels in manuscript illumination. Drawn with a fine point, these details create a gracefully imposing presence. On pottery, the bird with a stem in its beak

seems more active than passive. Birds and animals used in hunting, such as this one, signify power and social status. The branches refer to three common types: discrete plants that divide hieratic pairs of birds and animals, seen in woven silks; vine-stem rinceaux, as found on carvings; and the tradition, borrowed from metalwork, in which animals such as lions hold rings, stems, or strands in their mouths.¹ Although the raptor flanked by foliage is a common theme on pottery of this type, the effortless linear modeling achieved here is rare.²

E D M

1. Compare with C. Morgan 1942, no. 1109, pl. XLII C, and with London, *Byzantium*, 1994, nos. 142, 188a.

2. See the smaller falcons engraved and in relief on the Vil'gort and Chernihiv bowls; Darkevich 1975, figs. 4, 27, 47, 60.

Unpublished.



187. Profile



188. Interior

188. Deep Bowl with a Running Waterbird

Byzantine, 12th century
Engraved and painted slipware
H. 10.3 cm (4 in.), MAX. DIAM. 28 cm (11 in.)

CONDITION: The bowl retains heavy marine incrustations on the exterior; where the glaze is unstained, the slip shows a fine all-over craquelure; there is some chipping and pitting on the surface and at the upper edge; a surface crack runs across the upper-right quadrant.

PROVENANCE: From an unspecified shipwreck. Private collection, New York

With strength and speed this waterbird — either a heron or a crane — strides across an open field ringed with bladed plants. The outer ring of V-shaped plants is engraved with economical strokes, leaving spaces at

stem and leaf tips; an inner ring of compound sprigs is not engraved but loosely painted in brown pigment. A curved dab of the same color at the bowl's center marks the bird's wing. The sure but hastily drawn composition, without an actual landscape or a groundline, swirls around the center, the bird appearing to run through a wind-agitated marsh.

Long-legged waterbirds were popular creatures for falcon hunts, taking up a chapter in the Sicilian book on falconry by Frederick II (r. 1215–50).¹ They have also been used to illustrate the bounty of nature. Their profiles grace Roman silver cups.² Engraved in bronze, a striding crane embellishes the Early Byzantine door of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.³ Long-



188. Profile

legged birds wade and strut through the waters and vines of paradise in the San Vitale mosaic, in Ravenna, prefiguring the river birds in the Sinai Annunciation icon (cat. no. 246).⁴

Waterbirds are also a common motif on the pottery and textiles of the Islamic world. The cranes on Nishapur ware are found, in a different technique, on the Byzantine bowls

known as Aegean ware. The lines of dashes, derived from metal engraving, that pattern the bird on this bowl and the use of brown color, as well as the motif of the bird itself, relate it to a group of twelfth-century bowls found on shipwrecks.⁵ The application of color to the bowl's lip (see also cat. no. 189) is seen both on lusterware and on Nishapur slip-painted ware.

E D M

1. See Frederick II 1943, bks. 3–5. A falcon hunting a heron seems to be the subject carved to the left of the cross in a funerary relief at Prespa; A. Grabar 1976, no. 50a.
2. Baratte 1986, pp. 54–57; compare Esin 1994, fig. 185. For cross-cultural examples, see Baer 1983, fig. 53; Cott 1939, no. 103, figs. 103b, c, pl. 44; Morgan 1942, no. 1192c, pl. XLIV.
3. Mango and Hawkins 1972, p. 33, fig. 33; Underwood (1960, p. 211) mentions but does not illustrate the waterbirds; for illustrations, see Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Photographic Archive, s.v.-A-1.9(58), s.v.-A-1.11(58), s.v.-A-1.12(58).
4. Deichmann 1969–89, pls. 332, 333, 342, 345; H. Maguire 1981, pp. 50–52, fig. 42; H. Maguire 1987, pp. 21–23, 60–62, figs. 35, 42, 44, 48, 52, 69, 70. For striding birds, see Frederick II 1943, bk. 4, chap. 1; with neck bands, Frederick II 1943, bk. 3, chap. 25; Patmos Cod. 33, fol. 1r (dated 941), Kominiš 1988, pl. 5; also C. Morgan 1942, nos. 1103, 12113, fig. 104b, pl. XLIII; Campbell 1985, no. 254.
5. For birds from shipwrecks, see Campbell 1985, no. 254; Armstrong 1991; for one with color, see Athens 1984, no. 129.

Unpublished.



189. Interior

189. Bowl with Shore Scene

Byzantine (excavated at Corinth), 12th century
Engraved slipware
H. 7.1 cm (2¾ in.), DIAM. 20.8 cm (8¼ in.)

CONDITION: The bowl has been reassembled from large fragments; there is slight chipping as well as abrasion at the rim.

Archaeological Museum, Ancient Corinth, Greece (C.31.5)

A Siren preys on a waterbird that faces a passing fish. The bird will eat the fish, and the Siren, the bird, making the bowl the amusing heir to antique plates that were both decorated with fish and used to serve them. A related three-part pursuit appears on a dish that depicts a terrestrial hunt (cat. no. 191). The humor of the scene, the irony of the eater eaten, is seen also on other ceramic tableware from Corinth (see illus. on page 256).¹

The Byzantine natural world, like that of medieval bestiaries in the West, embraced as

part of God's creation the fabulous creatures of myth. This human-headed bird is descended from the Greek and Roman Siren and Harpy. Through her medieval kindred in Seljuk art of the Near East, she has become associated with luxury goods such as gilded-silver vessels and precious silks.² The Greco-Roman Siren is a rapacious sea creature. Here, she has a fish-shaped eye. Her violent nature, like that of preying felines or birds on pottery, is implicit rather than explicit: she rests or perches on her victim, rather than attacking it with her claws.

The message given in the shore scene on this bowl is one of dominance and plenty. Its three-part sequence has an Early Byzantine precedent in a woven silk that shows a man standing over a lion placed, in turn, above its prey.³ The meaning here is more equivocal, perhaps reflecting the sense of threatened security during the Komnenian period. It is a wish for enough to eat, with a nod to powers beyond human control.

Like the subject, the formal presentation has more than one source. The color, though running beyond the dots and studs, was selectively applied within compartmentalized outlines, paying homage to the monochromatic



189. Profile

shimmer of imported lusterware as well as to the particulate appeal of Byzantine cloisonné enamel.⁴ The dots along the lip combine a reference to the scallops seen on lusterware and to the notches of the more elaborate lips of silverware.⁵ Their discontinuous application lends a framing rhythm to the composition.

E D M

1. C. Morgan 1942, no. 1271, pl. XLIIIa; no. 1705, fig. 223.
2. Esin 1994, p. 202; for related motifs in silk, see Kühnel 1960, pp. 3380–81, fig. 1140, and p. 3088.

- fig. 1150 (pp. 3080–89), and Bunt 1967, fig. 9; in metalwork, see the inlaid brass ewer in the Metropolitan Museum (MMA 44.15), Baer 1983, p. 100, fig. 74, the silver-gilt Vil'gort and Chernihiv bowls, and a silver bowl in the Kier collection, Darkevich 1975, figs. 1, 28, 45, 57; a pair with crossed tails, like those on the ewer, appears again on a Byzantine engraved-slipware bowl in Berlin, no. 32/66, in Elbern 1972, fig. 3.
3. Stauffer et al. 1995, no. 24; see illustration of matching clavus in Berlin, in Wilckens 1992, no. 9.
 4. Byzantine potters were not alone in imitating luxury products by such means; compare Philon 1980, fig. 118, pl. 1vb, and New York and Milan 1984, no. 31.
 5. For two- and three-dimensional variations, see Morgan 1942, nos. 946, 949, 975, pl. XXXIX; no. 955, pl. XLb; no. 1463, pl. XLVIIIa; no. 1536, pl. XLIXj; nos. 583, 604, 617, pls. XXVIA,h,e; and nos. 663, pl. XXVII, 667, 647, 669, 652, pls. XXVIIc, j, n, and o, respectively. For the saw-toothed or scalloped ring as a border motif in lusterware, see Jenkins 1992, figs. 12, 14, 22.

LITERATURE: C. Morgan 1942, pp. 94, 239, fig. 70; Megaw 1968, p. 105, fig. 312; Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, no. 84a; L. Bouras, in Brussels 1982, p. 231, no. C6; L. Bouras, in Amsterdam 1987, p. 266, no. 172.



190

190. Dish with Garden Animals

Byzantine (excavated at Corinth), late 12th–early 13th century

Engraved cut-slip ware

H. 4.1 cm (1½ in.), DIAM. 22.9 cm (9 in.)

CONDITION: The dish has been reassembled from large fragments; glaze and slip are chipped at the rim and show scattered pitting.

Archaeological Museum, Ancient Corinth, Greece (C.29.3)

In the peaceful park or garden scene on this dish, nibbling hares and straying doves, all with collars or bands around their necks, surround a deer or a gazelle. Cut-slip ware such as this is now dated to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.¹ Here the scrolling stems that fill the field recall, in their inconsistent directions, the scrollwork of the Innsbruck enamel (cat. no. 281). The leaves are a mixed salad of motifs, more Byzantine than Islamic: toothed and curly extended half palmettes, three-lobed vine or ivy leaves,

and rounded full palmettes of many lobes (see cat. no. 159).² Yet the chromatic contrast on Islamic lusterware between figure and ground is clearly a model for these cut-slip surfaces, in which the positive reserve contrasts with the dark negative ground.³

The dainty, scratching gesture of the animal at the center signifies an unthreatening moment, although it may reflect a hunting scene from the story of the Sassanian king Bahrām Gūr (r. 420–40), who, seeing his unwary quarry scratching, shot an arrow that pinned its hoof to its ear.⁴

EDM

LITERATURE: C. Morgan 1942, nos. 6, 166, and color frontispiece; Darkevich 1975, p. 204, fig. 323.

EXHIBITION: Athens 1964, no. 665.

1. G. Sanders 1993, p. 252.

2. See R. Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987, p. 344, figs. 364, 366.

3. *Ibid.*; also Lane 1947 (1948), pp. 22, 26, pls. 25b vs. 33b; compare with Baer 1983, pp. 73–74, fig. 53; R. Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987, p. 342, fig. 362; Morgan 1942, p. 165.

4. Ward 1993, p. 82, fig. 60.

191. Dish with Cheetah Hunting Deer and Hare

Byzantine, early 13th century(?)

Engraved cut-slip ware

H. 4.6 cm (1¾ in.), MAX. DIAM. 22.2 cm (8¾ in.)

CONDITION: The surface is pitted and discolored, with losses of glaze; the deep furrow that scores the slip and glaze was caused by the stacking of dishes during manufacture.

PROVENANCE: From an unspecified shipwreck.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Rogers Fund, 1971 (1971.147.2)

The tooling of this heavy dish combines lathe- or compass-drawn elements with freehand detail. In a large, lattice-framed medallion, an animal fills each of three zones, known from Syrian lusterware.¹ A large central predator pounces on a deer, while turning its head back to look regretfully at a fleeing hare. Although without spots, the predator is a cheetah, identified by its visible tongue, small round ears, exaggerated shoulders, narrow midsection, powerful hindquarters, and long tail with a thick tip. Looming enormously, its curled neck cropped by the frame, the body swells into relief around the compass point at the center of the bowl. The deer's neck, muzzle, and legs, its rounder rump, pointed ears, large eye, and angular tail distinguish it from the hare. Both animals also appear as quarry for cheetahs on the Clephane Horn in the British Museum and for both falcons and cheetahs in a luxury manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.²

This composition was widely popular, with variations on the design found on ceramics from Greece to Bulgaria. On a dish from Corinth the cheetah has pierced spots.³ Another Corinthian version, apparently imitating imported carved porcelain or fritware, is bathed in slip, making it entirely white.⁴ On a shard from the Athens agora, the scene is engraved rather than cut into the slip. There are several incomplete examples like the present work in cut slip at the Louvre, and an intact dish with the same composition is in the collection of the Antalya Museum, on the southern coast of Turkey.⁵

E D M

1. Jenkins 1992, fig. 5; Pope 1945, pl. 65; British Museum *M&LA* 1979, 11-2, 2 (London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 187).
2. London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 158; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 64, fol. 6r (Ebersolt 1926, p. 49 n. 2, pl. XLII2).
3. Morgan 1942, pp. 163-65, no. 714, fig. 142b.



191. Interior



191. Profile

4. *Ibid.*, no. 1702, fig. 139.
5. *Antalya Museum* 1992, no. 162; Petsopoulos 1987, no. 10; for a fragment from Khersones, see Megaw 1975, p. 39, pl. 17.3; Waagé 1948, fig. 85; and Morgan 1942, no. 1728, pl. LIId.

EXHIBITION: New York 1975, no. 191.



192

192. Plate with Lovers in a Garden

Byzantine, late 12th–early 13th century

Engraved cut-slip ware

H. 4.8 cm (1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), MAX. DIAM. 25.2 cm (9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: Excavated at Corinth.

CONDITION: Recomposed, with fillers, of six fragments; the vessel has been returned to its original dimensions, with an earlier restoration removed.

Archaeological Museum, Ancient Corinth, Greece (C.34.54)

This lovers' idyll reigns as the most celebrated scene on Byzantine ceramic tableware. The figures are usually — but not necessarily — understood as the epic hero Digenes Akritas and the Amazon queen Maximo.¹ The same characters, with similar hairdos and costumes, perhaps appear on a series of related pieces, mostly fragmentary.² Here, Maximo sits frontally, enthroned on the lap of her man, while he is seated in deferential three-quarter profile, her small feet accentuating his large ones, thrust into the lathe- or compass-drawn rim border.³ Their merged torsos prefigure those on fifteenth-century Cypriot bowls that depict two heads and necks on two shoulders.⁴ Like Western European courtiers centuries later, elegant Byzantine warriors of the twelfth century sported long curls.

The folding seat, derived from the Roman *curule*, denotes authority. Beside it, the scoring of a tree trunk recalls the white lines

that vertically mark ornamental trees in painted manuscripts. The pruned trunk, the ivy beneath the stool, and the fleeing hare suggest a cultivated garden or hunting park. It is unclear whether the peaked ribbons behind the couple's shoulders represent a mountainous landscape, such as Adam and Eve sometimes inhabit, or tents, or a version of the canopy that provides shade for people seated in gardens on possibly imported Iranian ceramics of the late twelfth century.⁵ The suggestion that they are floating sleeves is puzzling,⁶ though a female dancer waving an extended sleeve and a warrior with military sleeves slit under the shoulders to dangle free of the arms do occur on Byzantine pottery.

The suitor is depicted as happy in the world, the antithesis of Adam mourning the loss of paradise (see cat. no. 158A). Variations of this scene appear on two shards excavated in Corinth and on a shard found at Sparta and now in the collection of the Museum Mistra.⁷ In the Sparta fragment a falcon stands to the left of the stool, and the woman, in a pleated dress, approaches from the right. The theme of secular pleasure recalls the scenes represented on two silver-gilt bowls discovered at Chernihiv, Ukraine, and at Vil'gort, in the Urals.⁸ There the man may be David in his Orphic guise, or an actual or fictitious person posed as David. He sits nearly frontally beside the woman, playing

a harp and wearing a three-pointed head-piece while she turns, mournful and bare-headed, to listen. Charmed birds and animals surround the pair. The lovers on the pottery shards, however, belong among ceramic subjects devoted to entertainment and the pleasurable life: dalliance, music, and falconry.

E D M

1. Frantz 1940–41, pp. 87–91. Compare with a Crusader capital, Folda 1986, pp. 41–42 n. 78, and pl. 21.
2. See note 7 below.
3. The feet of active Middle Byzantine figures often step onto the frame or beyond it; see the outdoor genre scene in an initial *O*, in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 806, fol. 61v; Ebersolt 1926, p. 50, pl. LVI, 1.
4. Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989, nos. 12–15, 45.
5. Watson, in R. Hillenbrand 1994, fig. 161.
6. L. Bouras, in Brussels 1982. See Berlin Museum bowl no. 27/66; Elbern 1972, fig. 2, or Morgan 1942, no. 1163, pl. LXIVa.
7. Morgan 1942, pl. LIIIm, 1, nos. 1704, 1748; the Sparta shard is exhibited with the group published by Dawkins and Droop 1910–11.
8. Darkevich 1975, figs. 3, 4, 46, 47; Vienna 1993, no. 128, pp. 313–14. For a possibly related idyll in cut slip, including the present plate's running hare, see C. Morgan 1942, no. 1747, fig. 144c (compare with nos. 1542 and 1543, pls. c,f,l).

LITERATURE: C. Morgan 1942, pp. 163, 333, pl. LII; Megaw 1968, p. 105, fig. 313; Darkevich 1975, pp. 253–54, fig. 374; L. Bouras, in Brussels 1982, p. 232, no. C3; Athens 1986, no. 30.



CHRISTIAN NEIGHBORS

HELEN C. EVANS

The Byzantine Empire during the Middle Byzantine centuries (843–1261) was not a monolithic state composed of one people and having a uniform culture; rather, its inhabitants and neighbors represented a rich mix of peoples. By the end of the internal civil war that had erupted over the Iconoclastic controversy—the fierce debate over the legitimacy of the use of images for worship—the empire’s borders had been reduced to little more than the lands now comprising Greece and Turkey. With the resolution of the controversy in 843, however, the recovery of the state began. In the era of expansion between the ninth and eleventh centuries, the empire—by political, religious, and military means—consolidated anew its position as a world power, as a result of which many peoples came to play important roles within the empire or within its sphere of influence. Indeed, it is the diverse responses of these peoples to the religious, cultural, and political standards of Byzantium that represent the most important and lasting influence of the Byzantine Empire.

The empire’s expansion reached into lands connected to it by ancient traditions and into regions occupied by newly developing populations envious of its might and splendor. To the north, neighboring lands were converted to Christianity and either forced within the empire’s boundaries as vassal states or tied to it by political alliances. To the east, contacts with the Christian cultures of Georgia and Armenia were renewed. To the south, in the imperial lands lost to Islam in the seventh century, Orthodox communities, such as that of the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, were actively involved in the spiritual life of the empire. The arts of non-Orthodox Christian communities in the same region, including the Syrians and the Egyptian Copts, demonstrate that they too maintained contacts with the empire, as did the Crusaders from Western Europe, who came to the East to free the Christian Holy Land from Islam.¹

These Christian neighbors, whether officially brought within the borders of the empire or remaining on its fringes, were selective in their adoption of the empire’s arts and cul-

ture, often transforming imperial standards to reflect their own traditions. By the end of the Middle Byzantine period, much of the empire’s power and authority would be lost to these states. The most successful of these groups, the Crusaders of Western Europe, would complete their absorption of Byzantine culture by taking substantial portions of the empire’s lands, including the capital, Constantinople, for their own. When the Byzantines were able to retake the capital in 1261, another era of Byzantine history began. In this last valiant period the city of Constantinople, now essentially all that remained of the empire, would stand, until 1453, against the armies of Islam. But with the city’s fall to the Ottoman Turks, even the dream of the imperium had ended.²

By the Middle Byzantine era, all the territories north of the empire were occupied by the Slavs, an Indo-European people who originated in the Carpathian Mountains. Migrating to the west, those who settled in the lands of what are today Bulgaria, Ukraine, Russia, Albania, Serbia, Macedonia, Romania, and Belarus’ became known as the South and East Slavs. Attracted to the sophistication and wealth within the empire, especially in Constantinople, they embraced its Church and culture, adapting them to their own ambitions and traditions.³ Indeed, the successful conversion to Christianity of the Slavic peoples by the Byzantine state, beginning in the mid-ninth century, has been called the most significant achievement of the empire.⁴

Most powerful among these peoples were the East Slavs, the Rus’, who, while they maintained political independence throughout the Middle Byzantine centuries, turned to Byzantium both for their religion and for a model of courtly life. The princes of Kiev, the greatest city of Rus’, and their relatives as far north as Novgorod had no connections to the Greco-Roman traditions of the ancient past. They were, however, aware of the Church of Rome, of Judaism, and of Islam when they chose to convert to the Church of Constantinople, finding in Byzantium the preeminent standard of civilization to which they could aspire. Transmitted through Byzantine settlements in the Crimea (see cat. no. 203) and by way of Bulgaria (see cat. nos. 220–229), the Christian faith as practiced in Constantinople was in 988 officially adopted by the

Cathedral of Sviata Sofia, Kiev, ca. 1017–37.
Photo: Bruce White



Two Military Saints Slaying an Enemy. Relief, mid-11th–early 12th century, Cathedral of the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery, Kiev. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. Photo: Bruce White

people of Rus', along with Byzantine courtly culture, as seen in the decoration of the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Cathedral (Saint Michael of the Golden Domes) in Kiev.⁵ The rulers of Rus' were Vikings. Other Vikings, when they reached Constantinople, became the palace guard (the Varangians) of the Byzantine emperors, thus extending the empire's influence, both directly and indirectly, to Scandinavia (see cat. nos. 323, 334, 335).⁶

West of Rus', Khan Boris, who as ruler of Bulgaria controlled much of the Balkans, had been baptized by missionaries from Constantinople in 864. As the Bulgarians had decisively defeated the Byzantine army in 811, during the last years of the Iconoclastic controversy, the later conversion of Boris and his people was a significant step in bringing them within the empire's direct sphere of influence.⁷ Although Christianity had been introduced in a limited way as early as the sixth century, it was the conversion of Bulgaria that began the era in which the Slavs broadly embraced the new faith. Via the Bulgarians, the Glagolitic alphabet and the liturgical language, Church Slavonic, were brought to Rus' (see top illus. on opposite page). The alphabet and language were developed by Saint Constantine the Philosopher (Cyril) in preparation for a mission to Moravia in 863 with his brother Saint Methodios.⁸ Major scriptoria were established at Pliska and Ohrid, where religious texts were translated from Greek into Church Slavonic. These scriptoria helped to spread Orthodox Christianity and Byzantine culture among other Slavic communities.⁹ The rulers of Bulgaria also adopted the courtly standards of Constantinople. Among the works

imported there was an ivory icon of the popular Middle Byzantine theme of the Koimesis (opposite page), now in a fragmentary state, whose animated figures are similar to those found on the finest ivories of Constantinople (cat. nos. 95, 101).¹⁰ In 1015 the Byzantine emperor Basil II conquered Bulgaria, forcing it within the empire. The Bulgarians would remain within the borders of the empire, rising to positions of authority and power, until 1188, when they would once again attain their goal of an independent state.¹¹

With the conquest of Bulgaria, Byzantium was brought into direct contact with the Serbs. Although Byzantine missionaries had converted Serbia (Rascia in Latin) in the mid-ninth century, frequent contacts began only after the inclusion of medieval Bulgaria within the empire's borders. Briefly a vassal state of Byzantium during the reign of Stefan Nemanja (ca. 1165/68–1196), Serbia soon regained its independence.¹² Nemanja's burial church at Studenica (see illus. on p. 276), with its combination of a Byzantine dome over a longitudinal nave decorated with Western Romanesque elements, is evidence of Serbia's position between cultures in these centuries.¹³ During the Fourth Crusade (1202–4), Serbia was one of the border regions of the empire to successfully negotiate recognition from the papacy as an independent kingdom. In 1217 Serbia's ruler, Stefan the First-Crowned, was able to gain a king's crown from Pope Honorius III; in 1219 the Serbian Church was recognized as autocephalous by Byzantium. Serbia's peak as a political and cultural power, however, would not occur until the fourteenth century, under King Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (r. 1331–55).¹⁴ Beyond Serbia, even the



Old Bulgarian euchologion (prayer book), 11th century, fols. 50, 51. Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai. Photo: Bruce White

Hungarians were brought within the orbit of Constantinople for a time in the Middle Byzantine period, especially during the era of King Béla III (r. 1172–96; see cat. no. 333). In his youth Béla was briefly betrothed to Maria Komnene, heir of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I; as king of Hungary he was father-in-law to the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos (r. 1185–95; 1203–4). Ultimately, however, Hungary remained within the orbit of the Church of Rome and Western culture.¹⁵

To the east of the empire's borders, inhabiting the mountainous regions that buffered Byzantium and the West from the East, were the Georgians, an Ibero-Caucasian people, and the Armenians, an Indo-European people. Unlike the Slavs, both had long had ties to the Greco-Roman world as well as to the ancient cultures of the East. Converted to Christianity by the fourth century and inspired by the need to translate biblical texts, by the fifth century each people had its own distinct alphabet, derived in part from that of the Greeks. Proud of their respective cultural traditions, both groups stressed cultural and religious continuity with their pasts. Thus, in the Middle Byzantine era the Georgians and Armenians preferred to build their churches in the styles developed during their earliest Christian centuries (see illus. on pp. 276 and 277).¹⁶

While recognizing the religious authority of the Church of Constantinople, Georgia resisted the empire's expansion to the east, remaining an independent state. Many Georgians, however, participated in the political and cultural life of the empire. The well-known poet John Tzetzes (ca. 1110–ca. 1180/85) was a Georgian.¹⁷ Maria of Alania (a common



Apostles from a Koimesis. Fragment of an ivory icon, Constantinople, 10th century. Natsionalen Arkheologicheski Muzei, Sofia



Church of the Virgin, Studenica, Serbia (present-day Yugoslavia), after 1183. Photo: Carol Krinsky



Main church, Monastery of Gelati, Georgia, 1100–1125. Photo: Robert Evans and Robin Long

misnomer for Georgia among the Byzantines; see illus. on p. 182) was the only non-Byzantine empress of the eleventh century.¹⁸ Wife first of Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071–78) and then of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (r. 1078–81), Maria may have fostered connections between Georgian and Byzantine art. Byzantine manuscripts and enamels were exported to Georgia, inspiring a tradition of enamel works with inscriptions in both Georgian and Greek (see illus. on p. 341). In the twelfth century Georgia, like other neighbors of the empire, experienced an era of expansion, including the occupation of Armenian territories, such as the city of Ani.¹⁹

The Armenians, unlike the Georgians, did not acknowledge the authority of the Church of Constantinople; refusing to accept the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, they remained independent in their religious development.²⁰ During the ninth and tenth centuries Armenia was often politically and culturally connected to the Byzantine Empire; in fact, many prominent members of the empire, including the imperial family, were of Armenian descent (see cat. no. 55).²¹ Within the same period, known as the golden age of Armenian independence, relatively autonomous kingdoms flourished in their homelands. In the last centuries of the Middle Byzantine era, these Armenian realms were overrun

by Islamic, Byzantine, and Georgian armies.²² The Armenians long established within the empire were then joined by those forced inside its boundaries by the loss of their lands. The most successful in their resettlement were the Armenians who moved into Cilicia, on the southern border of the empire. There they created an independent state with a distinctive artistic tradition, successfully fusing new themes drawn from the Byzantine world with motifs from the Latin West, creating, as their relatives in Armenia proper had done earlier, a manuscript tradition expressive of their own faith (cat. nos. 242, 243).²³

South of Cilicia, during the Early Byzantine period, the vast area encompassing present-day Syria, Jordan, Israel, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan had been part of the empire. Political ties between Byzantium and the Islamic states that ruled these regions during the Middle Byzantine years established cultural interaction between Islamic and Byzantine art.²⁴ Furthermore, Byzantium retained contact with the surviving Orthodox Christian communities in these lands and—to a lesser extent—with those Christians outside the Orthodox world. Most famous of the surviving Orthodox communities were the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai and the Great Lavra of Saint Sabas near Jerusalem. Both were centers of Orthodoxy, with scriptoria

that continued to produce texts for at least much of the Middle Byzantine era.²⁵ In the early eighth century Saint Sabas gained importance as the site at which Saint John of Damascus, a member of an influential Arab-Christian family, wrote what would be accepted within the empire as the Orthodox position in defense of icons (see cat. no. 24).²⁶

The Early Byzantine foundation of the Monastery of Saint Catherine was built on Mount Sinai, according to legend, beside the burning bush that inspired the vision of Moses (cat. no. 250). In the sixth century a fortified site, which survived the arrival of Islam in the isolated region, was built at the base of the mountain at the order of Justinian I, the last great emperor of the first Byzantine centuries. Early in the Middle Byzantine period, the body of Saint Catherine, a virgin martyred in Alexandria in the fourth century, was found on a nearby mountain peak and removed to the monastery, which then took her name. In the succeeding centuries, as her fame spread and pilgrimages to Sinai increased, Saint Catherine became popular in both the East and the West.²⁷ Although situated in a remote location deep within territory lost by the empire to Islam, the monastery appears to have sustained a flourishing center of icon painting in the twelfth

and thirteenth centuries (cat. nos. 244–250). These works, in a style reminiscent of the finest works of Constantinople (cat. nos. 65, 66), offer visual confirmation of the continuing importance of the monastery within the Orthodox world during the Middle Byzantine era.²⁸

The Syrian Christians, the Coptic Church in Egypt, and the Ethiopian and Nubian Churches, while theologically distinct from the Church of Constantinople, nonetheless looked to the Byzantine Church as a central influence of the Christian world, as seen in the fresco fragments from Qara, Syria (illus. on p. 278).²⁹ The incorporation of Byzantine religious images, such as the Anastasis, in Syriac manuscripts provides evidence of their continuing contact with the empire in the Middle Byzantine centuries (cat. no. 254).³⁰ So, too, does the image of the Virgin behind the bishop Marianos in a surviving fresco of the early eleventh century originating far to the south of the empire in the Great Cathedral in Faras, Nubia (see illus. on p. 369).³¹ The description of the warm welcome to Constantinople extended to a Nubian king by the Byzantine emperor in about 1203³² is recorded in the writings of the Crusader Robert de Clari, whose presence signaled the fall of the city and the end of the empire's dominance.³³



Cathedral of Ani, Armenia (present-day Turkey), ca. 1001. Photo: Thomas F. Mathews

Although the empire never relinquished its claim to rule all the lands of the ancient Roman Empire, including the Latin West, its actual territory in that region during the Middle Byzantine centuries never extended farther than a tenuous hold on the southern tip of Italy.³⁴ Cultural relations with the Latin West, however, reached as far as Spain.³⁵ One route by which these contacts were established was by way of the Crusaders. The First Crusade took Jerusalem on July 15, 1099, establishing the Latin Kingdom, which would rule the city until 1187, a span of almost one hundred years. There a scriptorium was founded that fused Byzantine and Western traditions of illumination (see illus. opposite and cat. nos. 259, 260).³⁶ Similar interaction between these artistic traditions is found in other centers that were influenced by the Crusaders, including Sinai and Cyprus (cat. no. 263).³⁷ Icons created in southern Italy after most of the Byzantine territory fell to the Normans in 1045 also combine Byzantine and Western motifs (cat. no. 320). With the Fourth Crusade in the earliest years of the thirteenth century, the Latin fascination with the wealth of Byzantium diverted the Crusaders from their goal of recapturing holy sites to that of the conquest of Constantinople. When they came to occupy the capital of the Christian world in the East, the Crusaders dispersed its treasures and ended its role as a world leader.³⁸

Between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, however, the Byzantine Empire was a great world power, setting such a high standard of civilization that it succeeded in converting the Slavs to Christianity—thus directly and indirectly expanding its territories far to the north. For a time Byzantium also extended its lands to the east, regaining influence over Armenian and Georgian principalities. Even as the Islamic states to the east and south, and the Latin states to the west, began to encroach on its territories, Byzantium maintained a level of culture that they and others aspired to emulate. In the Early Byzantine era the empire's realm had encircled the Mediterranean basin; at its peak during the Middle Byzantine centuries, however, the empire's sphere of influence spread from its neighboring Christian states to the north and east to the Christian communities surviving deep within its old territories to the south, now officially under Islamic rule.³⁹ Within those lands most Christians looked not to Rome but to the Church in Constantinople as a cultural model, even when it was engulfed by religious controversy. The collapse of the empire would leave the descendants of those who had lived within its borders and immediate environs writing in six alphabets—Greek, Cyrillic, Georgian, Armenian, Latin, and Arabic—and speaking many languages, but it would leave them also forever inspired by the art and culture of Byzantium during its centuries of greatness.



Left: Evangelist. Fresco, 1100–1200, Monastery Church of Mar Yacub, Qara, Syria (cat. no. 257). Photo: Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums, Damascus

Right: The Three Marys at the Tomb. Illustration from Queen Melisende's Psalter (cat. no. 259)





KIEVAN RUS'

OLENKA Z. PEVNY

The most decisive testimony to the authority and vitality of Byzantine culture during the Middle Ages is the expansion of its influence to Kievan Rus', a large and powerful state that emerged in Eastern Europe in the second half of the ninth century. Although its borders fluctuated, the vast Kievan Rus' territory extended from the steppes north of the Black Sea to the regions beyond the upper Volga River and Lakes Ladoga and Onega. These lands were settled by the East Slavic tribes in the fifth and sixth centuries, when the sedentary Slavic peoples began to disperse from their original homeland north of the Carpathian Mountains in the Wisła (Vistula) Valley and the Prypiat marshlands.¹

The rivers linking the Baltic and Black Seas played an important role in the rise to prominence of the Kievan Rus' state. By the mid-ninth century the Varangians from Sweden and Gotland were making their way to Byzantium along the rivers that connect the Baltic Sea to the Dnipro River, which in turn provided access to the Black Sea and Constantinople. Along this route the Varangians set up trading and commercial outposts among the East Slavic settlements.

The formation of the Kievan Rus' state is associated with the development of Kiev, the most important of these centers, which served as the capital of Rus' and is the present-day capital of Ukraine. From Kiev the Rus' realm gradually expanded to encompass the East Slavic tribes living in areas that are today parts of Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia. Kiev, strategically located on the steep banks of the Dnipro River, was the key point of contact between the Rus' state and the Byzantine Empire and, in the tenth century, the nucleus for the conversion of the East Slavs to Byzantine Christianity.

The Rus' not only engaged in trade with Byzantium but also launched attacks on Constantinople and participated in Byzantium's military campaigns. A successful expedition against Constantinople in 860² and another in the early tenth century, headed by Prince Oleh (d. 912), the first Kievan prince confirmed by historical record, helped secure the rights of

Rus' envoys, merchants, and mercenaries in the Byzantine capital.³

The first Christian ruler of Kiev was Princess Ol'ha (d. 969), the wife of Prince Ihor (d. 945) and regent from 945 to 960. In an attempt to further political relations with Byzantium, Princess Ol'ha traveled to Constantinople and was received by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945–59). For the Rus' this event came to symbolize the elevated status of the Kievan state. A fresco in the south stairwell tower of Kiev's eleventh-century Cathedral of Sviata Sofia (Saint Sophia), the most important ecclesiastical foundation of Rus', captures the imperial pageantry of Ol'ha's journey.⁴ Rus' chronicles imply that Ol'ha was baptized in Constantinople in a service performed by the patriarch and that Constantine VII served as her godfather.⁵ Both the eleventh-century fresco and the chronicle accounts of Ol'ha's visit date to the time when Kievan Rus' was under the decisive cultural influence of Byzantium. However, the "byzantinization" of Kievan Rus' was a gradual and filtered process, which was never all-pervasive. Unlike the Balkan Slavic states, Kievan Rus' lay not only beyond the existing border of the Byzantine Empire but also outside the boundaries of the old Roman Empire. It was therefore removed from the Greek and Roman classical foundations of Byzantine culture. Moreover, Kievan Rus' was subject to a broad range of local imperatives and vying foreign influences. It is noteworthy that after visiting Constantinople, Princess Ol'ha dispatched envoys to Otto I, the German king proclaimed emperor by Pope John XII, to request that a bishop and priests be sent to Rus'.⁶ Although this mission was not successful, subsequent Kievan Rus' rulers continued to nurture multiple international contacts. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the few Rus'-Byzantine princely marriages were outnumbered by important princely unions with other foreigners, among whom were the kings of France, Norway, and Hungary.⁷

Notwithstanding his mother's Christian faith and his collaboration with Byzantine forces in the military campaign against the Bulgarian kingdom, Ol'ha's son Prince Sviatoslav I (r. 960–72) continued to follow the indigenous animistic

Cathedral of Sviata Sofia, Kiev, ca. 1017–37. Photo: Olenka Z. Pevny



Christ Pantokrator. Dome mosaic, ca. 1037, Cathedral of Sviata Sofiia, Kiev. Photo: Bruce White

Church Fathers. Illustration from the *Izbornik Sviatoslava*, Kievan Rus', 1073. Moscow, State Historical Museum, GIM, Sin. 1043 [Sin. 31-d], fol. 3. Photo: Bruce White

faith.⁸ It was Princess Ol'ha's grandson Grand Prince Volodymyr (r. 980–1015) who, in 988, established Byzantine Christianity as the state religion of Kievan Rus'.⁹ The *Pověst vremennykh lět* (Tale of Bygone Years)¹⁰ records that the mesmerizing beauty of the Byzantine liturgy and the overwhelming splendor of the architecture and decoration of Byzantine churches convinced the emissaries sent to Constantinople by Grand Prince Volodymyr to recommend the Byzantine Orthodox faith to their own people.¹¹ Volodymyr, who wished to share in the wealth, prestige, and might of one of the foremost civilizations of the time, was baptized and then married Anna, the sister of the Byzantine emperor Basil II (r. 976–1025). A metropolitan see subordinate to Constantinople was established in Kiev,¹² and the Byzantine priests and masters who followed brought with them icons, relics, liturgical books, and other paraphernalia.¹³ In Kiev, Byzantine architects and builders constructed the large masonry Desiatynna (Tithe) Church (see cat. no. 193), to which Volodymyr dedicated one tenth of his revenues.¹⁴ In imitation of Byzantium, the grand prince issued gold coins stamped on the obverse with the image of Christ and on the reverse with his own portrait.

The undertakings of Prince Iaroslav Mudryi (r. 1036–54), the son of Grand Prince Volodymyr, further document the



dominant role of Byzantine tradition in the development of the ecclesiastical culture of Kievan Rus'. This prince modeled the expansion of Kiev on Constantinople, extending the city walls and erecting the Zoloti Vorota (Golden Gate), which served as the main entrance to the capital, paralleling the Golden Gate of Constantinople. He founded such structures as the Cathedral of Sviata Sofiia (see illus. on pp. 272 and 280) and churches dedicated to Saint George and Saint Irene, all counterparts of famous Constantinopolitan foundations. By the eleventh century some Western prelates described Kiev as "the rival of Constantinople," while others mistakenly assumed it to be one of Byzantium's foremost cities.¹⁵

Of all Prince Iaroslav's foundations, only the Cathedral of Sviata Sofiia survives.¹⁶ Its Middle Byzantine cross-domed core was expanded by the multiplication of bays and apses to create a structure with five apses and thirteen domes surrounded by galleries and incorporating stairwell towers. While the architectural vocabulary is Middle Byzantine, the overall pyramidal structure, with its heavily compartmentalized internal space — combining an expansive central crossing with narrow, soaring units, cubical domed bays, abbreviated aisles, and a sweeping gallery — is Kievan. Mosaics, the most expensive form of monumental decoration, adorn the church's interior, covering the dome, the central apse, and the four arches of the central crossing. Frescoes fill the remaining walls. The expansive surfaces of the building's walls provided room not only for the depiction of events from the life of Christ and for images of individual saints but also for cyclical representations of the life of the Virgin, of the apostles Peter and Paul, and of Saint George, as well as scenes of the deeds of the archangels. Such extended narrative cycles became a recurring feature of Rus' church decoration.

As in the other Slavic states, the Greek language was a cultural barrier between Byzantium and Kievan Rus'.¹⁷ In the mid-ninth century, however, Constantine the Philosopher (Cyril) and Methodios, the Byzantine missionaries to Moravia, and later their disciples, using the Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets, undertook the first translations of texts into Church Slavonic, compiling a select corpus of translations that the Rus' appropriated and further expanded.¹⁸

Grand Prince Iaroslav established a scriptorium in Kiev for the copying, translating, and writing of books in Church Slavonic. Unfortunately, no manuscripts attributable to this scriptorium have been identified. The earliest dated Rus' manuscript is the Ostromir Lectionary of 1056–57 (cat. no. 198). The first extant dated nonliturgical Rus' manuscript, the *Izbornik Sviatoslava* of 1073, made for Grand Prince Iaroslav's son Prince Sviatoslav, is a Rus' copy of a Greek florilegium based on a Bulgarian intermediary text.¹⁹

Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, ecclesiastical and cultural contacts between Byzantium and Kievan Rus' continued to flourish, and the Byzantine presence in Kievan



Saint Demetrios. Mosaic, ca. 1113, from the Cathedral of the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery, Kiev. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. Photo: Bruce White

Rus' developed a distinctive character. In 1073 Constantinopolitan masters built—and decorated with mosaics and frescoes—the Uspens'kyi (Dormition) Cathedral at the Kyievo-Pechers'ka Lavra (Kiev Monastery of the Caves), the main church of the foremost monastic establishment of Kievan Rus'.²⁰ The three-bay-wide, triapsidal, domed-cross form of this influential church became widespread in Rus' from the late eleventh to the twelfth century.²¹ One of the earliest and most important churches that closely resembled the Uspens'kyi Cathedral was the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Cathedral (Saint Michael of the Golden Domes) in Kiev, founded by Prince Sviatopolk Iziaslavych (r. 1093–1113) in 1108. As in the Uspens'kyi Cathedral, the lavish use of mosaics to decorate the interior revealed the prestige of the new foundation.²² Kiev, at the height of its power during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, was the only Rus' city with enough wealth to support the art of mosaic decoration.



Virgin of Vladimir. Icon, Kievan Rus', 11th–12th century. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. Photo: Bruce White



Saints Borys and Hlib. Icon, Kievan Rus', late 12th–early 13th century. Kiev Museum of Russian Art, Kiev. Photo: Serhii Marchenko

Working alongside Byzantine artisans, the Rus' learned varied crafts and became esteemed masters themselves.²³ Revered ecclesiastical foundations in Kiev, highly prized Rus' manuscripts, and locally venerated icons joined Byzantine works as models for Rus' architecture, manuscripts, and painting in the late eleventh through the early thirteenth century. Replicas of the Uspens'kyi Cathedral at the Kyievo-Pechers'ka Lavra were built in Rostov and Suzdal' in the twelfth century.²⁴ The Mstislav Lectionary, a manuscript composed in the northern Rus' city of Novgorod in the early twelfth century, closely resembled the Ostromir Lectionary.²⁵ In addition, locally revered icons such as the Virgin of Vyzhhorod—now called the Virgin of Vladimir—were repeatedly copied.

Moreover, during the eleventh century, the ranks of the Byzantine saints commemorated in the Rus' Church came to include the first Rus' martyrs, Princes Borys and Hlib,²⁶ victims of a fratricidal feud over the Kievan throne. Similarly, the grand prince Volodymyr and his grandmother Ol'ha were viewed as apostles of the Christian faith on a par with Constantine the Great and his mother, Helena.²⁷

Administratively, Kievan Rus' was a conglomerate of distinct and independent principalities tenuously linked by language and religious and cultural bonds, as well as by economic, political, and dynastic ties. In the mid-eleventh century there were eight principalities: Kiev, Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, Halych-Volyn', Polatsk, Smolensk, Rostov-Suzdal' (later Vladimir-Suzdal'), and Novgorod. Each had its own ruler, who was usually an offspring of the grand prince of Kiev and was under his overall authority.²⁸ In the course of the twelfth century, princely rivalry for the Kievan throne and the constant incursions of the nomadic tribes who inhabited the southern steppes contributed to the decline of Kiev's central authority and to the fragmentation of political power among its disparate principalities, which were increasing in number. After the reign of the grand prince of Kiev Volodymyr Monomakh (1113–25) and of his son Mstyslav (1125–32), cities such as Novgorod, Halych, and Vladimir, which were political, cultural, and commercial centers of the leading principalities, escalated in power and importance. The culture of these cities was grounded in the Kievan tradition, but local conditions, aesthetic preferences, and available materials, as well as

specific foreign influences and the selective appropriation of the Byzantine heritage, all contributed to distinctive regional traits in the arts and architecture.

Novgorod, located along the upper Volkhov River in present-day Russia, was one of the oldest Rus' cities, second in prominence only to Kiev. In the system of succession based on seniority established by Prince Iaroslav Mudryi, upon the death of the grand prince of Kiev his eldest son and successor became ruler not only of Kiev but also of Novgorod and that city's surrounding dependencies. Thus, from the time of the formation of the Rus' state through the eleventh century, the two great Rus' cities were intimately connected. At the same time as he commissioned the Desiatynna Church in Kiev, Grand Prince Volodymyr ordered the construction in Novgorod of a wooden church with thirteen domes, which was to be dedicated to Holy Wisdom (Sophia means Wisdom).²⁹ Between 1045 and 1062 the son of Prince Iaroslav Mudryi, then the ruler of Novgorod, replaced the wooden structure with the still-extant large masonry Cathedral of Sviataia Sofia, whose core is a simplified version of its Kievan counterpart.³⁰

Novgorod's northern location made it an important center of trade with Scandinavian cities. In the twelfth century it became a member of the Hanseatic League, a commercial network of German cities, and developed a republican form of government in which power rested with the merchant elite rather than the prince. The growth in trade was accompanied by a flourishing of the arts, including metalworking (cat. no. 197), manuscript illumination, and icon painting. Unlike the large eleventh-century foundations, many of the numerous small churches built in the twelfth century were founded by private individuals or groups of merchants. These churches in Novgorod and in closely associated cities, such as Pskov and Staraia Ladoga, were constructed of brick and odd-sized blocks of local stone, their interiors decorated with fresco programs that are Byzantine in style and iconography.

Halych, located on the Dnister River in present-day western Ukraine, was another Rus' city that rose in prominence as an independent center in the early twelfth century. By the end of that century it served as the seat of power for the rulers of the united Halych and Volyn' principalities, who on occasion were able to exert their control over the Kievan throne. Halych maintained extensive relations with Byzantium and with Western Europe through Hungary and Poland.³¹ Although Byzantine in plan, the churches of Halych were built of evenly cut blocks of limestone and incorporated such Western elements as deeply recessed portals, corbel-table friezes, and architectural sculpture. Halych was also an important center for the manufacture of ceramic wares (see cat. no. 219)³² and for the preparation of Slavonic translations of Byzantine literature (see cat. no. 200).³³

Yet another increasingly powerful and distinctive region evolved in northeastern Rus', encompassing the principalities

of Vladimir-Suzdal' and Rostov—areas that are the heartland of modern-day Russia. Although these principalities were allied with Kiev through dynastic ties, by the mid-twelfth century Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii attempted to transcend Kiev's status by establishing Vladimir as the new capital of Rus'. The extant architectural monuments in the Vladimir-Suzdalian region display both a continuity with the Kievan tradition and a marked departure from it. The cross-domed plan of Vladimir-Suzdalian churches, such as the Dmitrievskii (Saint Demetrios) Cathedral in Vladimir (see illus. on next page), completed between 1194 and 1197,³⁴ ultimately is derived from the plan popularized by the Uspens'kyi Cathedral at the Kyievo-Pechers'ka Lavra. The limestone construction, small size, cubical form, and steep proportions, as well as the architectural sculpture, however, are hallmarks of Vladimir-Suzdalian architecture.³⁵

The one clear attempt to establish a new Rus' capital in Vladimir, masterminded by Prince Andrei Bogoliubskii in 1169, failed.³⁶ Because of its political and cultural prestige and despite princely feuding, Kiev remained the secular and ecclesiastical capital of Rus' until it fell to the Mongols in 1240. Throughout the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the city continued to maintain close ecclesiastical and cultural ties



Cathedral of Sviataia Sofia, Novgorod, ca. 1045–62. Photo: Bruce White



Dmitrievskii Cathedral, Vladimir, ca. 1194–97. Photo: Bruce White



Cathedral of Saints Borys and Hlib, Chernihiv, ca. 1123. Photo: Bruce White

with Constantinople. Patriarchally appointed hierarchs from Byzantium headed the metropolitan of Kiev, and monuments constructed in Kiev and the closely associated centers of Chernihiv, Kaniv, Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi, Smolensk, and Polatsk continued to refer directly to Middle Byzantine architecture. The all-brick construction of these monuments, with engaged columns topped by arched gables, finds parallels in the tenth-century Constantinopolitan Church of the Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii).³⁷ While a number of twelfth-century monuments survive in the cities that were closely associated with Kiev,³⁸ only one twelfth-century structure remains extant in Kiev itself—the Kyrylivs'ka (Saint Cyril) Church. Built in the 1160s by Princess Maria Mstyslavivna, it has one of the most complete extant programs of Rus' church decoration. The innovative cycle of the Life of Saint Cyril of Alexandria, which decorates the south apse, testifies to the creative adaptation and expansion of the Byzantine artistic tradition in twelfth-century Kiev.³⁹

The Mongol invasions of 1237–40 dealt the final blow to Kiev's central authority. After the capital succumbed to the Asiatic nomads in early December 1240, Novgorod, Halych-Volyn', and Vladimir-Suzdal' emerged as independent principalities. Although both Halych-Volyn' and Vladimir-Suzdal'

attempted to restore some semblance of the Kievan state, neither was able to maintain the fragile unity once sustained by Kiev. Infighting among the principalities and the assaults of the Mongols in the east and the Teutonic Knights in the west prevented the Rus' from taking advantage of Byzantium's weakened position following the Fourth Crusade.

Kievan Rus' was the largest of those Slavic states that accepted Byzantine Christianity and developed a dialogue with Byzantium, and it was the only one that did not become politically subordinate to Byzantium. Kievan Rus' was far enough away from Byzantium to partake in the cultural and ecclesiastical achievements of Byzantine civilization without being militarily or politically threatened by the empire. Moreover, Kievan Rus' was an expansive domain inhabited by at least thirteen East Slavic tribes. Its great size made for considerable regional differences and fostered a variety of local alliances. Commercial and diplomatic contacts with the Eurasian steppes, the Baltic North, and the Latin West made Kievan Rus' a wealthy, powerful, and respected rival of Byzantium. Just as Byzantium would not fully recover from the Latin occupation of Constantinople in 1204, the loose cohesion of the Kievan Rus' state was never restored after the fall of Kiev to the armies of Batu Khan in 1240.



Life of Saint Cyril of Alexandria. Fresco cycle, ca. 1160–69, Kyrylivs'ka Church, Kiev. Photo: Bruce White

193. Mosaic Floor from the Desiatynna Church, Kiev

Kievan Rus' (Kiev), ca. 996

Stone mosaic: white marble, porphyry, verd antique, spotted marble, and possibly some glass

175 × 104 × 10 cm (68¾ × 41 × 4 in.) without frame

CONDITION: A few pieces are missing; a partial restoration may have occurred in the nineteenth century.

PROVENANCE: Desiatynna Church, Kiev; fragments taken to the Cathedral of Sviata Sofia, Kiev, in 1935.

National Architectural Conservation Area "Saint Sophia of Kiev," Kiev, Ukraine (UFAA MA 584)

The fragment of opus sectile pavement comes from the central crossing of the Desiatynna (Tithe) Church in Kiev, the earliest

recorded masonry church in medieval Rus'. The church was completed by Greek masters in 996 but destroyed by the Tatars in 1240. The panel is thus an important testament to the immediate impact of Byzantium on Kievan Rus' following its conversion to Christianity under Prince Volodymyr in 989.

Known only from its excavated foundations, the Desiatynna Church was constructed of brick in the Constantinopolitan manner, and the interior was lavishly decorated. The crossing was apparently topped by a dome that was approximately 20 ft. in diameter.

The simple mosaic floor was executed in several different colors of marble arranged in a harmonious, radiating geometric design. The omphalos pattern conforms to several examples of floor mosaic from Constantinople in the same period. Marble panels and mosaic appeared only in the main nave and in the bema, whereas the remainder of the church floor was paved with glazed ceramic tiles. Nevertheless, the use of marble in Rus' at this early date was unusual and impressive—so much so that the church was called the Marble Church.

The floor panels were removed from the ruins of the Desiatynna Church in 1824–26 and subsequently installed in a new church constructed at the same site. When the nineteenth-century church was dismantled in 1935, the remaining two fragments of the floor were taken to Kiev's Cathedral of Sviata Sofia (Saint Sophia).

R O

LITERATURE: Karger 1958–61, vol. 2, pp. 9ff., esp. 56–59; Schäfer 1973–74, pp. 197–210, esp. 210; Mango 1974, p. 324.

194. Capital from the Cathedral of Sviata Sofia, Kiev

Byzantine?/Kievan Rus'? (Chersonesus?/Kiev?), 11th century

Marble

40 × 43 × 43 cm (15¾ × 16¾ × 16¾ in.)

CONDITION: The corners and edges are chipped and worn.

PROVENANCE: Excavated at the Cathedral of Sviata Sofia in the nineteenth century.

National Architectural Conservation Area "Saint Sophia of Kiev," Kiev, Ukraine (SMAA 15/19 [1123])

This capital is one of the many marble fragments of church furnishings discovered during excavations in the Cathedral of Sviata Sofia (Saint Sophia) in Kiev. In addition, five other capitals as well as fragmentary



marble plaques, cornices, columns, doorsteps, balustrades, and epistyles were found.¹

The cubical capital tapers into a circular base, which would have allowed it to fit on top of a round column shaft. This capital and the five other surviving ones probably were incorporated, along with the columns on which they rested, into a marble templon screen that separated the sanctuary from the cross-shaped nave;² it would have been similar to the templon barrier still in situ in the *katholikón* at the Monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phokis, Greece (see illus. on p. 20).

The motif of a cross flanked by leafy vines decorates two opposite sides of the capital, and a stylized leaf appears on each of the remaining sides. This ornamentation parallels that of eleventh-century Byzantine marble capitals, as, for example, those in the *katholikón* at Daphni, near Athens.³

While there is no marble quarry in the vicinity of Kiev, early descriptions and archaeological evidence indicate that the most prominent Kievan churches from the tenth to the twelfth century were richly decorated with marble furnishings.⁴ Either the sculptural and architectural details or the marble blocks from which they were carved were imported from Byzantium, perhaps via the Byzantine city of Chersonesus on the Crimean peninsula. Marble capitals of similar shape and design dating from the sixth to the ninth century have been excavated at the site of this medieval city.⁵ The *Pověst vremennykh lét* (Tale of Bygone Years) records that Grand Prince Volodymyr of Kiev (r. 980–1015) imported icons and liturgical vessels from Chersonesus after his baptism.⁶ It is possible that marble church furnishings newly commissioned or remaining from earlier monuments also were transported to Kiev.

On the other hand, remains of a sculpture workshop that produced marble carvings and other architectural details, uncovered in the vicinity of the Desiatynna (Tithe) Church in Kiev, provide evidence of local craftsmanship.⁷ Moreover, extant reliefs carved in an indigenous stone (see cat. no. 196) document the existence of a Kievan school versed in Byzantine sculptural motifs.

O Z P

1. Ainalov 1905, pp. 5–11.

2. It also has been suggested that the capitals were part of a ciborium. See Lashkarev 1883, pp. 144–47; A. Grabar 1976, p. 83.

3. A. Grabar 1976, pl. xxxiiiB.

4. Seventeenth-century descriptions of the sites in Kiev document the impressive use of marble to adorn the interior of the Cathedral of Sviata Sofia. *Travels of Macarius* 1829–36, p. 225.

5. See Moscow 1991, pp. 19, 69.



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6. *PSRL*, vol. 1, p. 50.

7. Khvoika 1913, pp. 69–70.

LITERATURE: Lashkarev 1883, pp. 143–47; Ainalov 1905, pp. 5–11; Khvoika 1913, pp. 69–70; Makarenko 1930, pp. 79–80, pls. XIII, XIV; Asieiev 1949, p. 73; Powstenko 1954, pp. 88–89, 94–95; Karger 1958–61, vol. 2, p. 206; Bazhan et al. 1966, p. 225; Asieiev, *Mystetstvo*, 1969, p. 200, pl. 103; Putsko 1983, pp. 127–42.

195. Mosaics from the Cathedral of the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery, Kiev

A. The Apostle Thaddeus

Kievan Rus' (Kiev), ca. 1108–13

Mosaic: gold and glass tesserae

299 × 109 cm (9 ft. 9¾ in. × 3 ft. 6¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: O A ΘΑΔΕΟC (Saint Thaddeus)

CONDITION: The mosaic is fairly well preserved except for an area of the tunic above the apostle's right foot; small losses to gold ground are restored; some green-ground tesserae are reset; the inscription has been moved from above the right shoulder to over the left shoulder of the apostle.

B. The Deacon Stephen

Kievan Rus' (Kiev), ca. 1108–13

Mosaic: gold and glass tesserae

231 × 134 cm (91 × 52¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: O A CTEΦ/ANOC (Saint Stephen)

CONDITION: There are small losses to the lid of the pyxis and to the ground between the figure's feet; lost tesserae in the gold ground, feet, lower vestment, and chest area are restored.

C. Ornamental Border

Kievan Rus' (Kiev), ca. 1108–13

Mosaic: gold and glass tesserae

74 × 134 cm (29¼ × 52¾ in.)

CONDITION: Individual and small groups of tesserae are missing; more substantial losses occur along the upper and lower borders.

D. Ornamental Border

Kievan Rus' (Kiev), ca. 1108–13

Mosaic: gold and glass tesserae

69 × 143 cm (27¼ × 56¼ in.)

CONDITION: There are two areas of loss in the plant motif at the far right and more substantial losses in the lower border.

PROVENANCE: Removed from the walls of the central apse of the Cathedral of the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery, Kiev, 1934.

National Architectural Conservation Area "Saint Sophia of Kiev," Kiev, Ukraine (A: MZH 188; B: MZH 189; C: MZH 190; D: MZH 191)

These mosaic figures and ornamental borders all once adorned the central apse in the Cathedral of the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery (Saint Michael of the Golden Domes), one of the largest



195A. The Apostle Thaddeus



195B. The Deacon Stephen



The Eucharist Mosaic



195C



195D

and most lavishly decorated churches in Kiev. The cathedral was founded by the Kievan prince Sviatopolk Iziaslavych (r. 1093–1113) on July 11, 1108,¹ and must have been completed prior to April 1113, when the prince died and was buried in the church.² It is possible that the Kievan prince built the church, which he dedicated to his patron, the archangel Michael, in honor of his victories over the nomadic Cumans living on the steppes north of the Black Sea. In addition to his tomb, the church eventually housed the tombs of the prince's wife³ and of two other Kievan Rus' princes,⁴ as well as the relics of Saint Barbara.⁵

That Prince Sviatopolk spared no expense in building and decorating the cathedral is evident from the appellation “of the Golden Domes,” which was accorded the church in the twelfth century.⁶ The gold-and-glass mosaics in the interior rivaled the splendor of the gilded domes of the exterior. Mosaics covered the central apse and probably the central dome, while frescoes decorated the remaining walls and piers of the church.

Unfortunately, the expanse of the mosaic decoration as well as the range of subjects depicted can be reconstructed only from descriptions. The few mosaic and fresco compositions that survive were salvaged hastily

by experts from the Mosaic Section of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad during the brutal demolition of the church at the order of the Soviet regime in 1934; most of these works are now housed in Kiev in the Cathedral of Sviata Sofiia (Saint Sophia), with a few objects in the State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow (see illus. on p. 283).⁷

A sense of the mesmerizing effect and the jewel-like quality of the original mosaic program of the sanctuary of the Cathedral of the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery may be gleaned from the eleventh-century Cathedral of Sviata Sofiia (see illus. on p. 272). In both, the apse was decorated with the Virgin Orans, in the conch; the Eucharist, showing Christ distributing wine and bread to the Twelve Apostles, in the middle register (see illus. opposite);⁸ and frontally depicted prelates in the bottom register.⁹ The decorative program served as a visual exegesis on the liturgy and included the archetypes for the ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy that presided over the actual liturgical service set in the church.

On each of the south and north walls flanking the apse, four more apostles were portrayed on the same level as the Eucharist mosaic. In addition to that composition, only the apostle Thaddeus from the south

wall and fragmentary remains of the other seven apostles survive.¹⁰ The apostle Thaddeus, identified by a Greek inscription over his left shoulder, is depicted as young, with short, cropped hair; he wears sandals and a yellowish white himation over a green chiton decorated with maroon and gold clavi. Although he is not among the twelve figures receiving the bread and wine from Christ in the Eucharist mosaic, the Gospels of Mark and Matthew note that Thaddeus belonged to Christ's original group of twelve apostles.¹¹ His position flanking the Eucharist extends the theme of the apostolic origin of the Church to the side walls of the sanctuary apse.

Beyond the apostle Thaddeus, on the north face of the south pier framing the sanctuary, was the deacon Stephen dressed in the vestments of his clerical rank—a white *sticharion* and an *orarion* over the left shoulder. He swings a censer with his right hand and carries a pyxis (circular container) in his left. According to tradition, Stephen was the first of the seven deacons ordained by the apostles. Deacons, who assist the priest during the liturgy, use incense to venerate Christ, the Virgin, and the individual saints represented on the icons and to expel the evil spirits from the church. In the liturgical

procession, deacons carry the patens with the Eucharistic bread when it is brought to the altar along with the wine. It has been proposed that the pyxis held by the deacon Stephen served as a receptacle for the Eucharistic bread.¹² However, in Constantinople incense was also carried in the Eucharistic procession.¹³ It is more likely that the deacon Stephen's pyxis contained incense for the burner that he swings. The actions of the comparably dressed deacon attending in the actual liturgy performed in the Cathedral of the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery would have provided an immediate parallel for the mosaic image of Stephen, clearly underscoring his relationship to the central Eucharist mosaic.

The presence of the deacon Stephen in the sanctuary apse may be related as well to his role as the first martyr of the Church.¹⁴ According to the Chronicle of Ortlieb of Zwifaltensis, Stephen's arm was brought to Rus' from Byzantium as a relic sometime in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.¹⁵ An image of another martyr extremely popular in the Middle Byzantine period, Saint Demetrios, also was included in the sanctuary decoration in the Cathedral of the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery (see illus. on p. 283).¹⁶

The two fragments of mosaic floral ornament once formed part of the band that separated the Eucharist, the eight frontally portrayed apostles, and the figures of the deacon Stephen and Saint Demetrios from the register below. Although differing in detail, comparable ornamentation may be seen above the Eucharist scene in the Cathedral of Sviata Sofiia, and in the frames and borders of manuscript illuminations (see cat. no. 58A,B).

Representations of the deacon Stephen and Saint Demetrios are abundant in works in various media created during the Middle Byzantine period (see cat. nos. 69, 81, 107, 108, 116, 117, 132, 203).¹⁷ Portrayals of the apostle Thaddeus exist as well, but are less frequently encountered.¹⁸ Such individual parallels attest to the artistic exchange between Byzantium and Rus' in the Middle Byzantine era. The coexistence of Greek legends identifying the figures and the Church Slavonic inscription defining the Eucharist scene further speaks to the cultural dialogue between Byzantium and Kievan Rus' and raises the as-yet-unresolvable question of whether Greek or Kievan masters executed the mosaics.

Stylistically, the mosaics from the Cathedral of the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery have been compared with, and judged in terms of, extant mosaics in

Byzantine monuments of the same era, such as Nea Mone on Chios (1049–55), the Church of the Dormition in Nicaea (1065–67), and the *katholikon* in Daphni (ca. 1100). Their primary significance, however, lies not in their position in the stylistic development of Middle Byzantine monumental art as a whole but in their importance in the distinctive evolution of the Byzantine artistic tradition in Kievan Rus', a sovereign state with its own underlying political and cultural imperatives. The use of mosaic, the most costly and prestigious medium of monumental decoration, employed only in the most lavish of Byzantine foundations, is an indication of the stature of Kiev, the capital of Rus', as an artistic center in the Middle Byzantine period.

O Z P

1. *PSRL* 1926–27, vol. 1, p. 187; *PSRL* 1843, vol. 2, p. 288.
2. *PSRL* 1926–27, vol. 1, p. 196.
3. Myshanych 1989, p. 171 n. 4.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 533.
5. Lazarev, *Mikhailovskie*, 1966, pp. 15–16; Myshanych 1989, p. 171 n. 4.
6. See *PSRL* 1926–27, vol. 1, p. 120; *PSRL* 1843, vol. 2, pp. 288, 289.
7. For the mosaics and frescoes in the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, see Bruk and Iovleva 1995, pp. 42–45.
8. The most spectacular composition among all the surviving mosaics from the Cathedral of the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery is that of the Eucharist, which currently is installed in the south wing of the gallery of the Cathedral of Sviata Sofiia, Kiev. In this mosaic, Christ, represented twice behind the altar and accompanied by two angels dressed as deacons, distributes the wine and bread of the Eucharist to the Twelve Apostles. An inscription in Church Slavonic on the gold ground above the figures cites the relevant passages from the liturgy. The monumental mosaic occupies an area over 10 ft. high and 39 ft. wide.
9. *Travels of Macarius* 1829–36, vol. 1, p. 231.
10. One of these fragmentary figures is in the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, no. 22127; the rest are part of the collection of the National Architectural Conservation Area "Saint Sophia of Kiev."
11. Matt. 10:2–5; Mark 3:14–20.
12. Jerphanion 1935, pp. 403–16; Lazarev 1966, p. 70.
13. "Incense," *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 991.
14. Acts 7.
15. Lazarev 1966, p. 15.
16. This mosaic is now in the State Tretyakov Gallery.
17. For images of the deacon Stephen, see Millet 1899, fig. 52, and *Sinai* 1990, pl. 56.
18. Sotiriou and Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 34; Weidle 1956, pl. 10.

LITERATURE: Zakrevskii 1858, pp. 170–73; Sementovskii 1881, pp. 55–57; Prakhov 1886, pp. 1–31; Tolstoi and Kondakov 1891, pp. 162–63; Ainalov and

Redin 1899; Dalton, *Byzantine Art*, 1911, p. 396; Muratov 1914, pp. 120–25; Wulff 1914, p. 570; Ainalov 1915, pp. 254–57; Millet 1915, p. 197; Shmit 1915–16, pp. 62–126; Shmit 1919, pp. 81–85; Ainalov 1926, pp. 201–16; Diehl 1926, p. 524; Sychev 1929, pp. 203–5; Schweinfurth 1930, p. 60; Ainalov 1932, vol. 1, pp. 27–30; Nekrasov 1937, pp. 39–40; Cross 1947, pp. 56–61; Povstenko 1947, pp. 2–3; Demus 1950, pp. 371, 374, 387–88; Mikorskii 1951; Karger 1958–61, vol. 2, pp. 261–82; Lohvyn 1963, pp. 50–54; T. Rice 1963, pp. 21–23; Bazhan et al. 1966, pp. 294–306; Lazarev 1966, pp. 67–74; Asiciev, *Mystetstvo*, 1969, pp. 123–34; Asiciev 1980, pp. 124–32; Hewryk 1982, pp. 14–16; G. Hamilton 1983, pp. 71–73; Lazarev 1986, pp. 93–94; Bruk and Iovleva 1995, pp. 40–45.

196. Relief with Two Mounted Military Saints Slaying Dragons

Kievan Rus' (Kiev), mid-11th–early 12th century
Red schist

112 × 218 × 7.5–7.9 cm (44 1/8 × 85 7/8 × 3–3 1/8 in.)

CONDITION: The relief is broken in half along the vertical axis, with extensive damage to the head and front legs of the horse on the left; the lower part of the head and one front leg of the horse on the right are lost; there are small chips along the edges; the entire upper-right corner is missing.

PROVENANCE: Found during the excavation of an ancient structure within the walls of the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery in the eighteenth century (probably 1758); mounted facedown as a doorstep outside the west door of the main church at the monastery; installed in the wall adjacent to the south gate of the monastery in the 1840s or 1850s; the relief and its pendant were mounted on the east end of the south wall of the main church of the monastery at the end of the nineteenth century or the beginning of the twentieth; moved to the Kiev Museum of Ukrainian Art after demolition of the monastery in 1934.

National Architectural Conservation Area "Saint Sophia of Kiev," Kiev, Ukraine (SMAA 8616)

This relief is the finest among the very few monumental sculptural works with figural decoration to survive from Kievan Rus'. It was found in the eighteenth century during excavations at the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery (Saint Michael of the Golden Domes) in Kiev and in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century was mounted on the south wall of the monastery's cathedral. Paired with another relief of two mounted saints killing a warrior (see illus. on p. 274),¹ it is believed to have originally decorated the exterior of a mid-eleventh-century church dedicated to Saint Demetrios of Thessalonike, which was founded by the Kievan prince Iziaslav I Iaroslavych (r. 1054–78) within a monastery named for the same saint. In the twelfth century an elaborate church



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with golden domes, dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel, was built at the monastery, which as a result acquired its new name, Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi.

The two popular Byzantine military saints George and Theodore Stratelates are seen in the Kiev relief.² In Middle Byzantine art after the tenth century, representations of these two armed saints on horseback and slaying dragons are often paired.³ Moreover, the saints can be distinguished by their facial characteristics. Saint George is the young soldier on the left with a full head of tightly curled hair, and Saint Theodore, with curled hair and a pointed beard, appears on the right. Comparisons with Middle Byzantine works in which the two saints are depicted side by side, such as the steatite carving from Khersones (cat. no. 203), substantiate this identification.

We do not know the original function of the Kiev relief. The closest parallels for such large-scale relief carvings of mounted warriors appear in the decoration on church exteriors in Armenia and Georgia.⁴ However, the Kiev relief is framed and was conceived as an independent composition rather than as a single block of a larger sculptural surface. While it may have been mounted above a doorway of a church,⁵ it could also have formed part of the parapet screen or of some other interior church furnishing.

Carved in a local stone, the relief with the two mounted warriors documents the existence of a workshop in eleventh-century Kiev that employed popular Middle

Byzantine motifs in the sculptural works that it produced.

O Z P

1. This relief was taken to Moscow in 1938 for an exhibition entitled "Slovo o polku Igoreve." It is now on exhibition at the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, no. 25536.
2. Because of the absence of inscriptions, the identification of the mounted warriors has been debated. Some scholars believe the two figures to be Saint George and the Kievan prince Iaroslav Mudryi (see Nekrasov 1926, pp. 16–40; Rybakov 1951, p. 442; Vagner 1974, pp. 126, 130); others correctly recognize the figures as Saint George and Saint Theodore (see Prokhorov 1875, pp. 14–15; I. Grabar 1953, vol. 1, p. 192; Bazhan et al. 1966, p. 233; Radojčić 1969, pp. 331–37; A. Grabar 1976, pp. 89–90; Putsko 1976, pp. 115–17).
3. *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 835, vol. 2, p. 2047.
4. Shmit 1919, p. 79; Nekrasov 1926, pp. 32–38; Bazhan et al. 1966, p. 235; Putsko 1976, pp. 117–18.
5. Putsko 1976, p. 118.

LITERATURE: Zakrevskii 1868, pp. 546–47; Prokhorov 1875, pp. 14–15; Lebedintsev 1879, pp. 23–36; Petrov 1897, pp. 150–52; Petrov 1914, pp. 19–21; Sherotskii 1917, pp. 118–22; Shmit 1919, p. 79; Nekrasov 1926, pp. 16–40; Ernst 1930, p. 371; Makarenko 1930, p. 84, pls. 32–35; Nekrasov 1937, pp. 66–67, pl. 27; Povstenko 1947, pp. 2–13; I. Grabar 1953, pp. 191–96; Lohvyn 1963, p. 31, pl. 14; Bazhan et al. 1966, pp. 233–36; Asieiev, *Mysterstvo*, 1969, pp. 203–4; Radojčić 1969, pp. 333–34, 337; Kirpichenko 1973, p. 37; Vagner 1974, pp. 103–31; Alpatov 1975, pp. 64–65; A. Grabar 1976, pp. 88–90; Putsko 1976, pp. 111–24; Asieiev 1980, pp. 115, 118; Asieiev 1982, pp. 97–98; Asieiev 1989, pls. 78, 79; Sidorenko 1994, pp. 169–79; Bruk and Iovleva 1995, pp. 195–96.

197. Large-Handled Krater

Rus' (Novgorod), 12th century
Silver gilt with niello
H. 21.5 cm (8½ in.), DIAM. 20.5 cm (8¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the upper rim, in Church Slavonic, "Drink from it, all of you; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins" (Matt. 26:27–28), in Greek, "Jesus Christ, Mother of God, Saint Peter, Saint Anastasia"; on the lower rim, in Church Slavonic, "This is the vessel of Petro and his wife, Mariia"; on the bottom, in Church Slavonic, "Lord, help your servant Kostian'tin. Kosta made this. Amen."

CONDITION: Some of the gilding is worn off; the lower end of one of the handles is detached from the body of the krater.

PROVENANCE: Treasury of the Cathedral of Sviataia Sofia, Novgorod.

Novgorodskii Gosudarstvennyi Ob'edinennyi Muzei-Zapovednik, Novgorod, Russian Federation (813)

This large silver krater of serpentine form is one of two nearly identical liturgical vessels that belonged to the Treasury of the Cathedral of Sviataia Sofia (Saint Sophia) before being transferred to the collection of the Novgorod Integrated Museum-Reservation.¹ Both kraters are exceptional not only for their craftsmanship but also because they are inscribed with the names of the patrons who commissioned them as well as the artist who made them. The present krater was made by the master Kosta for Petro and Mariia, presumably a well-to-do couple from Novgorod; the other was made by the master Bratilo for Petrilo and Barbara. There is no consensus



197. Front



197. Bottom



197. Back

as to the relationship between the two kraters. While some scholars have argued that Kosta copied the work of Bratilo,² others have proposed the reverse.³

Each krater is decorated with four standing frontal figures, ornamental vine motifs, and inscriptions in Church Slavonic and Greek. Three of the figures on the two kraters are identical: the Virgin Orans, Saint Peter, and Christ holding a Gospel book and making the gesture of blessing. Saint Barbara appears on the krater by Bratilo. On the krater by Kosta the fourth figure is Saint Anastasia. The figure of Peter on both kraters bears direct reference to the patron — Petro in one case, Petrilo in the other. The selection of Saint Barbara on the Bratilo krater was dictated by the name of the patron's wife. Because the name of the patron's wife, Mariia, on the Kosta krater is that of the Virgin, who was already included, a fourth saint had to be selected for the decorative scheme; it is not known why Saint Anastasia was chosen. Nor is it known whether the two vessels were made for the same patron — who perhaps was married twice — or whether they were commissioned by two different patrons with the same name. It is also unclear how many years separate the production of the two kraters.

While many questions regarding these two superb examples of Rus' metalwork

remain unanswered, the kraters from Novgorod clearly document the desire and ability of Rus' craftsmen to match the splendor of Byzantine liturgical vessels. Like the more ornate Byzantine chalices mentioned in inventories of medieval church treasuries, the kraters from Novgorod are silver gilt and adorned with niello and repoussé. Their shape, spherical at the bottom and flared toward the rim in eight alternating angular and rounded projections, as well as their figural decoration, find parallels in Byzantine chalices, as for example in the twelfth-century serpentine chalice from the Treasury of San Marco in Venice.⁴ The present work follows the Byzantine scheme of having a Eucharistic inscription around the lip, with the dedicatory inscription restricted to the base.

O Z P

1. For an illustration of the second Novgorod krater, see Rybakov 1948, figs. 72, 73; I. Grabar 1953, vol. 2, p. 300.
2. Rybakov 1948, p. 298.
3. I. Grabar 1953, vol. 2, pp. 301–2.
4. New York and Milan 1984, no. 42, pp. 286–90.

LITERATURE: Pokrovskii 1914, vol. 1, pl. III–V; Miasoedov 1915, pp. 1–14, pls. I–V; Nekrasov 1937, pp. 103–4; Rybakov 1948, pp. 292–300; I. Grabar 1953, vol. 2, pp. 301–2; Asieiev 1989, no. 216; D. Likhachev et al. 1994, pl. V, no. 30.

198. The Ostromir Lectionary

Kievan Rus' (Kiev?/Novgorod?), 1056–57
Tempera and gold on vellum; 294 fols.
35 × 30 cm (13¾ × 11¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Church Slavonic, on fol. 87v, О А ЛЖ КАС (Saint Luke); СМЪОБРА/ЗОМЪ/ТЕЛЪУЕ/МЪДХЪ/СТЫН/ЈВНСА/ЛЖЦЪ (In this image of a calf the Holy Spirit appeared to Luke)

CONDITION: The manuscript, which was restored from 1955 to 1957, is unbound and each gathering is kept in a separate paper envelope; in the miniature of Saint Luke, there is some loss of pigment due to flaking, especially in the area around the evangelist's desk.

PROVENANCE: Cathedral of Sviataia Sofia, Novgorod(?); Church of the Resurrection of the Moscow Kremlin, by 1701; sent to Saint Petersburg, 1720; found among the personal belongings of Catherine II after her death, 1805; presented to the Imperial Public Library, Saint Petersburg, 1806.

Russian National Library, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (F.n. I.5)

As has been observed, “The cultural contacts of Kievan Rus' during the time of Prince Iaroslav I Mudryi extend the meaning of the Ostromir Lectionary beyond the confines of the Byzantine-Slavic manuscript tradition. The Ostromir Lectionary is not simply a Slavic monument, and not simply an Orthodox monument; in the context of



198. Saint Luke, fol. 87v

contemporary world culture, it is of international historical importance.”¹

The Ostromir Lectionary, the oldest dated Kievan Rus’ codex written in Cyrillic to survive, testifies to the high artistic quality of manuscript production in eleventh-century Rus’. It contains the Gospel lections, the Sunday *orthros* (matins) Gospel lection, the synaxarion, a selection of Gospel readings for special occasions, and the Twelve Passion Gospels read at the Good Friday *orthros*. The Church Slavonic text, arranged in two columns of uncial script, most likely was copied from a Bulgarian intermediary manuscript rather than from a Greek original. While East Slavic recensions and the colophon identify the Ostromir Lectionary as a Kievan Rus’ work, the exact place of production has been debated. The colophon at the end of the lectionary, which states that the manuscript was written by the deacon Gregory between October 21, 1056, and May 12, 1057, for Ostromir, the governor of Novgorod, notes that Ostromir was appointed to his post by Prince Iziaslav Iaroslavych (son of Iaroslav), who, though he chose to reside in Kiev, ruled both Kiev and Novgorod.² Because of the documented existence of scriptoria in eleventh-century Kiev, this city is mentioned in literature more frequently than Novgorod as the site of the lectionary’s production.³

The manuscript is decorated with three superbly executed miniatures depicting the evangelists accompanied by their symbols, one large and eighteen smaller frontispieces, and many anthropomorphic and zoomorphic initials. While the author portrait of Saint John with the eagle (fol. iv) immediately precedes the readings from his Gospel and appears on the opening folio of a bifolium in the first gathering, the miniatures of Saint Luke with the calf (fol. 87v) and Mark with the lion (fol. 126r) are on single sheets that were added to the lectionary. They do not preface their respective Gospels, as was standard, but have been inserted either one folio before or one after their originally intended positions.

Stylistic differences between the portrait of Saint John and the miniatures of Saints Luke and Mark, as well as the empty folios 88v and 125r — which were reserved for the portraits of the last two evangelists — confirm that the illuminations were executed separately from the rest of the manuscript and interspersed within it. The missing image of Saint Matthew was to fill the empty folio 57v.

All three evangelist portraits in the Ostromir Lectionary display strong Byzantine influences, seen in the rendering of the figures,

in the furnishings of the space they inhabit, and in the elaborate ornamental details of the frames. The representations of Saints Luke and Mark are executed in a cloisonné-enamel-like style employing bright colors with heavy gold lines to indicate drapery folds and to outline decorative elements. The Byzantine craft of cloisonné enameling was extremely popular in Kievan Rus’ and was employed in the decoration of religious works as well as in the production of a great array of jewelry (see cat. nos. 209–214). The portrait of Saint John differs significantly, as it is rendered in a fluid, painterly style reminiscent of fresco.

While documenting the intimate dialogue between Byzantium and Kievan Rus’, the Ostromir Lectionary also attests to the contact maintained between the Slavic state and the countries of Western Europe. The pairing of evangelist and symbol proposed by Saint Jerome (Matthew with a man, Mark with a lion, Luke with a calf, and John with an eagle) was firmly established in the West during the Middle Byzantine period, so that the inclusion of evangelist symbols was more common there than in Byzantium.⁴ The three miniatures in the Ostromir Lectionary follow the Hieronymic order common in Carolingian and Ottonian works and, like the manuscript’s stylized anthropomorphic and zoomorphic initials, reflect Western influences.⁵ Moreover, the synaxarion includes such Western saints as Pope Silvester I, John of Mediola, the martyrs Vitus and Modestus, and Apollinaris of Ravenna.⁶

O Z P

1. Appendix to the State Russian Museum’s loan agreement. See also Nachaev 1988, p. 6.
2. The colophon appears on the recto and verso of folio 294.
3. Kiev is identified as the lectionary’s city of origin in Volkhov 1897, pp. 443–46; Lohvyn 1974, p. 50; Popova 1984, no. 1; Lisovoi 1988, pp. 12–14; Lunt 1988–89, p. 276. Novgorod is favored in Rybakov 1984, pp. 67–81.
4. Nelson 1980, pp. 15, 28–31.
5. A. Grabar, *L’Art du Moyen Âge*, 1968, p. 150; Lazarev, “Iskusstvo,” 1978, p. 268.
6. Mur’ianov 1982, p. 131; Lisovoi 1988, p. 13.

LITERATURE: *Ostromirovo Evangelie* 1843; *Ostromirovo Evangelie* 1883; Stasov 1894, pp. 127–35; Volkhov 1897, pp. 443–46; Karinskii 1903, pp. 95–104; Vozniak 1920, p. 75; Nekrasov 1937, p. 395, figs. 49, 50, 56; Svirin 1950, pp. 13–18, 21–25; I. Grabar 1953, vol. 1, pp. 59, 225–26, 252–53, 256; *Trudy Gosudarstvennoi* 1958, vol. 5; Zapasko 1960, pp. 17–20; Smirnova 1961, pp. 213–22; Svirin 1964, pp. 53–56; Bazhan et al. 1966, pp. 342–47; A. Grabar, *L’Art du Moyen Âge*, 1968; Lohvyn 1974; Rozov 1977, pp. 19–20, 56–60; Lazarev,

“Iskusstvo,” 1978, p. 268; Mur’ianov 1982; Popova 1984, nos. 1, 2; Rybakov 1984, pp. 67–81; Rozov 1985, pp. 5–10; Likhachev 1986, pp. 113–36; Rozov 1987, pp. 106–7; Lisovoi 1988, pp. 12–14; *Ostromirovo Evangelie* 1988.

EXHIBITION: Shown in an 1856 exhibition organized by A. F. Bychkov in the Imperial Public Library, Saint Petersburg.

199. The Iur’evskoe Lectionary

Rus’ (Novgorod), 1119–28; 1858 (binding)
Tempera on parchment, I + 231 fols.; velvet and silver with niello over wood (binding)
31 × 25 cm (12¼ × 9¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Russian, on folio 231, АЗ ГРЕШНИИ ФЕДОР НАПИСАХ ЕВАНГЕЛИЕ СЕ РУКОЮ ГРЕШНОЮ СВЯТОМУ МУЧЕНИКУ ГЕОРГИЕВИ В МОНАСТЫРЬ НОВУТРАДА ПРИ КУРИЯЦЕ ИГУМЕНЕ И САВЕ ИКОНОПИСЦЕ. УТРИНЦ ПСАА (As an offering to the martyred Saint George, I the sinner Fedor copied this Gospel with my sinful hand at the Monastery of Novgorod in the time of Abbot Kuriak and Sava the steward. Written by the Hungarian); on the ornament in the center of the front cover, ЕВАНГЕЛИЕ (Gospel); in the center of the back cover, 1858; on the four bosses of the binding, НОВОГО ИЕРУСАЛИМА, ИСПРАВЛЕН 1858 ГОДА (New Jerusalem, repaired 1858)

State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russian Federation (ГИМ 80370, OR ГИМ Sin. 1003)

Rus’ manuscript illumination of the twelfth century is closely linked with Novgorod, inasmuch as many works of Novgorodian origin have been preserved from the period. Among these, the Iur’evskoe Lectionary is an especially remarkable illuminated volume, characterized by an unusual design and painted decoration. It is written on large sheets of high-quality parchment in a fine uncial script. The text is arranged in two columns.

The binding was made in 1858 and consists of boards covered with burgundy velvet with engraved-silver decorations of the same period. A rectangular ornament with the word “Gospel” is affixed to the center of the front cover. In the center of the back cover, on a silver plaque, a nineteenth-century craftsman engraved the presumed date of the manuscript in niello. “New Jerusalem, repaired 1858” is engraved on the four silver bosses of the binding.

An inscription states that the manuscript was written by a Hungarian. It has been dated to the period between 1119, when the Iur’ev (Saint George) Monastery was founded, and



199. Five-domed church in cross section, frontispiece



200. Saint John Chrysostom, fol. 10v

1128, the year Abbot Kuriak died. Along the lower edges of folios 1–16 there is an inscription of 1661 in the hand of Patriarch Nikon concerning the deposit of the manuscript in the Voskresenskii Novo-Ierusalimskii (Resurrection New Jerusalem) Monastery, which Nikon founded.

The lectionary opens with a magnificent frontispiece showing a five-domed church in cross section, a compositional scheme that dates back to the 1073 *Izbornik Sviatoslava* (Miscellany of Prince Sviatoslav). The decoration is in the Byzantine style typical of eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscript illumination; it is unusual, however, in that it features only vermilion outlines with no painting in other colors. The space within the framework of the church is filled with varied vegetal designs and geometric motifs. Precisely as in the *Izbornik Sviatoslava*, in the area outside the architectural framework there appear realistically drawn beasts and birds. The frontispieces and initials of the lectionary, like the miniatures, are rendered in delicate vermilion outlines. The initials are especially fine: carried out in thickly applied tempera of a deep red that shimmers against the white of the parchment, they recall folk-embroidery patterns.

The artist who decorated the manuscript was an excellent draftsman and extremely imaginative: in the numerous initials and illuminations there is not a single repetition. His drawings combine Byzantine, teratological, and Romanesque motifs. Some initials feature realistic birds and beasts—a lion, a camel, a snow leopard, a donkey, and so on—while others are arabesques with Byzantine-style branches at their tips. Still others display fantastic birds with human faces. Two initials are illustrations of the Gospel text: folio 198 shows the women who came to anoint Christ at his sepulchre, and folio 144, a donkey covered with a blanket, in preparation for the Entry into Jerusalem.

The decoration of the Iur'evskoe Lectionary has affinities not only with metalwork but also with architectural ornament: it is directly comparable to the delicate carving of the white stone of the Georgievskii (Saint George) Cathedral in Staraia Ladoga.

The miniatures, frontispieces, and initials are testimony to the high level of manuscript illumination in pre-Mongol Rus'.

ES

200. Service Book of Varlaam Khutynskii

Rus' (Halych-Volyn'), late 12th–13th century (manuscript); 18th century (binding)
 Tempera and gold on parchment; 30 fols.; silk taffeta (interleaves); leather with gold embossing over cardboard (binding)
 24.5 × 19.5 cm (9 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russian Federation (GIM 80370, OR Sin. 604)

This small volume includes the liturgies of Basil the Great and John Chrysostom, the Liturgy of the Presanctified, and several prayers. The manuscript consists of thirty parchment folios and is written in precise uncial script by several hands. The binding of brown leather over cardboard dates from the eighteenth century. On the spine "The Liturgy of Basil the Great" is stamped in gold. The miniatures are interleaved with silk taffeta. Notations made in the seventeenth century indicate that the manuscript belonged to the "miracle-worker" Varlaam, who founded the Khutynskii Monastery, near Novgorod, in 1191.

The decoration of the manuscript is of enormous interest. It includes two miniatures that depict Basil the Great and John Chrysostom, which belong to the Halych-Volyn' school of pre-Mongol Rus'. They are

in the classical Byzantine tradition and in manner of execution resemble Komnenian painting. Each figure—tall, lithe, and well proportioned, with an animated face and a penetrating gaze—is placed against a muted gold background devoid of architectural setting. Each is enclosed by a simple frame of alternating dark blue and red triangles. The colors are soft and quiet. The miniatures as well as their decorative frames are notable for the precision and firmness of their lines.

The manuscript is also decorated with Byzantine-style frontispieces and initials. The frontispieces combine expressive form, bold drawing, and the classical Byzantine *krinon* (lily). In composition the large winding shoots and red and light-blue flowers recall ornamental fresco decoration. The initials, whose drawing resembles that of the initials in the Iur'evskoe Lectionary (cat. no. 199), are outlined, unfilled, in vermillion.

ES

201. The Archangel with the Golden Hair

Kievan Rus' (Novgorod? /Kiev?), 12th century
Limewood, with egg tempera over gesso
48.8 × 38.8 cm (19¼ × 15¼ in.)

CONDITION: The icon has been cleaned and restored; the green ground and lower part of the chiton date to the seventeenth century.

PROVENANCE: Uspens'kii Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin; Department of Antiquities, Rumiantsevskii Museum; State Russian Museum, since 1926.

State Russian Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (DRZh 2115)

This icon of the head of an archangel, traditionally identified as Gabriel, is one of the masterpieces of Kievan Rus' painting. Its beauty and fame earned the icon the popular title the Archangel with the Golden Hair. This title and the accomplishment of the painting technique draw attention away from the fact that the icon was in all likelihood originally part of a Deesis that included at least two other panel paintings. A twelfth-century icon of the Deesis, which shows the bust-length figure of Christ Emmanuel flanked by two bust-length images of archangels, now in the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, is an example of such a composition,¹ although the present work could also have been part of an extended Deesis along with four other panels. In the latter case the more traditional Deesis image of a central figure of Christ



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flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist would have been set between two bust-length portrayals of archangels. Since the Archangel with the Golden Hair would have been positioned so as to face Christ, the panel would have appeared on the extreme right.

The quality of the execution as well as the style associates this icon with the finest of Kievan Rus' and Middle Byzantine works. The angel's large, heavy-lidded eyes, the soft modeling of the face, the linear and stylized rendering of the nose and brows, and the intricate arrangement of the gold-threaded hair bear strong parallels to the figure of the archangel Gabriel in the Ustiug Annunciation, an early-twelfth-century Rus' work, as well as to that of the archangel Michael flanking the figure of the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates in the Homilies of Saint John

Chrysostom (cat. no. 143), produced in Constantinople.

The thorough appropriation of Byzantine artistic vocabulary in Kievan Rus' icon painting and the lack of any early documentation for the extant icons make it extremely difficult to assign a definite provenance to these medieval works. Many scholars attribute *The Archangel with the Golden Hair* and the *Ustiug Annunciation* to Novgorod, which became a major center of icon painting.² Some associate the high quality of the painting with Kiev, the ecclesiastical and cultural capital of Rus',³ while others argue whether these works were produced by Rus' or Byzantine masters.⁴ Although questions regarding the original context and place of production of this icon may never be indisputably resolved, its style, iconography, and exceptional quality

clearly substantiate the widespread reception of the Byzantine artistic heritage in Kievan Rus'.

O Z P

1. For an illustration and additional information on the Deesis icon in the State Tretyakov Gallery, see Bruk and Iovleva 1995, pp. 63–64.
2. I. Grabar 1953, pp. 120–22; Korina 1974, pp. 29, 31; *Zhivopis' drevnego Novgoroda* 1974, pp. 31–32; Salko 1982, pp. 224, 231.
3. T. Rice 1963, pp. 40–41; Lohvyn et al. 1976, no. v; G. Hamilton 1983, p. 110.
4. Lazarev 1972, pp. 218, 220.

LITERATURE: Anisimov 1926, p. 20; Anisimov 1928, pp. 122–23; Porfiridov 1947, p. 11; I. Grabar 1953, pp. 120–22; T. Rice 1963, pp. 40–41; Bazhan et al. 1966, pp. 332, 336; I. Grabar 1966, pp. 156, 164; Alpatov 1967, p. 73; Lazarev 1970, pp. 105, 109, 112; Lazarev 1972, pp. 179–88; Korina 1974, pp. 29, 31; *Zhivopis' drevnego Novgoroda* 1974, pp. 31–32; Lohvyn et al. 1976, no. v; Salko 1982, pp. 224, 231; G. Hamilton 1983, p. 110; Bruk and Iovleva 1995.

202. Relief Icon with Saint George and Scenes from His Life

Byzantine, late 12th–mid-13th century
Wood, carved and painted with egg tempera over gesso, and traces of gilding
106.8 × 74.5 cm (42 × 29 1/2 in.)

INSCRIBED: In Greek, traces of inscriptions that identify the scenes.

CONDITION: The icon has been burned and damaged by insects, resulting in significant losses in the top layer of paint and in the gesso, severe damage in the two painted border scenes at the bottom, and the loss of portions of the wood itself near the head, shoulders, and left foot of the figure; since its modern restoration, the icon has been kept in a wooden case.

PROVENANCE: Monastery of Saint George, Balaklavi, Crimean peninsula(?); residence of the metropolitan Ihnatii, Crimea; deposited in the cathedral dedicated to Saint Kharlampii, Mariupol', by the metropolitan Ihnatii, 1778; moved from the old to the new Cathedral of Saint Kharlampii; transferred to a local museum after a few decades; discovered by H. N. Lohvyn and L. S. Miliaieva in the museum's storage areas, 1965; under restoration in Leningrad (Saint Petersburg), 1965–69.

National Art Museum, Kiev, Ukraine (SK 285)

Although poorly preserved and lacking the bright colors and gilding that characterized its original appearance, this icon is exceptional as one of the oldest—if not the oldest—surviving Byzantine wood reliefs decorated with narrative scenes. In the icon's center is the



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full-length standing figure of Saint George, in relief, dressed in military garb, with a shield in his left hand and a lance in his right, and surrounded by twelve historiated scenes. The five uppermost scenes on the right and the left sides are rendered in relief, while the two lowest scenes are painted. Depicted on the left, from top to bottom, are the interrogation of Saint George by the emperor Diocletian; the saint's imprisonment; the stoning of Saint George; Saint George tortured on the wheel; the saint in a lime pit; and one now unidentifiable scene. On the right is the clubbing of Saint George; the saint resurrecting a dead man; Saint George curing Glykerios's ox; the saint destroying idols; the beheading of Saint George; and a second indistinguishable scene.

The closest parallel to this icon is a thirteenth-century relief in Athens, with

scenes from the life of the saint.¹ In that work Saint George is shown in profile with his hands raised in prayer, and the individual scenes flanking him on the right and left are painted rather than rendered in relief. Three-dimensional icons in other media, including steatite, more closely parallel the Kiev Saint George, but, notably, they do not provide analogues for the scenes. On the twelfth-century steatite carving from Khersones depicting Saints Theodore, George, and Demetrios (cat. no. 203), Saint George is similarly attired, has identical facial features, strikes the same pose, and supports his lance and shield in a comparable manner.

Icons enhanced with scenes from the life of the saint appear to have been a post-Iconoclastic development, the earliest extant examples of which date from the late eleventh to the twelfth century (see cat. nos. 249, 263,

320). While historiated icons of numerous saints exist, Saint George seems to have been among the most popular subjects, followed by Saints Nicholas and Demetrios. Historiated icons most likely decorated chapels dedicated to the saints they represented,² and, as in the case of church fresco cycles, these icons commonly depicted a greater number of scenes from the life of the saint than were included in manuscripts. Unlike frescoes, however, historiated icons were portable, and thus may have been more directly instrumental in disseminating the iconography of such hagiographic cycles within, as well as beyond, the borders of Byzantium.³

The Kiev Saint George icon was probably either produced in or imported to one of the Byzantine colonies on the Crimean peninsula,⁴ which played an important role in the transmission of Byzantine styles and iconography to Kievan Rus'. It is interesting to note that the eleventh-century Cathedral of Sviata Sofiia (Saint Sophia) in Kiev already contained an extensive cycle of the life of Saint George in the north aisle. Perhaps an earlier historiated icon of Saint George influenced the selection of scenes in Kiev's cathedral.

O Z P

1. For an illustration, see Athens 1964, no. 237, pp. 271–72.
2. N. Ševčenko 1973, pp. 66–67.
3. Mark-Weiner 1977, pp. 308–9.
4. Putsko 1971, pp. 330–31.

LITERATURE: Grigorovich 1874, p. 9; *Mariupol'* 1892, pp. 124–26; Pokrovskii 1895, pp. 224–26; *Drevnosti* 1909, pp. 190–91; Bert'e-Delagard 1910, pp. 1–108; Gaidin 1923, p. 35; Myslivec 1933–34, pp. 350–51; Lohvyn and Miliaieva 1970, pp. 31–33; Putsko 1971, pp. 313–31; *Gosudarstvennyi muzei* 1972, no. 1; N. Ševčenko 1973; Lohvyn et al. 1976, no. 9; Bank 1977, p. 320, no. 268; Mark-Weiner 1977, pp. 76–77.



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203. Icon with Three Military Saints

Byzantine (Constantinople?), 12th century
 Steatite, with traces of gilding and blue paint
 17.5 × 13.4 × .8 cm (6 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ × $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: The icon is reconstructed from thirty-nine fragments that have been variously discolored by exposure to fire; the significant losses of stone have been filled with stucco.

PROVENANCE: Excavated in the northern part of Khersones, 1956.

Natsional'nyi Zapovidnyk "Khersones Tavriis'kyi," Sevastopol', Ukraine (84/36 445)

This steatite icon was excavated in a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century domestic setting in Chersonesus (present-day Khersones), a former Byzantine colony on the Crimean peninsula. The three military saints that decorate the panel, although not identified by inscriptions, are easily recognizable by their

facial features as Saint Theodore Stratelates on the left, Saint George in the center, and Saint Demetrios of Thessalonike on the right.¹ Dressed as an armed soldier, each saint stands facing front while receiving his martyr's crown from Christ, whose bust-length image appears in smaller scale above Saint George. An arch resting on columns with pinecone-like bases and capitals with birds enframes Christ and the three saints; busts of archangels in medallions appear in the spandrels.

The icon is one of the finest and largest examples of steatite carving to survive from the Middle Byzantine period. Although extensively fragmented, it shows little wear and preserves the crispness and detailing of the original carving. The inclusion of the unusual motif of two birds on the capitals of the column suggests that the panel was

made by the same workshop and perhaps even the same craftsman responsible for the twelfth-century icon of the archangel Gabriel in the Museo Bandini, Fiesole.² Other steatite works that may have originated in this workshop include the fragment with three saints from Veliko Tŭrnovo³ and the icon of the Annunciation found in Khersones in 1937.⁴ The discovery of stylistically related steatite icons in diverse geographical locations having well-established trade relations with Constantinople favors the conclusion that these steatites were exported from the Byzantine capital.⁵

Because of the high cost of steatite, it is believed that these icons were produced predominantly for the elite.⁶ This finely carved panel with three military saints as well as other steatite icons in the archaeological remains of private houses in Khersones is indicative of the wealth of this Crimean city under Byzantine rule, which between the tenth and the twelfth century played a key role in the transmission of Byzantine culture to the Kievan Rus' state. Used in private devotion, portable steatite icons served as a channel by which popular Byzantine iconography and current stylistic trends could be spread to distant and newly christianized lands. Although small in scale, these carvings frequently reproduced subjects depicted on a larger scale in other media, as evidenced by comparison of the Khersones plaque with a twelfth-century painted icon in the State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, which includes the same three military saints (cat. no. 69).

O Z P

1. Belov 1960, pp. 257–63.
2. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, pp. 58, 121.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
4. Belov 1960, p. 262.
5. *Ibid.*; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, p. 86.
6. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, p. 67.

LITERATURE: Belov 1960, pp. 257–63; Bank 1964, pp. 13–21; Bank 1967, p. 237, pl. 1; Bank, “Stéatites,” 1970, pp. 367–68; Weitzmann 1972, pp. 95–96, 98; Darkevich 1975, pp. 212, 214, 283–84, fig. 344; Bank 1977, pp. 296–97, no. 147; Moscow 1977, vol. 2, no. 616, p. 114; Bank, *Prikladnoe*, 1978, pp. 98–99, pl. 82; Bank 1981, pp. 112–13; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, pp. 38–40, 65, 111–13, no. 21; Moscow 1991, p. 84.

EXHIBITONS: Moscow 1977, vol. 2, no. 616, p. 11; Moscow 1991, no. 83, p. 84.

204. Medallion with Bust of the Virgin Orans

Kievan Rus' (Kiev), 12th century
Silver
DIAM. 7.4 cm (2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: MP/ΘY (Mother of God)

CONDITION: There is a small tear in the lower-left border, which forks into the Virgin's drapery; part of the left lobe attached to the border above the Virgin's head is missing.

PROVENANCE: Excavated below Mykhailivs'kyi Square, Kiev, May 25, 1938.

Natsional'nyi Muzei Istorii Ukrainy, Kiev, Ukraine (1141)

This silver medallion, decorated with a relief of the Virgin Orans, formed part of a small hoard accidentally uncovered in the center of Old Kiev below Mykhailivs'kyi Square on May 25, 1938. A chain of seventeen gold-and-enamel roundels, gold chains and earrings, a silver bracelet, and a silver ring were found with the medallion in a clay jar placed in a copper cup.¹ The hoard lay in the vicinity of a burial site, although it is unclear whether the hoard and the burial were contemporaneous.²

The relief is executed in repoussé with punched ornamental details in the halo and drapery. The lobed top indicates that the medallion was meant to be suspended and probably functioned as a pendant.³ A double-sided silver medallion decorated with the bust of an archangel on the front and a cross on the back, now in the collection of the Toledo Museum of Art, is an example of a related pendant from Constantinople.⁴

Necklaces incorporating silver medallions of similar dimensions found in other Rus' hoards suggest that the Virgin medallion may have been one of several on a single necklace.⁵ Two silver medallions, one depicting the Virgin Orans with the bust of Christ before her and the other decorated with the full figure of an archangel, along with a third medallion adorned with gemstones, formed part of a necklace found in 1939 below Strilets'ka Street in Kiev.⁶ A necklace in the Museum of the Historical Treasures of Ukraine has five gold medallions with enameled depictions of Christ, the Virgin, John the Baptist, and two archangels.⁷ An even more elaborate gold necklace, part of the 1822 hoard from Staraja Riazan', now in the Armory of the Moscow Kremlin, contains a central medallion adorned with a cloisonné-enamel bust-length image of the Virgin Orans (cat. no. 209) that iconographically is



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analogous to the Virgin seen on the silver medallion from Kiev.

The popularity of the iconography of the Virgin Orans, as depicted on the Kiev medallion, is well attested (see cat. nos. 12, 43, 109, 121, 123, 130, 133). It is small-scale works such as the present medallion that helped make the Byzantine artistic vocabulary commonplace in the wide-ranging territory of the Kievan Rus' state.

O Z P

1. Samoilovs'kyi 1948, pp. 192–98; Korzukhina 1954, p. 114.
2. Samoilovs'kyi 1948, pp. 192–98.
3. In 1912 a similar silver repoussé medallion, decorated with a bust-length image of Saint Nicholas, was found in a hoard excavated in the town of Pereiaslav in the Poltava region of Ukraine. The ten holes piercing the border of the medallion indicate that it originally was attached to a flat ground—perhaps to a liturgical book cover or a cross. See Korzukhina 1954, p. 93, pl. XVI, 1.
4. M. Ross 1956–57, pp. 26–30.
5. A necklace with six silver medallions of various sizes, decorated with cross motifs, was found not far from the town of Suzdal' in 1851; see Gushchin 1936, p. 76, pl. XXV. The necklace is now in the State Historical Museum in Moscow, no. 54807.
6. Korzukhina 1954, p. 101, pl. XXXIX.
7. Asieiev 1989, fig. 237.

LITERATURE: Samoilovs'kyi 1948, pp. 192–98; Korzukhina 1954, p. 114; M. Ross 1956–57, p. 30.



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205. Cross Enkolpion

Kievan Rus' (Kiev?), ca. 1090
Copper alloy and niello
23.3 × 14.8 × 2.8 cm (9 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: Θ ΑΓΙΟC/ΘΕΩΔΟΡΟC (Saint Theodore); ΙC/ΧC (Jesus Christ); Υ ΑΓΗΥ/ ΑΠΟCΤΟΑ (Holy Apostles)

CONDITION: The surface is extremely worn, especially on the lower vertical arm; the back half of the cross is lost.

PROVENANCE: In the Kyievo-Pechers'ka Lavra, according to tradition from 1090.

National Kiev-Pechersk Historical and Cultural Reserve, Kiev, Ukraine (KPL-M 9595)

This cross represents the front half of an enkolpion that probably contained a relic of the True Cross. It has a boxlike structure composed of a copper-alloy sheet in the form of a cross, to which sides have been attached perpendicularly. The cross is hollow at the back, and the surface of the metal bears evidence of soldering. The slight protrusions on the ends of the vertical shaft formed part of a hinge-and-clasp system used to affix a back panel to the cross.

Engraved and nielloed figures decorate all the surfaces of the cross except the ends of the vertical shaft. The figure of Christ carrying a codex dominates the center. Above him, depicted on a somewhat smaller scale, stands

Saint Theodore, also holding a codex. Originally, Saint George occupied the lower part of the vertical shaft, but extensive wear has all but eradicated any trace of this figure.¹ The apostles, six of whom flank Christ on the right and the other six on the left, fill the two arms of the crossbar. On each end of the crossbar is a standing archangel wearing a *loros*, and busts of archangels appear on the remaining sides: three on each of the top and bottom sides of the crossbar, four on both sides of the top arm of the vertical shaft, and traces of two on each side of the lower arm.

Traditionally, the cross is associated with Marko Pechernyk, a miracle-working monk who dwelled in a cave at the Kyievo-Pechers'ka Lavra (Kiev Monastery of the Caves) and who was responsible for digging the graves of his brethren. According to the first printed version of the *Paterik* of the Kyievo-Pechers'ka Lavra, a copper cross that belonged to the monk Marko was placed in the cave containing his tomb upon his death in 1090. Of the faithful who came to visit the tomb, those who were ill and used the cross as a vessel from which to drink holy water were miraculously cured.² An early-nineteenth-century description of the monastery records the presence of a copper cross—decorated with a Crucifixion scene on one side and with Christ flanked by the apostles and Saints Theodore and George on the other—near the tomb of the monk Marko and also notes that some faithful still continued to drink holy water from the cross.³ While at some time it may have acquired a secondary function as a drinking vessel, the form and decoration of the cross clearly indicate that its primary function was that of an enkolpion, which was meant to be suspended.

A number of Middle Byzantine gold, silver, and bronze enkolpion pectoral crosses with extensive niello decoration are known (cat. nos. 123, 225). They are usually dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries, their provenance is often given as “provincial,” and typically they are smaller than the Kiev cross.⁴ One such bronze-and-niello cross enkolpion was discovered in Khersones,⁵ and a number of even smaller bronze-and-copper cross enkolpia with simpler niello compositions have been found in Kiev.⁶ These examples and the excavation of enameling workshops in Kiev⁷ suggest that the copper cross was manufactured locally. Its unusually large size and unprecedented iconography attest to the creative appropriation of the Byzantine artistic tradition in Kievan Rus'.

O Z P

1. For an illustration of the cross on which the figure of Saint George may still be identified, see Prokhorov 1875, pl. XI.
2. *Paterik i Otechnik Pecherskii* (Kiev, 1661), fol. 210v, as quoted in Putsko 1987, p. 217. The *Paterik* is a thirteenth-century work on the origin of the Kyievo-Pechers'ka Lavra and the deeds of the monks at this monastery. It survives in numerous manuscripts (the oldest dating from the fifteenth century), most of which belong to three main redactions. For the text in its most typical form, see Abramovych 1991; for an English translation, see Heppell 1989.
3. Bolkhovitinov 1847, p. 292.
4. For examples of such crosses, see Zaleskaia 1964, pp. 167–75; M. Ross 1965, p. 74, no. 98; Putsko 1987, pp. 217–30; Kitzinger 1988, pp. 63–66.
5. Zaleskaia 1964, pp. 167–75.
6. Pekars'ka and Putsko 1989, pp. 84–94.
7. Khvoika 1913.

LITERATURE: Bolkhovitinov 1847, p. 292; Funduklei 1847, p. 66; Zakrevskii 1868, p. 634, pl. x; Prokhorov 1875, pl. XI; Sementovskii 1881, p. 234; Frolov, *Relique*, 1961, p. 295; Zaleskaia 1964, p. 172, pl. 4; Bank 1966, p. 314; Bank 1977, pp. 309–10; Putsko 1987, pp. 217–30.

206. Cross Enkolpion

Kievan Rus' (Kiev), before 1240

Bronze

10.2 × 5.7 × .6 cm (4 × 2¼ × ¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Greek, on the front, ΙC ΧC (Jesus Christ). In Church Slavonic/Old Rus', with most letters incorrectly transposed: on the front, КР[ЕС]ГЪ НАМЪ Ѡ[ТЕШЕНИЕ] (The Cross is our solace); ХР[ЕС]ГЪ НАМЪ ПОХВАЛА (The Cross is our glory); НИКОЛ (Nicholas); АГН[ОС] (Saint); Б[О]ГОРОДИЦА (Mother of God); ГРИ ГОР (Gregory); on the back, С[В]ЯТАА БОГОР[О]ДИЦЕ ПОМАГАЙ (Holy Mother of God, help us); ПЕТРО (Peter); ЛАМАН (Damianos); КОЗМА (Kosmas); ВАСИЛ (Basil)

CONDITION: There has been some surface corrosion from long burial.

PROVENANCE: Excavated in Kiev, 1970s; presented as a gift to Mstyslav I, the first Patriarch of Kiev and All Ukraine (1990–93) and former primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States and the Diaspora, 1975; in his possession until his death, 1993.

Museum of the Ukrainian Orthodox Memorial Church of the U.S.A., South Bound Brook, New Jersey (IV 7)

This cross, produced and worn in late-twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century Kiev, was cast from a stone mold similar to the one excavated in Kiev included in this exhibition (cat. no. 207). At least six other examples made using the same mold are known, attesting to the extreme popularity of this enkolpion type. One, now in the National Archaeological Reserve “Chersonesus in Tauride,” in Sevastopol', was discovered in the city of Kherones, on the Crimean peninsula. The South Bound Brook cross and two in the National Museum of the History of Ukraine were excavated in Kiev.¹ A cross in the Khanenko collection was found at the site of Kniazha Hora, near the city of Kaniv, just south of Kiev.² It is probable that the remaining two crosses, one in the State Historical Museum, Moscow,³ and one in the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest,⁴ were also produced in Kiev.

These cast-bronze enkolpia are evidence of the presence in Kievan Rus' of pectoral



206. Front



206. Back

reliquary crosses, which, by the Middle Byzantine period, were popular throughout the empire (see cat. nos. 120–124, 225, 334, 335). When first excavated in Ukraine, they were believed to have been imported to Kievan Rus' from the Crimean peninsula,⁵ but subsequent archaeological finds and the discovery of molds have established that they were produced in Kiev and perhaps in other Kievan Rus' cities.⁶

Like many other Byzantine examples (see cat. nos. 120–124), these two-sided cruciform Kievan Rus' enkolpia, connected by hinges, are adorned with depictions of the Crucifixion and medallions containing saints on the front and with the standing figure of the Virgin flanked by saints on the back. Mass produced using stone molds, these objects of personal devotion present a consistency of material, proportions, and Slavonic inscriptions as well as precise details of form, style, and ornamentation that allows for the identification of distinctive Kievan Rus' enkolpia types. Because everything carved into the mold would be reproduced identically on all the crosses cast from it, this standardized method of production allowed craftsmen to service more than one patron at a time. For this reason they may have found it more lucrative to depict widely popular saints.

O Z P

1. *Tserkva Bohorodytsi* 1996, p. 147.
2. Khanenko and Khanenko 1899, p. 10.
3. I. Grabar 1953, p. 288.
4. Lovag 1971, p. 160.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 158. See also Tolstoi and Kondakov 1897, vol. 5, p. 32; Kondakov 1896, pp. 46–47.
6. Lovag 1971, p. 158; Kovalenko and Putsko 1933, pp. 300–309. For additional examples of Kievan cross enkolpia of the Middle Byzantine period, see Khanenko and Khanenko 1899; Korzukhina 1958, pp. 129–37; Lovag 1971, pp. 143–64; Pekars'ka and Putsko 1989, pp. 84–94; Moscow 1991, p. 163; Hlaváčková 1993, pp. 310–13; Vienna 1993, no. 103; Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, no. 45.

LITERATURE: Kondakov 1896; Tolstoi and Kondakov and 1897, vol. 5; Khanenko and Khanenko 1899, pp. 9–10, pl. II; Karger 1941, pp. 75–85; I. Grabar 1953; Karger 1958–61, vol. 1, pl. XCIX; Kovalenko and Putsko 1933; Korzukhina 1958; Lovag 1971, pp. 143–64; Pekars'ka and Putsko 1989; Moscow 1991, p. 163; Hlaváčková 1993; Vienna 1993; Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994; *Tserkva Bohorodytsi*, 1996, pp. 147, 153, nos. 8, 9.



207A,B

207. Two Valves for Cross-Shaped Enkolpia

A. Double-Sided Valve for Cross-Shaped Enkolpia

Kievan Rus' (Kiev), late 12th–early 13th century
Slate
10 × 6 × 2.5 cm (4 × 2½ × 1 in.)

INSCRIBED: In Greek, on the front, PM ΘΥ (Mother of God). In Church Slavonic, on the front, ГΑΒΡΗ (Gabriel); HBANO (John); on the back, ΒΑΧΑΗ (Basil); HBANO (John); [?] ΓΡΟΡΗ (Gregory?)

CONDITION: Only the lower half of the double-sided valve survives; it is broken into two fragments.

B. Double-Sided Valve for Cross-Shaped Enkolpia

Kievan Rus' (Kiev), late 12th–early 13th century
Slate
12.5 × 10 × 1.5 cm (4¾ × 4 × ½ in.)

CONDITION: The double-sided valve survives in two fragments, extensively fractured around the

edges; there is a triangular loss along the proper left side, with resultant loss to the crossbar on the front and back.

PROVENANCE: Both excavated by V. V. Khvoika in Kiev, 1907–8.

Natsional'nyi Muzei Istorii Ukrainy, Kiev, Ukraine (A: NMIU v.1904/28110 f.20008; B: NMIU v.2153/28109 f.20007)

Archaeological evidence suggests that the Mongol invasion of Kievan Rus' in the middle of the thirteenth century was responsible for the burial—both intended and accidental—of much of the personal, transportable wealth of its inhabitants. Many of these hoards have now been excavated, particularly in Kiev, bringing to light a rich array of jewelry as well as goldsmiths' tools and implements, including stone molds, bronze stamps and matrices, dapping blocks, and drawplates.¹

Numerically, the most significant unearthened tools are the stone molds, of which at least seventy-three are known, fifty-nine of them excavated in Kiev.² They were used for casting an assortment of objects, including bracelets, temple pendants, earrings, medallions, cross pendants, and enkolpia. Their abundance suggests that the demand was great for decorative and ornamental objects in more affordable materials modeled after the wrought gold and silver objects that are the hallmarks of the goldsmith's art. These valves for cross enkolpia, along with the other valves for molds from Kievan Rus' included in the exhibition (see cat. nos. 215A,B, 216A,B, 217), are stylistically and technically representative of the group. Nearly all the molds were bivalve, with designs engraved, drilled, and scraped into a finely grained refractory stone, identified as slate, to create a negative form within the mold cavity.³ The two valves catalogued here and other parts of stone jewelry molds, including a single valve for a bracelet (cat. no. 217), were excavated in 1907–8 in the vicinity of the Desiatynna (Tithe) Church in Kiev by V. V. Khvoika.⁴ One valve is incised with the Crucifixion and three roundels depicting the Virgin, Saint John, and the archangel Gabriel on one face and the standing Virgin and roundels with the Church Fathers John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and Gregory on the opposite face. The portion of the valve that corresponds to the top of the cross is now lost; most likely it had a fourth roundel with a figure of a saint or an archangel incised on each side. Except for the standing Virgin, each figure is identified by an inscription. While most of the inscriptions are in Slavonic and rendered in reverse, the Virgin is identified by the Greek letters of her acronym, incorrectly transposed. The other valve is carved on both faces with schematic crosses in relief. Originally, the relief designs fit into the articulated cavities of complementary valves; when the mold was filled, a thinly walled cruciform box was created that could function as the container for a relic (see cat. no. 206).⁵ The form of the cross pendant and its decoration were derived from those of Byzantine pectoral crosses, such as the silver one now preserved at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C.⁶

During casting, the mold valves were placed in register and secured by hammering pins into the sockets or holes in their corners.⁷ The fact that both faces of each valve were carved suggests that a number of molds were sandwiched together and cast simultaneously, with further support achieved by pinning a rigid bar or restraint across their

sides. The molten metal would flow into the mold cavity through a gating system. An opening at the top of the mold, the pouring funnel, allowed a large volume of metal to be poured into the warmed mold. The weight of the molten metal propelled it down through a large central channel, the sprue, ensuring that it would exert sufficient pressure to fill the cavity.⁸ Air and gases trapped within the cavity were driven out through vents around the edges—the thin incised lines at the ends of the crossarms. When the metal cooled, the casts would be removed, the excess metal from the sprue and runners cut away, and, if necessary, the image clarified by chasing and/or engraving.

Although only one other fragmentary cross mold is known,⁹ numerous examples survive of the cast crosses produced in Kievan Rus' by means of such molds (see cat. no. 206).¹⁰ In all cases their material has been identified as a copper alloy and there is no surviving indication of gilding.¹¹ The popularity of these enkolpia in Kievan Rus' indicates that small-scale works made of base metals played an important role in the dissemination of Byzantine iconography and style during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

P D and O Z P

1. Kolchin 1985, pp. 289–91; Rybakov 1948, pp. 301–20; *Tserkva Bohorodytsi* 1996, pp. 111–205.
2. Korzukhina 1950, p. 220.
3. For the stone's identification as slate, see Rybakov 1948, p. 260. Three-sided molds exist for casting three-sphere earrings, with each valve cut at a 120-degree angle, as described in *ibid.*, p. 261, and Korzukhina 1950, pp. 230–32, pl. 4, no. 1, and pl. 5.
4. Khvoika 1913, p. 71; Bahalii 1914, pls. 167, 169.
5. For a discussion of this function, see cat. nos. 120–124, 206, 225.
6. M. Ross 1965, no. 99.
7. Hodges 1981, pp. 70–71. Rybakov (1948, p. 260) suggests that lead pegs were used to secure the valves.
8. Biringuccio 1959, p. 229.
9. Karger 1958–61, vol. 1, pl. XLV; *Tserkva Bohorodytsi* 1996, p. 176, no. 19.
10. Khanenko and Khanenko 1899; I. Grabar 1953, vol. 1, pp. 287–88; Lovag 1971, pp. 143–64; Pekars'ka and Putsko 1989, pp. 84–94; Moscow 1991, p. 163; Hlaváčková 1993, pp. 310–13; Vienna 1993, nos. 102, 103; Richmond 1994, no. 45; *Tserkva Bohorodytsi* 1996, pp. 152–53.
11. Published compositions of Kievan Rus' and Middle Byzantine cross enkolpia are rare; however, analysis of a cross reliquary in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, indicates that it was cast from a latten alloy, a relatively inexpensive material, easily cast and characterized by its visual similarity to gold, making it appealing to both the metalworker and the client; Netzer 1991, pp. 158–59.

LITERATURE: Khanenko and Khanenko 1899; Khvoika 1913, p. 71; Bahalii 1914, figs. 167, 169;

Rybakov 1948, pp. 260–61, 301–20; Korzukhina 1950, pp. 220, 230–32, pl. 4, no. 1; Karger 1958–61, vol. 1, pl. XLVII; Korzukhina 1958, pp. 129–37; Biringuccio 1959, p. 229; Lovag 1971, pp. 143–64; Hodges 1981, pp. 70–71; Kolchin 1985, pp. 289–91; Asieiev 1989; Pekars'ka and Putsko 1989, pp. 84–94; Moscow 1991, p. 163; Netzer 1991, pp. 158–59; Hlaváčková 1993, pp. 310–13; Vienna 1993, nos. 102, 103; Richmond 1994, no. 45; *Tserkva Bohorodytsi* 1996, p. 175, nos. 21, 22.

208. Five Fragments of a Monastic Girdle

Kievan Rus' (Kiev), late 12th–early 13th century(?) / 17th century(?)

Embossed leather

- A. KPL-ARKH 307: 3.5 × 4.7 cm (1 1/8 × 1 7/8 in.)
- B. KPL-ARKH 329: 4.5 × 26.5 cm (1 3/4 × 10 3/8 in.)
- C. KPL-ARKH 309: 2.4 × 19.7 cm (1 × 15 1/2 in.)
- D. KPL-ARKH 310: 2 × 16.8 cm (3/4 × 6 3/4 in.)
- E. KPL-ARKH 311: 2.5 × 16 cm (1 × 6 1/4 in.)

INSCRIBED: In Church Slavonic/Old Rus', with legends (many transposed in reverse) identifying the scenes

CONDITION: These five fragments, although the best preserved from the remains of a girdle, are worn and damaged along the edges and have been restored.

PROVENANCE: Excavated on the site of the Kyievo-Pechers'ka Lavra, 1980s.

National Kiev-Pechersk Historical and Cultural Reserve, Kiev, Ukraine (KPL-ARKH 307, 309–311, 329)

Recently excavated on the grounds of the Kyievo-Pechers'ka Lavra (Kiev Monastery of the Caves), these leather fragments once formed part of a girdle worn by a monk at the monastery. In view of the fragility of leather and its rapid decay under most archaeological conditions, the discovery constitutes a unique find. Each leather section is embossed with compressed images of the major feasts of the liturgical year. Among the identifiable christological and mariological scenes are the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Entry into Jerusalem, several of Christ's miracles (including the Raising of Lazarus), the Transfiguration, the Ascension, the Mission to the Apostles, the Anastasis, and the Koimesis. The iconography of these scenes was so well established in Middle Byzantine art that the general outlines of the compositions and figures provided enough detail for the Orthodox faithful to recognize the individual subjects. Accompanying embossed inscriptions further identified the scenes.

The Kievan Rus' monk Kiryl of Turaŭ, who lived in the mid- to late twelfth century and became bishop of Turaŭ in the 1160s, wrote an exhortation for monks, *On the*



208A–E (top to bottom)

Monastic Order, in which he described in detail and explained the symbolism associated with monastic clothing.¹ According to Kiryl, the leather girdle used to fasten the monastic habit worn on feast days signified mortality and was symbolic of Christ's death on the cross.² Perhaps the leather segments from the Kyievo-Pechers'ka Lavra belonged to such a girdle—in which case they would have been appropriately decorated with representations of the liturgical feasts held on the days the girdle was worn.

O Z P

1. For a critical edition of the text, see Eremin 1955–58. For an English translation, see Franklin 1991, pp. 82–96.
2. For a translation of the relevant passages, see Franklin 1991, pp. 88, 92.

LITERATURE: Eremin 1955–58; Franklin 1991.

EXHIBITION: Trier 1995, nos. 12–17, p. 43.

209. Necklace from Staraiia Riazan'

Kievan Rus' (Staraiia Riazan'), late 12th century
Gold, precious stones, and pearls, with cloisonné
enamel, filigree, and granulation
DIAM. of central medallion 8 cm (3 1/8 in.)

INSCRIBED: In Greek and a combination of Greek and Church Slavonic characters on the central medallion, MP/ΘΥ (Mother of God); on the medallion to the left, OP/HNA (Saint Irene); on the medallion to the right, OBAP/OBAP (Saint Barbara).

CONDITION: A number of the precious stones and most of the pearls encircling the outer borders of the medallions, the enameled plaques, and the central gems are lost, as are the strands of pearls decorating the beads; the surfaces of the Saint Irene and Saint Barbara enamels are damaged; some beads and the outer rims of the medallions are slightly dented.

PROVENANCE: Individual pieces constituting the necklace were found buried in a field near the village of Staraiia Riazan' by Ustin Efimov, June 6, 1822.

State Historical and Cultural Museum "Moscow Kremlin," Moscow, Russian Federation (MR 971–973; MR 978–979; MR 988–993)

The necklace forms part of one of the richest Kievan Rus' hoards thus far unearthed. On June 6, 1822, Ustin Efimov, a farmer, discovered

the hoard while plowing a field near the village of Staraiia Riazan', the site of the capital of the Murom-Riazan' principality of Rus'. The hoard comprised five elaborately adorned gold medallions with cloisonné enamels, six gold medallions set with precious stones, five gold-filigree beads with a scalelike design, six gold-filigree beads with a tendril design, two large gold-and-enameled temple pendants, a gold bracelet, two gold "buttons" with cloisonné-enamel images of saints, two gold rings, a gold clasp, and small gold plaques in a variety of shapes.¹ Since these pieces were found scattered and detached from one another,² it is not clear how many necklaces the medallions and beads came from or how they had been arranged within a necklace.³ As reconstructed, the Staraiia Riazan' necklace is composed of six hollow gold-filigree beads, which once were decorated with four strands of pearls running the length of the bead and one strand encircling the central width. An overlapping scale pattern adorns the surfaces of five of the beads, while an ornate tendril design covers the sixth bead, which is further embellished with four small



gems along the circumference. Five medallions are suspended between each bead from loops adorned with precious stones. Set in the central medallion is a circular plaque with the enameled bust of the Virgin Orans dressed in a blue *maphorion*; the Virgin holds her hands before her in a gesture of prayer. An ornate border of delicate tendrils and lavish gemstones encircles the enamel. The medallions to either side of the central one also contain cloisonné-enamel plaques. The bust-length portrait of Saint Barbara appears on the right medallion and that of Saint Irene on the left one. Both saints are clad in *maphoria*. Each figure holds her hands before her in prayer as she supports a martyr's cross in her right hand. Borders decorated with applied filigree and gems surround the three enameled plaques.

The objects in the Staraiia Riazan' hoard constitute the jewelry associated with the costume of a Rus' woman from princely or boyar society. The necklace with the enamels of the Virgin and the two female saints was particularly appropriate to such a patroness, since Saint Barbara was the daughter of a

wealthy nobleman and Saint Irene was the patron saint of many of the foreign princesses who took her name upon marriage to a Byzantine emperor.⁴

The iconography and the cloisonné technique of the three enameled plaques reveal strong artistic connections between Byzantium and Rus'. However, their elaborate medallion settings and their inclusion along with filigree beads and with large medallions set with precious stones emphasize the distinctiveness and the mastery of both enameling and goldsmiths' work in Kievan Rus'.

O Z P

1. For a list of the items constituting the Staraiia Riazan' hoard of 1822, see Korzukhina 1954, pp. 143–44. For descriptions and illustrations of all the items, see Kondakov 1896, pp. 83–96, figs. 42–51, pls. XVI, XVII.
2. Traces of fabric observed alongside some of the items suggest that the hoard had been contained in a cloth, which has long since disappeared. A more extensive search of the area conducted by the archaeologist Kalaidovich soon after the discovery of the hoard failed to reveal any additional finds; see Kalaidovich 1823, pp. 1–29, and Kondakov 1896, p. 84.

3. The size and number of medallions suggest that the hoard included more than one necklace.

4. *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 1008.

LITERATURE: Kalaidovich 1823, pp. 1–29; Olenin 1831; *Moskovskaia Oruzheinaia palata* 1844, pp. 41–42; *Drevnosti* 1851, pp. 45–47; Zabelin 1855, p. 296; *Moskovskaia Oruzheinaia palata* 1860, p. 51; Kondakov, *Istoriia*, 1892, pp. 334–39; *Opis' Moskovskoi* 1894, vol. 1, pp. 41–43; Kondakov 1896, pp. 83–96, figs. 42–51, pls. XVI, XVII; Tolstoi and Kondakov 1897, vol. 5, pp. 101–5; Arsen'ev and Trutovskii 1911, p. 74; Bartenev 1916, p. 28; Korzukhina 1954, pp. 143–44; *Gosudarstvennaia Oruzheinaia Palata* 1958, nos. 125–28.



210. Front



210. Back

210. Pair of Earrings

Kievan Rus'(?), 11th–12th century

Gold; fabricated from wire; set with cloisonné enamels

Each: 2.5 × 2.5 cm (1 × 1 in.)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Purchase, 1979, McDougall Palmmer Gifts in memory of Richard Ettinghausen, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1979 (1979.278.1a,b)

These earrings are an anomaly among extant early medieval jewelry. While their crescent shape, layout, and box construction are typically Fatimid, the basic vocabulary associated with such jewelry is completely lacking. The method of construction employed in forming the filigree hemispheres is unknown on other Islamic jewelry; gold is not used as sparingly as on most Fatimid jewelry;¹ neither the ubiquitous rings for stringing pearls and semiprecious stones nor the typical strip support for filigree decoration is to be found; and the S curves, while present, are of flattened twisted wires and not of the usual flattened plain wires. Furthermore, the designs on the enamels are closer to those from southern Rus' than to those from Egypt (cat. no. 278), and the enamels are found on both the front and the back, a common occurrence on such ornaments produced in the Byzantine world but unique to Fatimid enameled jewelry. And while the green and red enamels are similar to those found on a crescent-shaped pendant in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. no. 278), the white and blue enamels have compositions more consistent with what is known of ancient Roman glass-making technology of a type thought to have gone out of use about the fourth century A.D. This would indicate the reuse of Roman glass for enameling purposes more

than seven hundred years later. We thus have a pair of earrings that incorporates both Roman-type and Islamic-type enamels, a combination known to have been found among Byzantine enameled objects.²

Because similar enamels have been found in southern Rus'; because the method of incorporating the enamel cup is not known on other Fatimid jewelry; because compositionally the enamels are of both the Roman and the Islamic types; and finally, because correlations exist with a pair of earrings from Kiev in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. no. 211), we would suggest placing the present earrings in Byzantium's neighboring state Kievan Rus'.

M J-M

1. This observation was made by Jean-François DeLaperouse, Department of Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
2. Mark Wypyski, Department of Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, has also noted, with regard to Limoges enameled pieces, that Roman- and Islamic-type enamels are used on the same object, and he believes that the presence of the Roman-type enamel on the earrings may be evidence for a Byzantine rather than an Islamic origin.

LITERATURE: Jenkins and Keene 1983, p. 76, no. 43.

211. Pair of Earrings

Kievan Rus' (?) / Byzantine (?), 12th century
Silver gilt and enamel

Each: 3.2 × 6 cm (1¼ × 2½ in.)

CONDITION: Each earring is missing a loop; one earring (.2051) is also missing a hemispherical section.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.2051,2052)

These earrings have a boxlike construction—that is, the crescent-shaped front and back are joined by a metal strip, thereby creating a hollow ornament. Five hemispherical sections, each made of twisted wire, filigree, and one large grain, are soldered to the section joining front and back, and loops for securing beads or pearls are soldered between them.

Elements of the Metropolitan Museum's earrings are found in both Middle Byzantine and Islamic jewelry. Along the outer circumference of both front and back are triangles of granulation like those on the British Museum earrings (cat. no. 166) and those on earrings in the Strathatos collection with Arabic inscriptions in enamel.¹ The hemispherical sections are typical of basket earrings, which were popular in the Middle Byzantine and Islamic traditions (see cat. nos. 168, 275B). In both traditions a disk projecting from the center of the crescent's upper edge is typical (see cat. no. 166). The round perforation in the top of one earring and the broken-off segments on the tops of both indicate that each of the earrings had some sort of projecting segment.

The boxlike form of these earrings and the loops for supporting pearls and semiprecious stones are generally considered hallmarks of Fatimid jewelry.² The enameling, however, is on both sides, which is not typical of Fatimid jewelry³ but is characteristic of Constantinopolitan and Kievan enameled pendants (see cat. no. 170 and a pendant in Cleveland⁴). On most of the purely Byzantine examples known to this author, the entire surface is covered with enamel. Kievan pieces, however, are more likely to be enameled in segments, as the present

earrings are. Technically these earrings are also akin to Rus'-Byzantine temple pendants: the cloisons are hammered into the gold or silver surface rather than soldered on at a forty-five-degree angle.⁵ The palette — red, dark blue, light blue — is typical of both Kievan and Constantinopolitan temple pendants, but the motifs are more purely Byzantine. The rosettes are like those on the Chalice of the Patriarchs, an eleventh-century work in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice.⁶ The trefoils flanking the rosette are similar to those on an enameled pendant cross at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., which is attributed to Constantinople and dated to the eleventh or twelfth century.⁷

The segmentation of the enamel surface had its roots in the use of inlaid stones, a practice that the Goths brought to Ukraine about 400.⁸ By the Middle Byzantine period in Kiev enamel had replaced precious stones, as demonstrated by the Rus'-Byzantine temple pendants (cat. no. 212), to which

this pair of earrings is surely related. The iconography of the earrings is, however, more purely Byzantine, leaving open the question of more precise attribution.

K R B

1. Coche de La Ferté 1953–63, vol. 2, pl. 11; Jenkins 1993, pp. 79–81.
2. Jenkins, "Fatimid," 1988, p. 40.
3. Jenkins and Keene 1983, no. 43.
4. Milliken, "Byzantine Jewelry," 1947.
5. Oral communication with Asaf Oron, Department of Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
6. New York and Milan 1984, no. 16.
7. M. Ross 1965, no. 157, pl. LXXI; New York and Milan 1984, no. 16.
8. Roth 1979, fig. 286, p. 126, no. 286.

LITERATURE: Kondakov, *Istoriia*, 1892, pp. 331–42; Kondakov 1896; Milliken, "Byzantine Jewelry," 1947; Coche de La Ferté 1953–63, vol. 2; M. Ross 1965; Roth 1979; Jenkins and Keene 1983; New York and Milan 1984; Jenkins, "Fatimid," 1988; Degtjarijeva-Kapnik 1993; Jenkins 1993, no. 43.

212. Temple Pendants

Kievan Rus' (Kiev), 11th–12th century

A. Temple Pendant

Gold and cloisonné enamel
6 × 5.4 cm (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.679)

B. Temple Pendant

Gold and cloisonné enamel
6.4 × 5.4 cm (2 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.680)

C. Pair of Temple Pendants

Electrum and cloisonné enamel
Each: 4.1 × 4.4 cm (1 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.702,704)

D. Pair of Temple Pendants with Filigree Border

Silver and niello
.708: 6 × 5.7 cm (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
.709: 6 × 5.4 cm (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.708,709)

E. Pair of Temple Pendants

Gold and cloisonné enamel
Each: 5.4 × 4.8 cm (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.699,707)

F. Pair of Temple Pendants

Gold and cloisonné enamel
Each: 5.4 × 4.8 cm (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.700,703)

G. Temple Pendant

Gold and cloisonné enamel
5.4 × 4.8 cm (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.684)

Temple pendants, so called for the part of the face they hang near, are personal ornaments most often found in gold with enamel decoration. The edges of these crescent-shaped works were originally adorned with strings of pearls intertwined with beads. Their attachment hoops allowed them to be worn in a variety of ways by aristocratic men and women in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Pendants might be suspended from the hair or from the headdress. A pair of pendants were attached to the flaps of a man's cap excavated near Kiev in the nineteenth century.¹ Stefan Uroš I, king of Serbia from 1243 to 1276, is shown wearing pendants suspended within chains from his crown in the wall paintings at Sopoćani, Serbia, which were executed about 1265.² An Ottonian portable altar depicts four female Virtues, each having a pair of pendants hung from a piece of fabric attached to her headdress.³ Temple



211. Front



211. Back



212 A–G (front)

pendants, hollow and open at the top, may have contained a scrap of cloth dipped in perfume.⁴

Marvin Ross has noted that the shape and the enameling of Kievan temple pendants are derived from Constantinopolitan jewelry (see cat. no. 170 for a discussion of an exquisite contemporary example).⁵ The temple pendants seen here, all from Kievan Rus', depict on their fronts heads of saints, the tree of life, a bird moving forward, a crowned head within a medallion, and a pair of Sirens — birds with human female heads — flanking the tree of life. Their backs bear abstract geometric representations within medallions, triangles, stylized leaf motifs, and drinking horns.⁶ The enamel palette includes red, blue, green, turquoise, yellow, black, and white and is as broad as that of contemporary examples from Constantinople.

Through the generosity of J. Pierpont Morgan, the Metropolitan Museum has a

rich and representative collection of Kievan temple pendants. Three of these pendants are from the Desiatynna (Tithe) Church and were acquired by Morgan from the A. Zvenigorodskii collection. Two of the Zvenigorodskii pendants are included in this exhibition. The first (A) shows on the front two addorsed regardant birds flanking a stylized tree of life and on the back two rhytons, or drinking horns, flanking a quatrefoil above a triangle. Boris Rybakov noted that in May 1022 the feast of Borys and Hlib, eleventh-century martyr saints, was moved from July 24 to May 2, coinciding with the pagan observance of the birth of spring. Thus the temple pendants worn at celebrations of the martyrs' feast are usually thought to incorporate both pagan and Christian themes.⁷ Rhytons, which contained water for the fields, were connected with fertility. Similarly the breasts of the birds flanking the tree of life are decorated with symbolic seeds also refer-

ring to fertility. The second Zvenigorodskii pendant (B) depicts on the front two addorsed haloed Sirens flanking a tree of life and on the back two confronted advancing birds framed by stylized floral scrolls. Degtiarjeva-Kapnik, following Rybakov, suggests that these haloed Sirens are bird saints guarding the tree of life and remarks that there are fifteen known examples of pendants with representations of Sirens.⁸

From the Street of the Three Prelates, opposite the Mykhailivs'kyi Zolotoverkhyi Monastery (Saint Michael of the Golden Domes) in Kiev, come a pair of temple pendants (C) with two addorsed regardant birds flanking a medallion and triangle on the front and a crowned head in a medallion above a triangle and flanked by rhytons on the back. This pair and pendant 17.190.699 of pair E are the only examples in the Metropolitan's collection that appear to retain their original twisted strands of pearls and



212 A–G (back)

beads. Such splendid sets of jewelry were worn only for ceremonial Church observances and were often decorated with Christian images. They were surely worn for marriage ceremonies. These pendants bearing a crowned female head may have been ornaments appropriate for a coronation or a wedding.

Made in the same form as the gold temple pendants, a silver pair (D), decorated in niello and filigree, shows a griffin on the front and a trellis on the back. According to Rybakov, none of the sets of silver jewelry that have been found includes a crownlike headdress. Less precious than their counterparts in gold, these ornaments may have been used by princesses for everyday wear or may have belonged to nobility of lower rank.⁹ This pair's place of origin is unknown, but the backs are similar to those of a pair in the British Museum from the Street of the Three Prelates.

Two additional pairs of temple pendants (E, F) are from the Street of the Three Prelates, and both measure 5.4 × 4.8 cm (2 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.). In one pair (E) each pendant bears on its front a bust of a male saint (Borys?/Hlib?) flanked by geometric configurations and on its back a central quatrefoil, four stylized leaf motifs, and two small triangles. In the other pair (F) each pendant displays on the front two addorsed regardant birds flanking a stylized tree of life above a triangle; on the back each bears the same design seen on pair E. The third pendant (G) from the Desiatynna Church, which has the same dimensions as pairs E and F, shows on the front two addorsed regardant birds flanking a tree of life and on the back a medallion with an elaborate quatrefoil set in acanthus leaves, surrounded by foliate motifs in circular and quadrilateral forms.

K R B

1. Griffin 1993, p. 10.
2. D. Rice 1963, p. 201.
3. Steenbock 1983, p. 30, fig. 6a.
4. Brown 1980, p. 8.
5. M. Ross 1965, p. 112, nos. 135, 161. According to Ross, A. S. Gushchin gives an inventory of extant temple pendants from Kiev and discusses the excavation of an enameling workshop there.
6. Rybakov 1971, p. 96.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 96.
8. Degtiarjeva-Kapnik 1993, p. 132.
9. Rybakov 1971, p. 38.

LITERATURE: Kondakov 1892, p. 346, pls. 20, 21 (17.190.680,684,700); Bock 1896, pp. 408–19, pls. XXII–XXXIII (17.190.679,680,684); Kondakov 1896, pl. VI (17.190.680); Dalton, “Byzantine Enamels,” 1912, pp. 9–10, 65, pls. III, IV; Bossert 1932, vol. 5, p. 147, illus. (17.190.700,704); D. Rice 1963; M. Ross 1965; Rybakov 1971; Brown 1980, pp. 6–9; Steenbock 1983; Degtiarjeva-Kapnik 1993; Griffin 1993, pp. 5–18.

EXHIBITION: Aachen 1884.



213A,B

213. Ceremonial Ornaments

A. Two Ornaments Decorated with Birds and Conventionalized Trees

Kievan Rus' (probably Kiev), 12th century
Gold and cloisonné enamel
Each: L. 31.1 cm (12¼ in.)

PROVENANCE: Excavated in the apse of the Desiatynna Church, Kiev, in 1842

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.705,706)

B. Two Chain Fragments

Kievan Rus' (probably Kiev), 12th century
Gold and cloisonné enamel
.681: L. 11.1 cm (4¾ in.)
.682: L. 12.9 cm (5¼ in.)

PROVENANCE: Excavated at the site of the Desiatynna Church; A. W. Zvenigorodskii collection.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.681,682)

Each of these ornaments (A) consists of ten gold-and-enamel medallions attached by "tongue-and-groove" hinges secured with a pin and terminating at one end in a clasp and at the other in a single-link chain. The finely worked medallions are made up of two disks joined by a thin, rectangular metal strip. The tips of the attachment loops are soldered to the plain back of each medallion, and the medallions are attached to one another by pins.

From each chain's center the decoration is oriented toward the chain's end. Similar chains in the State Historical Museum, Moscow, have the same arrangement, and they are the closest parallels to the Metropolitan chains.¹ On the Moscow medallions walking birds alternate with geometric motifs, while on the Metropolitan medallions walking birds alternate with conventionalized trees in dark blue, green, yellow, red, turquoise, black, and white. The palettes of the Moscow and New York medallions seem to be similar.

Two chain fragments (B) in the Metropolitan Museum, each consisting of three medallions, appear to belong to the splendid chains in the State Historical Museum, Moscow.

It has been suggested that chains such as these may have been used as necklaces or bracelets.² According to Boris Rybakov, however, archaeological evidence shows that women wore twisted gold ornaments with stone-studded medallions around their necks. In addition, no treasure trove has yielded a bracelet similar in style to the present ornaments. What archaeological finds do indicate is that a princess's jewelry consisted of a tall headdress surmounted by a gold diadem with enamel inlay and pearls. On both sides of

the headdress temple pendants were suspended by ornate gold chains (see cat. no. 214). The Metropolitan's chains are unusual, but Rybakov has identified similar chains in the State Historical Museum, Moscow, as having been used to suspend temple pendants. Comparable ceremonial decorations have been found in some hoards from Kiev and the surrounding region.³ Marvin Ross states that another pair is in the Khanenko collection.⁴

K R B

1. This information was provided by Ludmila Pekarsk'a, former head of the Department of Ancient and Medieval Kiev in the National Museum of the History of Ukraine, Kiev, and a former fellow in the Department of Medieval Art at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
2. Griffin 1993, pp. 4–8.
3. Korzukhina 1972, IX–XIII.
4. M. Ross 1965, p. 112, no. 161.

LITERATURE: Frimmel 1885, p. 252 (refers to chains as eleventh century); Bock 1896, pp. 408–19, pls. XXII–XXXIII (B); Dalton, "Byzantine Enamels," 1912, pp. 9–10, 65, pls. III, IV; Breck and Rogers 1929, p. 55; Bossert 1932, vol. 5, p. 147, illus. (A); *Medieval Jewellery* 1944, fig. 6; Korzukhina 1954, pls. IX–XIII; M. Ross 1965; Korzukhina 1972, pp. 24–30; Brown 1980, pp. 6–9; Griffin 1993, pp. 5–18.

EXHIBITION: Aachen 1884.

214. Temple Pendants and Suspension Chains

A. Two Temple Pendants

Kievan Rus' (Kniazha Hora, Kaniv district), 12th–early 13th century
Gold and cloisonné enamel
Each: 4.5 × 3.1 cm (1¾ × 1¼ in.)

B. Two Suspension Chains

Kievan Rus' (Sakhnovka, Kaniv district), 12th–early 13th century
Gold
Each: L. 22 cm (8¾ in.)

CONDITION: There are some indentations in the chains, as well as some distortions of their convex shape.

PROVENANCE: The pendants were found in a hoard in the village of Kniazha Hora, Kaniv district, in the Cherkasy region of Ukraine in 1897; the chains were located in a hoard at a site called the Divycha Hora near the village of Sakhnovka, Kaniv district in the Cherkasy region in 1900; all acquired by B. I. Khanenko soon after their respective discoveries.

Muzei Istorychnykh Koshtovnostei Ukrainy, a branch of the Natsional'nyi Muzei Istorii Ukrainy, Kiev, Ukraine (A: DM 1838, DM 1839; B: DM 1645, DM 1646)

These temple pendants and suspension chains were found in two unrelated hoards at different sites in the Kaniv district of Ukraine and thus are not originally from the same ensemble. Similar cloisonné-enamel pendants and beaded chains were, however, often paired in the headdresses worn by well-to-do Kievan Rus' women. Suspended from a diadem encircling the head, the log-shaped, convex beads of the suspension chains were sometimes sewn onto a leather strap for additional support. The pendants were then attached to the ends of the chains to hang at the shoulders. This arrangement and the pendants' crescent shape and cloisonné-enamel ornamentation recall Byzantine headdresses adorned with temple pendants suspended on *pendoulia*; the details of decoration, design, and technique clearly identify these pendants and chains as Kievan Rus'.

The decorative techniques and visual vocabulary of the Kievan Rus' goldsmith are well integrated in the gold suspension chains and the gold-and-enamel pendants. The appeal of repetitive shapes is apparent both in the rows of identical vertically ribbed lozenges, or logs, which constitute the chains, and in the extensive use of hollow, semicircular domes on the pendants. Such forms conserved materials and were easily reproduced in thin gold or silver sheet worked over matrices or impressed by dapping punches and blocks.¹ Structural integrity was added to the logs by soldered-on backings and to the domes by attaching them to the main body and supporting structure of the temple pendants—two lunate-shaped gold sheets joined by a narrow strip soldered at right angles just within the borders of their cutout rays. An opening at the top allowed access to the interior of the pendant. A hammered loop with its ends curled back on itself was inserted between two loops on either side of the pendant to create hinges pinned with rolled tubes of sheet gold. The artist's attraction to the visual interplay of texture, reflection, and color is evident in the use of lengths of the drawn and twisted filigree wire that outline each of the rays and bracket the smooth domes encircling the bezels and the inset enameled plaques.

It is in the fabrication of the plaques that we have the best-preserved technical fingerprint of the Kievan Rus' goldsmith, as well as an indication of his methods of replication. The plaques appear to have been made



214 A, B

in the same manner as the enameled Kievan temple pendants in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. nos. 212A, B, C, E, F, G) and are similar to the silver-and-niello pendants from the same site and in the same collection (cat. no. 212D). The forms for all these images were impressed on matrices, with the indentations filled with either niello or enamel.² The one surviving matrix for the production of enameled temple pendants is a flat disk with the individual forms of two birds flanking a tree of life pierced through its depth, thereby allowing its further use as a template.³ Each sheet shaped on the matrix was overlaid and soldered to another sheet of similar dimensions, marked out with the same design but with the interior of each form cut away, creating a crisp outline for the cells and a plaque of sufficient mechanical strength. The feet and legs of the birds were engraved rather than formed on the matrix.

The use of a matrix in the production of enameled plaques seems to be unique to Kievan Rus' and distinct from the way surviving examples of either Byzantine or Western cloisonné enamels were made. The development of a means to mass-produce enameled gold temple pendants suggests a sizable demand for them in Kiev, corroborating the apparent wealth of the city and its role as an artistic center during the Middle Byzantine centuries.

P D and O Z P

1. For a discussion of matrices in general, see Rybakov 1948, pp. 301–20. For reference to a matrix that may have been used in the production of suspension chains, excavated in Sakhnovka, see *ibid.*, p. 306 n. 199. A round lead pillow contained by an iron collar, excavated by L. A. Golubevoi, is said to be the malleable layer that was placed over the sheet and matrix and then struck by a hammer, forcing the silver or gold sheet into the recesses; see *ibid.*, p. 301.
2. For a discussion of nielloed temple pendants, see Rybakov 1948, pp. 320–30; for illustrations, see Khanenko and Khanenko 1902, pl. xxviii, nos. 963, 971, 973a, and pl. xxix, nos. 969, 970. For matrices used for nielloed temple pendants, see Rybakov 1940, p. 252, figs. 78, 80, 81, and p. 254, figs. 82, 83, and Rybakov 1948, pp. 306, 312. For a discussion of the matrix template for the enameled temple pendants, see Rybakov 1948, pp. 378–80, fig. 104; for illustrations of the matrix template, see Kolchin 1985, p. 291, fig. 107, no. 7, and *Tserkva Bohorodytsi* 1996, p. 176, no. 27.
3. The matrix is preserved in the National Museum of the History of Ukraine, Kiev, inv. no. NMTU v-1525 (28575). For a recent image, see *Tserkva Bohorodytsi* 1996, p. 176, no. 27. While only one matrix for fabricating enamels survives, extant pairs of temple pendants are identical in the orientation of their design elements, suggesting manufacture with a template and matrix; see, for example, cat. no. 212.

LITERATURE: Khanenko and Khanenko 1899, pl. IV, nos. 52, 53; Beliashevskii 1901, pp. 150–62; Khanenko and Khanenko 1902, pl. XXVII, nos. 998, 999, pp. 21–22, pl. XXVIII, figs. 1003, 1004, pl. XXIX, nos. 969, 970, 1089, 1090; Il'in 1921, p. 27; Rybakov 1940, p. 252, figs. 78–81, p. 254, figs. 82, 83; Rybakov 1948, pp. 301, 306–15, 378, fig. 104; Korzukhina 1954, pp. 129, 131, pl. XLIX; Makarova 1975, p. 106; Kolchin 1985, p. 291, fig. 107; Paris 1993, p. 131; Vienna 1993, p. 294.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1993, nos. 139, 140, 143, 144; Vienna 1993, nos. 116, 117.

215. Mold for a Temple Pendant with a Griffin

A. Kievan Rus' (Kiev), late 12th–early 13th century
Slate
9 × 5.6 × 2.1 cm (3½ × 2¼ × ⅞ in.)

CONDITION: The valve is reconstructed from three fragments.

B. Kievan Rus' (Kiev), late 12th–early 13th century
Slate
9.1 × 5.7 × 2.1 cm (3⅝ × 2¼ × ⅞ in.)

CONDITION: The valve is reconstructed from four fragments.

PROVENANCE: Both valves were excavated in 1939 by M. K. Karger from beneath the Desiatynna Church in Kiev.

Natsional'nyi Muzei Istorii Ukrainy, Kiev, Ukraine
(A: V 11/2884, V 11/2887; B: V 11/2885)

The archaeologist M. K. Karger found these valves in 1939 in a secret passageway below the foundations of the Desiatynna (Tithe) Church in Kiev. They are part of a larger group of nineteen molds reconstructed from thirty-six fragments that were discovered there along with three bodies. Legend has it that the Desiatynna Church, while serving as the final refuge for the citizens of Kiev during the Mongol invasion of 1240, collapsed under the weight of the fleeing crowd. Apparently the three persons fell into the passageway when the church caved in. At least one of them was a craftsman, who carried with him the tools of his trade. The archaeological context in which the molds were found allows us to date them to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.¹

Temple pendants functioned as containers for fragments of perfumed cloth and were thus hollow.² For cast pendants, an open interior could be produced by incorporating a clay core within the mold cavity. Such a

core would have been formed in the mold itself and uniformly cut back to create a space for the molten metal. A portion of the core would extend beyond the perimeter of the mold cavity, securing it to the valves and allowing the bulk of the core to float within the cavity.³ Such a core print is visible as the incised rectangular form across the top of the mold cavity and at right angles to the sprue. With the addition of organic material to the clay, the core became sufficiently friable after firing to be easily removed.

At least one other valve for a temple pendant with a similar griffin motif in reserve, a recessed background, and a beaded rim has been found in Kiev.⁴ Valves for temple pendants of the same shape and decorated with a griffin but without a border, or with an undulating filigree border, are also known.⁵ To date, however, no examples of such pendants actually cast from these particular molds have been identified. The cast pendants were probably made of lead-pewter, bronze, or billon; in design and ornamentation they imitated the more expensive hand-stamped and engraved pendants in silver and niello that have been discovered in Kiev and in such Rus' cities as Chernihiv and Staraia Riazan'. The silver examples display an animal



215. A,B

or bird motif on the body of the pendant, which is encircled by hollow beads, an undulating filigree border, or rays (see cat. no. 212D).⁶

The mold shown here would produce a temple pendant characteristically Kievan Rus' in design and ornamentation. The stylized representation of the griffin with a lifted paw and the large beads surrounding the crescent-shaped body of the pendant have their closest parallels in other pieces of Rus' jewelry. The basic form and decorative elements, however, may also be observed in Byzantine earrings and temple pendants. Two Middle Byzantine silver repoussé earrings said to come from Constantinople, one in the British Museum, London, the other in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, display the crescent shape, a bird motif, and a border of small beads.⁷ The earring in the British Museum is notably similar to two cast Rus' earrings, one from Novgorod⁸ and the other from the village of Porosia, near Korsun', south of Kiev.⁹ Although only a handful of cast works have been discovered in Kiev, it is clear that this city was the center for the mass production of jewelry in Rus' during the Middle Byzantine period.

P D and O Z P

216. Two Valves for Star-Shaped Temple Pendants

A. Kievan Rus' (Kiev), late 12th–early 13th century
Slate

10.6 × 7.1 × 2.7 cm (4 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: The valve is reconstructed from three fragments; portions of the face are missing along the breaks.

PROVENANCE: Excavated in Kiev.

B. Kievan Rus' (Kiev), 12th–13th century
Slate

11.6 × 8 × 2.2 cm (4 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ × $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

CONDITION: The valve is reconstructed from two fragments; portions of the face are missing along the breaks.

PROVENANCE: Excavated in 1939 by M. K. Karger in the passageway below the Desiatynna Church in Kiev.

Natsional'nyi Muzei Istorii Ukrainy, Kiev, Ukraine
(A: V II/2883; B: V II/2889)

Each of these two valves, used for the casting of star-shaped temple pendants, is carved with six radiating conical arms that terminate

in spheres, and each arm is drilled with a network of small hemispheres, producing in the cast a rich surface pattern that imitates granulation.

To cast the complex stellate form, a series of runners or inlets were carved off the pouring funnel and sprue of each valve to enable the molten metal to be fed to the extremities of the mold cavity. Unlike the mold for the griffin temple pendant (cat. no. 215), these valves have no print for a core. A. V. Ryndina has suggested that many of the pendants were cast in a “quick flow” or “slush casting” technique that does not require a core. The molten metal froze or solidified against the cooler surface of the stone while the still-fluid metal in the center of the mold cavity escaped through the large vents at the base of the cavity, leaving an open interior.¹

Valves for star-shaped temple pendants have been excavated on the Floriv's'ka Hora and near the Desiatynna (Tithe) Church on the Starokyiv's'ka Hora—the two locations associated with jewelry-producing workshops in late-twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century Kiev. However, few cast star-shaped temple pendants are known. Two examples, one made of bronze and covered with silver leaf and one composed of a tin-lead alloy,

1. Karger 1941, pp. 75–85.

2. See cat. nos. 170, 212 for a discussion of the function of temple pendants.

3. Tylecote 1976, p. 34.

4. See Bahalii 1914, fig. 170. It is possible that the recessed background was to be filled with niello although no examples of cast temple pendants with niello are known. Examples of cast temple pendants with recesses filled with enamel decoration do survive; see Korzukhina 1950, p. 226, pl. 3, nos. 2, 3.

5. Korzukhina 1950, p. 226, pl. 3, no. 1; Kolchin 1985, pl. 105, no. 4, and pl. 106, no. 12.

6. For examples, see Bobrinskii 1887, pl. XX, nos. 7, 8; Khanenko and Khanenko 1902, pl. XXVIII, nos. 963, 971–73a, pl. XXIX, nos. 969, 970; Makarova 1986, pp. 49–63; Asiciev 1989, fig. 233; Bourboudakis n.d., pp. 272–73.

7. M. Ross 1956–57, pp. 27–30.

8. Sedova 1978, p. 152, and pl. 1, no. 8; Kolchin et al. 1985, fig. 56a,b.

9. Bobrinskii 1887, p. 147, pl. VI, no. 8; Korzukhina 1950, pp. 221–22, and pl. 1, no. 3.

LITERATURE: Karger 1941, pp. 75–85; Rybakov 1948, pp. 270–300; Korzukhina 1950, pp. 217–35; M. Ross 1956–57, pp. 27–30; Bazhan et al. 1966, p. 381; Tylecote 1976, p. 34; Sedova 1978, pp. 149–59; Kolchin 1985, pl. 106, fig. 11; Kolchin et al. 1985, fig. 56a,b; Makarova 1986, pp. 49–63; Asiciev 1989, fig. 223; *Tserkva Bohorodytsi* 1996, p. 173, no. 1.



216A,B

were unearthed in Novgorod; another, of cast pewter, was discovered in Grodno.²

Cast temple pendants were modeled after the expensive, highly prized star-shaped examples individually worked from thin sheets of gold or silver and meticulously decorated by means of gilding, engraving, granulation, and filigree. An extremely fine gold pendant of this type was found on the property of a Mr. Lesko near the Desiatynna Church in 1876.³ Finds of similar silver examples from the Kiev and Chernihiv regions are more numerous.⁴

Gold and silver star-shaped temple pendants were suspended from chains and formed part of the elaborate headdresses worn by well-to-do women.⁵ Star-shaped pendants cast from molds in cheaper metals must have been worn in a similar manner, but perhaps on less important occasions or by a less wealthy clientele. There are no analogues for the star-shaped temple pendants in Middle Byzantine jewelry. However, they and their chains recall the elaborate headdresses adorned with *pendoulia* and temple pendants that were fashionable in Byzantium during the Middle Byzantine centuries.

P D and O Z P

1. Ryndina 1962, pp. 91–98; Kolchin 1985, p. 263. A temple pendant of a lead-pewter alloy, which may have been cast by means of the technique described, is illustrated in Kolchin et al. 1985, p. 50, no. 56a,b.
2. Sedova 1978, pp. 150–52, pl. 1, nos. 1, 3. One of the Novgorod temple pendants is quite similar in form and detailing to the mold for such a pendant found on the Florivs'ka Hora in Kiev.
3. Khanenko and Khanenko 1902, pl. xxvi, no. 975; Korzukhina 1954, pp. 111–12; Hanina 1974, pl. 107; Asieiev 1989, pl. 224b; Vienna 1993, no. 118, pp. 296–97.
4. Khanenko and Khanenko 1902, pl. xxvi, nos. 918–20; Korzukhina 1954, pp. 129, 139–41; Asieiev 1989, pl. 233b,c.
5. In the 1974 hoard from Staraiia Riazan', star-shaped temple pendants were discovered along with suspension chains; see Darkevich and Frolov 1978, pp. 342–52.

LITERATURE: Khanenko and Khanenko 1902; Bahalii 1914, fig. 172; Karger 1941, pp. 75–85, fig. 2; Rybakov 1948, pp. 270–300; Korzukhina 1950, pp. 217–35; Korzukhina 1954, pp. 111–12, 129, 139–41; Ryndina 1962, pp. 91–98; Bazhan et al. 1966, p. 381, fig. 304; Hanina 1974, pl. 107; Darkevich and Frolov 1978, pp. 342–52; Sedova 1978, pp. 149–59, pl. 1, nos. 1, 3; Kolchin et al. 1985, p. 50, fig. 56a,b, pl. 106, 3; Asieiev 1989, pls. 223, 224b, 233b,c; Vienna 1993, no. 118, pp. 296–97.



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217. Bracelet Valve

Kievan Rus' (Kiev), late 12th–early 13th century
Slate
8 × 6.5 × 3.2 cm (3¼ × 2½ × 1¼ in.)

CONDITION: One half of the valve is lost along the break down the proper left side; a crack runs along the proper right frame of the ornamented square; a small triangular chip in the upper border of the image is associated with the crack; there are scattered losses due to chipping along the extremities.

PROVENANCE: Excavated in 1908 by V. V. Khvoika on the property of Mr. Petrovs'kyi on the Starokyivs'ka Hora in Kiev.

Natsional'nyi Muzei Istorii Ukrainy, Kiev, Ukraine
(B 4553/114)

The bracelet valve was excavated in the vicinity of the late-tenth-century Desiatynna (Tithe) Church in the oldest, princely section of Kiev. Fragments from approximately twenty-seven jewelry molds were found at the same site, indicating that a workshop producing bracelets, temple pendants, rings, and other such items existed on this spot in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.¹

An interlace design with two symmetrically disposed Sirens decorates the fragmentary valve. Three loops for a hinge are on the proper right side of the square. A similar image and another set of loops would have constituted the missing portions of the valve, doubling its length. The opposite valve of the mold would have been smooth, apart

from the possible inclusion of a pouring funnel, sprue, and vents. Core prints in the valves across the loops created the spaces for pins.² A pair of shallow castings, bent into semicircular forms and held together by pins through the loops, would form a bracelet. In 1936 a small fragment of a bracelet valve bearing two of the mythological creatures called *senmurvs* entwined in interlace, believed to be the mate to this valve, was recovered on the Starokyivs'ka Hora in Kiev.³

Sirens and *senmurvs* appear frequently on Rus' jewelry (see cat. nos. 212, 218) and may also be found on ceramic wares, manuscripts, and even architectural details.⁴ Representations of Sirens and *senmurvs* are often associated with the influence of Eastern cultures on the Slavs and with the persistence of pagan rituals and beliefs in Kievan Rus'. Such fantastic creatures, however, formed part of the repertoire of secular art during the Middle Byzantine centuries, both in the Byzantine Empire and in Islamic kingdoms. Their appearance on Rus' works attests to this state's participation in the cultural dialogue of the period.

The unearthing of the molds in Kiev implies that cast bracelets were produced in this city; to date, however, no examples have been found. A number of bracelets cast from lead-pewter, bronze, and billon dated to the Kievan Rus' period and adorned with interlace and animal ornamentation similar to

those on the mold have been excavated in Novgorod.⁵ The survival of so many cast objects in lead-pewter raises the question of whether these objects were primary models cast from stone molds that were to be invested, the model melted out, and then molten billon or a copper alloy poured into the cavity in a “lost lead” technique, or whether they were to be used to form a clay bivalve mold from which secondary positives could be cast. Jewelry items of billon, latten, and brass alloys would have had great appeal, since they were relatively cheap to produce, had good casting properties, and could be made to resemble silver or gold, imitating the more expensive handcrafted or stamped silver bracelets embellished with niello and gilding that were produced in Rus’ (see cat. no. 218).

P D and O Z P

1. Korzukhina 1950, pp. 228–33.
2. See cat. no. 215 for a discussion of core prints.
3. Korzukhina 1950, p. 230 and pl. 4, no. 2b; Bazhan et al. 1966, p. 381; Rybakov 1967, pp. 106–7, fig. 9.
4. See Bazhan et al. 1966, pp. 240–41, and I. Grabar 1953, vol. 1, pp. 396–441.
5. See Gushchin 1936, pl. XX, no. 4; Sedova 1978, pp. 153–54; Kolchin et al. 1985, figs. 122–24.

LITERATURE: Khvoika 1913; Bahalii 1914, fig. 167; Rybakov 1948, pp. 270–78; Korzukhina 1950, pp. 224 and 230, pl. 4, no. 2b; Karger 1958–61, vol. 1, pl. 1; Bazhan et al. 1966, pp. 381–83; Rybakov 1967, pp. 91–116; Sedova 1978, p. 153; Kolchin 1985, pl. 106, nos. 9, 10; Kolchin et al. 1985, figs. 122–24; Asiciev 1989, pl. 223.

218. Hinged Bracelet

Kievan Rus’ (Kiev), mid-12th century
Silver, gilding, and niello
4.5 × 6.5 cm (1¾ × 2½ in.)

CONDITION: There are numerous cracks across both sections of the bracelet, with attendant losses of niello and silver; the losses in niello are filled with a black, waxlike substance.

PROVENANCE: Excavated in 1986, the bracelet was part of a hoard found on property no. 10 on the Kudravs’ka Vulytsia in Kiev.

Natsional’nyi Muzei Istorii Ukrainy, Kiev, Ukraine
(DRA 1089)

Excavated in 1986 along with seventy-five other pieces, this bracelet is from one of the hoards most recently unearthed in Kiev. Thirty-eight other bracelets, similar in form



and comparable in decoration, are known from the Kievan Rus’ period.¹ They are all of silver, some decorated with niello and/or gilding. Although a few examples have been dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries, most of the bracelets were made in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; they have been excavated in such cities as Kiev, Chernihiv, Halych, Tver’, Staraiia Riazan’, and Vladimir.

The hammered silver bracelet is composed of two wide semicircular sheets, hinged at either end and engraved with human and animal forms and interlace patterns set within fields of niello. Each of the two sheets is outlined with applied lengths of beading and is vertically divided at the center by a soldered-on strip of silver engraved with a foliate design. The nearly square spaces thus created are cut horizontally by reserved strips of either incised braiding (on one sheet) or tightly engraved foliate motifs (on the other). Within these four pictorial zones, articulated in reserve with engraved lines and punched details, are the images of a warrior with drawn sword attacking a lion and a Siren and bird sheltered by a tree of interlace above geometric and foliate designs respectively. On the other half of the bracelet the composition with two birds is repeated twice and, in each instance, set above a geometric pattern.

Sirens and birds within interlace as well as other fantastic creatures such as griffins and centaurs appear on a substantial number of the extant Kievan Rus’ bracelets. The repertoire of figural images includes dancers, musicians, and drinkers.² The hunting scene decorating this bracelet is without precedent.

The visual impact of the images is heightened by cutting back the surrounding silver fields and filling the recesses with niello. When popularized by the Romans during the first century A.D., niello was composed

primarily of a single metal sulfide, either silver or copper. By the end of the fifth century, however, the technology had evolved to incorporate mixtures of both.³ During the tenth century in Constantinople and Kiev the composition of niello changed yet again with the inclusion of lead sulfide along with that of silver and copper.⁴ This change reduced the melting point of the niello to between 415 degrees and 490 degrees centigrade and, for the first time, allowed the mixture to be powdered, placed in its fields, and fused.⁵ The silversmith was thus able, in effect, to “paint” the niello across broadly incised areas without depending on mechanical bonding, as had been necessary with earlier compositions.⁶ By selectively gilding portions of the bracelet—the interlace designs in the lower tiers and portions of the trees in the upper registers were not gilded—the craftsman was able to entwine silver, gold, and niello, creating a rich polychromed effect.

P D and O Z P

1. Makarova 1986, pp. 64–99, 139–46.
2. For some of these images, see *ibid.*, pp. 64–99.
3. La Niece 1983, p. 279.
4. Schweizer 1993, pp. 175–76. For other analyses of Byzantine and Kievan niello, see Newman et al. 1982, pp. 80–85; La Niece 1983, pp. 290, 293; and Newman and Farrell 1986, p. 65.
5. Schweizer 1992, p. 180.
6. The presence of circular voids on the surface of the niello is evidence of fusion and the resultant migration of gases to the surface.

LITERATURE: Bobrinskii 1887; Kondakov 1896; Khanenko and Khanenko 1902; Gushchin 1936; Rybakov 1948; Bazhan et al. 1966, pp. 381–83; Rybakov 1971; Newman et al. 1982, pp. 80–85; La Niece 1983, pp. 279–97; Makarova 1986; Paris 1993, p. 140; Schweizer 1993, pp. 171–84; Vienna 1993, p. 315.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1993, no. 157; Vienna 1993, no. 129.

219. Two Ceramic Tiles

A. Griffin

Kievan Rus' (Halych), 12th century
Red clay
15 × 15 × 3 cm (5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: The tile is reconstructed from several large fragments; small losses are filled.

B. Bird

Kievan Rus' (Halych), 12th century
Red clay
15 × 15 × 4 cm (5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: The tile is reconstructed from three large fragments; the upper-left corner is lost.

PROVENANCE: Excavated in Zoloty Tik, on Krylos Hill in Staryi Halych (the present-day village of Krylos in western Ukraine), 1951.

L'vivskiy Istorychniy Muzei, L'viv, Ukraine
(A: LIM KR 15842; B: LIM KR 21260)

Both tiles were excavated in Staryi Halych, a Rus' city that rose to prominence in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They belong to a group of 317 ceramic fragments, from which 99 individual tiles have been identified. The square tiles vary only slightly in size. They display a central image within a circular frame with tendrils decorating the corners. Griffins, other fantastic animals and birds, eagles, anthropomorphic figures with fish tails, as well as symmetrical ornamentation, fill the central medallion. Wooden matrices were used to stamp the wet clay of the tiles to create the positive reliefs.¹ On

the basis of the surviving fragments, eleven different matrices have been reconstructed.²

On occasion, glazed ceramics and/or relief carvings depicting griffins, birds, and vegetal ornamentation were employed in the decoration of Middle Byzantine churches and their furnishings (see cat. no. 2). That these tiles were found in the princely section of the city of Staryi Halych has led some scholars to suggest that they were used to adorn the walls of the palace and/or its associated church, dedicated to the Savior, which stood on Krylos Hill.³

The use of matrices to stamp the tiles allowed for their mass production and for the replication of motifs. A wall decorated with these tiles would yield a pattern similar to that seen on some Middle Byzantine silks patterned with roundels containing animals or birds (see cat. nos. 148, 150). The twelfth-century Dmitrievskii (Saint Demetrios) Cathedral in Vladimir is an example of the application of such a design to architecture; there, reliefs of griffins, birds, and plant motifs carved in limestone surround the windows (see illus. on p. 286). Frescoes of birds and griffins in roundels decorate the stairwells in the towers of the eleventh-century Cathedral of Sviata Sofiia (Saint Sophia) in Kiev,⁴ and a chain of looped medallions containing griffins carved on a beam once embellished the temple screen of a Middle Byzantine church in the city of Sebaste in ancient Phrygia (present-day Selçikler Köyü, near Sivasli, Turkey).⁵

Stylistically, the Halych tiles may be compared with the white ceramic wares stamped

with reliefs of griffins and birds that have been found in Kherones and in Constantinople.⁶ The affinities of the Halych tiles and Byzantine works are not surprising, since Halych maintained a close relationship with Byzantium during the twelfth century. The prince of Halych was an ally of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80) against Hungary, and the future emperor Andronikos I Komnenos (r. 1183–85) found refuge in Halych in 1165.⁷ Moreover, the first griffin tile of the type described here was excavated along with a gold cloisonné-enamel temple pendant similar to the one from Constantinople recently purchased by The Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. no. 170).⁸ The Halych tiles thus reveal the creative variation and application of Middle Byzantine secular motifs in Kievan Rus'. O Z P

1. Honcharov 1955, p. 30; Malevskaia and Rappoport 1978, p. 92.
2. Malevskaia and Rappoport 1978, p. 92.
3. Honcharov 1955, p. 30; Pasternak 1961, p. 626.
4. Powstenko 1954, pls. 192–99; Lazarev, *Mikhailovskie*, 1966, p. 67, fig. 50.
5. Firatli 1969, pp. 151–66; A. Grabar 1976, pp. 41–42, pl. vii.
6. Koshovyi 1988, p. 66; Koshovyi 1995, p. 156.
7. *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 818.
8. Pasternak 1944, p. 196.

LITERATURE: Pasternak 1944, p. 196; Honcharov 1955, pp. 29–30; Pasternak 1961, pp. 623–27; Bazhan et al. 1966, pp. 387–90; Malevskaia and Rappoport 1978, pp. 91–96; Ioannisian 1983, p. 236; Koshovyi 1988; Koshovyi 1995, pp. 155–59.



219A



219B



THE BULGARIANS

JOSEPH D. ALCHERMES

The arts in medieval Bulgaria, like the Bulgarian state itself, took shape in the fusion of several cultures and peoples. Some were newcomers to the Balkans, arriving as the power of the Roman emperor in this area waned; others had been rooted for centuries in the cities and countryside between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains. Painters, sculptors, and architects in medieval Bulgaria drew on varied traditions, local and imported, to develop a characteristic manner often dependent on Byzantium but recast to fill the needs of and to give form to the ambitions of the rulers and elite of Bulgaria and the state that they created.

The territories in which medieval Bulgaria emerged had long been home to numerous peoples and civilizations, among them the ancient Thracians and Dacians. The cultures of Greece and later Rome penetrated the central and northern Balkans, with cities and settlements established at Sirmium, Philippopolis (present-day Plovdiv), Nikopolis, Serdica (present-day Sofia), Naisos (present-day Niš), and Veliko Tŕrnovo; by the sixth century, however, Roman control over the area had weakened and large numbers of nomadic Slavs had crossed the Danube, settling in Bulgaria and the southern Balkans. In the late seventh century they were in turn dominated by new invaders, the Bulgars, under whom the northern and central Balkans were unified. Byzantium perceived unification as a grave threat and therefore opposed it; but in 681 the Bulgarians routed the Byzantine army, compelling the emperor to sign a treaty by which he recognized the Bulgarian state. In this way the so-called First Bulgarian Kingdom (681–1018), with its center at the new city of Pliska, was established.¹

Founded as an encampment of tents, by the ninth century this capital had developed into a substantial stone-built settlement. In creating the robust circuit of defense works and imposing palaces that today survive only in ruins, the architects of Pliska demonstrated a mastery of masonry technique and a preference for simple, powerful volumes,

distinctive traits that set these early Bulgarian monuments apart from most contemporary construction in the southern Balkans and the area of Constantinople (see illus. on next page). The layout of the throne room, elevated high on a vaulted substructure and equipped with a vestibule and a semicircular apse for the khan's throne, brings to mind the form of old Roman audience halls, building shapes still used in early medieval Constantinople. The heavy, carefully hewed stone wall blocks, however, bear no relation to contemporaneous building practice in the Byzantine capital. The builders of Pliska's palaces and churches, including the Great Basilica, used Byzantine designs but gave them substance with materials and techniques possibly influenced by cultures as remote as those of Christian Armenia and Sassanian Persia.²

The sizable golden treasure found at Nagyszentmiklós (in present-day Romania) furnishes striking indications of the taste of the early Bulgarian elite. Sassanian patterns like those seen on a gold vessel in this treasure appear alongside shapes and decoration familiar from Byzantine goldsmithery, while other features draw inspiration from the Turkic traditions of the Bulgars themselves.³

Sassanian models may also stand behind the most remarkable piece of monumental sculpture preserved in Bulgaria, the massive rock-cut relief of a royal horseman hewed into a cliff outside the pre-Christian religious center of Madara (see illus. on p. 323). The imposing horse parades above a lion that has collapsed, struck by the rider's lance; a dog races breathlessly behind the main group. In its theme—the heroic rider—the relief is further linked to age-old Thracian traditions. A creation of the eighth century, this image of royal might was revisited and appropriated by later rulers of Bulgaria. Their attention is attested by three inscriptions: two were carved at the order of early-eighth-century khans; the third dates to more than a century later. All three inscriptions were intended to document Bulgaria's foreign relations; at least two report episodes of Bulgarian political contact with the Byzantine Empire. The language of the inscriptions, as well as their content, illustrates this connection: the texts are written in Greek, not Bulgarian.⁴

Detail of *The Sebastokrator Kalojan and His Wife*, Dessislava. Fresco, Church of Saints Nicholas and Panteleimon, 1259, Bojana. Photo: Bruce White



Royal palace, Pliska, 9th century. From Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968

Nearly two centuries after the unification of Bulgaria and its recognition by the Eastern emperor, Khan Boris (r. 852–89) adopted Byzantine Orthodoxy as the official faith of his kingdom. Conversion brought Bulgaria into a more complex relationship with Byzantium. In taking up Orthodoxy, Bulgaria bound itself to many aspects of Byzantine culture, though it was often at odds with the empire. The geographical position and ethnic composition of Bulgaria encouraged the development of cultural and political relations both with non-Slavic neighbors, such as the Romanians, and with Slavic peoples, particularly the princes of Rus’.

Under Czar Symeon (r. 893–927), Boris’s younger son and eventual successor, the First Bulgarian Kingdom reached the peak of its power, becoming a dominant force in the Balkans. A great outburst of cultural activity, fostered by the czar, who had been educated at the imperial court in Constantinople, accompanied this era of political authority. The flowering involved the visual arts and virtually all branches of learning, giving rise to remarkable developments in the liturgy and in literature as well as in architecture, sculpture, painting, and the luxury arts. Symeon’s attention focused on Preslav, the capital founded by his father, where he constructed palaces and churches. The dazzling impression made by buildings in the new capital is conveyed well by the words of John the Deacon, a contemporary of Symeon and an accomplished

scholar who played a vital part in the genesis of early Bulgarian literature:

When a humble and poor man, a lowly traveler who coming from far away, sees the gatehouses of the royal court, [he] is at first astonished. As he approaches the gates, he is lost in total wonder; when he enters, on either side he sees houses decorated with prized stones and wood, and completely painted. And if he goes in further to the small courtyard, he sees tall palaces and churches, extraordinarily richly decorated with stone, wood and colors, and inside with marble and bronze, silver and gold. By that point, he will not know to what he might compare it, for in his own land he has seen nothing like it—only wretched straw huts. He will be quite amazed by it, as if he had lost his mind. If chance wills it, he will see the sovereign sitting there dressed in a pearl-studded garment, wearing a chain of gold coins around his neck, rings on his hands, girded with a purple belt, the golden sword hanging at his side. Around the tsar are boyars, seated and wearing golden torques and belts and rings. After the visitor returns to his home, if someone should ask him what he saw there, he will answer in this way: “I do not know how I can report about this to you; in order to admire properly this splendor, you must see it with your own eyes.”⁵

Preslav's lavish structures are known today only in ruins. The remains of such monuments as the Round Church, also called the Golden Church because of its gold mosaic decoration, give a sense of the grand appearance imparted to Preslav by Symeon (see illus. on p. 325). The complex is small but intricate in layout, composed of several elements: a squarish courtyard, its niched walls lined with slender columns; a two-story forechurch, the upper level (perhaps Symeon's loge) reached by stairs in the corner turrets; and the diminutive rotunda itself (34 ft. in diameter), enlivened architecturally by wall niches and two tiers of colonnettes that encircled the domed center. Walls, floors, and vaults bore a profusion of decoration, including marble reliefs and inlay, mosaics, and glazed, painted tiles. The intimate design and rich ornament of the Round Church, its apparently royal fittings, and an inscription that names Symeon have encouraged specialists to identify the rotunda as the czar's palace chapel.⁶ The configuration thus represents a conscious and meaningful return to building forms used earlier in the Byzantine world to exalt the emperor. By drawing on this imperial architectural heritage, the czar's planners succinctly implied the parity of their lord with the Byzantine basileus.

The discovery of marble and ceramic ornaments in many excavations of Preslav's monasteries and royal residences enables us to envision much of the decoration of these ruined medieval churches and palaces. In its sophisticated composition and capable execution, some relief decoration rivals the marble sculpture made in contemporary Constantinople. Other reliefs are carved much more freely (cat. no. 220A,B), featuring novel imagery and a sculptural style unencumbered by the concern for elegance that typifies works from the imperial capital.

A comparable variety of imagery and style characterizes the jewelry and other luxury objects made in Preslav and elsewhere in medieval Bulgaria. The sides of a ninth-century silver



Royal Horseman. Rock-cut relief, Madara, 8th century. From Kosev 1981



Boris of Bulgaria. Illustration from the *Lectionary of Constantine of Bulgaria, Rus'*, 12th century. Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synodal Collection, Ms. 262

cup excavated in Preslav bear three bands of floral decoration commonly found on locally produced ceramics and works in gold and silver. The Greek text inscribed on the bottom of the vessel identifies its Bulgarian owner, the Grand Zhupan Sivin; the language and certain formulas of the inscription affirm the link with Byzantium.⁷ The Preslav Treasure, a group of about 150 pieces unearthed in 1978 outside the medieval city, provides plentiful evidence of the taste among Bulgarian nobles for both imported and locally produced luxury goods. The collection comprises enamels, gold jewelry (cat. nos. 227, 228A,B), and pendants (cat. no. 229), silver objects, reused ancient Roman and Early Christian incised gems, and silver coins. Numerous pieces, such as the coins, are Byzantine imports, whereas others were probably manufactured in workshops at Preslav.⁸

Among the most astonishing and abundant discoveries made in and around Preslav is the painted and glazed ceramic architectural decoration that assumed a considerable array of shapes and bore a wide range of ornament in relation to its location and function in a building.⁹ Geometric and floral designs predominate among the terracotta plaques affixed to walls, the curved and molded architectural elements (cat. no. 223), and such ceramic furnishings as components of chancel screens. Combinations of stone and colored glazed tile were laid in pavements (cat. no. 224), in imitation of opus sectile,

the traditional and costly inlaid marble flooring in vogue in medieval Constantinople. Christian devotional images covered many of these tiles, usually with a single figure only a few inches tall filling the surface; in one extraordinary example, however, at least twenty-one plaques were combined to form a large icon of Saint Theodore (cat. no. 222). During this period painted and glazed tiles were produced elsewhere in the Byzantine world, notably in the area of Constantinople, but nothing extant approaches the icon of Theodore in size or effect.¹⁰ This remarkable survival helps us to gain an impression of the lost icons and mural decoration in First Kingdom churches and palaces, as do scant fragments of contemporaneous wall painting, such as the attendant angel from the Rotunda of Saint George in Sofia.

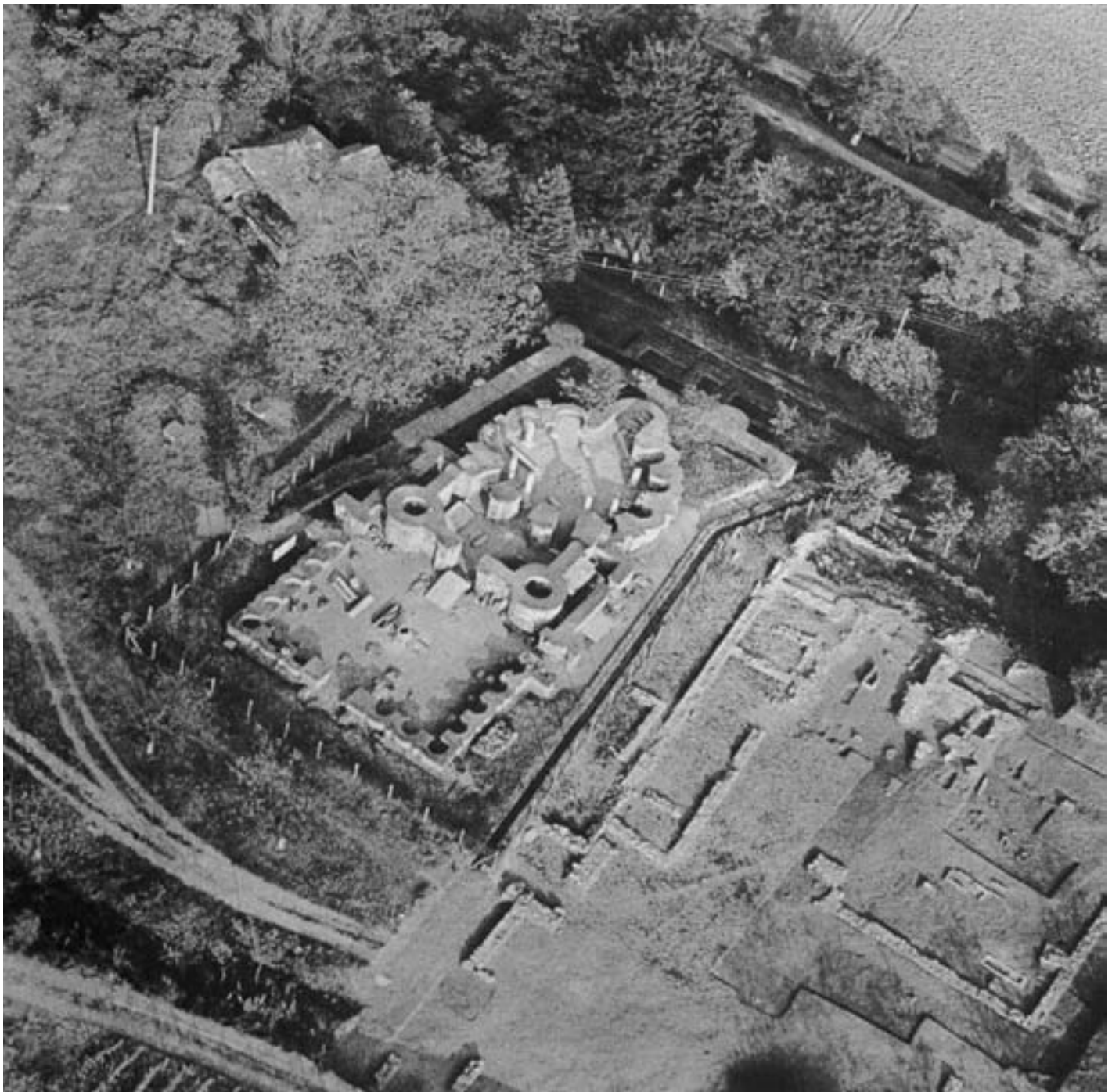
Soon after the conversion of Bulgaria to Christianity in the ninth century, an urgent need was felt for a means of writing in the Slavonic vernacular, largely to facilitate preaching and the acceptance of the new religion. The alphabets devised, first by the missionary brothers Constantine the Philosopher (Cyril) and Methodios, known as the apostles to the Slavs, and especially later by their disciples, proved to be admirably effective

vehicles for the diffusion of Slavonic translations and original literature. Cities such as Preslav and Ohrid soon became centers of learning and of book production and illustration; volumes copied at this time were dispersed throughout Slavic lands. The illustrated manuscripts of Preslav have been lost, but some reflections of early Bulgarian miniature painting inform such books as the Ostromir Lectionary (cat. no. 198), an eleventh-century work of Kievan Rus' based on a Bulgarian source.

Byzantine military intervention in Bulgaria increased toward the end of the tenth century and culminated late in the reign of Emperor Basil II (976–1025), whose victories earned him the title Boulgaroktonos (Bulgar-Slayer). From 1018 until the close of the twelfth century Bulgaria was part of the Byzantine Empire, and artistic links between Bulgaria and Byzantium intensified. At times Byzantine patrons took direct action in the newly annexed territories. In the late eleventh century, for example, the Byzantine general Gregory Pakourianos founded the Petritzos Monastery, near Bačkovo, which had a two-story ossuary-church that drew on Byzantine sources for its construction and particularly for its decoration.¹¹



Attendant Angel. Fresco, 10th or 11th century, Rotunda of Saint George, Sofia. Photo: Bruce White



Round Church, Preslav, late 9th–early 10th century. From Kosev 1981

Even after the restoration of Bulgarian autonomy and the establishment of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom in the late twelfth century, the power of Byzantine models remained strong. From the mid-thirteenth century on, architecture and wall painting again flourished, sponsored by monastic, royal, and aristocratic patrons. Workshops active in remote monasteries as well as in the capital, Veliko Tŭrnovo, and other urban centers created starkly expressive images, such as that of the prophet Elijah from the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Veliko Tŭrnovo (cat. no. 221). The murals of the Church of Saints Nicholas and Panteleimon at Bojana (near Sofia),

commissioned in 1259 for the *sebastokrator* Kalojan and his wife, Dessislava, reflect both Byzantine and local traditions of the preceding two centuries.¹² The patrons' portraits, however, are marked by a new sensitivity and a noteworthy degree of individualization (see illus. on p. 320). Other paintings at Bojana contain elements of Western origin, especially in the representation of dress, ornament, and weaponry. At the Church of Saints Nicholas and Panteleimon, diverse cultural heritages, deftly orchestrated by the Bojana master, blend with Western motifs to create an ensemble that marks a high point in the history of painting in the medieval Balkans.



220A

220. Two Stone Slabs

A. Lion

Bulgarian (Stara Zagora), 10th–11th century
Red schist

77 × 103 cm (30¾ × 40½ in.)

B. Double-Headed Eagle

Bulgarian (Stara Zagora), 10th–11th century
Red schist

72.5 × 110 cm (28½ × 43¼ in.)

CONDITION: The frames of the slabs have been trimmed, evidently to adapt them for reuse as wall decoration.

PROVENANCE: Found between Stara Zagora and Nova Zagora in 1904.

Natsionalen Arkheologicheski Muzei, Sofia, Bulgaria (A: 852; B: 854)

A single imposing figure fills the large rectangular field of each plaque. In one an animated lion moves toward the left, its raised forepaws touching the inner frame. (The hind paws occupied an analogous position relative to the lower frame, which was

removed when the relief was cut down.) The asymmetrical, spirited head is represented frontally, while the body is shown in profile. Two concentric bands of triangular notches form the mane. The shallow curves of the flat, almond-shaped eyes are complemented by arcs that represent the folds surrounding the eyes and the brow above. The uneven whiskers, indicated by wavy grooves, follow the curves of the upper lip; at the part in the whiskers the tip of the tongue is visible. Four curved grooves on the otherwise smooth body suggest ribs beneath a taut hide. The tail, twisting downward between the creature's legs and flexing in an S curve over its haunches, terminates in a pointed oval that resembles a palm frond.

The second slab, with the single figure of a two-headed eagle, is more intricately carved than the lion plaque but less lively in effect. The bird is frontal, with legs extended downward. The wings and tail feathers are

displayed and form symmetrical foils to the paired profile heads. The short, downy feathers that cover the body and upper wings are easily distinguished from the longer plumes of the lower wings and tail.

The lack of landscape or additional decorative elements accords with the tenth- or eleventh-century date most often proposed for these reliefs; later works of this size typically have supplementary geometric or vegetal ornament.¹ Comparably flat, simple treatment of animal forms characterizes the relief with a griffin from the Vlatadon Monastery in Thessalonike (cat. no. 2A) and many other tenth- and eleventh-century sculptures carved in Constantinople, Asia Minor, and the Balkans.² Lions and other beasts with their tails curled through the legs frequently decorate Middle Byzantine reliefs.³ With few exceptions the double-headed eagle is rare in the Byzantine world before it becomes an emblem of the Palaiologans (1261–1453).⁴



220B

The eagle, like the lion, had long-standing but broad imperial significance, though the royal associations of these animals should not be overemphasized here, since the plaques were part of a set of sculpted decorations that comprised at least four other panels. The companion reliefs bear images of a griffin, a lioness with a cub, a bare-breasted female flutist,⁵ and affronted peacocks perched on a fountain. The ensemble also included a peacock, a limestone capital with a dog, and a variety of legendary or exotic animals. The discovery of the capital, considered in conjunction with the dimensions and technical features of the plaques, has prompted the suggestion that the sculptures were once parts of a templon, or sanctuary divider, a hypothesis rendered unlikely by the presence of the nude musician. Perhaps they belonged instead to a stone screen or canopy that embellished an aristocratic house or garden.

JDA

1. Chilingirov (1979, p. 320 and fig. 73) assigned the reliefs to the tenth century, whereas A. Grabar (1976, pp. 72–73) dated them to the following century.
2. See A. Grabar 1963, p. 124, pl. 64.3; A. Grabar 1976, p. 39, no. 7, pl. 3.a,b, and pp. 63–64, no. 50, pls. 36, 37; Peschlow 1994, p. 260, nos. 17, 19, 20, figs. 17, 19, 20.
3. See A. Grabar 1976, p. 78, no. 73, pl. 49, and pp. 81–82, no. 75, pl. 153b; Peschlow 1994, p. 260, nos. 18, 20, figs. 18, 20; Brussels 1982, p. 82, sculpture 8.
4. Furlas 1984 and 1980 (with extensive bibliography); Gerola 1934, pp. 7–16.
5. A. Grabar (1976, pp. 74–75) treated this slab separately from the five that bear animal reliefs. However, in view of the common fabric, the comparable dimensions, and the shared findspot cited by other authors, the integrity of the group should be maintained.

LITERATURE: A. Grabar 1976, pp. 28, 72–75; Chilingirov 1979, p. 320 (with bibliography).

EXHIBITION: Paris 1980, nos. 151, 152.

221. Fresco with the Prophet Elijah

Bulgarian (Tŭrnovo), ca. 1240
Fresco
193 × 94 cm (76 × 37 in.)

CONDITION: Substantial portions of the fresco are lost; the largest gaps are on the right side of the cave and in the upper-left quadrant, including most of the inscription.

PROVENANCE: Discovered in 1971 in the western annex of the Church of the Forty Martyrs, Veliko Tŭrnovo.

Istoricheski Muzci, Veliko Tŭrnovo, Bulgaria
(Inv. no. MDH)

The prophet Elijah sits on a rocky ledge at the mouth of a cave, its opening framed by a symmetrical sawtooth pattern of pointed ocher stones. His body facing left, following the slope of the entrance, he turns his head to the right, gazing upward toward a small disk borne in the beak of a barely visible black bird. As the fragmentary inscription indicates, the fresco represents the episode,



recounted in 1 Kings 17:1–7, in which ravens brought bread and meat to Elijah in the wilderness.¹

Traces of a simple red-and-white border above, below, and to the left of the cave reveal that this scene was part of a series. Other fresco fragments from the site illustrate events from the lives of the monastic saint Paul of Thebes and Saint John Chrysostom. Paul, venerated throughout the Middle Ages as the first hermit, was, like Elijah, nourished in the wilderness on bread brought by a raven. Before undertaking a vocation of pastoral service, Chrysostom too spent years in the solitude of the Antiochene countryside.

The story of Elijah fed in the wilderness is represented in various examples from the Middle Byzantine and later periods, including an icon of about 1200 from Sinai that presents the essential figures — the prophet and the raven — against a plain gold ground, frescoes at Morača, Yugoslavia (1252) and Gračanica, Bosnia-Herzegovina (1321), and a fourteenth-century icon in Saint Petersburg, in which the event unfolds in a rocky landscape.²

Many features of the Tŭrnovo fresco foreshadow developments of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: the weighty mass of Elijah's figure and his intense expression, the contrasts in color, and the attempt to create a more spacious landscape. The circumstances of the church's foundation, however, stand at the center of the political fortunes of Bulgaria in the early thirteenth century. Czar Ivan Asen II (r. 1218–41) ordered the construction of the Church of the Forty Martyrs in gratitude for the martyrs' assistance in defeating the Greeks at Klokotnica in 1230. The fresco of Elijah was installed in the western annex, presumably built soon after the construction of the main church.

J D A

1. See Mavrodinova 1974, p. 21, on the incomplete inscription.
2. Sinai icon: Sotiriou and Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 74, vol. 2, pp. 88–89; Morača: Demus, "Entstehung," 1958, p. 27, fig. 5; Gračanica: D. Rice, *Byzantine Painting*, 1968, pp. 112, 129, fig. 90; Saint Petersburg: Lazarev 1967, fig. 501.

LITERATURE: Mavrodinova 1974; Chilingirov 1979, pp. 62–64, 337–38 (with bibliography).

EXHIBITION: Paris 1980, no. 487.

222. Icon with Saint Theodore

Bulgarian (Veliki Preslav), late 9th–early 10th century

Earthenware and glaze

H. 55 cm (21 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.); each tile: 11.5 × 11.5 cm (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: Ο [Α]ΓΙΟΥ ΘΕΔΩΡΟΥ (Saint Theodore)

CONDITION: The recomposed plaques are preserved in about 100 fragments; sizable portions of the face, hair, and upper shoulders are lost.

PROVENANCE: Found during the 1909 excavation of the monastery at Patleina, about one and a quarter miles southwest of Veliki Preslav.

Natsionalen Arkheologicheski Muzei, Sofia, Bulgaria (4880)

Twenty-one painted terracotta tiles combine to form this remarkable fragmentary icon, identified as Saint Theodore by three other tiles bearing his name painted in Greek characters. Additional plaques were surely meant to complete the image; the saint's left shoulder is missing, and it is not certain whether the bust extended farther.

Executed directly on the natural yellow-pink tile surface, the lifesize figure is simply but firmly drawn in dark brown and painted in brown and ochre with traces of red. A concentrated expression and lively asymmetry, discernible in spite of the damage, animate the face: the thick hair falls over the forehead in irregular waves, the arcs of the unmatched eyebrows continue (at least on the preserved right side) into the strong contour of the large nose, and the mustache and lips curve abruptly downward to give the saint a brooding, almost scowling, look.

The brown outlines of Theodore's hair and long, pointed beard are easily distinguished from the ochre nimbus and the dark mantle draped diagonally over the ochre tunic. The purpose of the lines painted in threes on the tunic is not clear. In Krustiu Miiatev's view they indicate small, uniform folds in what he called the thin, light brown cloth of the tunic;¹ if instead they are understood as a fringe on the mantle, this furlike trim recalls the borders of garments worn by ascetic saints.

In the Middle Byzantine period two saints named Theodore, Theodore Teron (the Recruit) and Theodore Stratelates (the General), were revered and commonly represented as armed warriors. The painter of the Preslav icon perhaps drew on a model created before the advent of Iconoclasm, when only one Theodore—the ordinary soldier—was venerated and depicted in civilian rather than military garb.

Archaeological evidence attests to the existence of a dozen ninth- and tenth-century ceramic workshops in Preslav and the surrounding area.² One of the most important was found in the monastery at Patleina, where this icon came to light, in an archaeological context datable to the late ninth or early tenth century.³ Created just a generation or two after the christianization of Bulgaria, this image of Saint Theodore is the oldest monumental icon to survive from the newly converted state, as well as a superb indication of the manner in which artists in Bulgaria drew on and adapted the visual traditions of the Byzantine Empire.

J D A



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1. Miiatev 1936, p. 13.

2. Totev, "Monastères," 1987.

3. Chilingirov 1979, p. 318. He also observed that the tiles, obviously made to be mounted on a wall, were found discarded in a room not far from the ceramic workshop.

LITERATURE: A. Grabar 1928, pp. 17–21 (with earlier bibliography); Miiatev 1936, pp. 13–14, 68–69; Chilingirov 1979, pp. 35, 318, 324; Totev, "Monastères," 1987, pp. 185–200.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1963, no. 260; Paris 1976, no. 5.

223. Ceramic Cornice Facings

Bulgarian (Preslav), 10th century

White clay, painted and glazed

Each 17 × 18 cm (6 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: Both pieces have been reassembled from fragments.

PROVENANCE: Excavated in 1909–14 at Patleina, near Preslav in Bulgaria.

Natsionalen Istoriko-arkheologicheski Reserwat s Muzei "Veliki Preslav," Preslav, Bulgaria (1501; 1392)

The two cornice facings are curved in profile, with fillets at the top and bottom. Originally joined together with matching semicylindrical pieces, they formed decorative cornices on the interiors of buildings;



223A



223B

none, however, has been found in situ. The painted vegetal patterns on each are distinctive. One (A) has a stylized palmette design with projecting tendrils joined by a rectangular box. A reduced egg-and-dart motif forms the border. The other (B) has a broad leaf or palmette pattern, with a simple egg pattern at the borders. Similar cornice pieces were decorated with other motifs, and both Arab and Sassanian sources have been suggested for the motifs and the ceramic technique.

The facings must have been produced at Preslav, where in the ninth and tenth centuries there was a flourishing center of ceramics, from which large quantities of architectural ceramics have been excavated. Similar ceramics have been found at numerous sites in Constantinople and in Bithynia, and it may be assumed that the use in Bulgaria of painted ceramic architectural components followed the style of the Byzantine capital—though some scholars favor a Bulgarian origin for the practice. In Constantinople the painted, white-bodied, glazed architectural pieces were known as tiles of Nikomedeia, after a center that either produced the wares or transported them from Bithynia.

R O

LITERATURE: A. Grabar 1928, pp. 29–37; Miiatev 1936; Akrabova-Zhandova 1968, pp. 7–19; Schwartz 1982, pp. 45–50; Mason and Mango 1995, pp. 313–31.

224. Floor Tiles

Bulgarian (Preslav), 10th century
White clay, painted and glazed, set into a limestone matrix

40 × 45 × 9 cm (15¾ × 17¾ × 3½ in.); each motif 15 × 15 cm (5⅞ × 5⅞ in.)

CONDITION: The limestone matrix is broken and irregular, as found in the excavation; the tiles are fragmentary or have been reconstructed from fragments.

PROVENANCE: Excavated at Tuzlalūka, near Preslav.

Natsionalen Istoriko-arkheologicheski Reserwat s Muzei “Veliki Preslav,” Preslav, Bulgaria (2170)

The decorative ceramic floor tiles and their limestone base were among a great variety of ceramic architectural ornaments excavated in the monastic church at Tuzlalūka, near Preslav. In this example the limestone matrix forms a grid of thin lozenges that frame



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square tiles with concave edges. Thus, both the tiles and the matrix were part of the floor design. The individual tiles were painted with a rotated-square pattern, within which a circle appears at the center.

The ordering of the floor into simple geometric patterns suggests a strong relationship with contemporaneous Middle Byzantine floor decorations that employed inlaid marbles in a technique known as *opus sectile*. Several churches in the area of Tuzlalūka were decorated with the lavish *opus sectile* floors. The present example would thus appear to reflect an adaptation of the more costly technique and the imitation of imported stones in cheaper, locally produced materials. Tuzlalūka seems to have been a regional center for the production of glazed architectural ceramic decoration and icons. RO

LITERATURE: Akrabova-Zhandova 1948, pp. 101–28; Akrabova-Zhandova 1968, pp. 7–19; Miiatev 1974, pp. 107, 111; Totev 1982.

225. Pectoral Reliquary Cross with Scenes from the Life of Christ

Byzantine (Constantinople), second half of 9th–10th century

Gold, niello, and wood

Outer cross: 4.2 × 3.2 cm (1½ × 1¼ in.); middle cross: 4 × 3 cm (1½ × 1¼ in.); inner cross: 3.7 × 2.7 cm (1½ × 1¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: Outer cross, on the front, XEPE H ΓENA (The Nativity); middle cross, on the front, ΙΔΕ Ο ΥΙΟΣ (Here is your son) and ΙΔΟΥ Η ΜΗΤΗΡ (Here is your mother); on either side of the hill of Golgotha, ΤΟΠΟΣ/ΚΡΑΝΙΟΥ (The Place of the Skull); above the head of Christ, ΙC ΧC (Jesus Christ); on the back, Η ΑΓΙΑ/ΘΕΟΤ (Holy Mother of God); ΧΡΥCOCTOM (Saint John Chrysostom); ΓΡΗΓΟΡ (Saint Gregory Nazianzos); ΝΙΚΟΑΑ (Saint Nicholas); ΒΑΧΑΗ (Saint Basil the Great)

PROVENANCE: Found by Liudmila Doncheva in Pliska, Bulgaria, in 1973 in a mass of ceramic fragments and animal bones; the site, at a depth of more than 5 feet, was 85 feet south of the southeast tower of the city's western gate.

Natsionalen Arkheologicheski Muzei, Sofia, Bulgaria (4882)

This reliquary cross is actually made up of three separate crosses, each placed inside the other. The outer two crosses are gold; the inner cross, the relic itself—perhaps from the True Cross—is wood.

The outer cross (hereafter, the first Pliska cross) is decorated on the front and back with seven christological scenes executed in niello. On the front are the Annunciation (upper vertical arm), the Nativity (left arm),



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the Presentation in the Temple (right arm), the Baptism of Christ (lower vertical arm), and the Transfiguration (center medallion). Except for the Anastasis on the lower vertical arm, the back is taken up almost entirely by the Ascension: the Virgin Orans stands between two trees at the center, flanked by six apostles on either side, who extend into the left and right arms of the cross. Only ten of the apostles are shown standing. The other two, indicated simply by heads, are meant to appear to be behind the two groups of five apostles. Above the Virgin, Christ is enthroned within an oval mandorla held by four angels.

The middle cross (hereafter, the second Pliska cross) is actually the reliquary proper. On the front, in the Crucifixion scene, Christ is shown wearing a colobium; he looks as if he is suspended from the cross rather than nailed to it, and his head rests on his right shoulder. The cross stands upright on the hill of Golgotha, flanked by the small figures of Mary and Saint John the Theologian, who stand, respectively, at the left and right ends of the crossarm. On the back of the reliquary is a variant type of the Virgin Nikopoios, or “Victory Maker.” The most common version of this type—seen, for example, on a seventh-century icon from Mount Sinai¹—is a bust-

length image of the Virgin facing front and holding directly before her a medallion containing an equally frontal figure of Christ. The arms of the cross end in bust-length portrait medallions of Saints John Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzos, Nicholas, and Basil the Great.

On the basis of the portraits of these Church Fathers on the second cross, and of their surging popularity during the Middle Byzantine period, Liudmila Doncheva has dated the Pliska reliquary between the second half of the ninth and the tenth century.² She has also suggested a Constantinopolitan provenance on the basis of the inclusion of these saints together with Saint Andrew, who is represented holding a cross in the Ascension scene.³

The first Pliska cross, with its rich christological cycle, is closely related to a group of historiated reliquaries, of which those in the Fieschi Morgan collection at the Metropolitan Museum (cat. no. 34) and from the Pieve di Santi Maria e Giovanni, Pisa — the so-called Vicopisano Reliquary Cross⁴ — are the most famous examples. Doncheva has attributed these three reliquaries to the same artist,⁵ although it is also possible that they were merely executed by the same workshop.⁶ The second Pliska cross is closely related to a group of reliquary crosses that show the Crucifixion on the front and the Virgin Nikopoios surrounded by medallions of saints on the back.⁷ The Pliska reliquary as a whole thus provides a vital link between two important groups of objects that are related in both function and decoration.

This reliquary probably was brought to Bulgaria shortly after its manufacture. It may have been among the many gifts bestowed upon the Bulgarian Empire in the years following its conversion to Christianity by the Byzantines in 864. S T

1. Weitzmann 1976, vol. 1, no. B28.
2. Doncheva 1976, pp. 65–66.
3. Ibid., p. 65. According to legend Saint Andrew was the apostle who founded the Church in Constantinople; see Dvornik 1958.
4. See Palli 1962, pp. 250–67.
5. Doncheva 1976, p. 63.
6. As has been suggested by Anna Kartsonis (in Kartsonis 1986, p. 109).
7. For a list of the surviving crosses of this type, see Kartsonis 1986, p. 98 n. 9.

LITERATURE: Doncheva 1976, pp. 59–66; Doncheva-Petkova 1979, pp. 83ff.; Chilingirov 1982, pp. 76–89; Kartsonis 1986, pp. 94–125.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1980, no. 191; Geneva 1988, no. 18.



226. Front



226. Back

226. Enkolpion with Standing Virgin

Byzantine (Constantinople), 12th century
Gold and cloisonné enamel
5.3 × 3.7 × .5 cm (2 1/8 × 1 1/2 × 1/4 in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front, MP ΘΥ (Mother of God); on the back, IC XC (Jesus Christ)

CONDITION: There is minor loss of linear enamel decoration, particularly on the back frame.

PROVENANCE: Found in 1897, according to Chilingirov, in a grave outside Triavna, about 22 miles southwest of Veliko Tŭrnovo.

Natsionalen Arkheologicheski Muzei, Sofia, Bulgaria (487)

Like many enkolpia, this example has the form of a container in two hinged parts, with images on the two outer faces. The front bears a tiny full-length repoussé relief figure of the nimbed Virgin standing on a circular base, her gaze and upraised arms directed toward the upper-right corner of the plaque, where the blessing hand of God, also in relief, emerges from a gold-starred quarter circle representing the heavens. To the left and right of the main figure, circular frames surround the abbreviated Greek inscription MP ΘΥ (Mother of God).

The back panel has only linear enamel ornament. The main element is a cross covered with a hatched design in green, the four arms terminating in disks decorated with red, white, and blue rosettes. The cross rises from a stem resting on a roughly trape-

zoidal base; another disk interrupts the stem. Twin cypresses with the same reticulate pattern in green flank the cross.

The combination of relief and enameled decoration, though rare, is paralleled in works made by Constantinopolitan craftsmen of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; among the most lavish of these hybrids is the bust icon of Saint Michael in Venice. The diminutive figure of the Virgin, with its fine modeling and fluid drapery, resembles reliefs produced in late-eleventh- and twelfth-century Constantinople, such as those on the Halberstadt paten (cat. no. 30) and on a cross reliquary in Saint Petersburg.¹

The imagery of the front plaque — the Virgin with arms outstretched toward the hand of God — is doubtless of Constantinopolitan origin, as the enkolpion reproduces in miniature the icon of the Virgin Hagirosoritissa. The Hagirosoritissa, one of the most prized possessions of the Constantinopolitan Church of the Theotokos Chalkoprateia, was so revered that it inspired the creation of carved, painted, and enameled copies and variants (cat. no. 113). The name of the icon alludes to the holy casket (*bagia soros*) that enshrined a widely venerated relic, the girdle of the Virgin.² The figure of the Virgin in all likelihood refers to a fragment of that relic housed in the enkolpion. The leafed cross on the rear plaque perhaps refers to a second relic — a fragment of the True Cross — also once contained in the tiny



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shrine. This decoration repeats the scheme typically found on the backs of small portable *staurothekai* and on large cross reliquaries, such as those in Saint Petersburg and Esztergom (cat. nos. 38, 40).

J D A

1. Bank 1985, pp. 308–9, fig. 205.
2. On the Virgin Hagiosoritissa and the relic of the girdle, see Vogeler 1984, pp. 52–58, 62–66.

LITERATURE: Vaklinova 1972, pp. 13–19; Vogeler 1984.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1980, no. 345; Geneva 1988, no. 112.

227. Necklace of Medallions and Pearls from the Preslav Treasure

Byzantine, first half of 10th century
Gold, cloisonné enamel, pearls, rock crystal, and glass
DIAM. of medallions 10 cm (4 in.)

CONDITION: There is slight damage to the enamels; minor losses occur in the pendants.

PROVENANCE: Part of the Preslav Treasure, found in 1978 in the Kastana area, outside Veliki Preslav, Bulgaria.

Natsionalen Istoriko-arkheologicheski Reseruat s Muzei "Veliki Preslav," Preslav, Bulgaria (3381[1])

This necklace, extraordinary in the richness and variety of its materials and decorative techniques, is the best-preserved large piece in the Preslav Treasure, which consists of

about 150 pieces of gold and enamel furnishings (see also cat. nos. 228, 229), silver objects, reused ancient Roman and Early Christian incised gems, and silver coins that were unearthed in 1978 outside the medieval city of Preslav. An approximate mid-tenth-century date for the latest works in the treasure is provided by fifteen silver coins struck under the emperors Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945–59) and Romanos II (r. 959–63).¹ The excavator of the treasure conjectured that its concealment occurred in 971 during the sack of Preslav by Emperor John I Tzimiskes.²

The necklace consists of seven two-sided enamel plaques with gold-beaded frames; hinges link them to six panels of braided gold filigree. Five enamel plaques are trapezoidal

and two are oblong. Twenty pendants were originally suspended from loops joined to the bases of nine trapezoids. Seven drop-shaped, two-sided enamels hang from seven paired strands of pearls. Interspersed among the pendants are thirteen (of the original fourteen) single chains of pearls that terminate alternately in gold filigree cones and rock crystal or glass beads.

Nearly all the enamels show birds and anthemia on a green background (typical of Early Byzantine cloisonné) in shades of blue with some red, yellow, and white. In the floral forms, variation is limited to the curve and color of the outer bracts. Greater diversity characterizes the birds, yet all the bird plaques share one trait—a wavy gold line descending from the beak to a small red cell, suggesting a twig with a single leaf.

In one of the terminals, light blue and red enamel combines with gold cloisons to form a cross. The sole human figures on the necklace are the enamel busts of the Virgin Orans, prominently displayed on the central trapezoid and the pendant hanging beneath it.

Many elements of the necklace resemble those found on works produced in the ninth and tenth centuries. The birds and anthemia can be compared with those on the Thessalonike bracelets (cat. no. 165A). David Buckton has noted the similarity of the birds with single-leaf twigs on the Preslav necklace to those on a pair of tenth-century earrings in the British Museum (cat. no. 166).³ The busts of the Virgin share characteristics with figures on such ninth-century enamels as the Beresford-Hope Cross⁴ and the Fieschi Morgan Stauratheke (cat. no. 34); among these are the white headdress beneath the Virgin's *maphorion*, which can also be seen on the cross, and the white skin, oval monochrome eyes and mouths, and fanlike hands, which appear as well on both the Virgin and John the Baptist in the Crucifixion scene on the reliquary. It has recently been suggested that the reliquary was created in ninth-century Constantinople or in a metropolitan center like Thessalonike.⁵ Workshops, tools, or other direct evidence for enamel production in tenth-century Preslav have not come to light.⁶

J D A

1. Totev 1993, pp. 14, 16–17.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–16.
3. London, *Byzantium*, 1994, p. 133, no. 142.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 132, no. 141.
5. Kartsonis 1986, pp. 110–16, 123.
6. Totev 1993, p. 7.

LITERATURE: Totev 1993, pp. 38–52.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1980, no. 156; Geneva 1988, no. 62.

228. Two Earrings from the Preslav Treasure

Byzantine, first half of 10th century
Gold, cloisonné enamel, and pearls

A. 10.7 × 4.3 cm (4¼ × 1¾ in.)

B. 7 × 4 cm (2¾ × 1½ in.)

CONDITION: (A) The enamel survives on only one side of the medallion and curved segment; some enamel is detached from the pendant lobes, and numerous pearls are lost. (B) The enameled medallion and pearls are lost; the enamel of the curved segment is damaged, and the lobed pendants survive in unrestored fragments.

PROVENANCE: Part of the Preslav Treasure, found in 1978 in the Kastana area, outside Veliki Preslav, Bulgaria.

Natsionalen Istoriko-arkheologicheski Reservat s Muzei "Veliki Preslav," Preslav, Bulgaria (3381[1]) (A. 3381[8]; B. 3381[9])

The Preslav Treasure includes two originally similar pairs of earrings. The earring shown above (A), the best preserved, is the sole survivor of its pair. A curved segment originally enameled on both sides forms the body; two golden beads attached to the short ends of this arc are joined with the hoop by which the earring was suspended. One end of the hoop is soldered to the bead; the other is secured through an eyelet so that it can be opened. Rising from the center of the arc is an enameled medallion framed by beaded filigree and pearls. On the lower edge, four clusters of gold granules alternate with loops from which hang three enameled, pearl-tipped pendants; the central pendant has five drop-shaped lobes, whereas the lateral elements are trefoil.

Considerable variety and elegance characterize the enamel ornament. The lobes of the pendants contain the simplest decoration, beaded filigree framing whitish flowers set against a blue ground. A whitish tendril twists over the blue background of the curved segment, bunches of grapes enveloped in its loops. A striking blue and white peacock, shown frontally with outspread wings, fills the roundel above. The backs of both the medallion and the curved segment have lost their decoration.

The earring shown below (B) is the better-preserved component of a badly damaged pair that compares closely with the earring shown above. Principal differences involve the manner in which the hoop is closed (here by inserting the free tip into a hole on the top of the gold bead) and the decorative motifs on the enameled curved segment. A yellow plant marks the center of the better-preserved face. Adorsed peacocks fill the spaces to the right and left. The enamel on the back has suffered more; here a hunting scene unfolds against a



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228B

fragmentary green background. Open-mouthed dogs run from a yellow plant set at the center. The medallion of this earring's mate also bears varied decoration on each side: rosettes of differing color and design are set against a background of light green on one face and of dark blue on the other.

Among the enameled earrings comparable in design and decoration are a pair in the British Museum (cat. no. 166) and another in the Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens; three examples in the Helen Stathatos collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens (one found with coins of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, r. 945–59); a sixth piece in Iráklion; and a smaller, less elaborate pair in Berlin, particularly noteworthy since it accords with the tenth-century date of the Preslav earrings.¹ The bodies of the Berlin earrings bear inscriptions invoking divine aid for “Emperor John,” surely Emperor John I Tzimiskes (r. 969–76).

J D A

1. British Museum: London, *Byzantium*, 1994, p. 133, no. 142; Kanellopoulos Museum: Athens 1985, p. 146, nos. 4491a,b; Stathatos collection: Coche de La Ferté 1953–63, vol. 2, pp. 18–24, pls. II, 11bis; Iráklion: Athens 1964, pp. 382–83, no. 440; Berlin: Effenberger and Severin 1992, p. 232, no. 135.

LITERATURE: Totev 1993, pp. 52–58.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1980, no. 165; Geneva 1988, no. 65.

229. Two Spherical Pendants from the Preslav Treasure

Byzantine, first half of 10th century
Gold, cloisonné enamel, and glass
DIAM. 3 cm (1 1/8 in.)

CONDITION: There are slight scratches, dents, and losses of enamel.

PROVENANCE: Part of the Preslav Treasure, found in 1978 in the Kastana area, outside Veliki Preslav, Bulgaria.

Natsionalen Istoriko-arkheologicheski Reservat s Muzei “Veliki Preslav,” Preslav, Bulgaria (3381[16])

The top of each of these two spheres from the Preslav Treasure has a golden loop; the small circle of blue glass marking the bottom center is surrounded by gold granules and beaded filigree. The gold-and-enamel decoration of the sides is more varied and complex. Five enameled ovals framed by beaded filigree alternate with five raised oblongs of plain gold. The five enamels on each sphere are identical: against a dark blue ground, lilylike plants are paired with their flowers tip to tip. Those in the bottom tier have white stems, light blue outer leaves, and yellow centers. Above, the scheme is reversed, with yellow stems, light blue outer leaves, and white centers.

Noting the difficulty in finding analogues for these curious objects, the excavator of the treasure offered the vague suggestion that they had served as “head ornaments.”¹ In this catalogue it is argued that a generally comparable gold-and-enamel pendant in the

Dumbarton Oaks collection (cat. no. 146) formed part of the decoration of a *loros*, the long, gem-studded scarf worn by the Byzantine emperor. The Preslav pendants may have served a corresponding function, adorning a garment worn by a member of the Bulgarian elite.

J D A

1. Totev 1993, p. 58.

LITERATURE: Totev 1993, p. 58.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1980, no. 171; Geneva 1988, no. 67.



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THE GEORGIANS

S. PETER COWE

The relative stability extending from the fragmentation of the Abbasid caliphate in the mid-ninth century until the conversion of the Mongol Il-Khans to Islam toward the end of the thirteenth afforded the necessary political and economic substructure to sustain an unprecedented intellectual and artistic revival among the Christian cultures of Armenia and Georgia in southern Caucasia. The region's geographical location on the main Eurasian trade routes and its prolonged status as a satellite or buffer state between powerful neighbors to the east and west had long fostered the judicious synthesis and stylistic adaptation of motifs and ideas of disparate provenance. By the early eleventh century the Georgians were united for the first time under a princely dynasty recently elevated to royal dignity and inspired by imperial ambitions. Thereafter territorial expansion conspired with common interests and christological confession to draw Georgia into more profound, multifaceted contacts with Byzantium. These reached their zenith during the second half of the twelfth century before diminishing as both states struggled for survival under severe external pressures.¹

The Georgians brought a well-matured and diversified culture to bear on this dialogue. Linguistically indigenous to the region and comprising several ethnic subgroups, they had a documented history stretching back to the Hittite and Assyrian eras.² Nestling under the diagonal sweep of the Great Caucasus range to the north and bounded by the rivers Alazani and Kura to the east,³ the physical contours of the territory they inhabited naturally favored contacts with the south and west. At the same time, the area's internal bisection on a north-south axis by the Surami range had a decisive impact on its socioeconomic, political, and cultural development. The legendary voyage of Jason and the Argonauts encapsulates memories of ancient Greek Black Sea trade with western Georgia, referred to in classical sources as Colchis.⁴ Later the region was renamed Lazika, reflecting the currency

of Laz as the local vernacular (in some of its subdistricts the cognate languages of Svan and Mingrelian are still spoken). In contrast, the written medium of Kartuli, employed throughout Georgia, derives from Kartli, the heartland of the eastern sector of the country, called Iberia.

Until the Arab reconstitution of Georgia and the other Caucasian states into one administrative unit governed from the Armenian capital of Duin, the internal division between Lazika and Iberia also functioned as the boundary between the great powers of the region. Thus, while the former remained within the Byzantine sphere of influence, the latter, which tended to be the more vigorous and culturally productive, was generally subject to Persian suzerainty. This fact had significant sociopolitical implications for Georgian-Byzantine relations. Whereas Constantinople inherited the classical legacy of a highly centralized bureaucratic structure characterized by urban centers and elected magistracies, Iberian society was fundamentally centrifugal: power devolved upon the upper nobility, whose privileges were hereditary and whose territorial boundaries defined the state's internal divisions. These dynasties predated the Iberian monarchy and ultimately seem to have derived from earlier tribal or clan groupings. Fiercely jealous of any encroachment on their prerogatives by their peers or the king, they acted as semiautonomous rulers, at times forming alliances with foreign powers to ensure the well-being of their local fiefdoms.⁵ So successful were they in this endeavor that they encompassed the demise of their royal line in the sixth century, preferring instead to be governed by a Persian viceroy. This pragmatic perspective also informed the activities of the pro-Byzantine faction and from 580 to the mid-seventh century, under a rather loose alignment with Constantinople, led to the appointment of one of their own number as presiding prince with the title of *kouropalates*.

Despite contrasting social conventions, religion proved a fruitful ground for rapprochement between the two polities.⁶ Through the ministrations of Saint Nino, a captive woman from the Roman Empire,⁷ the Iberian court officially accepted Christianity over an indigenized form of Parthian Zoroastrianism in the decades following the Edict of Milan (313).⁸ The conversion

Svetitskhoveli Cathedral, Mtskheta, 1010–29 (with later additions).
Photo: Bruce White



Jvari Church, on a bluff overlooking Svetitskhoveli Cathedral, Mtskheta, 586/7–605/6. Photo: Bruce White

of the hinterlands, however, was much more protracted. During the first three centuries of the Iberian Church Syro-Armenian influence from the Sassanian Empire played a major role, as is indicated by the textual affinities of the early Georgian translation of the Bible,⁹ by ecclesiastical architecture (especially the vaulted basilica and later domed cruciform churches), and by the eremitical form of monasticism that developed.¹⁰ This milieu may also have been the general matrix out of which a Georgian alphabet was devised in the fifth century. Writing was to remain fundamentally the domain of the clergy until the twelfth century, while epic

bards kept alive the oral tradition of tales of heroism from the pre-Christian era.¹¹ At the same time, the influence that Jerusalem exerted through pilgrimage to the holy places and exposure to its post-Constantinian elaborations in liturgy and sanctorale should not be underestimated.¹² Indeed, Jerusalem's championing of the Chalcedonian definition regarding Christ's human and divine natures in the late sixth century may well have been decisive in persuading the Georgian hierarchy to adopt that formula instead of the Monophysite dogma they had shared with their southern neighbors. Certainly the schism between the Iberian and Armenian

Churches, which was made official at the Synod of Duin in 608–9, allowed the former's integration into the unity of Byzantine Orthodoxy, one of the main preconditions for the furtherance of Georgia's association with the empire.¹³

The full extent of this potential did not become manifest until the tenth century, since the immediate priority of both polities was to respond to Arab incursions in and subsequent rule over the Near East. Though Byzantium was able to fend off the threat in Asia Minor, its attention was distracted by the prolonged internal conflict over Iconoclasm. Georgia, in contrast, escaped that scourge but suffered heavily for its support of the losing side in the struggle over succession to the caliphate and for its restiveness under heavier tax imposts. Moreover, its territorial integrity and ethnic cohesion were subverted by the establishment of Muslim emirates such as that of T'bilisi and by the emigration or extinction of its noble houses. In time, however, some of the Muslim dynasts made common cause with the Caucasian aristocracy against the weakening central power, while the remaining Georgian princes were actually able to expand their territorial bases and thereby reestablish themselves through intermarriage, purchase, and plunder in equal measure.

The one Armeno-Georgian family to profit most from this state of affairs was that of the Bagratids, both branches of which were elevated to kingship in the 880s with the caliph's approval, swiftly ratified by the emperor. The Georgian branch began a process of steady expansion during the eighth century in the southwestern region contiguous with the

empire, in the area around T'ao and K'larjeti, having appropriated the former district from the Armenian Mamikonean house and inherited the latter from the Georgian Guaramids. Enjoying material benefits from the revival of trade in cities such as Art'anuji (whose prosperity was later remarked upon by Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos),¹⁴ the Bagratid rulers began to erect churches and monasteries as memorials to their piety and civic munificence. Of these, one of the most important early examples was the cluster of monastic foundations established by Saint Grigol Khandzteli (759–861),¹⁵ where everyday life was governed by *typika* (codes of behavior and observances) in the Byzantine fashion.¹⁶ In the second half of the ninth century, under Prince Davit *kouropalates*, the foundations at Oshki, Shat'berdi, T'beti, Op'iza, Khakhuli, and Ishkhani were adorned with fine stone churches whose architectural experimentation reflects their donors' self-confidence. These monasteries incorporated active scriptoria responsible for some of the most valuable early manuscripts, such as the Shat'berdi Miscellany of 973–76 and the Oshki Bible of 978, as well as some of the first illuminated Georgian Gospel books to survive.¹⁷

The deposition of the king of Abkhasia in western Georgia in 978 led to the accession of his nephew, the son of the Iberian monarch, who as Bagrat' III succeeded to the throne of Iberia in 1008 and thus united the country for the first time.¹⁸ Although unification was backed by the Church, it was greeted warily by factions within the higher aristocracy as well as by the Byzantine Empire. Under Basil II (r. 976–1025)



Tomb slab of King Davit III (the Builder), ca. 1125. South gate house, Monastery of Gelati. Photo: Robert Evans and Robin Long



Cathedral of King Bagrat' III, K'ut'aisi, 1003. Photo: Robert Evans and Robin Long

direct intervention could still be effective in cases of border disputes. However, the straitened circumstances thereafter at Constantinople required an evenhanded diplomacy that balanced tokens of recognition to the king (such as Bagrat IV's marriage to Romanos III's niece Helena, the marriage of his daughter, Maria of Alania, to Michael VII Doukas and later to Nikephoros III Botaneiates, and his subsequent acquisition of the titles *nobilissimus* and *sebastus*) with encouragement of the separatist tendencies of Prince Liparit. In the tradition of Prince T'ornik'e during the revolt of Bardas Skleros in 976–79, Liparit, with the title of *magister*, directed the imperial forces against initial Seljuk advances in Armenia. His betrayal to Bagrat in 1059, however, and the decisive Byzantine defeat at Mantzikert in 1071 facilitated the emergence of a more powerful Georgian kingdom. A series of strong monarchs ably profited from these conditions to solidify their authority by various strategies. Davit III (r. 1089–1125) reduced reliance on princely contingents by employing mercenaries;¹⁹ his son Giorgi III (r. 1156–84) undermined dynastic prerogatives by conferring office on those of lower rank; and his daughter Tamar (r. 1184–1212) effectively counterbalanced the local nobility by promoting such non-Georgians as the Armenian Zak'ariads.



Enthroned Virgin with Archangels. Apse mosaic, 1120–30, main church, Monastery of Gelati. Photo: Robert Evans and Robin Long

As a consequence of the relative power vacuum in the region during the twelfth century, Georgia was transformed from a subordinate position to one in which it exercised jurisdiction over the states on its borders. Davit III, the last Georgian monarch to hold a Byzantine title, crowned his achievements in incorporating Lori to the south, Alania to the north, and Shirvan to the southeast by regaining T'bilisi from the Arabs. His son extended authority over the Shah-Armans, the Kurdish Shaddadid emirs, and the Atabeg of Azerbaijan. Finally, Tamar's reign saw the inclusion of Arran, Kars, and Tabriz in the Georgian sphere of influence as well as the tutelary status of the empire of Trebizond, established by her relatives Alexios and David Komnenos in 1204.

The regular inflow of booty and tribute from these conquests as well as the tariffs imposed on transit trade greatly enhanced the powers of both monarch and prince to patronize the arts. These translated into vaster, more ambitious building projects, such as the spacious cathedral near what was then the capital at K'ut'aisi in western Georgia (1003; see illus. on preceding page) and the ecclesiastical center of Mtskheta (Svetikhoveli Cathedral, 1010–29; see illus. on p. 336) and the contemporary church at Samtavisi,²⁰ both with elaborately carved facades. This process continued under Davit III, aptly named Aghmashenebeli (the Builder or Restorer), who commissioned a configuration of three churches at the Monastery of Gelati (1106–25). Significantly, the Byzantine-derived iconographic programs, such as the mosaic of the Virgin and archangels that adorned the apse of the main church, were skillfully modified to suit the indigenous church plan. By the same token, the ecclesiastical chant that echoed in such spaces often combined a Byzantine melody with Georgian three-part polyphony. The ostentatious depiction of the Georgian royal family in full Byzantine imperial dress in the donor portraits of the hall church at the spectacular rock-hewn palace complex at Vardzia, created for Tamar in 1184–86, conveys both the sumptuousness of the court ceremonial and the ruler's exalted aspirations.²¹ (The depiction is, nevertheless, decorously modest by comparison with Tamar's invocation as the fourth member of the Trinity in an ode from her literary circle.)

The elegance and opulence of the age are also visible in the decorative arts of embroidery, pottery (centering on the city of Dmanisi),²² and metalwork. Gold and silver work in pectoral and processional crosses (see cat. nos. 230, 232), reliquaries, and covers for manuscripts and icons (see cat. nos. 234–236) is in evidence from the ninth century, but becomes more plentiful in the twelfth and the early thirteenth century.²³ Of particular note are the setting for the Anchi Icon and, from the Gelati school, the exquisite Khakhuli Triptych, comprising a gold frame inset with a range of stones and incorporating several medallions in cloisonné enamel. The Byzantine influence on this craft was so strong at the time that it can be



Crucifixion. Cloisonné-enamel plaque, Shemokmedi Monastery, 10th century. The Georgian State Art Museum, T'bilisi. Photo: Bruce White



Saint Demetrios. Cloisonné-enamel medallion, Georgia, 12th century. The Georgian State Art Museum, T'bilisi. Photo: Bruce White

difficult to distinguish local products from imports (see Georgian examples above).

A similar trend is observable in religious and intellectual life starting from the last quarter of the tenth century, when Georgian monastic communities began to appear on Mount Athos and on the Black Mountain, near Antioch, and when some of the most prominent Georgian scholars received their education in Constantinople. In the space of four generations the Georgian Bible, service books, and dogmatic and canonical collections were all revised in conformity with the standards emanating from the Byzantine capital, which had replaced the earlier Jerusalem model. In accordance with the spirit of the age, figures such as Saints Ekvtime and Giorgi of the Iveron Monastery, Mount Athos, Eprem Mstire, and Arsen of Iq'alto esteemed increasing precision and accuracy in the literal rendering of Greek originals more highly than the composition of new works;²⁴ these tended to be restricted to hagiography, hymnody, and homiletics. The literalizing trajectory in translation technique reached its apogee in the oeuvre of the polymath Ioane Petritsi (died ca. 1125),²⁵ a student of the eleventh-century Byzantine philosopher Michael Psellos, whose style abounds in forms and expressions directly calqued on Greek. Petritsi's attempt to transplant to his homeland speculation on the respective philosophical positions of Plato

and Aristotle and their reconciliation with Christian doctrine met with little success. Yet its impact and that of the recently translated Neoplatonist Areopagitic corpus are discernible in *The Lord of the Panther Skin* by the twelfth-century poet Shota Rustaveli, an epic that combines Georgian themes of warrior camaraderie and folk motifs with the emotional intensity of Persian romance.²⁶

This masterpiece marks the end of an era as much as it foreshadows the next. The beginning of the thirteenth century found Byzantium in disarray in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, from which it never fully recovered. Consequently it was to the pope that Queen Rusudan in 1224 addressed her vain appeal through Latin missionaries for assistance against invaders from the East. In the event, Georgia had to accept Mongol suzerainty and then renewed partition of the realm when Mongol-Seljuk rivalry manifested itself in support of competing claimants to the throne. This situation would largely continue until the country was annexed by Russia in the first decade of the last century. However, the ideals of the Middle Byzantine era in Georgia were re-created with each new reading of its epic verse,²⁷ and the Byzantine pattern of its Christian culture was reaffirmed in its liturgical practice and arts. With the emergence from Soviet rule, there is a new openness in Georgia to evaluating this legacy afresh.



230

230. Enkolpion with the Anastasis

Georgian? or Byzantine (Constantinople)?,
late 10th–11th century
Enamel on gold with pearls and silver wire
8 × 5.5 cm (3 1/8 × 2 1/8 in.)

INSCRIBED: H ANAC/TACHC (The Anastasis)

PROVENANCE: From Martvili (present-day Gegeckori) in western Georgia.

The Georgian State Art Museum, The Treasure Chamber, T'bilisi, Georgia (957/Rag. 268)

The front of the enkolpion bears the Anastasis. At the left the resurrected Christ strides over the unhinged gates of hell as he reaches to grasp the hand of Adam. Eve appears behind Adam, and both rise from sarcophagi at Christ's bidding. The quatrefoil design surrounded by beading and pearls has close parallels in two works, a necklace clasp at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., and an enkolpion of almost exactly the same size in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (cat. no. 109), neither of which is decorated with the Anastasis.¹

Although rare as the sole subject for enkolpia, the Anastasis occurs several times on such objects with other scenes from Christ's life: on cruciform examples in Pisa and Sofia and on a square enkolpion in T'bilisi.² In the present work the intended use may have dictated the choice of subject matter. Believed to have held, like a locket, a small icon of the Virgin, it belonged to the class of image-bearing enkolpia that came to be known as *panagia*. The dramatic relationship between Eve and the Virgin, resolved through Christ's

death and resurrection, was an element of Byzantine religious belief to which the design and function of the enkolpion alluded. Enkolpia were given out by the Byzantine emperors, and some were worn by bishops and patriarchs as part of their official regalia. While this enkolpion has been attributed to a Georgian workshop on the basis of parallels with the Crucifixion plaque from the Shemokmedi Monastery (see illus. on p. 341), Constantinople cannot be ruled out as the place of manufacture.

JCA

1. *Handbook* 1967, pp. 69–70, fig. 249; Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, pp. 116–19.
2. Kartsonis 1986, figs. 25b, 26b, 37b.

LITERATURE: Wessel 1967, pp. 67–68, fig. 17; Amiranashvili 1971, p. 84, fig. 42; Javakhishvili and Abramishvili 1986, p. 104; Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994, pp. 116–19.

EXHIBITIONS: Geneva 1979, no. 24; Vienna, *Schatzkammer*, 1981, no. 13.

231. Liturgical Vessel from Bedia

Georgian, 999

Ducat gold

H. 14 cm (5 1/2 in.), DIAM. 14 cm (5 1/2 in.), WT. 752 g (26.3 oz.)

INSCRIBED: Around the rim, in Georgian, Holy Mother of God, interceed before your son for Bagrat', the Abkhasian king, and his mother the queen Gourandoukht, the commissioners of this vessel, the decorators of this altar, and the builders of this holy church. Amen. Under the arches, in Greek, Jesus Christ; in Georgian, Saint John, Saint Andrew, Saint Luke, Saint Mark, Saint Paul, [no inscription associated with the Virgin], Saint Peter, Saint Levi [Matthew], Saint Thaddeus, Saint Bartholomew, Saint Jacob [James]

CONDITION: Only the bowl of the vessel is preserved; three evenly spaced holes appear on the rim.

PROVENANCE: Church at Bedia; church at Ilori, until 1930.

The Georgian State Art Museum, The Treasure Chamber, T'bilisi, Georgia (9510-A)

The bowl of this vessel, which has always been described as a chalice, is formed from one sheet of gold, and all the figures and



231. Back



231. Front

rich details of decoration are worked in repoussé. A continuous arcade—double molded, notched, and resting on simple foliate capitals and horizontally ridged columns—encircles this impressive work and provides a monumental setting for the frieze of holy figures. Most imposing are the enthroned and haloed Christ Pantokrator and the Virgin Hodegetria on the opposite side. Between them are standing figures of apostles, five on each side, holding codices or *rotuli*. Saints John and James flank Christ, and Peter and Paul bracket the Virgin, with Saints Andrew, Luke, and Mark on one side and Levi

(Matthew, the tax collector), Thaddeus, and Bartholomew on the other. The nimbed heads and shoulders of all the figures are approximately at the same level. The inscription just below the rim mentions King Bagrat' III (r. 978–1014) and his mother, Queen Gourandoukht. This object was their gift to the new church at Bedia, which was completed in 999.

This liturgical vessel is notable for the orderly and rhythmic organization of the figures and decorative details and for its classicistic and powerful figural style. Characteristic of this style are the sharp

pleats and the angular edges of the drapery, which recall the treatment of drapery on contemporary Byzantine icons in ivory, yet the monumental effect—here, far more robust—is symbolic of an authentic indigenous Georgian sensibility.

Certainly, no extant Byzantine chalice shares this technique and imposing classicistic style. However, there are partial parallels for the iconography and for the system of holy figures arranged on a single level around the exterior on several Middle Byzantine enameled chalices in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice (see, for example, cat. no. 31),



232. Front



232. Back

on the ivory "Apostles" Pyxis in Cleveland (cat. no. 33), and on a number of works produced in the Latin West, such as the silver-gilt chalice in Fritzlar (cat. no. 297).

W D W

LITERATURE: Tchoubinachvili 1957, p. 19; Tchoubinachvili 1959, pp. 150–58, illus. 86–91; Amiranashvili 1971, p. 78, pls. 39, 40; Geneva 1979, pp. 226, 260, illus. (color); Mepisashvili and Tsintsadze 1979, pp. 227, 262; Vienna, *Schatzkammer*, 1981; Wixom, "Middle Byzantine," 1981, pp. 46–47, fig. 8.

EXHIBITIONS: Geneva 1979, no. 6 (two color illus.); Vienna 1981, no. 2.

232. Processional Cross

Gabriel Sapereli

Georgian, 994–1001

Silver and silver gilt; figures cast and applied
86 × 51 cm (33³/₄ × 20¹/₄ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Georgian, records the cross as a gift of King Bagrat³ III, son of Gurgen; Marta, his queen; and Mikael, abbot of the monastery at Sapara (present-day Safara) in Mesheti, Georgia; also identifies the artist as Gabriel Sapereli.

CONDITION: The lower arm is broken and has been restored in an abbreviated form.

PROVENANCE: Breti (Kartli), Georgia.

The Georgian State Art Museum, The Treasure Chamber, T³bilisi, Georgia (3513, Kar.–1068)

The Breti cross shows the full-length figure of Christ, with his head slightly tilted to indicate his death, flanked on the crossarms by the Virgin and John the Theologian, both of whom stand under arcades. John raises his arm to his head in a gesture of

grief, a motif that has its roots in the imagery of antiquity and occurs often in Byzantine art (see, for example, cat. nos. 30, 34, 37, 40).¹ Above the scene of the Crucifixion is the bust of an archangel in a medallion, while below is a medallion with the bust of an unidentified saint. The orb on which the cross is supported bears the figures of the Four Evangelists. The back is engraved with an elegant floral pattern. The extensive inscription on the face of the cross indicates that it was a gift of King Bagrat³ III (r. 978–1014), who reunified the Georgian lands after centuries of occupation by Islamic forces and ushered in a great era of cultural renewal.² King Bagrat³ was also the donor of the gold liturgical vessel to the church in Bedia (cat. no. 231).

The prominence of crosses in Georgian churches dates back to the conversion of its people in the fourth century, when large

crosses came to be placed on special pedestals in front of the altar.³ In the Middle Byzantine period a group of processional crosses were made that presented full-length images of the crucified Christ to the faithful.⁴ The earliest, the cross of Ishkhani, of 973, depicts the body of Christ as nearly tubular in form. By the time of the Breti cross, the body of Christ, particularly the rib cage, is articulated in detail. The slightly later Martvili cross, which was executed by Assat the Deacon for King Bagrat IV (r. 1027–72), is similar in iconography to the Breti cross, but the body of Christ is more rounded, with a greater sense of realism typical of Georgian art by the mid-eleventh century.⁵

The processional crosses of the Church of Constantinople, whose authority was recognized by the Georgian Church, typically were decorated with the Great Deesis—Christ flanked by the Virgin and John the Precursor (the Baptist), shown as busts in medallions (see cat. nos. 24–27). While archangels and saints are found in medallions at the ends of Byzantine crosses as on the Breti cross, the crucified Christ was more commonly depicted than the Deesis on Georgian processional crosses. This suggests that the Georgian Church placed a greater emphasis on the act of sacrifice by Christ in the Crucifixion than upon his role as intercessor for man as ruler of heaven.

H C E

1. H. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow," 1977, pp. 140–51.
2. Lang 1966, pp. 108–9, 133–34. Although rivals, the Bagratid rulers of Georgia were related to the Bagratid dynasty in Armenia; Der Nersessian, *Études*, 1973, p. 299 ("Armenia and Its Divided History"); Lang 1966, pp. 105–6.
3. Mepisashvili and Tsintsadze 1979, p. 228.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 226, 228, 257, 258; Amiranashvili 1971, pp. 60, 92, 94, 100, pls. 31, 32, 57–59, 64.
5. Geneva 1979, introduction (n.p.); Amiranashvili 1971, pp. 92, 94, pl. 57.

LITERATURE: Amiranashvili 1971; Mepisashvili and Tsintsadze 1979, pp. 226, 257.

EXHIBITIONS: Geneva 1979, no. 14; Vienna, *Schatzkammer*, 1981, no. 10.

233. Relief Icon with Saint Symeon the Stylite the Younger and Donor

Georgian, ca. 1015
Silver with gilt
35.5 × 23 cm (14 × 9 in.)

INSCRIBED: In Georgian, describes donation and identifies artist as Pilipe.

PROVENANCE: Said to be from Lagami, Georgia. The Georgian State Art Museum, The Treasure Chamber, Tbilisi, Georgia (10 947)

Standing at the left of the icon, nimbed and dressed in episcopal robes, is the donor, Antoni Cagereli, bishop of Ishkhani. He raises his hands in prayer and looks up to the saint shown atop a column. At the right is a lengthy inscription that describes the donation and gives the name of the metalworker, Pilipe. The main image is enclosed within an elaborate frame and portrays the Deesis across the top, paired archangels followed by Peter and Paul along the sides, and the evangelists Matthew, John, and Luke across the bottom.

The saint to whom the bishop prays is Symeon the Stylite the Younger.

Born in Antioch in 521, Symeon is reported to have begun living atop a column at the age of seven. In 541 he founded a monastery at the Wondrous Mountain, outside Antioch, where he stayed until his death in 592. Although a well-known saint throughout the Byzantine world, Symeon the Younger was particularly venerated by the Georgians, who established links with the Wondrous Mountain monastery in the tenth century. This is one of a number



of Georgian works to feature the customary portrait type of the saint, an abruptly truncated body perched on the capital of a tall column. Like Saint Symeon the Stylite the Elder (ca. 389–459), Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain led an unusually severe ascetic life. For the Byzantines the self-denial of the two saints represented an ideal that deserved respect and veneration. The combination seen here, of donor and saint depicted together, is encountered in Byzantine art of all media.

JCA

LITERATURE: Tschubinaschwili 1957, p. 17, pls. 90, 91; Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, p. 332, fig. 361; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1971, pp. 194–95, fig. 12; Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 87, 102; Javakhishvili and Abramishvili 1986, p. 104, figs. 152, 153.

EXHIBITIONS: Geneva 1979, no. 12; Vienna, *Schatzkammer*, 1981, no. 26.

234. Medallions from an Icon Frame

Byzantine (Constantinople?), late 11th–early 12th century

Gold, silver, and cloisonné enamel

DIAM. 8.3 cm (3¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Greek, on each medallion, an identification of the figure represented: Jesus Christ, Mother of God, John the Precursor, Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint Matthew, Saint Luke, Saint John the Theologian, and Saint George.

PROVENANCE: The nine medallions are from a set of twelve that before 1884 decorated the frame of a repoussé icon of the archangel Gabriel in the Djumati Monastery in Georgia; formerly in the collections of A. W. Zvenigorodskii and J. Pierpont Morgan.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan (17.190.670–78)

In the late nineteenth century eleven medallions were found on the frame of a Georgian repoussé icon of the archangel Gabriel. A photograph of the icon reproduced by N. P. Kondakov as an engraving shows spaces for twelve symmetrically arranged medallions; two are missing from the frame, with one of those moved and tucked into the drapery on the archangel's garment.¹ Nine of the medallions are now in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art; the medallion of Saint Demetrios is in the Musée du Louvre; and the Saint Theodore is in the Georgian State Art Museum, T'bilisi.² The portrait of the evangelist Mark, missing in the photograph, has never been recovered. The medallions in the Metropolitan Museum

include the busts of Christ, the Virgin, and John the Precursor (the Baptist), forming the Great Deesis, which in the late nineteenth century appeared across the top of the frame of the icon, as well as the medallions of Saints Peter and Paul, the evangelists Matthew, Luke, and John the Theologian, and the military saint George. The busts are finely worked in cloisonné enamel on a solid gold ground, their names enameled and inscribed in Greek. Their richly colored clothing is elaborately detailed; even the halos are patterned, many of them with miniature crosses. The artists' interest in color variations led them to use silver for the cloisons of the decorations of the halos of Saints Matthew and George rather than the standard gold.³ The designs of the medallions were punched on the back with half-cloisons used in the enameling process, possibly to stabilize the larger fields of enamel, as on the faces. And while they worked in intricate detail, the artists apparently were free to experiment with pattern, as evidenced by the Gospel book held by Christ, which is not decorated, as would be expected, according to the punched design visible on the back.⁴

Margaret Frazer's arrangement of the busts is based on the liturgical rite for the preparation of the *amnos*, or Host, and its "litany of saints." The Deesis appears across the top, with Saints Peter and Paul and the evangelists at the sides and the military saints at the base. Frazer ordered the figures so that their eyes are turned toward the central image, in the Byzantine gesture of deference.⁵ This resulted in an apparent misalignment of the evangelists — with John and Mark (lost) opposite and preceding Matthew and Luke. The figures painted in the medallions on a tenth-century icon of Saint Nicholas from Sinai (cat. no. 65), which have been compared by Kurt Weitzmann with the Djumati medallions, also turn their eyes toward the central image.⁶ On the Harbaville Triptych (cat. no. 80), however, the gaze of certain figures is directed away from the Deesis. Thus, while the hierarchy of Frazer's arrangement seems certain, the original order of the evangelists remains open to interpretation.

Georgian scholars, while they recognize that the medallions lack the dynamically expressive character attributed to Georgian enamels with Georgian inscriptions,⁷ argue that the medallions are the work of a twelfth-century school of "pro-Byzantine" Georgian enamellers. Others have identified them as among the finest works of Constantinople from the third quarter of the eleventh to the mid-twelfth century.⁸ And indeed, the exceptional quality of the medallions, the hieratic

formality of their design, and the fact that the inscriptions are in Greek suggest that they were produced in the capital but exported to Georgia.

Another cloisonné-enamel work thought to have been brought to Georgia from Constantinople, which has equally elaborate detailing of the vestments and a sky as elaborately decorated as the halos on the Djumati medallions, is a portrait of the Byzantine emperor Michael VII Doukas (r. 1071–78) and his bride, Maria of Alania, daughter of the Georgian king Bagrat IV.⁹ Marvin Ross has suggested a comparable date both for the medallions and for the imperial portrait.¹⁰ If the Djumati medallions were in fact brought to Georgia in connection with the Georgian Byzantine empress, they may well have been the inspiration for the extensive use of cloisonné-enamel medallion busts on Georgian icon frames in the twelfth century. On these works, less formal in style than the Djumati enamels, the names of the figures are inscribed in Georgian, certain evidence of a major Georgian workshop of enamellers (see illus. on p. 341).¹¹

HCE

1. Kondakov 1892, fig. 38.
2. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, pp. 324–25; T'bilisi 1984, no. 137, p. 96.
3. Identified by Pete Dandridge, Department of Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
4. Stromberg 1988, p. 30.
5. Frazer, "Djumati," 1970, pp. 240–45.
6. Weitzmann 1976, vol. 1, p. 102.
7. Amiranashvili 1971, pp. 118, 136, figs. 84, 85; T'bilisi 1984, pp. 17, 81, 96.
8. Athens 1964, pp. 395–96; Wessel 1967, p. 120, no. 40; Frazer, "Djumati," 1970, pp. 245–50; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 239, pp. 324–25.
9. Amiranashvili 1971, p. 110, fig. 71.
10. Athens 1964, pp. 395–96.
11. T'bilisi 1984, pp. 78–95.

LITERATURE: Kondakov 1892; Athens 1964; Wessel 1967; Frazer, "Djumati," 1970, pp. 240–51; Amiranashvili 1971; Weitzmann 1976; T'bilisi 1984; Frazer 1985–86; Stromberg 1988, pp. 25–36; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992.

EXHIBITION: Athens 1964, nos. 466, 467.



234. Mother of God (front)



234. Jesus Christ (front)



234. John the Precursor (front)



234. Mother of God (back)



234. Jesus Christ (back)



234. John the Precursor (back)



234. Saint Peter (front)



234. Saint Paul (front)



234. Saint Matthew (front)



234. Saint Luke (front)



234. Saint John the Theologian (front)



234. Saint George (front)

235. Relief Icon with Scenes from the Passion

Georgian, ca. 1050–1100
Silver with gilt
25 × 24 cm (9⁷/₈ × 9¹/₂ in.)

CONDITION: The upper-right corner of the icon is lost; there is a diagonal crack in the lower-left corner.

PROVENANCE: The border across the top and part of the right side were added by Gurieli Mamia II (r. 1598–1625) and his wife, Tinatin; said to have been in the Shemokmedi Monastery, Guria; acquired by the Georgian State Art Museum in 1924.

The Georgian State Art Museum, The Treasure Chamber, T'bilisi, Georgia (V-939/G-76-A)

Three scenes from the Passion decorate this nearly square icon. The sequence begins at the top left with the Deposition: Joseph of Arimathea steadies Christ's body as Nicodemus removes the nail from the left hand. To the right the same two men prepare the body for burial. Christ lies on the ground, on what appears to be a mat, as one of the men holds a bowl and the other tugs at the winding sheet that covers the lower half of the body. In the episode shown at the lower

right the two Marys react with surprise to the words of the angel seated outside Christ's tomb. As the angel proclaims Christ's resurrection he points to the sarcophagus, seen from above and empty except for the discarded winding sheet. Across the lower edge the soldiers placed at the tomb by Pilate are sound asleep.

Throughout the Middle Ages Constantinopolitan craftsmen made relief icons in a variety of materials, ranging from ivory and silver to bronze and wood. This costly silver-and-gilt example was made in Georgia generally following Byzantine precedents but departing from them in two respects. The metalworker depicted both Joseph and Nicodemus as venerable, bearded men, whereas the Byzantines preferred to portray Nicodemus as young. And the scene showing Joseph and Nicodemus preparing Christ's body recalls the Byzantine subject known as the Threnos (Lament), in which the Virgin and John the Theologian mourn over the corpse, but is fundamentally different in its narrative purpose. The composition of the icon suggests that the artist based it on models he knew well but did not integrate with

complete success. He emphasized the soldiers so as to fill the lower edge but squeezed the Marys into a small space. A date in the second half of the eleventh century is suggested by both the style and the narrative content.

JCA

LITERATURE: Millet 1916, p. 499; Tschubinaschvili 1957, p. 19, fig. 137; Amiranashvili 1971, pp. 94–98, fig. 60; Javakhishvili and Abramishvili 1986, fig. 155.

EXHIBITIONS: Geneva 1979, no. 16; Vienna, *Schatzkammer*, 1981, no. 24.

236. Revetments from an Icon of the Virgin Hagiosoritissa

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 11th–early 12th century
Cloisonné enamel, gold, and copper

Halo fragments: 13.3 × 3.8 cm (5¹/₄ × 1¹/₂ in.), 13.3 × 4.8 cm (5¹/₄ × 1⁷/₈ in.)

Background fragments: 5.8 × 10.8 cm (2¹/₄ × 4¹/₄ in.), 10.2 × 11.4 cm (4 × 4¹/₂ in.), 12.7 × 8.6 cm (5 × 3³/₈ in.)

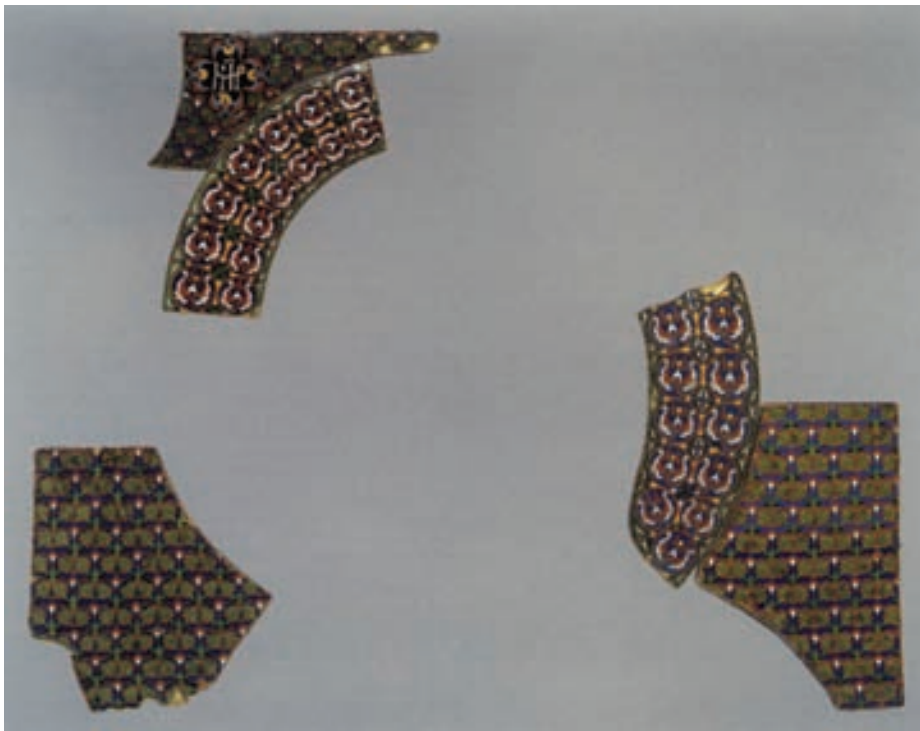
INSCRIBED: On one panel, M-P (Mother of God)

PROVENANCE: Formerly in the collections of A. W. Zvenigorodskii and J. Pierpont Morgan.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.644–648)

The five elaborately decorated cloisonné-enamel panels are part of the background and halo intended as a cover (*basma*) of a now-lost icon, probably from Georgia. Jannic Durand recognized that the panels were made for an icon of the Virgin Hagiosoritissa, a popular Middle Byzantine theme (see cat. nos. 11, 27, 35, 113).¹ Originally, the two curved panels with pairs of palmettes in circular medallions were part of the halo of the Virgin, whose head was turned to the left. The other three panels, filled with rows of stylized palmettes vibrantly colored in blue, red, green, aubergine, white, and translucent enamel, formed part of the revetment that covered the background. The panel on the upper left was cut back in a curve to reveal the hand of God, or perhaps a small image of Christ reaching toward the Virgin from heaven. The cloisonné decoration of the revetment incorporates the first half of the standard abbreviation for the title of the Virgin. The panel at the lower left followed the outline of the Virgin's shoulder on the right border and is cut at the lower edge to reveal her hands raised in prayer. The panel at the lower right curved widely on the left border to allow for the twist of the Virgin's torso as she turned toward the arc of heaven. Other surviving panels account for most of the back-





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ground and halo; a revetment in the Musée du Louvre completes the background to the left.² The panel that covered the upper-right side of the background and included the rest of the inscription is in the collection of the Georgian State Art Museum, T'bilisi, as is the intact panel for the lower-left side of the halo and a damaged panel that may have been the upper-right section of the halo.³ Missing is the narrow band of the background directly over the head of the Virgin, which may have been an extension of the panel in the Georgian State Art Museum.

The panels are generally considered to be Byzantine works of the late eleventh or early twelfth century on the basis of such richly enameled icons as the standing Saint Michael in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice.⁴ Similar motifs, although much smaller in scale, are seen on a tenth-century reliquary of the True Cross in Limburg an der Lahn, raising the possibility of an earlier date.⁵ The identification of the revetments as the background for the Virgin from the great Khakhuli Triptych, now in the Georgian State Art Museum, has not been substantiated.⁶ Related icon revetments, sumptuously decorated with cloisonné-enamel patterns, survive on several other Middle Byzantine icons in Georgia, including the Gelati Savior, the Tsilkani icon of the Virgin, and the Kortskehli icon of Christ.⁷ The popularity of such frames in Georgia suggests that the revetments were found on a Georgian icon, although the work

for which these panels were made remains unidentified.

H C E

1. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 242, pp. 328–29.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Taniguchi 1992, p. 6; T'bilisi 1984, nos. 170–72, pp. 126–28.
4. New York and Milan 1984, no. 19, pp. 171–75.
5. Taniguchi 1992, pp. 17–19; Wessel 1967, pl. 22b.
6. T'bilisi 1984, pp. 126, 128; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 328.
7. T'bilisi 1984, nos. 186–91, 224–26, pp. 132–36, 148–49.

LITERATURE: Wessel 1967; T'bilisi 1984; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992; Taniguchi 1992.

237. Silver Coin of Queen Rusudan of Georgia

Georgian (T'bilisi), 1230
Silver

DIAM. 23 mm (¾ in.); 2.81 gm (pierced and chipped)

Obverse

INSCRIBED: In Greek, in the field, IC-XC (Jesus Christ); in Georgian, in the margin, In the name of God, struck in the L Kronikon ED (*sic*) 450 (A.D. 1230).

Bust of Christ nimbate facing, wearing a mantle; he raises his right hand in benediction and holds a Gospel book in the left. Border of dots.

Reverse

INSCRIBED: In Georgian, in the center, RSN (Rusudan); in the outer margin, Queen of queens, glory of the world and faith, Rusudan, daughter of Tamar, champion of the Messiah.

Around, double linear border with ornamental pattern of stars and circles.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (1967.115.1)

Georgia had no indigenous gold coinage, and many documents attest to the high regard in which Byzantine gold was held there, even as it was becoming increasingly debased. The obverse motif of this piece derives from coins of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (r. 1078–81), and such coins are referred to in medieval Georgian charters as *botinati* or *botinauri*, with clear reference to his name.

W E M



237. Obverse



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THE ARMENIANS

HELEN C. EVANS

During the Middle Byzantine period the Armenians were among the peoples most effectively assimilated into the empire and at the same time most resistant to its occupation of their territories. Of ancient Indo-European stock and living in the mountainous regions on its far eastern border, they were the dominant population in the empire's eastern territories, producing much of the military might that protected the imperial borders. In the same centuries the Armenians, reluctant to recognize Byzantine dominance, established semi-independent principalities in their homeland and ultimately in Cilicia, on the southeastern coast of the Mediterranean. Always allied to, and influenced by, Byzantine culture — particularly in the arts — the Armenians were able to create a distinctive literary and artistic tradition nurtured by their religion, their language, their traditional social structure, and their literature.

According to a tradition popular as early as the fifth century, Armenians were first introduced to Christianity by the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew, from the Holy Land. In the early fourth century Saint Gregory the Illuminator, from Caesarea in Cappadocia, converted the Armenian king Trdat III (r. 298–330) and the members of his court. With their conversion Armenians could claim to be the first officially Christian state. Initially the clergy received their authority from Caesarea, within the Byzantine territory, but by the late fourth century the Armenian Church had become autocephalous, as most of the country was ruled by the Sassanian Empire of Persia. To survive successfully as a Christian people the Armenians had to practice their faith — but in their own language, not that of the Byzantine state. The Bible and the liturgy were translated into Armenian. An Armenian alphabet was developed by the scribe Mashtots⁴, which encouraged the creation of a native literature. When the Council of Chalcedon was held in 451, the Armenians, who were still occupied by the Sassanians, did not attend. Ultimately rejecting the decisions of the council, their Church became increasingly isolated theologically from both Byzantium and Rome.¹

The traditional social structure of the Armenians was based on that of the Parthian East more than the Roman West, yet

those Armenians assimilated within the Middle Byzantine Empire often successfully rose to great prominence as rulers, warriors, and scholars. For about 150 years, from the reign of Basil I (867–86) through that of his descendant Basil II (976–1025), the emperors of Byzantium, including Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (r. 945–59), Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–44), Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–69), and John I Tzimiskes (r. 969–76), were at least in part Armenian — a fact recognized by their contemporaries. Armenians such as Bardas (d. 866), who organized a school of higher learning in the hall of the Magnaura at the Great Palace in Constantinople, were drawn to the culture of the Hellenic world and became fully Byzantine in their interests. Several of the great scholars thought to have taught at the school in the late ninth century — among them Leo the Mathematician (the Philosopher; ca. 790–869), Photios (ca. 810–after 893), and John VII Grammatikos (late eighth century–before 867) — also may have been of Armenian ancestry. A number of families produced leaders of both the Byzantine Church and the military: the patriarch Michael II (1143–46) was a member of the Kourkouas family, as was John Kourkouas, the general who successfully led the Byzantine army on the eastern frontier for more than twenty years in the early tenth century.² Some of these military officers, such as the *protospatharios* John, who commissioned a Gospel book written in Armenian while living in Adrianople in the western portion of the empire (cat. no. 239), must have remained close to their own religion, though officials of rank in the empire were supposed to have accepted Byzantine Orthodoxy.

In the same period in Greater Armenia numerous small principalities existed under the rule of various powerful families like the Artsruni and the Bagratids. During this so-called golden age of Armenian independence, many monastic centers of learning produced scholars, theologians, historians, and poets working within their own literary and religious traditions.³ The design of the churches of this era demonstrates the continuing interest of Armenians in their own cultural traditions. The medieval churches were not influenced by contemporary Byzantine architecture but were inspired by the classic Armenian churches of the sixth and seventh centuries; their severe, massive, geometric stone structures rose to support faceted domes, as if they were giant crystals growing

Church of the Holy Cross, Aght'amar (present-day Turkey), 915–21.
Photo: Helen C. Evans

from the earth. Typical of this revival is the palace church at Aght'amar (see illus. on p. 350), in the Armenian kingdom of Vaspurakan, built for Gagik I Artsruni (r. 989–1017/20). There the earlier Armenian style is modified and the facade is covered with relief sculpture that incorporates Byzantine images and themes of royal power to justify Gagik's rule. Gagik, in turn, stands holding the model of his church while wearing Islamic dress, perhaps a gift of his overlord, the caliph of Baghdad.⁴ His pose derives from an Early Byzantine tradition that was no longer popular within the borders of the empire,⁵ and his choice of dress acknowledges that his principality maintained its independence from Byzantium at the cost of fealty to Islamic rulers farther east.

One of the more powerful Bagratid kingdoms was ruled from Ani, a site so enriched by its position as a major stop along the trade routes from the East that it was called the city of one thousand and one churches. During the Middle Byzantine era it may have had a population as large as one hundred thousand, greater than that of most contemporary cities in

the empire or Western Europe. Its citizens were so skilled that the architect of the city's cathedral, Trdat, was summoned to Constantinople to repair earthquake damage to the dome of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in 989. Yet upon his return to Ani, Trdat's work continued to reflect the earlier traditions of Armenian architecture. The cathedral that he built there from 989 to 1001 (see illus. on p. 277) is described as having had "brilliant splendor, lofty vaults, and a sanctuary surmounted by a heavenlike dome." Its patron, Queen Katramidē of Siwnik', is reported to have "adorned it with tapestries embroidered with purple flowers and gold, and with vessels of silver and gold through whose resplendent brilliance the holy cathedral in the city of Ani shone forth like the heavenly vault."⁶ Only the vivid colors of Armenian manuscripts possibly made in the region survive to suggest the glorious decorations of such churches (cat. no. 240).

From the reign of Basil I (867–86), the Byzantine state gradually extended its forces eastward. In the mid-eleventh century the last rulers of the Armenian principalities were



The Donor Gagik I Artsruni, King of Vaspurakan. Relief sculpture, 915–21, Church of the Holy Cross, Aght'amar (present-day Turkey). Photo: Thomas F. Mathews



Gagik-Abas, King of Kars, with His Wife and Daughter. Illustration from the Gospels of Gagik-Abas of Kars, Kars(?), ca. 1050. Jerusalem, Armenian Cathedral of Saint James, Ms. 2556, fol. 135v. Photo: Thomas F. Mathews



The Temptation of Christ. Illustration from the Gospels of Gagik-Abas of Kars, Kars(?), ca. 1050. Jerusalem, Armenian Cathedral of Saint James, Ms. 2556, fol. 244r. Photo: Thomas F. Mathews

forced to cede their lands and move their populations farther within the Byzantine territory in an effort to block the advance of the Seljuks.⁷ The Gospel book of King Gagik-Abas of Kars, commissioned by the last ruler of that small kingdom, reflects the delicate balance maintained by the last kings of these border states. Its portrait page, transposed from another text, shows Gagik-Abas (r. 1029–65), his wife, and his daughter and heir sitting cross-legged as in the East, in recognition that the state was under Islamic dominance. However, the extensive narrative illuminations in the text—which is in Armenian—are generally Byzantine in style, reflecting Gagik-Abas's interest in Byzantine culture. The iconographic innovations introduced in the work, such as the beasts that surround Christ in the Temptation scene, underscore the independence of Gagik's church. More extensively illuminated than any surviving Byzantine manuscript, it is evidence of the wealth of these small Armenian states caught between Byzantium and the East.⁸ In 1071, at the Battle of Mantzikert, the Seljuks took Armenia proper and began to occupy the eastern lands of the empire. Armenian manuscript illumination would survive in the region as vibrant witness to the

Armenian faith but in styles that would grow increasingly isolated from Byzantine tradition.⁹

The dispersal of the Armenians was so extensive during this era that the *katholikos* of the Armenian Church ultimately left Greater Armenia in the mid-twelfth century and moved west to Hromklay, on the Euphrates River, still outside the borders of the empire.¹⁰ Among the many Armenians forced to relocate within those borders, the most successfully resettled included those who established themselves in Cilicia, on the eastern edge of the Mediterranean. The great Armenian families of the region, the Rubenids and Het'umids, were able to dominate the land while retaining nominal allegiance to the Byzantine state. With the advent of the Crusades, the Cilician Armenians found new allies in their effort to establish themselves as an independent identity. In 1198–99 the Rubenid ruler, Leo the Great, managed to obtain a king's crown from representatives of the Holy Roman Emperor at Tarsos and soon afterward received a crown from the emperor of Byzantium. To achieve this, Leo had forced the Armenian Church to accede to a union with Rome, at least in name.¹¹ Contacts with the West also involved extensive intermarriage

between the Cilician elite and the Crusader aristocracy. Leo the Great's first wife was Isabelle of Antioch; their daughter was married to John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, while Leo's youngest daughter, Zabel, was first betrothed to Andrew, a younger son of the king of Hungary.¹²

Throughout the Middle Byzantine centuries the Gospels remained central to the Armenian expression of faith, both in Greater Armenia (cat. no. 240) and among Armenians living within the borders of the empire, including those who were members of the military (cat. no. 233) or newly independent rulers of border regions (cat. no. 242). Written in Armenian, the Gospels were venerated in the churches and by the populace in a manner similar to the reverence accorded icons in the Byzantine Church. The majority of Armenian Gospel books open with often elaborately decorated canon tables, an introductory index system for the Gospels that originated in the Early Byzantine world, having been invented by Eusebios of Caesarea (ca. 260–339/40) in Palestine. Found in most Gospel books, the tables came to have a special importance to the Armenians (cat. nos. 240, 243). Medieval Armenian theologians, such as Saint Nersēs IV Shnorhali (1102–1173), known as the Gracious, called the canon tables “baths of sight and hearing for those approaching the soaring peaks of God”; to him, the decoration of the canon tables prepared the reader for the experience of reading the Gospels.¹³ More densely illuminated Gospel books include portraits of the Four Evangelists (cat. no. 242); in the most lavish of the manuscripts dedicatory pages and narrative illuminations embellish the text. The finest Armenian manuscripts are connected by style and iconography to the Byzantine tradition, which was the dominant Christian cultural force of the region (cat. nos. 46, 60). Stylistic comparisons, however, must often be made across several centuries, as Armenians in their homeland seldom sought to be current with the taste in Constantinople. Armenian illuminators also frequently modified images, creating variants on standard Byzantine iconography to reflect specific Armenian concerns.¹⁴

In the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Hromklay and in Cilicia a new style of Armenian illuminated manuscript developed that fused the byzantinizing tradition of earlier Armenian illumination with new influences from the West. One of the most influential scriptoria in this era was that in Skewray, which was established by Saint Nersēs of Lambron (1153–1198), a leading theologian of the Armenian Church, who sought contacts with both the Byzantine and Latin Churches. His Gospel book of 1198 (cat. no. 239) typifies the new Cilician style. The Gospel of John opens with a byzantinizing evangelist portrait facing an incipit page decorated with the Lamb of God and the eagle of John the Theologian, themes popular in the West.¹⁵ In the mid-thirteenth century T'oros Roslin, one of the greatest artists of the Cilician tradition, would revive the motifs developed at Skewray at the patriarchal scriptorium in Hromklay (cat. no. 243)—evi-



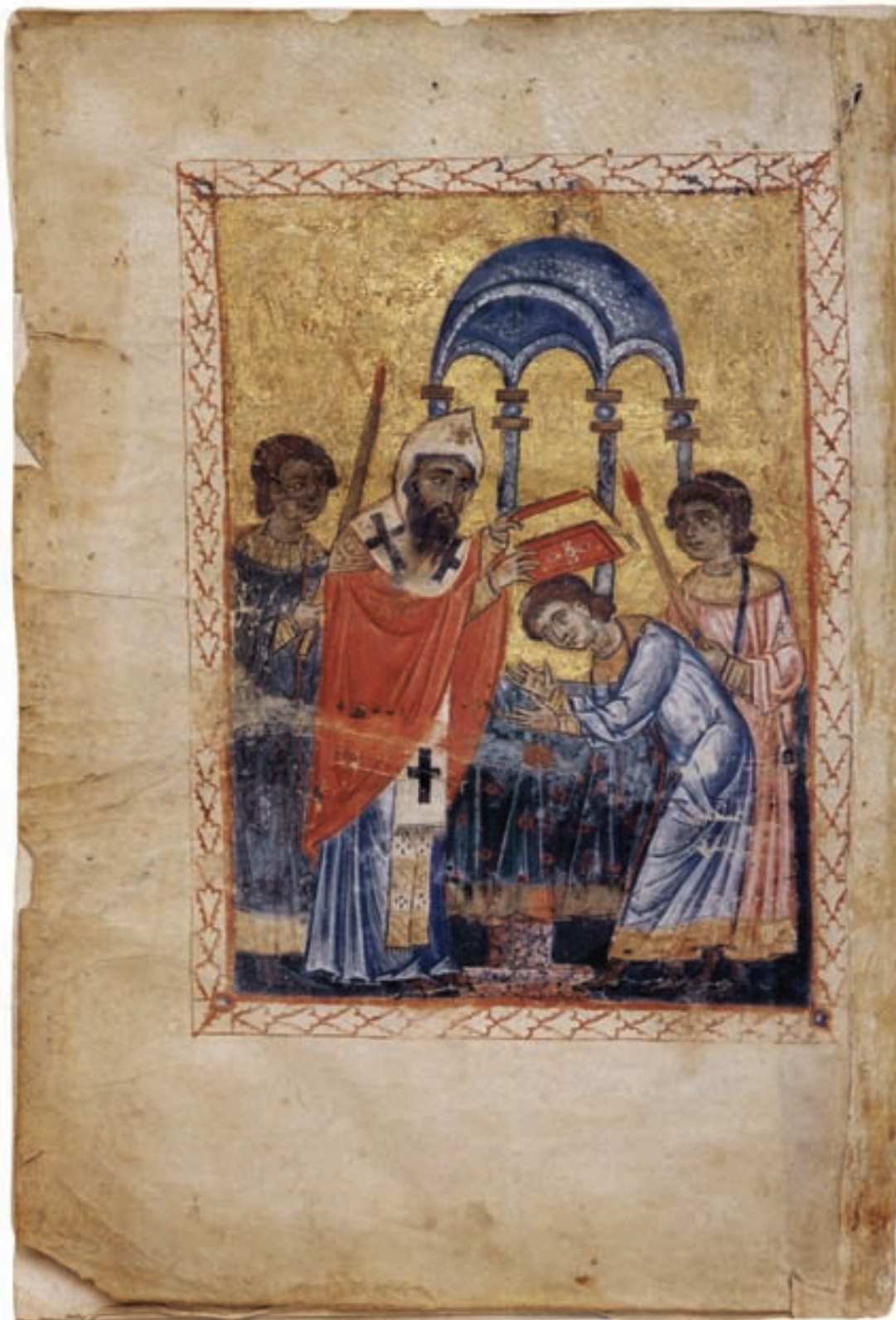
T'oros Roslin. Prince Leo II. Illustration from the Gospels of Leo II, Hromklay (present-day Syria), 1256. Erevan, Matenadaran Institute, Ms. 8321, fōl. 25. Photo: Lucy der Manuelian

dence of a renewed interest in contacts with the West.¹⁶ As in Byzantine royal portraits, Roslin's painting of Leo II, the heir to the Cilician throne, shows him standing and wearing aristocratic Byzantine costume. A generation later Leo II would be represented kneeling, with his wife and children, as in the West, draped in a *loros*, emblematic of Byzantine imperial rule.¹⁷ In these Cilician images the Eastern orientation of many of the rulers of Greater Armenia is superseded by the ambition to emulate and ultimately to surpass, or replace, the emperors of Byzantium. At midpoint in the thirteenth century, as the empire struggled to recover from the occupation of its capital by the Fourth Crusade, the Armenians of Cilicia were only one of the neighboring cultures of Byzantium who dreamed of inheriting the imperial mantle of the Byzantine state, which they had for so long both fought and served. No Christian people, however, would achieve this goal, although Russia would claim to be the direct heir of Byzantium.



Լեւոյ Եւ թագաւորաց Կայսրաց

Leo II and the Royal Family with the Deesis. Illustration from the Queen Keran Gospels, Sis, 1272. Jerusalem, Armenian Cathedral of Saint James, Ms. 2563, fol. 380. Photo: Institut de Recherche sur les Miniatures Arméno-Byzantine, Paris



238. Ordination of an Armenian Priest, frontispiece

238. Book of Ordinations

Sargis, scribe
 Armenian (Melitene region?, near Cilicia), 1248
 Tempera and gold on vellum; 45 bifolia with lacunae
 26.5 × 18.5 cm (10⁵/₈ × 7¹/₄ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Armenian, on fol. 45v, In the Armenian era 697 [1248] this Book of Ordinations was written at the great and celebrated monastery called Zarnuk, under the auspices of the Holy Virgin, at

the command of the venerable Bishop Khach'atur. Now, you who read, remember its owner Der Khach'atur and his parents and with them me, Sargis, novice copyist, and my parents and my teacher Kirakos, and glory be rendered to Christ. World without end.

CONDITION: The margins of the surviving leaves are trimmed.

PROVENANCE: Given to the Library of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Congregation of San Lazzaro, Venice, on October 15, 1830, by Yovhannēs Der Karapetian, as a gift from the city of Nikomedeia (present-day Izmit). No other documentation survives.¹

Congregazione Armenia Mechitarista, Venice, Italy (1657)

The frontispiece to the manuscript is the earliest-known depiction of the ordination of an Armenian priest. The bishop, wearing a cowl known as the *knkugh* on his head, holds a book above the head of the new priest as two deacons with lighted candles stand at the sides of the altar.² The text, written in *erkar'agir* with *bolorgir* for the titles, contains the Armenian rites of ordination for deacons, subdeacons, and priests. Neither the patron nor the scribe, Sargis, nor the monastery, Zarnuk, identified in the colophon on folio 45v, is known from other texts. The monastery has been identified with a river called Zarnuk referred to in Byzantine texts as north of Melitene, which is near Cilicia.³ Mesrop Janashian considers the Cilician style of both the manuscript's title pages and marginal markers evidence that the monastery was in the region of Melitene and that the master Kirakos, identified in the colophon as the teacher of Sargis, was the illuminator active at the Armenian patriarchate at Hromklay in the first half of the thirteenth century.⁴

The frontispiece is comparable to the illuminations in the Syriac Pontifical of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. no. 112, which is dated 1238–39 and is known to have been in

use in the Syriac cathedral at Melitene.⁵ While the site at which the Syriac manuscript was originally copied is unknown, it may be relevant that Syriac manuscripts were produced in the town of Hromklay in the thirteenth century, when friendly relations existed between the Armenian and Syriac Christian communities.⁶ Suggesting a lost Byzantine prototype for the illumination, Sirarpie Der Nersessian and Janashian reject any direct connection between the Syriac and Armenian manuscripts, while Jules Leroy argues that the Armenian scribe was directly inspired by the Syriac text.⁷

H C E

1. Janashian 1966, p. 49.
2. Der Nersessian 1936–37, p. 103; Der Nersessian and Agemian 1993, p. 153.
3. Der Nersessian and Agemian 1993, p. 44.
4. Janashian 1966, p. 50.
5. J. Leroy 1964, pp. 332–38, pls. 111–113; Der Nersessian 1936–37, pp. 104, 109; Der Nersessian and Agemian 1993, p. 45.
6. J. Leroy 1964, pp. 337–38; Der Nersessian 1963, p. 13.
7. Der Nersessian and Agemian 1993, p. 45; Janashian 1966, p. 50; J. Leroy 1964, pp. 337–38.

LITERATURE: Der Nersessian 1936–37, pp. 102–9, pls. XL–XLV; Janashian 1966, pp. 49–51, pls. LXXVIII, LXXIV; Der Nersessian and Agemian 1993, pp. 44–45, 152–53, fig. 131.

239. The Gospels of Adrianople

Kirakos, scribe
Armenian (Adrianople), 1007
Tempera and gold on vellum; 280 fols.
42 × 32 cm (16½ × 12½ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Greek and Armenian, on the donor portrait, beside the Virgin, ΜΡ ΟΥ (Mother of God) and (Surb Atsatsich); in Greek, beside Yovhannēs, a dedication to a later owner of the Gospels: ΘΚΕ ΒΟΝΘ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΝ ΔΟΥΛ ΦΩΤ ΔΙΣΥΠΙΑΤ (Mother of God, preserve your servant Photios the consul); an Armenian inscription, which may have been earlier, is erased, as is another inscription in Greek.¹

CONDITION: There is some deterioration of the pages at the beginning and end of the text.

PROVENANCE: Bought in 1883 by the Library of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Congregation of San Lazzaro, Venice, from Ermonia Khiwrkhchipashean, who said it had belonged to her grandmother (colophon, fol. 131v).²

Congregazione Armenia Mechitarista, Venice, Italy (Ms. 887/116)

The manuscript consists of 280 folios in 35 quires of 8 folios each with the text written in double columns of approximately 20 lines each. It is illustrated with an incomplete set of canon tables (fols. 1r–6r), double portraits of the evangelists (fols. 6v–7r), and a



239. Yovhannēs Presenting the Gospel Book to the Enthroned Virgin and Child, fols. 7v–8r

dedicatory portrait of the donor presenting the Gospel book to the enthroned Virgin and Child (fols. 7v–8r). A colophon at the end of the Gospels (fol. 279v) identifies the scribe (the priest Kirakos), the donor (Yovhannēs), and the date (1007), as well as the city in which the manuscript was made (Adrianople).

This large, handsome Gospel book, written in Armenian in the bold vertical script called *erkat'agir*, demonstrates the strength of the Armenian culture, even when its people were removed from their homelands and assimilated into the structure of the Byzantine Empire. The Gospel book is the work of an Armenian community in the western part of the Byzantine Empire. Its colophon is extensive, like those of most Armenian manuscripts, and combines information about the creation of the manuscript with a plea for prayers for the scribe, the donor, and the donor's family. Kirakos (an Armenian name), produced the manuscript for Yovhannēs (also an Armenian name), who was "*protospatharios* of the emperor [Basil II] and the *proximos* of my duke Thothorakan [Theodorokanos]." The Theodorokanos family too may have been of Armenian origin.³ The manuscript was written at Adrianople in Thrace, one of the regions in which Armenians are known to have resettled from their homeland by the Middle Byzantine centuries. Such a community had previously produced Basil I, the half-Armenian who rose to be emperor of Byzantium (r. 867–86) and founder of the great Macedonian dynasty.⁴ Yovhannēs was one of the many Armenians successfully serving in the Byzantine military. A *protospatharios* was a dignitary in the imperial hierarchy; the meaning of *proximos* is less clear, but it was a title of significant rank.⁵

In the donor portrait Yovhannēs wears Byzantine military dress and holds a copy of his gift, the Gospel book, before an image of the enthroned Virgin and Child.⁶ Interestingly, the Child turns away from the donor, perhaps an indication that the donor's portrait was added as an afterthought. The scale of the Yovhannēs figure also differs dramatically from that of the Virgin. The type of the popular Byzantine image of the Virgin and Child, the Hodegetria, has been connected with Byzantine works of the same period, suggesting that the illuminations may be the work of a Greek artist.⁷ Analysis of the paint supports this opinion, as the pigments are those used more frequently in Byzantine than in Armenian works.⁸ The coexistence of these illuminations with the Armenian text and the simple geometric decoration of the canon tables and of crosses in the text may indicate that more than one artist was

involved. The Gospel book should be compared with other manuscripts of the eleventh century—with such works of the eastern independent Armenian principalities as the Gospels of King Gagik-Abas of Kars in the Armenian Patriarchate of Saint James, Jerusalem (see illus. on p. 353), and the Trebizond Gospels (cat. no. 240)—whose illuminations are also in a style closely connected to the Byzantine tradition.⁹

H C E

1. Janashian 1966, pp. 28–30, pls. xxxiv–xli.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
3. *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 2050.
4. Charanis 1963, pp. 26–27; *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 1262.
5. *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 1748, 1751.
6. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 56–57.
7. Weitzmann 1933, pp. 17–19.
8. Mathews and Orna 1992, pp. 330–32.
9. Mathews, "Classic Phase," 1994, pp. 60–61; Narkiss 1979, pp. 32–33, 147, figs. 44–46.

LITERATURE: Weitzmann 1933; Janashian 1966; Spatharakis 1976; Narkiss 1979; Mathews and Orna 1992, pp. 525–50; Mathews, "Classic Phase," 1994, pp. 54–65

240. The Trebizond Gospels

Armenian, mid-11th century
Tempera and gold on vellum; 633 bifolia
46 × 37 cm (18½ × 14½ in.)

CONDITION: The illuminations are generally badly flaked.

PROVENANCE: Brought in 1803 to the Library of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Congregation of San Lazzaro, Venice, from Trebizond (present-day Trabzon, Turkey) by Father Ignatius Papazian.¹

Congregazione Armenia Mechitarista, Venice, Italy (1925)

The manuscript consists of 633 bifolia with the text written in two columns of eleven lines each in bold *erkat'agir* script. It is now bound in two volumes. The text, including the decorated incipit pages for the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John and the evangelist portraits of Luke and John, is in one volume. The surviving canon tables (tables I, II, II–III, IV–V, and X and half of the letter to Eusebios), a portrait of the Four Evangelists and one of Matthew, and depictions of the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Presentation, the Baptism, the Transfiguration, the Deesis, and Christ Pantokrator make up the other volume.

The Trebizond Gospel book is one of the grandest works produced within the Byzantine

sphere of influence. Because its colophon is lost, little is known about its origin. As in the Gospels of Adrianople (cat. no. 239), the style of the illuminations is so closely tied to the Byzantine tradition that it has been suggested that Greek artists were among the illuminators.² The pigments in the illuminations show a greater similarity to characteristically Byzantine pigments than is usual in Armenian manuscripts;³ the book's lavish decorations are recognized as having their source in the Byzantine tradition.⁴ The work is, however, far larger than most Byzantine manuscripts, and its Armenian text evokes the independent spirit of the Armenian people. Aspects of the decorations point to an origin among the semi-independent Armenian principalities that thrived in Greater Armenia into the eleventh century. Representations of crowns in particular provide a clue: they are frequently depicted in Byzantine canon tables as symbols of votive gifts.⁵ It has been suggested that the crowns in canon table IV–V are in the specific style of the Bagratid family, one of the ruling houses of the Armenian homeland in the Middle Byzantine period.⁶ The Gospel book may have been a royal commission for their greatest kingdom, which had its capital at Ani.⁷ The only known canon tables of similar luxury are those in the Gospels of King Gagik-Abas of Kars (r. 1045–54), possibly evidence again of an origin in one of the Bagratid states (see illus. on p. 353).⁸

With their majestic size and rich, deep colors the canon tables evoke a sense of great luxury. Broad expanses of saturated blues and purples are highlighted by delicately drawn patterns worked in varying thicknesses, resulting in an almost hypnotic rhythm reminiscent of elaborate floor mosaics. Thick columns that imitate porphyry, the most royal of stones, support the intricately decorated rectangular headpieces. Lush acanthus leaves at the borders intensify the sense of almost oriental splendor. Armenian commentators on the Gospels have described the canon tables in detail as symbols of the mystery of humanity's redemption.⁹ No direct correlation can be made, however, between the commentaries and the peacocks, guinea hens, quail, and sheep(?) that inhabit these pages. These creatures remained popular in Armenian canon table decoration for centuries.

H C E

1. Janashian 1966, pp. 23–27, pls. xii–xxxiii.
2. Der Nersessian 1977, p. 114.
3. Mathews and Orna 1992, p. 535.
4. Weitzmann 1933, pp. 19–23, and fig. 39; Der Nersessian and Agemian 1993, p. 33.
5. Princeton 1973, pp. 130–31.



240. Canon table, fol. 10r

6. Janashian 1966, p. 27, pl. xv.
7. Der Nersessian 1977, p. 114.
8. Der Nersessian 1984, pp. 85-107; Mathews and Orna 1992, pp. 532-33.
9. Mathews 1991, pp. 169-73, 206-11.

LITERATURE: Janashian 1966, pp. 23-27; Der Nersessian 1977, p. 114; Mathews and Orna 1992, pp. 525-50.

241. Psalter Leaf with Moses and the Law

Byzantine (Anatolia?), ca. 1088
 Tempera on vellum
 11.7 x 9.2 cm (4 5/8 x 3 5/8 in.)

INSCRIBED: In Greek, on the illumination, The prophet Moses receiving the tablets from the hand of God/ The prophet Moses bringing them to the people; on the back, Psalm 76 (77):12-20

CONDITION: There is a horizontal crease across the center of the page; the paint is somewhat flaked on the lower portion.

PROVENANCE: The complete manuscript was in the possession of Makarios, archbishop of Corinth and Thessalonike, in the early sixteenth century; Gabriel Millet saw the leaf in the manuscript in 1894, and he implied that he saw the manuscript again later with the page removed;¹ Henry Walters purchased the leaf from Léon Gruel.

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (Cod. w530b)

One of the many ways in which the influence of Byzantium passed beyond its borders was through the transmission of images in manuscripts produced there and acquired by other peoples. In the twelfth or thirteenth century the manuscript from which this leaf was removed, the Mount Athos Psalter Vatopedi 761 (formerly 609), belonged to an Armenian who added inscriptions and extra ornaments to many of the folios.² These were probably made to adapt the text for use in the Armenian rite. Certainly the Armenian inscriptions in the parent manuscript suggest that the work was adapted for use by someone whose first language was not Greek. The psalter may have been acquired by one of the thousands of Armenians who were moved to within the borders of the Byzantine Empire during the second half of the eleventh century. The leaf can be dated by the Easter tables in the parent manuscript to about 1088.³

The psalter is the most important liturgical text after the lectionary; the Psalms are often chanted during the service. This full-page illumination preceding Psalm 77 (78) may have been inspired in part by the closing lines of Psalm 76 (77), "You led your people



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like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron." At the upper left Moses removes his sandals. To the right he receives the Tablets of the Law, an indication that his direction is from God, and below he teaches the Law to the Israelite elders, the "flock." The first two scenes are thought to have been modeled on illustrations in the Octateuch (the first eight books of the Old Testament).⁴ Moses Preaching to the Elders is outside the Octateuch tradition but is an appropriate accompaniment to Psalm 77 (78), which opens with "Give ear, O my people, to my teaching." In its juxtaposition of several narrative events in one composition the leaf is typical of the group of Byzantine manuscripts called the "aristocratic psalters." The greatest of these, the Paris Psalter (cat. no. 163), is an exceptionally fine work produced in the capital,

Constantinople. This leaf, while similar in format, is not of the same quality. Illustrations that must ultimately derive, although in modified form, from the so-called aristocratic psalters are found in thirteenth-century Cilician illumination.⁵ Thus works such as this must have been one of the means by which standard Byzantine iconography was transmitted to the Armenians, who then adapted it to express their own faith.

H C E

1. Princeton 1973, p. 108.
2. Ibid., pp. 108-9.
3. Cutler 1984, p. 26.
4. Princeton 1973, p. 109.
5. Der Nersessian and Agemian 1993, pp. 65-66, and figs. 234, 235.

LITERATURE: Weitzmann, "Psalter," 1947, pp. 20–51; Der Nersessian 1965, pp. 155–83; Der Nersessian, *Études*, 1973, pp. 637–51; Cutler 1984.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore 1947, no. 699; Oberlin 1957, no. 1; Ithaca 1968, no. 18; Princeton 1973, no. 23.

242. The L'viv Gospels

Grigor, scribe

Armenian (Cilicia, Mlidj, and Skewřay), 1193–1198/99
Tempera and gold on vellum; 42 bifolia
31 × 24 cm (12¼ × 9½ in.)

Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, Gniezno, Poland

The manuscript is illuminated with canon tables, portraits of the evangelists, figural, scenic, and ornamental miniatures, portrait medallions, and ornamental initials. Its history can be deduced in part from its colophons.¹ One colophon indicates that it was completed in the year 647 of the Armenian era (A.D. January 31, 1198–January 30, 1199). On January 27, 1199, Leo II Ruben was crowned first king of the Cilician kingdom of Armenia in Tarsos by Archbishop Konrad I

of Mainz at the behest of Emperor Henry VI.² It may be that the Gospel book was commissioned with a view to this event.

Colophons identify three owners from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There is no indication, however, of the date the manuscript came into the possession of the Armenian Bishopric of L'viv (established in 1365) or of the Uniate Armenian Archbishopric (established in 1653), where it remained until 1945. In that year, when the Uniate Armenians were moved from L'viv to southern Silesia by the Soviet forces, they brought with them the present Gospel book, the most important manuscript belonging to the L'viv See, and placed it in the Benedictine monastery of Tynieć on the Wisła (Vistula), near Kraków. The manuscript appears to have remained there until 1985, when at the initiative of the archbishop of Kraków it was transferred (perhaps through the offices of the priest Józef Kowalczyk, of the parish of the Catholics of the Eastern Rite, Gliwice³) to Józef Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland and archbishop of Warsaw and Gniezno. Glemp placed it in the Gniezno Cathedral archive, where it is still kept. The location of the manuscript, which is the property of the legal successors

of the former Armenian Uniate See of L'viv, became known in 1993 (until then it was thought to have been lost in World War II).⁴

G P

The L'viv Gospels were transcribed and illuminated by the priest Grigor between 1193 and 1198/99 in Cilicia. The work was begun at Mlidj, the monastery-mausoleum of the powerful Het'umid house, and was completed after Grigor moved to the Het'umid scriptorium at Skewřay in 1198/99.⁵ It is one of two Gospel books with closely related canon tables, evangelist portraits, and incipit pages that are associated with Skewřay. The other, the Gospels of Nersēs and Het'um (Venice, Library of Armenian Manuscripts of the Mekhitarist Congregation of San Lazzaro, Ms. 1635), was transcribed in 1193 by the copyist Kostandin for Nersēs of Lambron (1153–1198), the founder of the scriptorium, and his brother Het'um, head of the Het'umid family.⁶ Nersēs' scriptorium was the leading innovator in Armenian manuscript illumination in the second half of the twelfth century. Cilicia's greatest theologian, Nersēs was a leader in the Armenian outreach to the Byzantine and Latin



242. Saint John with Prochoros, fol. 326v, and incipit page, fol. 327r

Churches. He translated the Benedictine Rule and tried to persuade the Armenian clergy to adopt it.⁷ He took the Agnus Dei (Lamb of God) as his personal symbol, a choice that indicated his interest in the Latin Church.⁸ In both the L'viv Gospels and the Gospels of Nersēs and Het'um, the Lamb appears at the top of the incipit page of the Gospel of John. This image was not used in the Byzantine world after the seventh century, and thus its presence in these manuscripts was a forceful pro-Western statement by the Gospels' owners and patrons.⁹ Other innovative details on the incipit pages—for example, the eagle atop the incipit letter and the human head with tendrils spilling from its mouth—also suggest connections to the West.¹⁰ (The Western motifs introduced at Skewřay were revived at the patriarchal scriptorium at Hřomklay in the mid-thirteenth century, signaling a renewed interest in contact with the West [see cat. no. 243].¹¹) The evangelist portrait, in contrast, is more closely tied to the contemporary Byzantine tradition,¹² perhaps reflecting Nersēs' continuing connections with the Byzantine Church.

H C E

1. See Akinian 1930, pp. 5–32.
2. See Dédéyan 1982, pp. 72ff.; see also Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, vol. 1, p. 76.
3. The author wishes to thank H. Buschhausen, Vienna, and Chr. Weise, Neu-Isenburg, for their help.
4. The author also wishes to thank M. Salamon, Kraków, K. Iłski, Poznań, and M. Aleksandrowicz, Gniezno, for information about the fate of the manuscript after 1945.
5. See H. Evans 1990, pp. 26–30, for the dynastic lines, and Der Nersessian and Agemian 1993, p. 16, for the inscription.
6. H. Evans 1990, pp. 65–71, 166; Der Nersessian and Agemian 1993, pp. 16–18, 20–21, 39–40.
7. H. Evans 1990, pp. 22–25; Havener 1987, pp. 35–37; Havener 1988–89, pp. 185–86.
8. H. Evans 1990, pp. 65–66.
9. Ibid., pp. 22–25, 52–53.
10. H. Evans 1994, pp. 70–71; H. Evans 1990, pp. 55–61.
11. H. Evans 1990, pp. 75–96.
12. Der Nersessian and Agemian 1993, p. 20.

LITERATURE: Akinian 1930, pp. 5–32; Dédéyan 1980; Havener 1987; Havener 1988–89; Evans 1990; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990, vol. 1, p. 76; Der Nersessian and Agemian 1993 (see index for Lwów [L'viv] Gospels); Prinzing, "Neue Funde," 1993, pp. 310–14; Prinzing, "Verschollenes Prachtwerk," 1993, pp. 14–15; H. Evans 1994; Bochum 1995, pp. 191–210.



243. Canon table, fol. 1v

243. Two Bifolia from the Canon Tables of the Zēyt'un Gospels

T'oros Roslin, scribe and illuminator (Armenian, active 1256–68)
 Armenian (Hřomklay, Cilician style), 1256
 Tempera and gold on vellum
 26.5 × 19 cm (10 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: Originally part of a Gospel book made for the *katholikos* of the Armenian Church, Constantine I (r. 1221–67); later bound into another manuscript in Kahramanmaraş, Turkey. Acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1994.

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Calif.
 (94.MB.71.1 + 2)

The two bifolia are from a complete set of four containing the ten canon tables executed by T'oros Roslin, the greatest Armenian illuminator and scribe of the Cilician era (11th–14th century). He was the principal artist at the patriarchal scriptorium at Hřomklay, on the Euphrates River, in the middle of the thirteenth century, when it was the source of the most innovative Armenian manuscripts. The canon tables were part of Roslin's first signed work, the Zēyt'un Gospels of 1256,¹ now Ms. 10450 in the Matenadaran Institute



243. Canon table, fol. 8r

of Ancient Armenian Manuscripts in Erevan, Armenia.² (The traditional letter to Eusebios, which completes the set of four bifolia, is still in the volume.) The Gospel book was written and illuminated for the personal use of the Armenian *katholikos*, Constantine I, Roslin's patron. That these tables are by the hand of Roslin is substantiated by a comparison of their design with those of his other, later signed Gospels. Each book opens with a set of vividly decorated canon tables, which in text and ornamentation follow the same

basic format. Pairs of peacocks, cranes, quail, roosters, guinea hens, or exotic birds appear on facing folios over rectangular headpieces decorated with matching geometric motifs. The headpiece designs are based, in sequential order, on triangles, circles, radiating ribs, and semicircles. The text, written in *bolorgir*, a cursive script developed in medieval Armenia, is set in tables divided in the same order in each Gospel book.³

Many details in these bifolia from the Zēyt'un Gospels derive from the Byzantine

tradition of canon table decoration (see cat. no. 46); indeed, many of these motifs, such as the patterns within the rectangular headpieces, had already been integrated into the Armenian tradition by the time of the Trebizond Gospels (cat. no. 240). Roslin, in what must have been an act of homage, copied his designs for the Zēyt'un canon tables from the last Gospel book done by his predecessor at Hromklay, Yovhannēs (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Ms. 44.17).⁴ (Roslin's variations on Yovhannēs' patterns would in turn be copied in later centuries by Armenian illuminators seeking to restore to their art the splendor it had known during the Kingdom of Cilicia.)⁵ The Zēyt'un Gospel book, which is contemporaneous with the last years of the Latin occupation of Constantinople, also includes marginal illustrations closely connected to Western manuscript illumination, an influence that came by way of the Franciscans.⁶ But with these vibrantly colored tables Roslin was continuing an Armenian tradition, lavishing every skill on the opening folios of the Gospels as they lead the reader into the mysteries of the text.

H C E

1. New York, 1994, p. 206; Der Nersessian and Agemian 1993, pp. 51–52; H. Evans 1990, pp. 84–86, 159–60.
2. Der Nersessian, *Études*, 1973, pp. 559–62; H. Evans 1994, p. 206.
3. H. Evans 1983, pp. 272–90.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 273–78.
5. H. Evans and Merian 1994, pp. 109, 111.
6. H. Evans 1990, pp. 86–95; H. Evans, "Armenian Art" (forthcoming).

LITERATURE: Der Nersessian, *Études*, 1973, pp. 559–62; H. Evans 1983, pp. 272–90; H. Evans, "Armenian Art" (forthcoming).

EXHIBITION: New York 1994, no. 82.



CHRISTIANS IN THE ISLAMIC EAST

THELMA K. THOMAS

Byzantium's Eastern Christian neighbors in Asia Minor and northeast Africa followed an axis running south from the Taurus Mountains, around the eastern Mediterranean, and along the Nile to its sources. Within this long axis lay Syria, Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia — lands that had had sizable Christian communities from Late Antiquity.¹ These communities had established sectarian alliances with Jerusalem and Alexandria instead of Constantinople, to the northwest, or Rome, even farther afield, and they looked to the Holy Land for spiritual authenticity. Egypt and Syria retained their own *loca sancta*; Ethiopia, far to the south, came to create a simulacrum of the Holy Land within its territories. When Islam entered the region in the seventh century, it founded its own locus of pilgrimage at Mecca, in what is now Saudi Arabia. The rates of islamization in the wake of the Arab conquest, however, varied: Christian Egyptian and Syrian communities persist to the present day; farther south, nestled in the Horn of Africa, Nubia and Ethiopia remained independent Christian kingdoms only until the end of the Middle Ages. In tandem with religious changes, these lands experienced a fundamental, if gradual, shift of power away from the Byzantine sphere in the Mediterranean and toward the expanding territories of the Arab-Islamic dynasties in the Fertile Crescent, where new capitals were established at Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo. Thus, while the heart of medieval Byzantium's influence may have resided in Constantinople, Byzantine and other Eastern Christian traditions flourished beyond the empire's shrinking borders and outside the control of the imperial, Melchite (Chalcedonian) Church in lands that had been, after all, pivotal to the development of a universalist Early Christian culture.²

One example of an Eastern non-Byzantine development of Early Christian artistic traditions is the continuous production and use of icons in these communities, which escaped the Byzantine Iconoclastic controversy and its responses

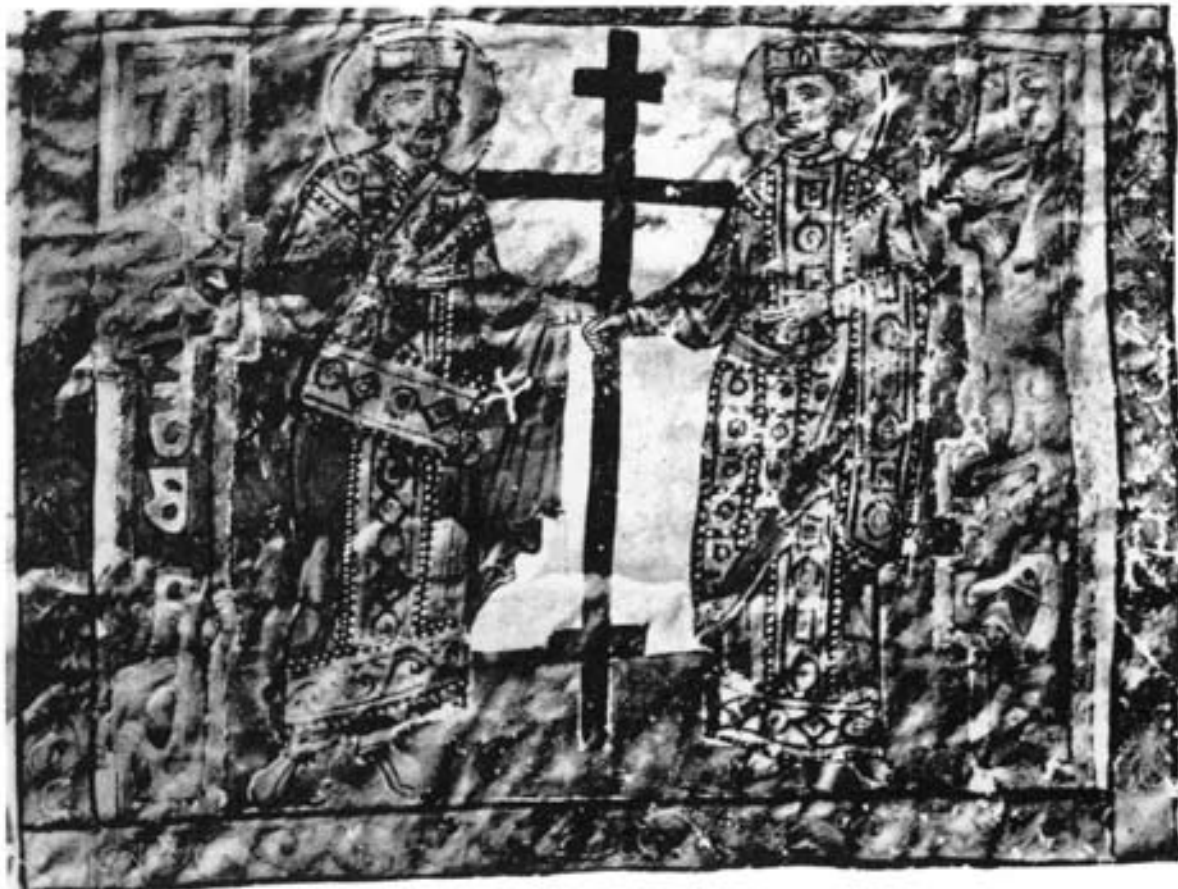
nearer home. The effect of indigenous materials and craft practices transformed imported Byzantine traditions, and influences from Arab and 'Abbasid Iraqi art became increasingly apparent in representational styles and decorative motifs. Trade networks, too, connected along this Near Eastern–African axis, with arms reaching across the Mediterranean in one direction and the Red Sea and Indian Ocean in the other. As a result, examples of Indian arts and crafts acquired through the Red Sea trade appeared in the region as well. At the same time, architectural features known in Arabia and Ethiopia during the latter's Early Christian Axumite kingdom were further developed in medieval Ethiopian church architecture.

SYRIA AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Medieval Syria varied widely in its borders. At its largest extent it included parts of present-day Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Arabia, and Turkey, thereby encompassing places sacred to the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim religions.³ Jerusalem was a holy city for all, as the site of the Temple of Solomon for Jews, of Jesus' Passion and awaited Second Coming for Christians, and of Muhammad's Ascension for Muslims. Medieval Jerusalem appeared to the Latin Christians, in particular, as a captive awaiting release at the hands of the Crusaders. Further charging this landscape for Christians were numerous other *loca sancta*, witnesses to both the Old and the New Testaments, and many long-established centers of monastic life. Syria's strategic position between the Byzantine and other Eastern empires was no less charged. Over the centuries successive rulers and would-be rulers — Byzantines, Persians, Umayyads, 'Abbasids, Seljuk Turks — vied for control of the region or parts of it. The Latin Christian Crusaders made their mark as well, building castles throughout their briefly held Syrian territories; Arab Islamic citadels on the Orontes provided key counterbalances.

As a result of its diverse population and political history, medieval Syria enjoyed a heterogeneous Christian heritage. The two main Early Christian components, Greek and

Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai, 6th century, with later additions. Photo: Bruce White



Constantine and Helena. Lectionary, Syria, 1226. Syriac-Orthodox Bishopric, Midyat, fol. 302r. From J. Leroy 1964

Syrian, maintained regional centers after the Arab conquest. Edessa was, from Early Christian times, the center for Syrian language and culture, including Syriac liturgical rites. The cities of Jerusalem, to the south, and Antioch, in the north, were Greek-speaking (with Syriac-speaking minorities); their Melchite and Maronite Churches' byzantinizing sects, developed in the seventh and eighth centuries, retained Greek as the liturgical language until the late Middle Ages, although by the mid-tenth century Greek-speakers in the region had become a minority.

Syrian cities present in microcosm examples of the interweaving of the region's many cultural strains. The nucleus of present-day Damascus, for instance, was formed at the time of Syria's annexation to Alexander's empire. A temple in the heart of the Greek city was rebuilt in Early Christian times as a church dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. When the Umayyads chose Damascus as their capital, the Great Mosque was erected atop that Christian church with the help of Greek, Syrian, and Egyptian craftsmen. A similar mix of talents was involved in the creation of the glittering mosaics of the Umayyad monuments in Jerusalem.⁴ The taste for luster and gold found in the later Christian decorative art of this region can thus be said to draw from the traditions of both Byzantine and Islamic art (see cat. no. 256). A good deal of Umayyad-period Damascus was destroyed upon the establishment of the 'Abbasid dynasty and, as a consequence,

although Damascus became particularly important as a haven for Iconophile apologists and possibly for icon painters and collectors, there is no Iconoclastic-period Christian figural art securely attributed to the city. Various isolated works have been assigned to the general region of Syria-Palestine, and the extensive icon collection at the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai (see illus. on p. 364) is remarkable evidence of the continuing development of iconic traditions throughout the period (see cat. nos. 65, 66, 244–50).⁵

Medieval monastic allegiances also reflect the sources of Syria's Christian sects. The Melchite monastery at Qal'at Sem'an, northeast of Antioch on the Byzantine-Arab frontier, was the site of a fifth-century pilgrimage complex at the column of Saint Symeon the Stylite the Elder. Although pilgrimage traffic had dwindled, the monastery was refounded in the tenth century, according to an inscription in Greek and Syriac of 979. The monastery of Saint Symeon the Stylite the Younger, northwest of Antioch, continued to draw pilgrims until at least the thirteenth century (see cat. no. 255). Syriac Christian monasteries flourished throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages in the mountainous area north of Nisibis known as the Tur 'Abdin (a few of them still function today) and in other regions as well;⁶ the monastery of Mar Yacub at Qara is a case in point (see cat. no. 257).

Later Christian Syrian art displays this multicultural heritage in styles that encompass, at one end of the spectrum,

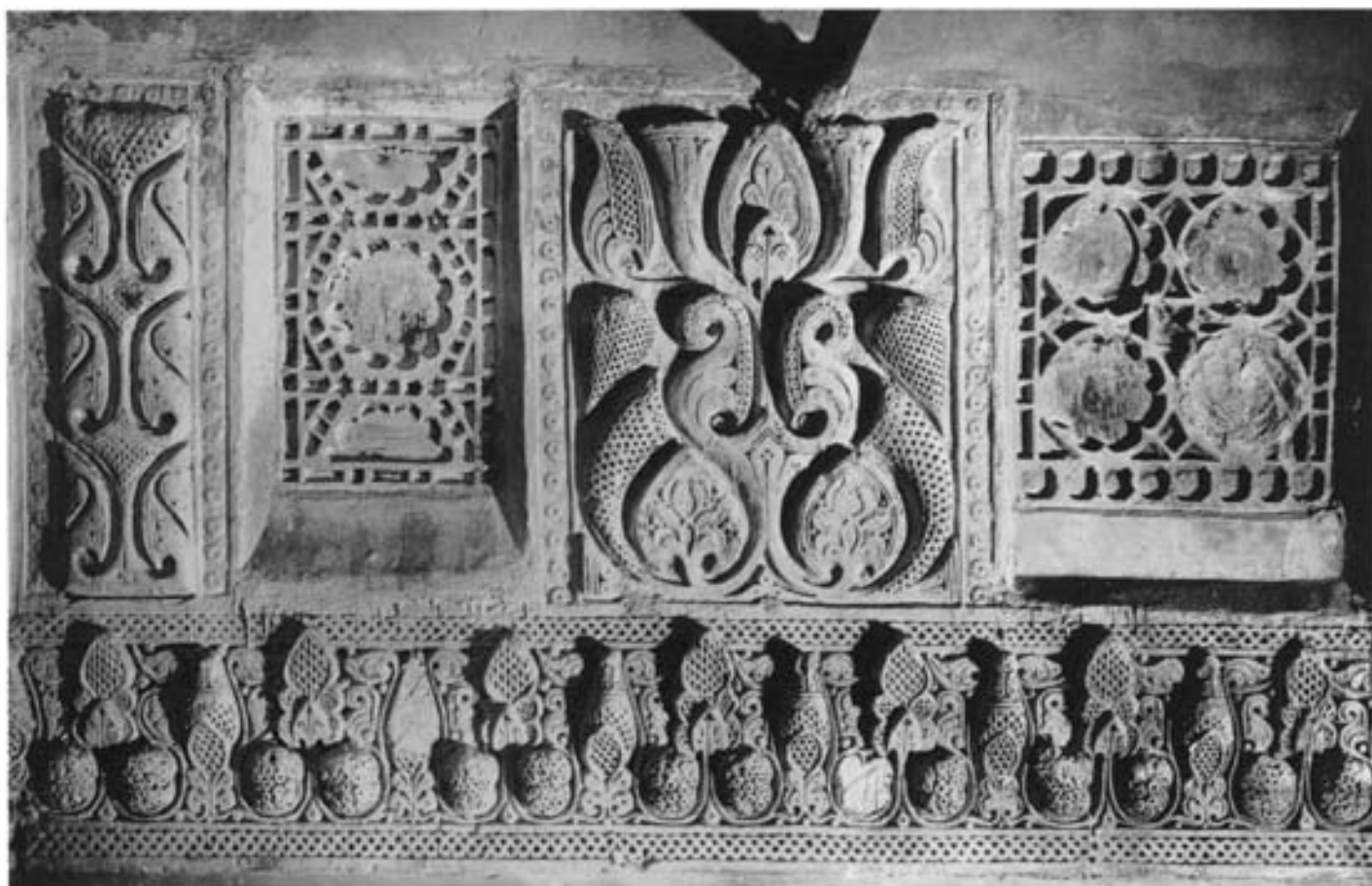


Constantine and Helena. Lectionary, Syria, 1219–20. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. syr. 559, fol. 223v. From J. Leroy 1964

Byzantine-Greek mannerisms and, at the other, representational formulas influenced by 'Abbasid Iraq. Two early-thirteenth-century Gospel illuminations of Constantine and his mother, Helena, with the True Cross document these distinctive stylistic repertoires with great clarity. Yet the codicological tradition remained constant: both illustrations are located in the same final position within their cycles. Other contemporary illuminated manuscripts show more homogenized mixtures of styles drawn from the wide range available (see cat. no. 254).⁷

EGYPT

At the time of the Arab conquest the main components of Christian art in Egypt were Egyptian, Greek, and Persian, although all had been transformed by Byzantium. Subsequent naming of the Christian communities continuing in Egypt as Coptic (from the Arabic word *Qibt*, itself adapted from the Greek *Aigyptioi*) has obscured this multifaceted heritage, with the result that we tend to seek only one lineage for Christian Egyptian art. Yet multiple artistic trends, including Christian figural art, existed.⁸ These were soon enhanced by Arab and 'Abbasid Iraqi traditions, which entered the reper-



Sanctuary frieze and panel. Stucco, early 10th century, Church of al-'Adhra, Wadi Natrun, Egypt



The Nativity of Christ and the Adoration of the Magi. Wood plaque, 9th–10th century, Church of Abu Sargah, Cairo. From Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968

toire in the ninth and tenth centuries—witness the boldly undulating, teeming surfaces of Samarra-inspired reliefs from the Church of al-‘Adhra’ at Deir Suriani, one of the monasteries in the Wadi Natrun, northwest of Cairo (see illus. on preceding page). These stucco panels were carved during the tenure of the monastery’s Abbot Moses, who traveled to Baghdad about 927 on behalf of Christians in Egypt and who returned with Syrian manuscripts for the monastery library.⁹ Figural reliefs, such as a ninth-to-tenth-century Nativity plaque in the Church of Abu Sargah (Saint Sergios), drew from a steadily expanding number of available repertoires, including Islamic arabesque motifs, Byzantine Christian subjects, and design elements found on cotton textiles imported from India.¹⁰

The conquest of Byzantine Egypt was sealed with the insertion of an Arab ruling elite in the cities. The succeeding ‘Abbasid dynasty reoriented Egypt toward the Near East, especially to the Red Sea, Syria-Palestine, and Arabia, and to the North African coast along the Mediterranean.¹¹ The Shiite Fatimids gained Egypt’s independence from foreign governance in 969 and founded Cairo, north of the old capital of

Fustat, as the administrative center of their new empire, which stretched along the Near Eastern axis from Syria-Palestine to the African Red Sea coast and Yemen and also included North Africa and Sicily. The Coptic patriarchate moved from Alexandria to Cairo in the mid-eleventh century and established itself there at the Church of the Virgin, known as al-Mu‘allaqah. Historical documents reveal that Christians and Jews could lead privileged lives in Cairo (as well as in Alexandria, which continued to be a key transshipment point for Mediterranean trade). The Fatimid dynasty prospered until the twelfth century, when Saladin, who had retaken Jerusalem from the Crusaders, returned Egypt to Sunni orthodoxy and created a united Syro-Egyptian kingdom for his newly founded Ayyubid dynasty, which ruled Egypt for the caliph in Baghdad until the middle of the thirteenth century.

An illumination in a late-twelfth-century Gospel book from Damietta, which pictures a seated Coptic patriarch with a dark-skinned man in attendance (see illus. on p. 370), shows arabization to a marked extent in, for example, the decorative scripts bordering the central image as well as in the clothing of the two men. The patriarch wears a garment inscribed with Arabic calligraphic script, and both men cover their heads in Islamic fashion. At the same time, an inscription and the Ethiopian(?) representative epitomize the ties that Egyptian Christians maintained with other parts of northeastern Africa. The inscription reads: “In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, One God. Here is the portrait of the holy blessed father Anba Mark, seventy-third patriarch of the great city of Alexandria, of Egypt, of Ethiopia, and of the Pentapolis.”¹²

NUBIA

Nubia, south of Egypt, extended along the Nile from Aswan in the north to the convergence of the Blue and White Niles. It remained Christian following the Arab-Islamic conquest of Egypt, and its art continued to reflect the iconicity, iconography, and church programming of Early Christian and Byzantine art, with affinities to the arts of neighboring Christian communities. It has been suggested that much of Nubian Christian iconography may be attributed to the direct influence of pilgrimage art brought from the Holy Land in tokens and especially in icons,¹³ although closer comparisons may be found nearer to hand in Egypt.¹⁴ Independent developments are also notable.¹⁵

Two African Christian kingdoms carved from ancient Nubia—Nobatia and Makuria—had managed to repulse attempted Arab incursions that sought to enlarge upon their Egyptian conquests of the 640s.¹⁶ For over six hundred years, a treaty, or *baqt*, maintained the independence of Nubia and its allegiance to the Coptic Church of Egypt. The *baqt* lasted



Bishop Marianos under the Protection of the Virgin and Child. Fresco, 1003–36, Great Cathedral, Faras, Nubia. Warsaw Muzeum Narodowe. Photo: Elzbieta Gawryszeweka, Zakład Fotografii Muzealnej

until the thirteenth century, allowing closely controlled, prosperous trade between Nubia and Arab Egypt.¹⁷

Christianity and monasticism had entered the Nubian kingdoms during the sixth century owing, in part, to Byzantine political interests in the region. The emperor Justinian I sent a Melchite mission to convert the Nubians in 542. At the same time, the empress Theodora sent a Monophysite mission, as did the Egyptian Monophysite bishop of Philae. By the end of the century, Nubia was christianized and had embraced Monophysitism as an extension of the Egyptian Coptic Church. Thereafter, Nubian Christianity had only infrequent relations with the Byzantine Melchite Church,¹⁸ although Greek remained its liturgical language. In the later Middle Ages, the Nubian language, written in Greek characters, was also used both for sacred and for secular texts.

In their fluid, graphic lines and such details as facial construction and types of clothing, Nubian representations participated in the wide-ranging stylistic repertoires known from



A Coptic Patriarch with an Attendant. Manuscript illustration from Damietta, Egypt (cat. no. 251)

medieval Syria-Palestine and Egypt. Early Christian schemes continued to be used—although discontinued in Byzantium during the Iconoclastic controversy—at the same time new directions emerged.¹⁹

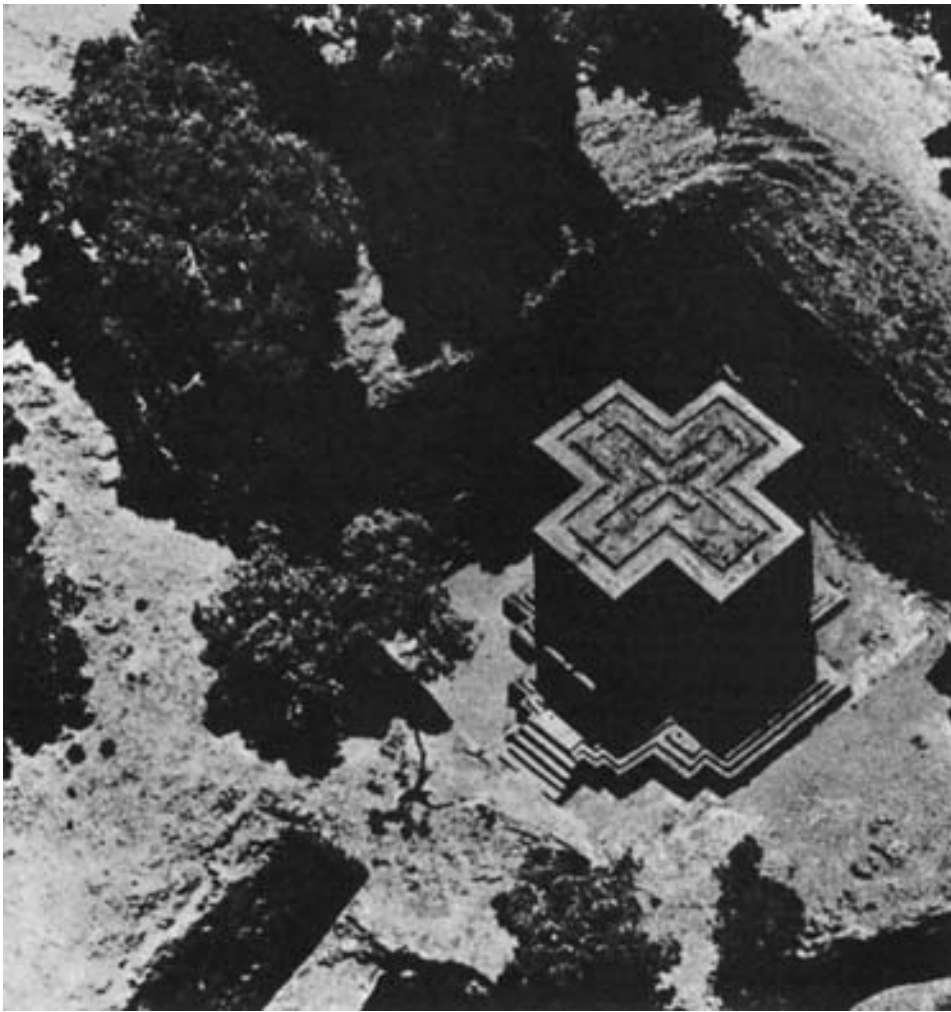
An iconic representation of the Virgin and Child blessing Bishop Marianos (1003–36; see illus. on preceding page),²⁰ for example, originally located on the east wall of the south chapel of the Great Cathedral at Faras, bears inscriptions in Greek identifying Mary, Christ, and Marianos. Typical of Nubian church decoration, however, is the free dispersal of compositions across the picture plane, as opposed to the tighter Byzantine association of iconography and architectural forms.²¹ The Marianos group did not fill the entire apse: next to it were depictions of Christ above a cross, with an anchorite beside him.²² The emphasis at Faras on iconic portraits of its bishops is also a departure from known Middle Byzantine church programs,²³ as is the reversal of frontality in the figures: the bishop faces forward while the Virgin and Child turn to connect him to the real space inhabited by the viewer. In a Byzantine composition, this would reverse the intercessional hierarchy of the figures. Such a drastically different mode of communication between the viewer and the persons represented would seem to derive, at least in part, from Early Christian iconic formulations.²⁴ Yet contemporary Byzantine influence can be seen in the bishop's garments, which follow the style of Byzantine liturgical vestments.²⁵

Three chronologically distinct layers of wall paintings preserved at Faras—each known by the predominant color of its palette—date from the eighth to the eleventh century. This stylistic development may not have occurred in isolation, for shading and highlighting techniques and even colors are shared with Syrian and Egyptian Christian figural art (cat. nos. 251, 253–255, 257).²⁶

Race, or ethnicity, is an issue in these paintings. Bishop Marianos is portrayed with the brown skin of people along the Upper Nile, whereas the Virgin and Child are lighter hued. This distinction between non-Nubian and Nubian historical personages obtains in all the phases of wall painting at Faras.²⁷ Interestingly, farther south, in Ethiopia, Christ, the Virgin, and saints are portrayed with the deep brown skin of the Ethiopians.

ETHIOPIA

Medieval Ethiopia, christianized from the fourth century, wealthy, and politically autonomous, enjoyed a wide-ranging artistic repertoire, including such representational treatments (naturalism and geometric abstraction) as might be categorized under the usual monolithic headings “Byzantine” and “Islamic.” The compositional formats of this repertoire are often Early Byzantine in origin. This is evident, for example, in the reuse of Early Christian Eusebian canon tables and in the continued development of this format and of other motifs known in a wide variety of Byzantine and byzantinizing



Cruciform church. Church of Saint George, 11th century, Lalibela, Ethiopia. From Dinkler 1970

traditions.²⁸ These were further enriched by specific borrowings from Islamic tradition, such as ornamental Kufic inscriptions.²⁹ Arabian and African contacts also expanded Christian Ethiopia's range of building materials and techniques, which included ashlar and rubble constructions, monolithic excavations, and combinations of wood and mortared masonry. Specifically Syrian traditions are reflected in Egyptian, Nubian, and Ethiopian church planning.³⁰ It is in their exterior treatment that Ethiopian churches carry on such Axumite-Arabian traditions as protruding roundheaded joists.³¹ Truly astonishing, however, is the spatial play in monumental architecture, which allows constructed and excavated churches to follow the same plans. Although this occurs in Byzantine Cappadocia and Cyprus as well, there is in Ethiopia a corresponding exploitation of the terrain that is uniquely and consistently dramatic.³²

By the early fourth century the ancient Axumite kingdom of northern Ethiopia, with its capital at Axum and its port of Adulis on the Red Sea, extended from Merowe across the Red Sea to southwest Arabia. It was through this territory that Syrian missionaries traveled to convert Ethiopia and through which Ethiopian pilgrims in turn traveled to

Jerusalem. In Jerusalem, Ethiopian Christianity had captured the imagination of the Mediterranean Early Christian world. "Aethiopia credet Deo" (Ethiopia believes in God) exemplified Christian universalism to such Church Fathers as Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and Gregory of Nyssa, and despite its embroilment in Church controversies, Ethiopia retained ties with the Melchite, Syrian, and Egyptian Churches.³³

The north has remained the spiritual heart of Christian Ethiopia, and Axum its holy city.³⁴ In the seventh century, however, when some of Muhammad's first disciples—following his counsel to go to the "land of righteousness"—introduced Islam in the north, Ethiopia turned southward to establish Christian prominence and economic prosperity in its middle highlands. Periods of ecclesiastical revival during the Zagwe dynasty (1137–1270) and the rise and growth of the so-called Solomonic dynasty (1270–1527) resulted in the creation of a new Jerusalem within Ethiopia's own terrain, carved from the bedrock of Lalibela in Lasta. The churches of this pilgrimage city, inspired by a dream soon after Saladin's recapture of Jerusalem, bear enduring witness to the strength of Ethiopia's spiritual ties to the Holy Land.

244. Icon with the Enthroned Virgin Surrounded by Prophets and Saints

Byzantine (Sinai or Constantinople), ca. 1080–1130
Tempera on wood
48.5 × 41.2 cm (19 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The youth and wistful beauty of the Virgin Mary quickly draw the eye to the heart of this icon, where a plump Christ Child with bare legs and athletic arms kicks in the embrace of his mother, who nestles her cheek pensively in his curls as he grips her veil. This central image, delicately framed in a rectangle, is the size of a small private icon (28.4 × 14.2 cm [11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.]) and thus is experienced in an intimate and direct way. Only secondarily does the viewer notice the populous ring of figures that surrounds the central pair. With this border the icon measures a far less intimate 48.5 × 41.2 cm (19 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.). Yet it is easy to hold, thin and light in weight. Today it is deeply bowed, perhaps because the back was not sealed with paint. Taking it in the hands, one holds it automatically at optimal distance to read its many written inscriptions (some reinforced by a later hand). Clearly the icon was meant to be read. The framing figures are tied by numerous diagonals to the Mother and Child whom they surround. The affective strength of the central group is to be understood in relation to the capacious intellectual frame of the encircling figures.

Enthroned as a child on his mother's lap, Christ appears enthroned above as the king of heaven, revealing his dual nature as God and man. Surrounded by those who proclaim his glory, he is labeled ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΘΗC ΔΟΞΗC (King of Glory). John the Theologian and Paul stand at the left, with John the Baptist and Peter at the right. Beneath Paul are Aaron and Moses, Anne and Symeon, Ezekiel and David, and Balaam and Habakkuk. Beneath Peter are Jacob and his ladder, Zachariah and Elizabeth, Isaiah and Daniel, and Solomon and Gideon. Of their prophecies, some treat Christ but most are devoted to Mary. It is she who dominates the bottom figures. At the foot of her throne is a line from Romanos the Melode's hymn on the feast of Mary's nativity: ΙΩΑΚΕΙΜ Κ[ΑΙ] ΑΝΝΑ ΕΤΕΚΝΟΓΟΝΗCΑΝ Κ[ΑΙ] ΑΔΑΜ Κ[ΑΙ] ΕΥΑ ΗΛΕΥΘΕΡΩΘΗCΑΝ (Joachim and Anne conceived and Adam and Eve were liberated). Beneath this inscription stands Joseph, whose scroll bears his statement of faith in Mary's purity from the same hymn; he is flanked by Joachim and Anne and by

Adam and Eve. Mary too is shown in marital terms. Accompanied by her mother, Anne, and the protomother, Eve, she sits as a bride unwed between her husband, Joseph, below and her divine spouse above. Pensively, she turns her gaze to Symeon in the frame, as if to find the meaning of her maternity. She is met by his prophecy of the Passion.

The image is striking for the learning and diversity of its biblical, poetic, and liturgical inscriptions. It links Old Testament vision to New Testament revelation and the Incarnation to the Second Coming; it moves from Child to Mother and back again, from Mary's son to her husband, to her father, to her father in heaven, who is her son, and from feast to feast of the Marian year. The viewer is drawn ever deeper into the endless layers of Marian meaning. Many scholars have taken on the challenge of explicating this image, but none has begun to exhaust the associative meanings that the image evokes. This is what icons are for: they open up the meaning of their subjects; they don't tie it down.

The icon has been variously dated from about 1080 to about 1130, the focal period of what Hans Belting — following the language of Byzantine ekphrasts — has called the “living icon,” the icon designed to seem so real as to be alive and thus to be poignantly affective. Just one other icon akin to this survives (The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg). In it the Mother and Child assume the loving embrace familiar from the famous miracle-working icon known as the Virgin of Vladimir (see illus. on p. 284). The posture of Mother and Child in the Sinai icon was also widely disseminated as a separate icon: this is the earliest-known instance of the pose later identified as the *Kykkotissa* after the great miracle-working icon of this type at the *Kykkos* Monastery on Cyprus. Famous in Italy by 1300, the type spread from *Kykkos* throughout the entire Orthodox world, with numerous replicas in Rus', the Balkans, Greece, Egypt, and Ethiopia. Like the Virgin of Vladimir and the Man of Sorrows (cat. no. 72), the Virgin here shows the immense power of the devotional formulas invented for Byzantium's “living icons” in the decades around 1100.

A W C

LITERATURE: Sotiriou and Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, pls. 54–56, vol. 2, pp. 73–75; Galavaris 1980, pp. 9–10; H. Maguire 1980–81, p. 267, pl. 12; Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 17, pl. p. 48; Babić 1988, pp. 63–65; Etinhof 1988, pp. 141–59; Mouriki 1990, p. 105, pl. 19; Carr 1993–94, pp. 239–48; Belting 1994, pp. 290–96, pls. 174, 176; Corrie 1996, pp. 45–52, pl. 3.

245. Icon with the Crucifixion

Byzantine (Sinai or Constantinople), ca. 1100
Tempera on wood
28.2 × 21.6 cm (11 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The richness of radiant materials intensifies the richness of emotive content in this small panel painting. The framing medallions, reminiscent of precious enamels, include Peter, Michael, John the Baptist, Gabriel, Paul, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzos, Theodore, Prokopios, Symeon the Stylite the Elder, Christina, Catherine, Barlaam, Symeon the Stylite the Younger, Demetrios, George, Nicholas, and Basil. The great hierarchs of the secular Church in the side frames are eye-catching in their bright vestments, but it is the saints of the monastic Church who dominate the icon's central axis, beginning amid the angels with the great monastic model John the Baptist and ending with Catherine, patron of the earthly monastery of Sinai. The icon seems to have been made for the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, and it may, in fact, have been made there, since the technique used in its medallions is unique to the icons from Sinai.

Hans Belting associates the emotive power of this Crucifixion with the same ninth-century sermon on the Virgin's Lament that Robin Cormack linked with the reliquary of the True Cross in the Vatican (cat. no. 35).¹ The two paintings are, however, very different, demonstrating how varied the modes of emotive evocation were in Byzantine art. More recently Elizabeth Fisher has compared the panel with a sermon in which Michael Psellos (born ca. 1018, died after 1081) describes a Crucifixion icon with almost overwhelming emotional intensity.² Whichever of the two texts more closely reflects the spirit in which the icon was produced, both show that works like this were intended to — and did — elicit strong, emotive responses.

A W C

1. Belting 1994, p. 271; Cormack 1977, pp. 151–53.
2. Fisher 1994, pp. 44–55.

LITERATURE: Sotiriou and Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, pl. 64, vol. 2, pp. 78–79; Weitzmann, *Icon*, 1978, pp. 90–91, no. 26; Belting 1994, p. 271, pl. 164; Fisher 1994, pp. 44–55; Derbes 1996, pp. 28–30, fig. 13.





245. Front



245. Back

246. Icon with the Annunciation

Byzantine (Sinai or Constantinople), late 12th century
 Tempera on wood
 61 × 42.2 cm (24 × 16 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

This icon is a definitive example of the so-called Late Komnenian style, the dynamic and often mannered mode of painting, characterized by streamlined linear highlights and rosy folds, that dominates many Byzantine monuments from the final two decades of the twelfth century. An exceptionally sophisticated piece, the icon is notable for its saturated golden tonality, erudite forms, and elaborate messages. The figures of Gabriel

and Mary, shadowy silhouettes in a luminous realm, seem to forsake all classical weight and poise for a wraithlike immateriality. Yet Gabriel's fluent pose in fact copies that of a classical Maenad, a quotation as deliberate as any Byzantine belletrist's allusion to Thucydides or Homer.

The formal sophistication of the icon's style is answered by its remarkably rich expressive content. In the haggard face and serpentine posture of Gabriel, who turns his winged back to the viewer as if halted in midstep, Henry Maguire has recognized the hesitant Gabriel of learned homilists.¹ They transformed the angelic messenger into a sober and reflective elder statesman, conversant with the vagaries of courtly service, who

pauses to ponder his fatal message and how best to announce it to Mary. She, in turn, emphatically regal on her gold throne, sits somberly, fingering the bloodred fabric of the temple veil, symbol of the veil of mortal flesh that she will cast over God's divinity. Her house, its marriage curtain drawn back, proclaims in its churchlike form the house of God. Above, it sports a roof garden, the enclosed or locked garden of the Song of Solomon (4:12), which is associated with Mary's virginity. Yet it is fertile, for storks nest on the roof above it. Fertile too is the river, alive with sporting fish and birds, that runs at the base of the scene. Like the garden, these images remind us that the time of Christ's conception is springtime, when



246. Front



246. Back

life is rejuvenated. As in a hymn or a homily, Mary is associated with a life-giving stream of water. The word that enters this spring-time world is not merely the human “Hail!” of Gabriel but the Word of God, symbolized by the dove that descends to Mary. It flies toward her breast, where, in the icon’s most haunting image, a barely visible grisaille tracery forms an oval shield or nimbus that surrounds the infant Christ. At once highly learned and deeply moving, luminous and somber, filled with details both thought-provoking and delightful, the icon is a remarkable and immensely skillful synthesis of divergent elements.

The icon may have been made at Sinai itself: the reflective circles scored in the sur-

face of the gold are known only on icons at Sinai, and the grisaille medallion with Christ on Mary’s breast—though not unique to Sinai (it appears on the contemporary Ustiug Annunciation in the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow)—resembles the form of Mary bearing Christ in a crimson medallion on her breast that came to symbolize Mary as the Burning Bush at Sinai. The textilelike pattern on the panel’s reverse is also seen in another icon from Sinai (cat. no. 247). Though such a pattern may well have been supplied not by the workshop of origin but at the time of an icon’s installation, it indicates that the icon must have been at Sinai since medieval times.

1. H. Maguire 1983, pp. 377–92.

LITERATURE: Weitzmann, “Spätkomnenische Verkündigungskone,” 1965, pp. 299–312; Weitzmann, *Icon*, 1978, p. 92, pl. 27; H. Maguire 1981, pp. 48–51, pl. 42; Weitzmann et al. 1982, p. 62, pl.; H. Maguire 1983, pp. 377–92; Mouriki 1990, pp. 107–8, pl. 29; Belting 1994, pp. 278–79, pl. 167.

A W C

247. Icon with the Heavenly Ladder of John Klimax

Byzantine (Sinai or Constantinople), late 12th century
 Tempera on wood
 41.1 × 29.5 cm (16¼ × 11¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front, ΟCΙΟC ΙΩ Ο ΘC ΚΑΙΜΑΚΟC/ΟCΙΟC ΑΝΤΟΝΙΟC ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΪΚΟΗΟC (Holy John of the Ladder/Holy Archbishop Antonios); on the back, ΙC ΧC ΝΙΚΑ (Jesus Christ conquers)

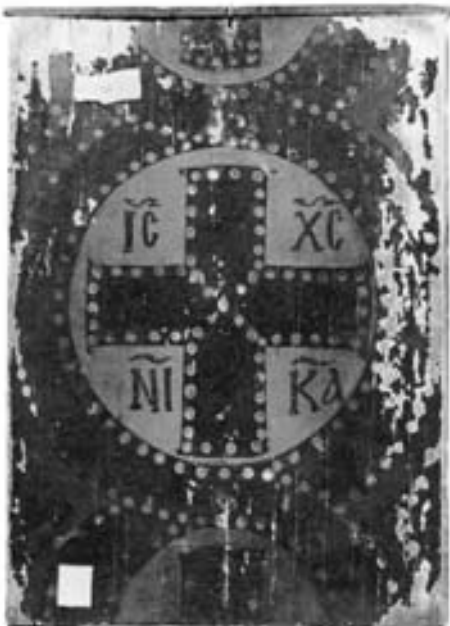
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The image on this icon encapsulates the text of *The Heavenly Ladder* by the monk John of Sinai, called John Klimax, or John of the Ladder, after this work. The text presents the virtues a monk must acquire and the vices he must avoid in his quest for spiritual perfection. These are organized into thirty chapters, each conceived as a rung on the ladder to heaven. Although written in the seventh century, the text became especially popular in monastic communities from the eleventh century on. Numerous illustrated manuscripts of *The Heavenly Ladder* survive, the most splendid and most imaginative dating to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Sinai panel is the only known Middle Byzantine icon of the subject.

On a ladder of thirty rungs, monks struggle toward the top. While some reach their goal, others succumb to temptation and are then dragged off by demons or plunge headlong into the black mouth of hell. Christ is shown in the heavens, reaching toward their leader, John Klimax, identified by the inscription. The largest figure, dressed in white and also identified by inscription, is Archbishop



247. Front



247. Back

Antonios, for whom the icon must have been made. Whether Antonios was an archbishop of Sinai as Doula Mouriki assumes or came from the capital as Hans Belting suggests is not known.¹ The group of monks at the lower right is balanced by a group of angels at the upper left.

Parallels to the imagery of the Sinai icon are found in several illustrated manuscripts of *The Heavenly Ladder*. Vatican gr. 394, dating to the late eleventh century, for example, also depicts the intended recipient of the work, Lord Nikon, reaching the summit of the ladder.² This image accompanies the final exhortation at the end of the treatise, in which

the monk, having received the instruction contained in the thirty chapters, is urged to begin his climb up the ladder to salvation. Several inscriptions state that Nikon has been “made one with God” and, because of his conquest of the body, has achieved nearly the level of the incorporeal angels. Angels play an important role in the text of *The Heavenly Ladder*, as guardians, guides, and models. In the Sinai icon the angels at the upper left have their hands covered as if to receive the purified souls of the monks, but we can assume that their other roles would have been in the mind of the viewer as well.

Usually dated to the late twelfth century, the Sinai icon may have been made in Constantinople or at Sinai. It is stylistically similar to works of the same period, including an Annunciation icon (cat. no. 246) that has been attributed to both Sinai and Constantinople. On the reverse is a pattern of crosses set within circles, with the inscription IC XC NIKA (Jesus Christ conquers) filling the spaces between the crossarms. This decoration, which is nearly identical to that on the back of the Annunciation icon, also appears on two other icons that have been attributed to Sinai.³

K C

1. Belting 1994, p. 272; Mouriki 1990, p. 107. An Antonios is attested to among the archbishops of Sinai, but his date is not known.
2. Corrigan 1996, pp. 61–93, fig. 24.
3. The decoration is discussed by Mouriki, in *Sinai*, 1990, p. 108, and nn. 36, 39. Sotiriou (1956, vol. 1) published as his fig. 172 the same decorative pattern on the back of an icon and identified it as the reverse of that shown in his fig. 171. This was corrected in Weitzmann 1963, n. 105; he identified it as the reverse of the *dodekaorton* tetraptych discussed by Mouriki.

LITERATURE: J. Martin 1954; Weitzmann, *Icon*, 1978, pl. 25; Mouriki 1990, p. 107, pl. 24; Belting 1994, pp. 273–74; Corrigan 1996.

248. Templon Beam with the Deesis and Feast Scenes

Byzantine (Mount Sinai, Egypt), ca. 1200
 Tempera on panel
 38.7 × 152.3 cm (15¼ × 60 in.)
 The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The present work shows the five central scenes of what originally was a sequence of fifteen on a far longer panel. Created as a templon beam—that is, adornment for the horizontal entablature topping the columniated screen that divided the sanctuary of a Byzantine church from the public space—it was later cut into thirds for use as smaller beams. Fortunately, all three segments survive. They display twelve canonical feast scenes—the Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Baptism of Christ, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Anastasis, Ascension, Pentecost, and Koimesis—along with the Birth of the Virgin and her Presentation in the Temple at the left and, at the center, the Deesis (Christ flanked by the intercessory figures of Mary and John the Baptist). This arrangement places the Deesis between the Transfiguration and the Raising of Lazarus, thus linking the scene of Lazarus with the ensuing Holy Week images in accord with liturgical practice (Holy Week

begins on the evening before Palm Sunday with the celebration of the Raising of Lazarus).

Seven templon beams from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries survive at the Monastery of Saint Catherine, on Mount Sinai. Along with the somewhat earlier panels now in Athens and Saint Petersburg (cat. nos. 67A,B) they offer the best surviving insight into the development of the templon beam as a site for the display of painted-panel icons. Templon beams were sometimes adorned with rows of separate icons, as exemplified by the Athens and Saint Petersburg panels. Most beams at Sinai, however, were created as single units, with the scenes painted in sequence on long boards specially carpentered to fit their settings. This tells us that they must have been painted at Sinai itself. Despite its desert location, the monastery at Sinai clearly flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, becoming the host and even the home of outstanding icon painters.

Among the most interesting of the painters at Sinai is the main artist of this beam. He worked on it with two associates, leading Kurt Weitzmann to name it the Beam of the Three Masters.¹ It is indicative of Byzantine appreciation for artistic individuality that the three masters made no effort to subsume their own distinctive styles in a homogeneous, shared manner. The center section is



248. Front



248. Back



249. Front

dominated by the work of the main master. Probably a somewhat younger contemporary of the painter of the Annunciation (cat. no. 246), he has a highly idiosyncratic manner that displays several forward-looking features. One is his treatment of figures. He relies on an odd and compelling sense of color rather than on flying garments and extravagant gestures to maintain the intensity of his scenes, and gives his figures a weight and gravity that anticipate the classic poise of the later art of the Palaiologan renaissance. Another notable feature is his use of space, seen in his landscapes and his expressive exploitation of intervals between figures. This is especially evident if one contrasts his Transfiguration with that of the icon in Saint Petersburg (cat. no. 67A) or the mosaic icon in the Musée du Louvre (cat. no. 77). His figures are far smaller in their rocky setting, and the glory of Christ's divinity must hurtle across a great distance to reach the disciples huddled below. Once again, this anticipates Palaiologan art, which, like Gothic art in the West, shows a world grown large around its small, brightly colored figures.

A W C

1. Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West," 1975, p. 59.

LITERATURE: Sotiriou and Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, pls. 112–16, vol. 2, pp. 111–12; Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West," 1975, pp. 59–63, pls. 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23; Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 36, 101, pl. 31; Weitzmann, "Icon Programs," 1984, pp. 75–80, figs. 8–14; Mouriki 1990, pp. 106–7, pls. 31–33.

249. Icon with Saint Panteleimon and Scenes from His Life

Byzantine (Mount Sinai?), early 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood
102 × 72 cm (40 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΥΜΩΝ (Saint Panteleimon)

CONDITION: Traces of an eighteenth-century layer of paint are visible.

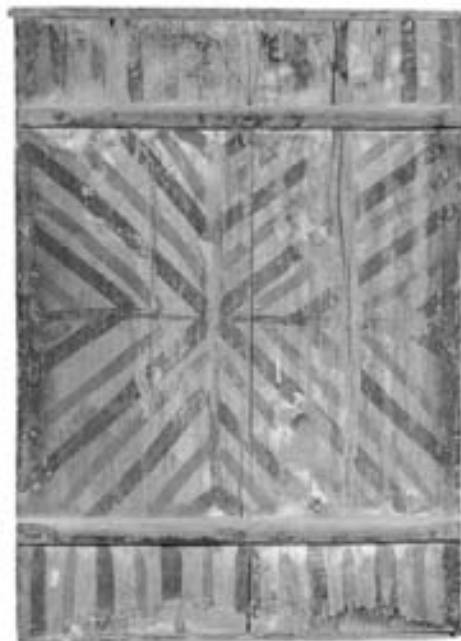
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

The young doctor saint Panteleimon, identified by the inscription (with a misspelling), is one of the *anargyroi*, healing saints who perform services without pay. He has a long, narrow nose and small mouth, delicate features that were admired in the Komnenian period and often characterize images of Saint George as well (cat. nos. 69,

70, 202). Panteleimon is clad in a blue tunic with gold cuffs, a looser blue tunic with gold panels on the neck and shoulders, a brown sleeveless cloak like a pallium that slips over the head, and a narrow white stole. In his left hand he carries an open jeweled medicine box containing three flasks; in his right he holds a martyr's cross. The background is gold.

Around the bust of Panteleimon are sixteen scenes from his life. The cycle begins at the top left, not with his birth, as is often the case with this type of biographical icon, but with the start of his medical instruction and conversion by the Christian Hermolaos (see cat. no. 106), and ends at the lower right with his martyrdom and burial.¹ The scenes are placed with care, horizontal compositions unrolled across the top and bottom, vertical ones set on the sides; the action is simplified and eminently legible. The events derive for the most part from a text of the Passion of the saint by Symeon Metaphrastes (died ca. 1000), but some episodes are drawn from a different text; the painted cycle thus creates its own composite version of the saint's life.² There are only two other surviving Byzantine cycles of the life of Panteleimon, both very brief.³

This is one of the earliest vita icons, a genre that first appears in the early thirteenth century. There are several important early examples of this form of icon at Sinai, and the monastery itself may possibly have played a role in its development.



249. Back

On the back of the icon is a quadripartite pattern of nested chevrons, painted alternately red and blue-black, all pointing toward the center.

N P S

1. Top row: The priest Hermolaos adopting Panteleimon; Panteleimon learning medicine from Hermolaos; Panteleimon praying for a child bitten by a snake; Panteleimon resurrecting the child. Left side: Panteleimon killing the snake; Panteleimon healing the blind man; Panteleimon raising the paralytic; Panteleimon in a vat of boiling lead. Right side: Panteleimon baptized; Panteleimon destroying the idols; Panteleimon scraped and burned; Panteleimon put among the wild beasts. Bottom row: Panteleimon thrown into the sea; Panteleimon and the wheel studded with nails, which turns on his torturers; Panteleimon beheaded; the burial of Panteleimon.
2. *PG*, vol. 115, cols. 448–77; Latyšev 1914, p. 42.
3. Frescoes in the narthex of the twelfth-century Church of Saint Panteleimon at Nerezi, near Skopje, and two scenes accompanying the Metaphrastes text in a menologion in Moscow (State Historical Museum, Cod. gr. 9, fol. 101r).

LITERATURE: Weitzmann, "Selection of Texts," 1975, p. 85, fig. 23; Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, 1984, p. 101, fig. 29; Mouriki 1990, p. 115, and fig. 53, p. 179.

250. Icon with Moses before the Burning Bush

Byzantine (Mount Sinai?), early 13th century
Tempera and gold on wood
92 × 64 cm (36 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

CONDITION: There are cracks and blisters in the upper half of the center panel and in the lower-left section of the frame; the piece of wood painted with the lower body of the prostrate figure on the frame has been put back into place; and the frame itself has been repaired and stabilized.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

This large panel shows Moses on Mount Horeb, removing his sandals before the Burning Bush, the episode recounted in Exodus 3:2–5: "... he looked, and the bush was blazing, yet it was not consumed. . . . God called to him out of the bush, 'Moses, Moses!' And he said, 'Here I am.' Then he said, ' . . . Remove the sandals from your feet, for the place on which you are standing is holy ground.'" The words from Exodus 3:4 have been written in Greek on the gold background at the upper right.

The youthful Moses towers over the rugged Sinai landscape, though the crucial elements of his pose — bent head and knee,



250

hands loosening his sandal — all express reverence and obedience to the voice of God. The cast-off sandal and the bush are prominently displayed. Because the bush that burned but was not consumed had become a metaphor for the Virgin, an image of the Virgin sometimes appears inside the bush in contemporary works (see fol. 54v of the Vatican Kokkinobaphos manuscript, cat. no. 62). Here, however, Moses is alone on the hillside and the composition retains its pure landscape setting, the gently rolling foreground bursting into flame at the bush and

erupting into crags under his foot and on the horizon.

Moses is clad in the classical attire of tunic and mantle, but the artist has exaggerated the play of light and shadow so that the mantle, a pale pink in the light, turns to dark rose in the shadow, making it look like a separate garment altogether. The rather awkward anatomy only adds to the immediacy of the figure.

At the lower left edge of the panel, on the frame, is a tiny prostrate praying figure wearing a turban, probably a Melchite (Orthodox)

Arab. He may be the donor of the icon, though it is conceivable that he was added at a slightly later date.

The monastery at Mount Sinai was built on the presumed site of the Burning Bush, and though the bush itself no longer existed it was commemorated in a special chapel behind the Justinianic basilica. This icon may refer to the sixth-century mosaic of the same event on the wall above the apse of the basilica and may have been made at Sinai for display in the Chapel of the Burning Bush.¹ It is one of two Moses icons painted by the same artist and evidently designed as a pair. On the companion panel Moses is shown receiving the Law on Mount Sinai. Together they belong to a series of Sinai *loca sancta* icons, most of them from the thirteenth century, which represent in large scale and sharp focus the local events that pilgrims traveled so far to venerate.

N P Š

1. Pilgrims too were supposed to remove their sandals before entering the Chapel of the Burning Bush.

LITERATURE: Sotiriou and Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 160, vol. 2, pp. 140–41; Weitzmann, *Icon*, 1978, pp. 36, 75, pl. 18; Mouriki 1990, pp. 110–11, and fig. 36, p. 166; Mouriki 1991–92, pp. 171–84, figs. 1, 3, 5, 8; Garidis 1993–94, pp. 363–73, esp. pp. 370–72, figs. 10, 11.

251. The Four Gospels

Written, illustrated, and bound by Michael, metropolitan of Damietta
Coptic (Damietta), 1180
Tempera on vellum; 286 fols.
38 × 27 cm (15 × 10½ in.)

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, France
(Ms. Copte 13)

This Gospel book comprises the four Gospels in Bohairic with a multiple frontispiece of portraits (fols. 1r and 2v in Paris and the folio depicting the Four Evangelists in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., no. 55.11) and seventy-four unframed friezelike illustrations painted with gold and brilliant colors. The most lavish among the many illustrated Gospel books produced in the eastern Mediterranean in the second half of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, it initiates the Coptic contribution to a phase of extensive Gospel illustration that swept all of the region's Christian cultures at this time. This phase is represented in the present exhibition by illuminations from the Gospel in Berlin and the lectionary in London



251. Seated Christ, fol. 2v

(cat. nos. 252, 254). The elaborate *naskh* inscription framing the frontispiece portrait of Christ (fol. 2v) tells us that Michael, metropolitan of Damietta in northern Egypt, wrote, illustrated, and bound the volume. While this may mean that he paid for the illumination and binding—the quire marks in Syriac suggest a Syrian binder—Michael himself clearly did the writing, for he recorded his progress in inscriptions at the ends of the Gospels: he completed Matthew in April 1179, Mark in September, Luke in October, and John in January 1180. Known as a theologian and ecclesiastical politician, Michael formulated

the Coptic Church's official refutation of the ecclesiastical reformer Ibn al-Kanbar in 1179. L. A. Hunt links Michael's splendid codex, and especially its multiple frontispiece, to his effort to assert in visible and incontrovertible terms the Coptic Church's control over sacred authority in the face of this challenge.

The illumination in this Gospel book shows the complexity of artistic and cultural interchange in the eastern Mediterranean Levant at the time of the Crusades. Stylistically the miniatures recall Coptic decorative arts and anticipate the mannerisms that would characterize Syrian art—both Christian and

Muslim—in the thirteenth century (see, for example, cat. nos. 253, 254, 283–285). The iconography is equally complex, as the frontispiece portraits illustrate (three of the original four survive). The Christ on folio 2v must originally have gestured toward the Four Evangelists on the Freer leaf, while on folio 1r the similarly gesturing figure of Mark, seventy-third patriarch of the Coptic Church and Michael's superior, must once have faced a now-missing portrait of Michael. The figure of Christ, accompanied by Michael's inscription, recalls the enthroned and gesturing Christ who receives the scribe Arakel at the opening of an Armenian Gospel book (Erevan, Matenadaran 7347) of 1166. The Christ of the Bibliothèque Nationale Gospel book, however, receives the greatest of all scribes: the evangelists. Seen at the opening of several Byzantine books, the convention of Christ confronting the evangelists had been taken up in the Levant by both Crusader and Syrian artists in the last decades of the twelfth century, and the present Gospel book may well reflect this Levantine pattern. The pairing of Christ and the evangelists, then, parallels the double portrait of Mark and Michael, creating a vivid statement of Mark's authority as he receives Michael's Gospel in the same way that Christ receives those of the evangelists. This may have come directly from Byzantine art, for a similar message is seen in the twelfth-century frontispiece to a manuscript in the Vatican (gr. 666), containing Gospel commentary by the theologian Euthymios Zigabenos (active ca. 1100). Here the emperor receives Euthymios's commentary from the assembled Church Fathers in a pair of facing miniatures and then, in a third miniature, hands it to an enthroned Christ, showing that Euthymios's word is the emperor's word, and the emperor's word is Christ's. In offering a magnificent statement of Coptic authority, then, the Bibliothèque Nationale Gospel book echoes and integrates imagery current throughout the Levant: Byzantine, Armenian, Syrian, Crusader. As such, it speaks of—and speaks with—the many facets of a moment of intricate artistic interchange in the Byzantine world.

A W C

LITERATURE: Millet 1916, p. 745 (index); Buchthal, "Hellenistic Miniatures," 1940, pp. 131–33; Buchthal and Kurz 1942, p. 55, no. 268; Shenouda 1956; Cramer 1964, index A, no. 33; J. Leroy, "Feuillet," 1974, pp. 437–46; J. Leroy, *Manuscripts coptes*, 1974, pp. 113–48, no. 16; Nelson 1983, pp. 206–7, pls. 9, 10; Hunt, "The Commissioning," 1985, pp. 113–39.

EXHIBITION: Paris, *Art copte*, 1964, no. 284.



252. The Deposition, fol. 256v

252. The Four Gospels

Byzantine (Crusader?), before 1219
Tempera on parchment; 341 fols.
15.3 × 22 cm (6 × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz,
Berlin, Germany (Ms. graec. qu. 66)

These four Gospels are adorned with thirty-three miniatures of Gospel events composed as separately framed scenes. They also include canon tables (2v–5r), five evangelist portraits (Matthew [5v, 6v], Luke [158v], John [262v, 263v]) and the offprint of a sixth (99r), Moses Receiving the Law (264v), and an ornamental carpet and historiated initial at each Gospel opening (7r, 102r, 162r, 268r).

The use of separately framed scenes interspersed in the text was rare in Byzantine Gospel books until the late-twelfth- and

early-thirteenth-century “decorative style” group of manuscripts, to which this book belongs. These books were produced largely for private patrons, and the individually framed format surely answers the desire for devotional icons for personal contemplation. As icons, the images are unexpectedly expressive: the pale, looming corpus of Christ in the Deposition (fol. 256v) is more reminiscent of Cimabue than of Byzantine art as customarily conceived. In fact, Byzantium’s evocative devotional icons, dwelling on the actual life and death of Christ, pioneered the imagery of physical and emotional immediacy that was then developed by Italian painters like Cimabue and Giotto. These Berlin Gospels offer an especially apt example of Byzantium’s role in this process.

The book’s date, place, and circumstances of origin are difficult to determine. Unlike other Byzantine luxury books, whose script is usually impeccable to the end, even though their miniatures may remain unfinished, the present Gospel book is more finished in its miniatures than in its text. Its scribe, though accomplished, seems to have worked in haste, under difficult conditions, and with poor parchment; the evangelist portraits, too, are a curious combination of new (6v, 158v, 263v) and reused (5v, 262v) leaves. The ravaged condition but Constantinopolitan quality of the inserted evangelist portraits led Hugo Buchthal to assign the book to the struggling new Byzantine court at Nicaea in the decades after the Crusader sack of Constantinople (1204).¹ The present author assigned it to

the same early-thirteenth-century date but to one of the Crusader kingdoms of the eastern Mediterranean Levant,² for the script recurs in Cypriot books of that date; aspects of the ornament and imagery are better paralleled in the books of Armenian Cilicia than in those of Byzantium; and an Arabic inscription on folio 2r with the Coptic date of 1219 indicates that the manuscript was at some point in its early history in the eastern Levant, probably Egypt, where it later influenced a Coptic Gospel book of 1250 (Paris, Institut Catholique, copte-arabe 1). Enigmatic as its origin is, the present book attests eloquently to the crosscurrents among cultures — Byzantine, Italian, Armenian, Levantine — that characterized the decades of the Crusades in the eastern Mediterranean.

A W C

1. Buchthal, "Byzantine Illumination," 1983, pp. 94–102.
2. Carr 1987–88, pp. 141–51.

LITERATURE: De Boor 1897, pp. 214–16, no. 368; Hamann-MacLean 1967, pp. 225–50; Canart 1981, pp. 39–40, 46, 71, 73; Buchthal, "Byzantine Illumination," 1983, pp. 27–102, pls. 27–39; Hunt, "Christian–Muslim Relations," 1985, pp. 135–36, pls. 25, 26; Carr 1987, no. 33, and passim, fiches 8C1–F12; Carr 1987–88, pp. 123–67; Carr 1993, pp. 281–318.

EXHIBITIONS: Berlin 1931, no. 2; Munich 1950, no. 280; New York 1970, no. 291; Berlin 1975, no. 5.

253. Gospel Leaf with Saint Luke

Syrian, 12th–13th century
 Tempera and gold on vellum; single leaf
 26 × 15 cm (10¼ × 5¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Syriac, Saint Luke

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N.Y.
 (M. 774)

This composition improvises on the theme of belief in the sacred trust of the scriptural tradition and enables devotional evocation of the holy words of the text. A Syriac inscription identifies this stark, monumental figure as the evangelist Luke. On the front of the book held by Luke are the first words of his Gospel. For the text itself, one need only turn the manuscript page. Contemplation of the message of Luke's Gospel would have been enhanced by physical acts of devotion such as recitation. Interestingly, Luke's face has been damaged, perhaps by devotions that may have included touching and kissing the



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holy image. The figure of Luke encourages such loving behavior by stepping forward, across the border and out of the picture space, swaying slightly at the hips as if bending forward and holding his open right hand to his chest as if to invite an embrace or a conversation. Although the intent of this illumination is clearly within the Byzantine iconic tradition, the style has been described as Islamic or islamizing (Ayyubid) because of the blank parchment background, the careful

delineation of drapery folds by graphic, linear highlights and shadows, and the interlaced rectangular border in red, blue, and yellow.

TT

LITERATURE: Pierpont Morgan Library 1937, p. 91; J. Leroy 1964, vol. 1, pp. 416–17, 419, vol. 2, p. 54, fig. 2; Nelson 1989, pp. 144–56.

EXHIBITION: New York 1933–34, no. 16.



254. The Anastasis, fol. 156v

254. Syriac Lectionary

Syrian (Mar Mattei?), 1216–20
Tempera on paper; 264 fols.
44.5 × 35 cm (17½ × 13¾ in.)

The British Library, Oriental and India Office
Collections, London, England
(Add. Ms. 7170)

As a lectionary, this book contains passages from the Gospels in liturgical sequence that are used as readings in Church services. It is written in Syriac in deep black Estrangela script with titles in gold and red, and it has forty-eight framed miniatures. A detached page with a miniature of Jesus Healing the Leper is now in the Mingana collection, Selly Oak, Birmingham (Syr. 590). Lectionaries, rather than Gospel books, were the New Testament texts most frequently singled out for adornment in the Byzantine world, receiving fine covers and painted illumination. They were often the most imposing possession of the communities they served, and like family Bibles later, they became a kind of reliquary of memories, their margins scribbled with comments and notes of events that warranted remembering.

A note in gold letters on blue at the end of the Easter lection states that the book was copied and decorated in the era of the holy fathers Mar (Abbot) Ioannis, patriarch of all the earth (1208–20), and Mar Ignatios, *katholikos* of the East (1216–22) — that is, between 1216 and 1220. No place is given, but the book is almost a twin of a lectionary in the Vatican (Syr. 559) completed on May 2, 1220, at the Monastery of Mar Mattei, near Mosul in northern Mesopotamia, and must have been produced at Mar Mattei itself or at one of its sibling monasteries; Jules Leroy suggests that it was made for the Monastery of Mardin, seat of the Syriac Jacobite patriarchate from 1207 on.¹ These flourishing monasteries reflect the vitality of the Christian communities of the Middle East from the later twelfth through the thirteenth century, a vitality seen in the large number of splendidly illuminated books that survive in Greek (cat. no. 252), Armenian (cat. no. 240), Coptic (cat. no. 251), Syriac (cat. no. 253), and Latin (cat. no. 259).

The London lectionary and its twin in the Vatican cast valuable light on artistic interchanges among religious communities — not only among Christian communities but also between Muslim and Christian ones — in the period of the Crusades. The imagery in the present lectionary is rooted in the Byzantine tradition: folio 156v shows the Anastasis, the Byzantine feast icon for Easter, with the apocryphal scene of Christ vanquishing death

by releasing from hell into everlasting life those who believed in him before his coming, exemplified by Adam, Eve, David, Solomon, and John the Baptist. But if the image is Byzantine, the forms in which it is cast are far closer to those known from contemporary Syrian Islamic books like the *maqamats* in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 6094 [1222–23], arabe 5847 [1237], and arabe 3929 [undated]). To Hugo Buchthal these forms — echoed also in a Coptic Gospel book in Paris (cat. no. 251) — did not belong to Islam specifically; rather, he says, “it seems highly probable that as early as A.D. 1180 a syncretistic pictorial tradition existed with the Arabs in Syria, Mediterranean in character, though Islamic in its outward appearance, to which both the illustrator of the Coptic Gospels and the illuminators of our Islamic manuscripts were indebted.”² This “illustration byzantine traitée à la manière arabe” (Byzantine illustration treated in the Arab style)³ shows the adaptability of Byzantine imagery to local tastes and styles.

A W C

1. J. Leroy 1964, p. 313.
2. Buchthal 1940, p. 133.
3. J. Leroy 1964, p. 399.

LITERATURE: Wright 1872, vol. 3, p. 1204; Mingana 1933, vol. 1, cols. 1127–28, no. 590; Buchthal 1939, pp. 136–50; Buchthal, “Hellenistic Miniatures,” 1940, pp. 125–33; Jerphanion 1940, passim; Buchthal 1942, pp. 19–39; Buchthal and Kurz 1942, pp. 13–14, no. 19; J. Leroy 1964, pp. 302–13; Hunt, “Christian-Muslim Relations,” 1985, pp. 131–35 passim, and pp. 21–24.

255. Pilgrim Medallion with Saint Symeon the Stylite the Younger with Angels and Konon and Martha (front) and Glorified Cross (back)

Syrian, ca. 1100
Lead

DIAM. 5.7 cm (2¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Greek, + Eulogion [blessing] of Saint Symeon Thaumaturgos [Miracle-Worker] + Praise God in his saints. He loves the righteous.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.
Norman O. Stone and Ellen A. Stone Memorial Fund (75.52)

An inscription in Greek identifies this medallion as a “blessing,” or pilgrim medallion, of Symeon the Stylite the Younger (521–592), an ascetic who imitated the elder Symeon (ca. 389–459) in becoming a stylite, that is, taking up the extreme asceticism of living atop a column. The elder Symeon was so popular that during his lifetime a great pil-



255. Front

grimage site arose around his column at Qal‘at Sem‘an, northeast of Antioch. Born in Antioch, the younger Symeon first ascended a column at the age of seven and continued this way of life until he died more than sixty years later. At his mother’s urging, disciples of Symeon the Younger began an architectural complex around his column, modeled after Qal‘at Sem‘an, at the Wondrous Mountain, northwest of Antioch. This shrine drew an increasingly diverse population of pilgrims after the Arab conquest in 636–37. One manuscript illumination depicts Muslim devotees at the column, and the Crusaders later held Symeon in high repute. Byzantine reoccupation of the region (969–1084) initiated a new period of popularity, to which this token testifies.

Symeon imagery (featuring both elder and younger) had been extremely popular on tokens of various formats while the Antioch region was part of the Byzantine domain. Following Byzantine reoccupation, this imagery was revitalized on seals and pilgrim tokens. The front of the present example bears a bust-length depiction of a mature, bearded Symeon holding a decorated Gospel book atop his column. The column itself is elaborately rendered: decorated on the shaft with crosses in relief, it stands on a three-stepped base and is surmounted by a Corinthian capital. Atop this capital is the enclosure in which Symeon lived his life as a priest and healer. Symeon’s saintliness is represented by his halo, by the two angels (identified in Greek inscriptions as “Angels of God”) who flank him, and by the two prayerful figures on either side of the column. The latter figures are Konon, Symeon’s disciple, who had died from the plague and whom Symeon had raised from the dead, and Martha, Symeon’s mother. Konon and Martha are turned slightly, making intercessory gestures linking the viewer to the saint.

Both the iconography and the accompanying inscription (quotations from Psalm 151 [150]:1, 148 [145]:8) are common on Symeon the Younger's pilgrim tokens. On the back is a glorified cross, an emblem of Christ's resurrection, which is also a pendant composition to the emblem of Symeon's stasis on the front. This medallion was probably meant to be worn as a personal icon or amulet.

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LITERATURE: A. Grabar 1958; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1967; Verdier 1980, pp. 17ff.; Vikan 1982, esp. pp. 30–31, 34, 37, 40; Oikonomides 1985, esp. p. 14, fig. 36a; London, *Byzantium*, 1994, p. 187.

256. Decorative Tile

Northern or central Syrian, 9th–12th century
Glass and gold leaf
8.9 × 8.3 cm (3½ × 3¼ in.)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Rogers Fund, 1946 (46.174)

Brilliant and lustrous, this tile is made of dark purple glass overlaid with gold leaf in a geometric design based on the cross. A thin layer of clear glass over the gold adds an additional reflective surface. When similarly designed tiles were placed together, they formed a boldly shimmering yet subtly colorful surface.¹ The present tile belongs to a group with corresponding gold-leaf designs over dark (purple, black, green, or

amber) glass and with a clear and relatively thin surface layer of glass. The design sometimes varies but is always cruciform and based on triangles, squares, and diamonds. A single dealer seems to have collected these tiles from several sites and sold them to museum collections in Syria, Europe, and North America. As a consequence, information about the tiles' original contexts — whether they decorated architecture or furnishings or whether the dealer's attribution to a church is accurate — is not available.

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1. Philippe (in Philippe 1970, p. 54) illustrates an arrangement of five tiles of the same design in the Toledo Museum of Art.

LITERATURE: Smith 1957, p. 221; Philippe 1970, pp. 54ff.; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 305.

257. Fresco Fragments with Three Saints and an Archangel

A. Three Saints
Syrian, 1100–1200
Paint on plaster
62 × 92 cm (24¾ × 36¼ in.)

B. Archangel
Syrian, 1100–1200
Paint on plaster
79 × 103 cm (31¼ × 40½ in.)

PROVENANCE: From the Monastery Church of Mar Yacub, Qara, Syria; now in the National Museum of Damascus.

Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums,
Damascus, Syria



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Only a generation ago these fresco fragments from the decorated apse of a small monastery church at Qara were discovered under a layer of more recent plaster. Figure types, attributes, registration, and color scheme are Middle Byzantine in character. The color scheme — predominantly light tan figures with orange-red and black outlines and pastel green highlights set before a dark grayish background — is similar to that found at several contemporary and later churches in Byzantine Cappadocia. Kurt Weitzmann sees increasing Byzantine influence in Syria and Egypt from the eleventh through the thirteenth century.¹ Three lifesize haloed saints, dressed in tunics and mantles, appear in the smaller fragment (A). The saints, perhaps apostles or Church Fathers, stand in frontal positions, which allows them to engage the select viewers — the clergy — who stood before this apse composition. The saint in the center holds a scroll in one hand and raises the other in a gesture of blessing. He turns his head to the right, as if to communicate with the saint beside him. Thus, the saints hold discourse not only with earthly ministers but also among themselves. The saints to either side are poorly preserved, as are the now-illegible inscriptions in Greek and Syriac that separate the figures. The saint at left, gray-haired and bearded, looks to the left, probably toward a figure that no longer survives. The saint on the right raises his hand as if speaking to the saint at the center. In the second, larger fragment (B), the archangel, possibly Michael, stands slightly turned to the right, framed by spread wings. One arm holds a spirally fluted staff, the other is raised in a gesture requesting silence and attention. (Of the figure to his right only a small area of red-clad shoulder remains.) Considering the size of the figures in both fragments and such features as the tilted heads and directed glances, it seems likely that the lower portion of the apse program consisted of a single line of figures.

These fragments belong to a small but important group of painted church decorations that attest to the flourishing byzantinizing arts of Christian communities in the center of Arab-ruled Syria. The town of Qara, fifty miles north of Damascus on the road to Aleppo, apparently remained entirely Christian until the Mamluk sultan al-Zahir Baybars (r. 1260–77) conquered the area in 1266. Qara lies southwest of the Tur 'Abdin region, which was the most populous center of Syrian Christian monasticism during the Middle Ages — the Mount Athos of the East.² Qara had its share of monasteries as well. A second set of wall paintings was found on



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257B

the north wall of one of two churches at another monastery near Qara, in the region of the Qalamun Mountains. These paintings, slightly later in date and modeled in a more linear fashion, also follow Byzantine traditions in their selection of subjects, which are identified by inscriptions in Greek and Syriac. Nearby, at Homs, a third set of ecclesiastical wall paintings conforms to the same general style and choice of subjects.

TT

1. Weitzmann, in Dinkler 1970, pp. 325–40.
2. J. Leroy 1963, p. 184.

LITERATURE: J. Leroy 1963; Restle 1967; J. Leroy 1975, p. 95; Bell 1982.

EXHIBITION: Washington, D.C., *Art and Archaeology*, 1985, nos. 230, 231.

HERODIVS



CRUSADER ART

JAROSLAV FOLDA

In the multicultural environment of the eastern Mediterranean during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Byzantine Empire exerted the greatest, though not the only, cultural and artistic influence on the Frankish Crusaders. As the major Christian political power in the region before the coming of the Crusaders in 1096, Byzantium played an important role in shaping political and military aspirations in Syria-Palestine during the establishment and maintenance of the various Crusader states, including the short-lived county of Edessa (1098–1144), the principality of Antioch (1098–1268), the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1291), and the county of Tripoli (1109–1289).¹

Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118) had carefully managed passage of the various First Crusade armies through Constantinople between the summer of 1096 and May 1097 en route to the Holy Land, extracting from most of their leaders an oath of homage. By this oath the Byzantines established their claim that any and all Crusader conquests as far as Jerusalem would revert to the empire.² Despite this arrangement *de jure*, the Crusaders retained their conquests *de facto*.

Because of these Byzantine territorial claims in the Crusader states and because of the Byzantine religious presence in churches and monasteries throughout Syria-Palestine, the Byzantines were, especially at first, a potential threat to Crusader holdings; later they became a formidable ally in the fight against the Muslims. As a result, Byzantium as a religious and political force in the region grew in importance through the twelfth century, as did Byzantine artistic influence on the Crusaders.

The reconquest of the main holy sites in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth by the First Crusade (1096–99) gave special status to the Crusader presence in Syria-Palestine. As the twelfth century progressed, “the Latin Kingdom . . . was unique in its possession of the holiest places in Christendom, in the number, therefore, of its visitors from overseas; [and] in the repeated attempts which were made to

involve all Christians in its affairs. It seems not too much to say that the kingdom came to be regarded as the common responsibility of all Christians.”³ This should be construed as meaning not only Latin Christians but also, increasingly, Eastern Christians, especially the Byzantine Orthodox, along with others, such as the Syrians.⁴

In the years immediately following 1099 very little Byzantine artistic influence can be seen in the Crusader states, save for certain types of coinage and metalwork, especially notable in reliquaries of the True Cross derived from Byzantine models (see illus. on next page).⁵ It was, rather, in the period of the second generation of settlers, after about 1130, that the Byzantine tradition began to play a major, if variable, role. This is evident in the paintings and ivory covers of Queen Melisende’s Psalter (cat. no. 259), made in about 1135 but largely based on eleventh-century Byzantine sources, as well as in the column paintings in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, executed for pilgrim patrons from 1130 on.⁶

Clearly, however, the period of peak artistic interaction between Constantinople and Jerusalem was the late 1160s, during the great alliance of Crusaders and Byzantines against the Fatimids in Egypt. Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80) joined with King Amalric I (r. 1163–74) and Raoul, the Latin bishop of Bethlehem, in sponsoring a complete redecoration of the Church of the Nativity between 1167 and 1169. The huge program of mosaics and frescoes executed by Byzantines, Syrians, and Crusaders stimulated numerous other works in the Komnenian style, including frescoes and manuscript illumination in Jerusalem (cat. nos. 258, 260).

Nothing came of the grand alliance on the battlefield, however, and in 1187 the Crusaders suffered a catastrophic defeat at the Horns of Hattin, followed by Saladin’s conquest of most of the Crusader states. The Third Crusade (1189–92), called in the wake of the loss of Jerusalem and led by Kings Richard I Lionheart of England and Philip II Augustus of France, reestablished the Latin Kingdom along the coast, retaking Saint-Jean-d’Acre (Acre) in 1191 as its *de facto* capital.

Just as Crusader fortunes began to wane in Syria-Palestine after 1187, newly arrived Franks from the West conquered

¹ A King in Byzantine Dress Performing Acts of Mercy. Detail of the back cover of Queen Melisende’s Psalter (cat. no. 259 and illus. on p. 391)

Byzantine lands, including Cyprus in 1191, Constantinople itself in 1204, and Frankish Greece in 1204 and the years following, with holdings in central and southern Greece, such as the kingdom of Thessalonike, the duchy of Athens, and the principality of Achaia in the Peloponnesos.⁷ Thus, after 1190 Crusader attention was diverted from the Holy Land to elsewhere in the Near East.

The failure of the Third Crusade to recapture the holy places caused Pope Innocent III to call the Fourth Crusade in 1198. The strategy of the Fourth Crusade was to attack and conquer Egypt, the center of Ayyubid power, and then to take the Holy Land, but the army was diverted to Constantinople to meet the request of Alexios IV Angelos for aid in gaining the throne of Byzantium. When Alexios was subsequently killed by Alexios V Doukas, the Crusaders attacked, captured, and sacked Constantinople on April 12, 1204, one of the most infamous deeds in recorded history. It would be difficult to overestimate the long-term negative impact that this conquest had on Byzantine relations with the Crusaders and the Latin West.

The amount of Byzantine artistic booty said to have been seized and sent back to Western Europe from Constantinople and Frankish Greece as a result of the conquest of Constantinople and the establishment of the Latin Empire in 1204 was prodigious. Much evidence exists in the form of works still extant in the West (see cat. nos. 306, 332). Indeed, between 1204 and 1250 Constantinople and the Latin Empire almost completely eclipsed the importance of the Holy Land

as a source of Byzantine or Byzantine-influenced art, as compared with a steady flow of Crusader art at or from the holy places during the twelfth century. Almost but not completely: although what minimal artistic production there was in Syria-Palestine between 1204 and 1250 was centered on rebuilding the fortified cities and castles during this troubled period,⁸ there were a few exceptions. One is the Riccardiana Psalter, painted about 1235–37 in Acre or Jerusalem by an artist familiar with Sicilian mosaic decoration, which demonstrates strong, if indirect, knowledge of the Byzantine tradition.⁹ Another is a leaf on which an itinerant German artist made sketches from Byzantine manuscript illumination in Constantinople and from Crusader icons that he saw, presumably, in Acre or in the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai, certainly after 1191, or even after 1204 (cat. no. 318).

During the Latin Empire in Constantinople from 1204 until 1261, Byzantine art no doubt continued to be created — just as it was on Cyprus during Lusignan rule — and Crusader work was produced as well, but few objects have as yet been securely located there.¹⁰ Meanwhile, the holy places were still in Muslim hands.

A new Crusade launched against Egypt, led by the papal legate, Cardinal Pelagius of Albano, in 1217–21, miscarried when Emperor Frederick II (r. 1215–50) failed to appear; he arrived in the Holy Land only in 1228 and negotiated a treaty with the Ayyubid sultan al-Kamil in 1229 to reestablish Christian access to the holy sites. When Jerusalem was definitively lost to the Khwarizmian Turks in 1244, another Crusade was called (1248–50), and again Egypt was attacked. Despite the leadership of Louis IX of France, this Crusade also failed; Louis was even taken prisoner and had to be ransomed. Following his liberation, the king gallantly came to Syria-Palestine and refocused attention on the Latin Kingdom. During his residency in Acre in 1250–54, he revitalized Crusader architecture — note the fortifications at Caesarea and Sidon — and painting — witness the Perugia Missal and the Arsenal Bible in Acre.¹¹ An icon of Saint George (cat. no. 261), said to be from Lydda in the 1250s, is also a product of this revitalization. Thus, for approximately ten years Crusader painting apparently flourished in both Acre and Constantinople under strong contemporary Byzantine influence.

With the retaking of Constantinople by the Byzantines, led by Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1259–82) in 1261, and the ominous appearance of the Mamluk sultan al-Zahir Baybars as victor over the Mongols at the Battle of Ayn Jalut in 1260, the Crusaders were faced with major threats to their existence in Syria and in Byzantium. After a devastating series of Crusader losses, including Nazareth (1263), Antioch (1268), Crac des Chevaliers (1271), and Tripoli (1289), Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil conquered Acre (1291), and the Crusaders were thrown out of Syria-Palestine. By 1300 they had withdrawn to Cyprus and southern Greece, where they vigorously attempted to continue their relations with Byzantium and their confrontation with



The Crucifixion. Lid of a staurotheke (cat. no. 264)



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258. Fresco Fragment of an Angel with Christ

Crusader (Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Gethsemane), ca. 1170

Fresco
28 × 83 cm (11 × 32³/₈ in.)

CONDITION: The plaster is damaged and abraded.

PROVENANCE: Church of the Savior in Gethsemane.

Museum of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Convent of the Flagellation, Jerusalem, Israel

The face of a finely painted angel appears as the major extant fragment of a figural fresco composition on a blue ground. To the right is the crossed nimbus of Jesus, from which several curved rays extend. Three fingers of the angel's hand—perhaps part of a representation of the angel holding the mandorla of Christ—can be seen.

The fragment appears to be from a depiction of Christ in Majesty, flanked by angels. It was possibly located on the triumphal arch in front of the apse. The original Byzantine church on the site, from the period of Theodosios I (r. 379–95), was destroyed at the time of the Persian invasion in 614. This fresco appears to have belonged to a later church, built in the twelfth century by the Crusaders.¹

The Crusader church was described by John of Würzburg, a pilgrim in Jerusalem, about 1170: “The place where the Lord prayed is surrounded by a new church, called the Church of the Savior. Out of its floor rise three uncut stones like small rocks, on which it is said that the Lord prayed.”² The fragment was found in 1920, in excavations conducted by Gaudenzio Orfali prior to the construction of a new Franciscan church in Gethsemane.

Stylistically the fresco displays strong Byzantine influence. It appears to have been

done by a Crusader artist in the wake of the major decoration program of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem in 1167–69, along with other fresco work in Jerusalem, such as the Damascus Gate Chapel. The program of fresco painting at the Hospitaller Church at Abu Ghosh, west of Jerusalem, appears to date from the early 1170s, just a few years later.³

JF

1. Bagatti 1938, p. 159.
2. John of Würzburg 1988, p. 255.
3. Folda, *Art*, 1995, pp. 382–90.

LITERATURE: Orfali 1924, p. 13; Vincent and Abel 1926, vol. 2, fasc. 4, p. 1007, pl. LXXXVIII, 2; Bagatti 1938, pp. 153–59; Bagatti 1939, pp. 38–39; Piccirillo 1983, p. 44; Folda, *Art*, 1995, pp. 379–82.

259. Queen Melisende's Psalter

Crusader (Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre), ca. 1135

Tempera and gold on vellum; 218 fols.
21.5 × 14 cm (8¹/₂ × 5¹/₂ in.)

CONDITION: The ivory and silk treasure binding has been separated from the vellum leaves of the codex.

PROVENANCE: Frère Ponz Daubon, twelfth or thirteenth century; Grande Chartreuse at Grenoble; Dr. Commarmont, Lyons, about 1840; purchased by Professor G. Libri for the dealers Payne and Foss, London booksellers; bought by the British Museum from Payne and Foss on November 12, 1845.

The British Library, Department of Manuscripts, London, England (Egerton Ms. 1139)

The scene of the Anastasis is part of the Byzantine cycle of feast days known as the *dodekaorton*. Christ descends to and tramples on the gates of hell while he liberates the Old

Testament worthies and the ancient righteous. Adam and Eve are at the left, and David and Solomon and John the Baptist, the last of the prophets, are at the right. The event is recounted in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus:

Again the voice sounded: Lift up the gates. When Hades heard the voice the second time, he . . . said: “Who is this King of glory?” The angels of the Lord said: “The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle” [Ps. 23:8 (24:8)]. And immediately at this answer the gates of brass were broken in pieces and the bars of iron were crushed and all the dead who were bound were loosed from their chains, and we with them. And the King of glory entered in like a man, and all the dark places of Hades were illumined. (v [xxi])

The King of glory stretched out his right hand, and took hold of our forefather Adam and raised him up. Then he turned also to the rest and said: Come with me, all you who have suffered death. . . . I raise you all up again through the tree of the cross. (VIII [xxiv])¹

The scene of the Women at the Tomb is sometimes added, as it is here, to the cycle of feast days. The image is taken from the Gospel of Mark (16:1–8):

When the sabbath was over, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome bought spices, so that they might go and anoint him. And very early on the first day of the week, when the sun had risen, they went to the tomb. . . . As they entered the tomb, they saw a young man, dressed in a white robe, sitting on the right side; and they were alarmed. But he said to them, “Do not be alarmed; you are looking for Jesus of



259. The Anastasis, fol. 9v

Nazareth, who was crucified. He has been raised; he is not here. Look, there is the place they laid him.”

Basil, a Byzantine-trained painter of Western or Crusader origin, made the twenty-four prefatory miniatures. He must have had access to eleventh-century Constantinopolitan pictorial models, which he followed quite closely. Hugo Buchthal compares the Anastasis miniature, for example, with an image in the Parma Gospels.² In addition to Byzantine sources for both program and iconography, the miniatures display conspicuous Crusader elements. The inclusion of a prefatory set of New Testament miniatures in a psalter, for example, is a

Western invention of the eleventh century. Iconographic details further indicate Crusader influence. Although the Anastasis is depicted in the canonical Middle Byzantine configuration, the addition of flanking bust-length angels holding standards is rare in Byzantine art and appears to reflect the apse mosaic in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem (modified with the Latin letters SSS for “Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus”), still part of the rotunda in 1135.³ The image thus evokes for the reader the *loca sancta* iconography of the Holy Sepulchre.

The scene of the Women at the Tomb (see illus. on p. 279) depicts the three women described in the Gospel of Mark, the standard choice in the Latin West, rather than the two

in Matthew, the preferred choice in Byzantium up to the thirteenth century. The Byzantine source is, however, reflected in the tomb slab on which the angel sits and by the inclusion of the sleeping soldiers, mentioned in Matthew but not in Mark. The Crusader element is thus indicated by the pairing of images.

Given the iconographic fusion of East and West, it is not surprising to find that stylistically as well, Basil combines his Romanesque training with attentive study of Byzantine figure style. Byzantine models, for example, are carefully followed in composition, color, two-dimensionality, formulaic drapery, and ornament.

Like the painted decoration inside the psalter, the imagery on the covers blends East and West: the Byzantine and Western iconography of the David Cycle joins with the Western iconography of the Psychomachia and the Works of Mercy, all of which have Latin inscriptions. The style of the carving evokes Byzantine, Western (especially English), and possibly Muslim sources.⁴ Programmatically the front cover represents the life of King David, the ancestor of Christian rulers in the Holy Land, in the context of the Virtues and Vices. The back cover depicts a Christian king in Byzantine regalia — a likely reference to King Fulk (r. 1131–43), the patron of this codex — carrying out the Corporal Works of Mercy, recounted in Matthew 25:35–36. The two covers are joined by the embroidered silk on the spine, with its explicit symbolism of the equal-armed cross as evocative of Crusader Jerusalem (see illus. on pp. 388 and 391).

The patronage and date of this codex have been vigorously debated. Although her name does not appear in the manuscript, all evidence points to Queen Melisende of Jerusalem (r. 1131–61) as the recipient of this prayer book. The references to members of her family in the calendar, the case endings of the Latin prayers, and the remarkable synthesis of Byzantine, Crusader, and Western characteristics in the program of decoration — together with specific historical circumstances in the Latin Kingdom — appear to indicate that King Fulk, Melisende’s husband, commissioned the manuscript as a gift for her in late 1134 or 1135.⁵

The psalter, including the binding, is the work of at least six artists and one scribe — the latter a Frenchman.⁶ J F

1. Hennecke and Schneemelcher 1963–64, vol. 1, pp. 474–75.

2. Buchthal 1957, p. 4.

3. Folda, *Art*, 1995, p. 155. See also Buchthal 1957, pp. 4, 23, and Borg 1981, pp. 7–12.

4. Kuehnelt 1994, pp. 108–24.

5. Folda, *Art*, 1995, pp. 137–55. The program of the treasure binding is also relevant to this interpretation.

6. Four artists for the illustrations of the manuscript—Basil (24 prefatory miniatures, fols. 1–12v); three Western painters: French(?) (12 zodiac medallions for the calendar, fols. 13v–19r); South Italian (8 incipit pages); and Italian(?) (9 headpieces)—one(?) artist for the ivory cover, and one artist for the silk spine.

LITERATURE: Buchthal 1957, pp. 1–14, 35–38, 122–28, 139–40; Kuehnelt 1994, pp. 53, 63, 64, 66, 95, 124, 166, 167; Lowden, “Psalter,” 1994, p. 164; Folda, *Art*, 1995, pp. 137–59.

EXHIBITION: London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 180.

260. The Four Gospels

Crusader (Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre), ca. 1160s
Tempera and gold on vellum; 127 fols.
22 × 15.4 cm (8 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: There are a few losses in the border, some flaking of the paint on the draperies, and some damage to the ground. The face of Mark is also damaged.

PROVENANCE: Bears coat of arms of the Barberini family.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
(Vat. lat. Ms. 5974)

The image of the Four Evangelists was the frontispiece to this Gospel book, although a preface precedes it and three full lines and one partial line of text appear above it on the same folio. The evangelists stand holding their Gospel books while striding to the right. Matthew and John appear above, Luke and Mark below. The border is based on Byzantine design and was executed after the text was written.

Iconographically the evangelists can be identified by comparison with the individual portraits at the start of their Gospel texts: Matthew on folio 10v, Mark on folio 41r, Luke on folio 62v, and John on folio 94v. However, the sequence in which they appear in the frontispiece—as well as their grouping by posture, representation of their books, and dominant drapery color—does not present any obvious parallels with the four Gospel texts. Rather, the miniature seems to have been modeled after an image on the opening page of an eleventh-century Greek Gospel book in the Vatican (Vat. gr. 756), in which the Four Evangelists face an image of Christ on the opposite page and offer their Gospel books to him.¹ The figures in the earlier work are



260. The Four Evangelists, fol. 3v

identified by inscriptions and correspond exactly in iconography and pose to those in the present work, although the inscriptions are omitted and the palette is more lively here. Furthermore, the style in the Crusader example, while strongly Byzantine-inspired, is more formulaic, as may be seen in such passages as the teardrop shape of the drapery

over the knee descending from sharply defined V folds.

The Four Evangelists introduce us directly to the canon tables, which follow on folios 4r–8r, and to the body of the Gospel book; their striding to the right may visually encourage us to read on.

J F

1. Buchthal 1957, p. 26. There is no indication that an image of Christ facing this frontispiece was ever planned for Vat. lat. 5974.

LITERATURE: Buchthal 1957, pp. 25–33; Folda, *Art*, 1995, pp. 337–47.

EXHIBITION: Cologne 1992, no. 29.

261. Icon with Saint George and the Young Boy of Mytilene

Crusader (Lydda?), mid-13th century
Tempera and gold leaf on gesso and woven textile (linen?) over wood support
26.8 × 18.8 cm (10½ × 7½ in.)

CONDITION: The raised gesso border is severely damaged, and the gesso background discolored; there are losses to the horse and to Saint George.

PROVENANCE: From an English collection; sold as a nineteenth-century Russian icon at Christie's, March 31, 1978, lot 196; purchased by the British Museum in 1984.

The Trustees of the British Museum, London, England (M and LA 1984, 6-1,1)

The youthful, beardless Saint George is shown seated on his horse, his arm around a young boy who sits behind him. His red cloak billows out behind him as it does in contemporary wall paintings.¹ His dark shield is visible to the right in the manner of a Crusader icon,² and he wears a diadem of gold with pearls and rubies and a long blue tunic under his cuirass, as Crusader military saints did.³ His halo, the background of the icon, and the frame are decorated with a raised-gesso pattern — floriated vines with studs, originally silvered. Such raised-gesso work was a popular feature of thirteenth-century Crusader painting in Acre, Sinai, and Tripoli and is also found in Byzantine and Crusader work on Cyprus.⁴ The lance originally bore a Greek inscription with the name of Saint George, now mostly flaked off.

Stylistically the icon may be compared with the work of the Crusader Arsenal Bible Master in terms of overall design, figural poses, three-dimensional modeling, and coloration.⁵ The pose of the figure closely parallels that of the Saint George on the Freiburg Leaf (cat. no. 318).

The theme of Christian deliverance from the Muslims was an important one to the Crusaders, and the cult of Saint George was popular in the Crusader East. In this episode, found in both fresco and icon painting,⁶ Saint



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George rescues a boy from Mytilene who had been held captive by Saracens on Crete.⁷ The main cult site for Saint George in the Latin Kingdom was at Lydda, and the icon may have been painted there in the mid-thirteenth century, though other sites cannot be ruled out.

J F

1. See, for example, the churches at Bahdeidat in Lebanon and Qara in Syria; Sader 1987, p. 21, pl. 26; J. Leroy 1975, pp. 97–99, 107.
2. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting," 1966, pp. 71–72, fig. 49.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80; Cormack sees the cuirass as fanciful (i.e., not purely Byzantine) armor, and the long tunic as not necessarily Crusader. See Cormack and Mihalarias 1984, p. 132 n. 1.
4. Folda 1992, pp. 109–17; Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 29–48.

5. For comparable examples by the Arsenal Bible Master, see Buchthal 1957, pls. 65a, 73, and 80.
6. See, for example, the icon from Sinai (Folda 1992, p. 109) and the frescoes from Crac des Chevaliers and Mar Musa al-Habashi (Folda et al. 1982, pp. 194–95, and Dodd 1992, pp. 85–87).
7. The episode is taken from the posthumous miracles of Saint George; see *Miracula S. Georgii* 1913 and, for translation, Festugière 1971, pp. 313–15.

LITERATURE: Cormack and Mihalarias 1984, pp. 132–41; Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 9–112; Folda 1992, p. 109; London, *Byzantium*, 1994, pp. 176–77.

EXHIBITIONS: London, *From Byzantium*, 1987, no. 9; London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 191.



262. Madonna and Child on a Curved Throne

Crusader (Cyprus?), ca. 1290

Tempera and gold leaf on woven fabric (linen?) over wood

81.5 × 49 cm (32¼ × 19½ in.)

CONDITION: The joined panel has been cut down slightly at top and bottom; the frame is modern; both the gold ground and the tooling above the throne are restorations carried out in 1928–29 by the dealer Duveen; the faces, garments, and golden highlights were also repainted at that time; the original paint was mixed rather than laid on in layers as was common with Byzantine icons.

PROVENANCE: Erroneously reported to have come from Calahorra, Spain; said to have been sold on the Madrid art market before 1921; collection of Carl W. Hamilton, New York; acquired by Duveen, New York; sold to Andrew W. Mellon, 1937.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.,
Andrew W. Mellon Collection (1937.1.1)

This is a version of the Hodegetria, one of the most revered images from the Middle Byzantine period. The Virgin wears a voluminous cherry-red *maphorion* and a bright blue tunic. Seated on a circular wooden throne, she is positioned on the central axis of the panel, though her body turns in two different directions along that axis, creating a distinct torsion. The upper torso is turned slightly to the right, the legs shifted to the left. The Christ Child is cradled in the Virgin's left arm as she gestures toward him and gently touches his knee. Two bust-length angels in Byzantine court costume appear in medallions above as imperial bodyguards.

Stylistically the Virgin and Child clearly emulates Constantinopolitan work of the mid-thirteenth century as seen in the Deesis mosaic from Hagia Sophia and in the Kahn Madonna, now also in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.¹ The technique, however, strongly suggests that the artist was not Byzantine — and was someone other than the painter of the Kahn Madonna — but may have been an Italian working in the East, someone who sought to imitate Byzantine work without having had explicit training from a Byzantine icon painter.² Furthermore, the iconography, coloration, and size of the panel indicate a patron who was Frankish and a devotional function that was Latin, not Orthodox.

In seeking a Levantine origin for the present work, we must assume a location strongly tied not only to Byzantine — indeed, Constantinopolitan — sources but also to an active Frankish artistic center, with Italo-Byzantine painters who were producing icons and panel paintings between 1261 and 1291.³ Such centers existed in Frankish Greece, the art of which has been relatively little studied, as well as in

the Crusader states (especially in Acre and at the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai) and on Lusignan Cyprus, all of which have been the subject of intensive study.⁴ Of these possibilities, Cyprus is currently the leading — but by no means the only — candidate because of its strong ties to Byzantium, its shared coloration and iconography, and its probable patronage.⁵

The extensive restoration of this Madonna and Child makes analysis difficult, but it is nonetheless significant that other striking Frankish commissions on Cyprus are comparable to this one, which dates to about 1290. There are, for example, two famous Crusader panel paintings — the Virgin and Child with Carmelites (in the Byzantine Museum of the Makarios III Foundation, Nicosia) and the Saint Nicholas with a knight and his wife and daughter, members of the Ravendel family (cat. no. 263).⁶ Although no donor is depicted in the present work, several elements suggest a devotional use as part of a diptych for a Frankish patron associated with Cyprus: its iconography, in particular the Western gesture of Christ blessing; its coloration, similar to that of the Saint Nicholas icon and the frescoes at Moutoullas; its red backgrounds for the angels; and its composition and size.⁷ The extraordinary throne continues to elude full explanation but may be related to patronage. Further light may eventually be shed on this panel (and on the Kahn Madonna) by the continuing study of its possible impact on the work of later artists ranging from the paintings of Duccio in 1285 to icons dating into the sixteenth century. J F

1. For the relationship with the Hagia Sophia mosaic, see Demus, "Marienikonen," 1958, pp. 87–104. For discussion of the Kahn Madonna as the work of a Byzantine artist in Constantinople in the period 1250–75, see Folda, "Madonnas," 1995, pp. 501–10.
2. Belting 1982, pp. 12–13, 17; Hoenigswald 1982, pp. 27–28.
3. For discussion of the Levantine localization of the Mellon Madonna, see Folda, "Madonnas," 1995, pp. 504–5.
4. Wallace and Boase 1977, pp. 208–28, 348–51.
5. No comparable hands have as yet been identified in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in this period. The case for Frankish Greece in the years after 1261 has yet to be explored.
6. Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 38–48; Papageorgiou 1991, pp. 51–52; for discussion of their Crusader characteristics, see Folda, *Art*, 1995, pp. 216–22.
7. Folda, "Madonnas," 1995, pp. 505–6.

LITERATURE: Berenson 1921, pp. 284–304; Berenson 1930, pp. 1–19; Demus, "Marienikonen," 1958, pp. 87–104; Shapley 1979, pp. 96–99; Belting 1982, pp. 7–22; Hoenigswald 1982, pp. 25–31; Folda, "Madonnas," 1995, pp. 501–10.

263. Icon with Saint Nicholas and Scenes from His Life

Cypriot, 13th century

Tempera and gold and silver leaf on wood primed with parchment and gesso

203 × 158 cm (79¾ × 62¼ in.)

CONDITION: There are losses throughout the panel; restored by Fotis Zachariou.

PROVENANCE: Monastery of Saint Nicholas tes Steges, Kakopetria, Cyprus.

Byzantine Museum of the Makarios III Foundation, Nicosia, Cyprus

Among the icons of thirteenth-century Cyprus, one of the largest and most significant is this image of Saint Nicholas with scenes from his life from the Monastery of Saint Nicholas tes Steges (Saint Nicholas of the Roof), near Kakopetria, which combines Byzantine and Western elements in a manner that reflects the distinct visual culture of Cyprus in the Crusader era.¹ While in his portrait and costume the saint conforms to Byzantine depictions, both the scale and the shape of the icon as well as the disposition of the scenes on two sides separate it from other Byzantine and some South Italian vita icons, such as the Bari Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 320), in which the scenes surround the central image on four sides.² The arrangement here is common in central Italy, where the trilobed arch over the saint's head also occurs.³ An image from the Church of Saint Kassianos in Nicosia that shows the Enthroned Madonna and Child with scenes of the Miracles of the Virgin on the right and left sides appears to have been commissioned for a Latin church.⁴ Nevertheless, and despite the presence of kneeling donors in Western costume, both Annemarie Weyl Carr and Doula Mouriki have argued convincingly that the Saint Nicholas icon was from the beginning intended as a gift for the Greek Church of Saint Nicholas.⁵ Carr and Mouriki have attributed the Kassianos and Saint Nicholas panels to a single Cypriot workshop whose production is characterized by a consistent use of the same gilded relief ornament.⁶ They describe the style of this workshop and others on Cyprus as a *maniera cypria*, which perpetuated aspects of twelfth-century Byzantine style into the thirteenth century, combining it with features of Western iconography as well as with distinctively Cypriot elements, including the gilded-gesso relief decoration of halos.

R W C

1. Sophocleous 1994, p. 89; Papageorgiou 1970, p. 35.
2. N. Ševčenko 1992, pp. 56–69; N. Ševčenko 1983.
3. Garrison 1949, pp. 150–56, 87, no. 207.



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4. Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 42–47; Carr and Morrocco 1991, p. 106.
5. Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 40–41, 47; Carr and Morrocco 1991, p. 106.
6. Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 32–48; Carr and Morrocco 1991, pp. 98–110.

LITERATURE: Garrison 1949, p. 151, no. 397; Papageorgiou 1970, p. 35; N. Ševčenko 1983, pp. 37–38, pls. 14.0–16; Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 42–47, fig. 48; Carr and Morrocco 1991, pp. 99–110, pl. 20, figs. 39, 44; N. Ševčenko 1992, p. 67, fig. 55; Sophocleous 1994, p. 89, fig. 26.

EXHIBITION: Athens 1976, no. 16.

264. Staurotheke

Crusader (Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem), mid-12th century (cross); Italo-Byzantine (Sicily), second half of 12th century (container)
Silver gilt
15.9 × 9.2 cm (6¼ × 3⅝ in.)

INSCRIBED: Outside rim of the box, in Latin, at the top, +HOC EST LIGNUM (This is the wood); on the right, SCE CRUCIS (of the Holy Cross) [INO VA][?] XPC PEPEdit (Christ hung); at the bottom, [QUAM?] IERUSALEM (Jerusalem); on the left, +CONSTANTINUS ET HELENA DETVLERVNT (Constantine and Helena carried away). Inside rim of the box, on the left, in Latin, SCS CONSTANTINUS (Saint Constantine), in Greek, KOC-TANTIN (Saint Constantine); on the right, in Latin, SCA HELENA (Saint Helena), in Greek, H AFIA EAENI (Saint Helena). Lid, at the top, ISTAVPOSIS (The [Holy] Cross); on the *titulus*, in Greek, IC XC (Jesus Christ); flanking Christ's head, in Latin, IHS XPS (Jesus Christ).

CONDITION: The lid, box, and cross are slightly damaged; stone inlays for three of the four quatrefoils are missing.

Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris, France (OA 3665)

The reliquary ensemble is in three parts. The silver-gilt box container is decorated with an identifying inscription on the sliding lid; images of Constantine and Helena and busts of two angels, with inscriptions, inside (see illus. on p. 391); and an image of the Crucifixion on the lid. Inside is a double-armed cross with two relics of the Holy Cross. The ensemble is modeled on a Byzantine stau-rotheke,¹ but the cross containing the two relics was made in Jerusalem in the middle of the twelfth century,² and the box for the cross appears to have been made shortly thereafter, perhaps in Italy.³

The decoration on the front of the cross has two small slit crosses with beaded borders for the relics; repoussé and stamped medallions bearing symbols of the Four Evangelists; medallions of fleurs-de-lis; four quatrefoils to hold stone fragments from the Holy Sepulchre; and an image of the Holy Sepulchre within an arch with a cross on top and a prayer lamp hanging above it. A closely comparable repertoire style and execution of decoration are found on reliquary crosses associated with the same Jerusalem workshop (see, for example, one currently in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela) and on another fragmentary portable altar, now in the Cathedral of Agrigento.⁴

The back of the cross is decorated with a handsome vine-scroll floriated motif; one medallion, at the crossing of the lower cross-arm, shows the Agnus Dei.



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The repoussé work on the box container is done in a slightly different style and technique, with more patterning in negative, punched dots rather than in raised beading. The style and technique of the lid are also slightly different from those of the other two elements, with figures more strongly modeled and elongated and draperies patterned and outlined with raised and serrated work.

J F

1. Rückert 1957, pp. 20–28.
2. Meurer 1976, p. 13; Meurer 1985, p. 70; Folda, *Art*, 1995, pp. 292–94.
3. Frolow 1965, p. 127. The Agrigento portable altar is an important Italian link to these Jerusalem crosses, as discussed in Meurer 1976, p. 15; Meurer 1985, p. 68; and Folda, *Art*, 1995, p. 291.
4. Meurer 1985, p. 71, figs. 9, 10, and Moralejo 1993, pp. 351–52, no. 70.

LITERATURE: Marquet de Vasselot 1914, no. 25, pl. VII; Frolow, *Relique*, 1961, p. 478, no. 648; Frolow 1965, pp. 108, 127, fig. 55; Meurer 1976, p. 13; Meurer 1985, pp. 70, 73; Folda, *Art*, 1995, pp. 293–94.

265. Bezant Blanc of Hugh I of Cyprus

Crusader (uncertain mint), 1205–18
Base gold

Obverse
DIAM. 26 mm (1 in.); 3.81 gm



265. Obverse



265. Reverse

INSCRIBED: In field, left and right, IC-XC (Jesus Christ)

Christ nimbate, seated on a backless throne, raises his right hand in benediction and holds a Gospel book in his left. The whole within a double border of dots.

Reverse
DIAM. 29.5 mm (1 1/8 in.); 3.79 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, CYPRI•HVGO•REX (Hugh, king of Cyprus)

Hugh standing facing, wearing a stemma, *divetesion*, and chlamys; he holds in his right hand a long patriarchal cross and in his left a *globus cruciger*. The whole within a double border of dots.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (obverse: 0000.999.32117; reverse: 1952.30.28)

The standard coin of thirteenth-century Cyprus was the base, or “white gold,” bezant, which, as its name suggests, was entirely Byzantine in inspiration. The figure of Christ enthroned is taken directly from such Byzantine prototypes as the coin of Alexios I Komnenos (cat. no. 147K), and Hugh’s garb, again entirely borrowed, proclaims through its *globus cruciger* his sovereignty over the world. By the time this coin was struck the claims of both Hugh and the “Byzantine” emperor were equally empty.

W E M

266. Silver Trachy of Theodore I Laskaris

Byzantine (Magnesia), 1208–22
Silver

Obverse
DIAM. 30 mm (1 1/8 in.); 3.19 gm

INSCRIBED: In upper field, IC-XC (Jesus Christ)

Christ, bearded and nimbate, wearing a tunic and colobium, seated on a throne with a back; he holds a Gospel book in both hands. Double border of dots.

Reverse
DIAM. 27 mm (1 1/8 in.); 3.22 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟCΔΕCΠΙΟΤ Ο, ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC (Lord Theodore/Saint Theodore)

Full-length figure of Emperor Theodore I on the left and Saint Theodore on the right, holding between them a long shaft at the head of which is a star. Theodore I wears a stemma, *divetesion*, *loros*, and *sagion* and holds in his right hand a sheathed sword, point downward; Saint Theodore wears a short military tunic, breastplate, and *sagion* and holds in his left hand a sheathed sword, point downward. Double border of dots.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (obverse: 1944.100.18229; reverse: 1947.3.90)

Both the date and the mint of the coinage of Theodore I are conjectural; his coinage probably does not precede his ecclesiastical coronation in 1208, and Magnesia, later the site of the treasury of Theodore II, is only the most likely among many mint sites.



266. Obverse



266. Reverse

Given the flight from the capital in 1204 and the chaos that prevailed in Asia during this period, it is perhaps remarkable that Theodore coined at all. When he did so, however, it was solidly in the Byzantine tradition, and in fact the coinage of the rulers of Nicaea and Thessalonike is physically indistinguishable from Byzantine coinage before the loss of the capital and after its recovery.

W E M

267. Plate with the Ascension of Alexander the Great

Crusader (Constantinople), ca. 1208–16
Silver
DIAM. 28 cm (11 in.)

INSCRIBED: The incised inscription on the outside consists of twelve characters that are altered forms of Greek letters.

Shuryshkar Regional Historical Museum Complex, Muzhi (a branch of the Yamalo-Nenets District Museum, Salekhard), Siberia, Russian Federation (OF 798)

The plate was found near Muzhi, a small town in western Siberia, together with three other silver objects (all are now in the Shuryshkar Regional Museum). Two are Romanesque stem-cup lids of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century; the third object is a late-twelfth-century bowl of a stem cup. All four objects might have been brought to the area by Western European sailors.

The present plate has a central scene in repoussé (the Ascension of Alexander), surrounded by ten scrollwork medallions with figures. Recounted in several Greek and Western versions of the Alexander Romance, the Ascension was a popular subject in Byzantine and Romanesque art. In Islamic art this theme was seen only in Asia Minor,¹ and an outstanding Islamic example—the



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Artukid bowl² from the first half of the twelfth century (cat. no. 281)—has stylistic ties to Byzantine art. Here, as in the standard Byzantine composition, Alexander is shown in a chariot drawn by two griffins. In trying to reach the meat dangled in front of them by the hero, the beasts are made to fly higher and higher.

Alexander's name and title are written in Greek in two embossed roundels near his head. (Such roundels were usual on metal icons from the thirteenth century on.) In the border, allegorical figures of the Sun, the Moon, and Jupiter (?) appear in the three top medallions and those of Earth and the Ocean in two bottom ones. According to the romance, Alexander was lifted so high that he was able to see the entire earth surrounded by the ocean. Between

the Moon and the Ocean are the Greek hero Bellerophon, mounted on the winged horse Pegasus, and David playing his harp. Bellerophon was regarded as a precursor of Alexander, and the great king David was not only Christ's ancestor but also a model for medieval rulers. In the three medallions at left, between Jupiter (?) and Earth, is a battle scene: a spear-bearing horseman is attacked by a mounted archer while a rider with raised sword comes to his aid. This composition is not similar to conventional schemes of such a genre widespread in the Middle Byzantine period. There are no scenes like this among the illustrations to the story of Alexander. Most likely it depicts a narrative about a contemporary ruler who is being compared with Alexander, Bellerophon, and

David. A twelfth-century Byzantine poet mentions the depiction of a ruling emperor's exploits on a gold bowl.³

The plate's style and iconography express a secular Byzantine tradition with oriental borrowings, but there are also some Western elements. Its Byzantine analogues date mostly from the twelfth century (among them are silver bowls and trays in the State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and a bronze candlestick in the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai).⁴ Its Western parallels are, however, slightly later. Among these are the Late Romanesque treatment of the enthroned Alexander, who resembles Western kings and emperors as they appear on their seals rather than a Byzantine monarch. The use of the

throne instead of a chariot is typical of Western versions of Alexander's ascension. On the present plate both the throne and the chariot appear, the wheels being shown separately as star-shaped bosses. The baluster-like supports for the throne are seen only in the present plate and in two South Italian cameos⁵—they do not appear in Byzantine art. The horse ridden by the warrior carrying a sword wears a Western harness. Given these elements, an early-thirteenth-century date for the plate seems most probable. In the historical situation of that period, it is quite possible that the plate was made by a Greek master for a local vassal of Henry of Hainault (r. 1206–16), the second Crusader emperor of Constantinople. In 1208, on the eve of a battle with the Bulgars and their nomad allies the Cumans, Henry, alone and without armor, rescued a knight who had been wounded when he ventured too close to the enemy.⁶ The Cumans' mounted archers were the most effective warriors in the Bulgarian army. Henry was the only Latin emperor whose relations with at least some of his Greek subjects were good: a Greek historian called him the "second Ares," and he was the hero of a Greek epic poem. In 1208 his army included a Greek contingent. If such associations are correct, the plate is datable to 1208–16.

B M

1. Settis-Frugoni 1973; Schmidt 1995.
2. Munich, *Artuqidien-Schale*, 1995 (with bibliography).
3. Mango 1972, pp. 224–28.
4. Bank, *Prikladnoe*, 1978, pp. 51–63; L. Bouras 1991, pp. 19–26, figs. 8–20.
5. Stuttgart 1977, nos. 862, 863 (with bibliography).
6. Valenciennes 1948, pp. 31–33, secs. 508–13.

LITERATURE: Marshak and Kramarovsky 1996, pp. 26–41, 222, 225.

EXHIBITION: Saint Petersburg 1996, no. 69.



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268. Bowl Fragment with Horse and Rider

Crusader (Antioch?), early 13th century
Engraved slipware
MAX. DIAM. 26.7 cm (10½ in.)

CONDITION: Previous fill and surface additions have been removed, leaving a fragment of two original pieces; there is pitting under the glaze on the horse, as well as a chip at the upper edge of the rider's forehead.

PROVENANCE: Kelekian Associates, 1984.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Anonymous Gift, 1984 (1984.181)

Although without armor or halo, the rider, sitting rigidly erect, resembles the artistically hybrid military saints in Crusader icons.¹ His hair, for example, is styled in the new thirteenth-century Western fashion. Details of his cap may be found in various hunting or falconry scenes: in ivory on the Troyes Casket (cat. no. 141); in marble on a screen panel in the Cathedral of Bari;² in a painted illustration in the falconry manual of Frederick II (r. 1215–50); and in an engraving of a courtly seated drinker on a pottery bowl from the Crusader port of Saint Symeon, al-Mina, near Antioch.³ In his right hand he

perhaps held a falcon in addition to the reins (an unusual combination). The staff in his left hand could be a falconer's lure, with flaps meant to resemble a bird's wings and used to entice the falcon to return. In the Middle Byzantine period Alexander the Great also appears holding falconer's lures to coax eagles or griffins to raise him to heaven (see cat. no. 281). The bands on the rider's sleeves are marks of status, derived from Arabic inscriptions woven in silk. Mounted falconers in the art of this period are figures of authority, bespeaking the ability to tame, to command, and to kill. The figure and border, the shard's profile, and the color of both the clay and the pigments indicate a possible origin in or near Antioch.

EDM

1. Compare Mouriki 1990, p. 119, with pl. 66.
2. Venice 1995, p. 390.
3. See Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, no. 122, pl. LXIX b, left, and c, for the cap shape; for the bands, Venice 1995, p. 390; see also Frederick II 1943, pl. 78; Lane 1938, pl. xxiv.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1; Lane 1938; Frederick II 1943; Mouriki 1990; Venice 1995.



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BYZANTIUM AND THE ISLAMIC EAST

PRISCILLA SOUCEK

The Middle Byzantine period corresponds to the height of medieval Islamic culture, when cities such as Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, and Córdoba competed with Constantinople for power and prestige. Although the strength of both realms waxed and waned during this four-hundred-year span, the governmental and cultural continuity of the Byzantine state presented a sharp contrast to the myriad transformations witnessed by the Islamic world. In the mid-ninth century there was one paramount center for the Islamic world, Baghdad, capital of the 'Abbasid caliphate, just as there was one ruler with universal pretensions, the 'Abbasid caliph. Ostensibly his authority reached from the Atlantic shores of Africa to the Indus Valley, even though a few distant rulers, such as the Umayyads of Córdoba (756–1031), maintained effective independence.

By the end of the Middle Byzantine period the apparent unity of the Islamic world had been irretrievably shattered, and from the fragments of the once unified empire of the Umayyads and early 'Abbasids, new states rose and fell—the Hamdanids of Mosul and Aleppo (905–1004), the Fatimids of North Africa, Egypt, and Syria (909–1171), the Great Seljuks of Iran and Iraq (1038–1194), and their successors, the Zangids of Mosul and Aleppo (1127–1222). In eastern Anatolia another successor dynasty, the Artukids (1102–1408), maintained nominal power only by submitting to the Mongols; even the Byzantine Empire's closest Islamic rival, the Seljuks of Rūm (1077–1307), came under Mongol domination in 1243. The 'Abbasid caliphate itself was extinguished in 1258, with the Mongol capture of Baghdad.

To gain a true appreciation of the cultural and artistic connections between the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic world from the mid-ninth to the mid-thirteenth century we must examine the relations established between Constantinople and various Islamic dynasties. These links had certain common features, but three major phases, which reflect the fluctuating power of the parties involved, can be established. The first, dominated by Byzantine-'Abbasid rivalry, lasted

from the mid-ninth to the mid-tenth century, during which time the Byzantine Empire gained in strength while 'Abbasid rule, as the caliphs withdrew from active control of their empire into a private world of opulence and court ceremonial, became increasingly fragmented. The second phase, from the mid-tenth to the mid-eleventh century, corresponds to the height of Byzantine power, when focus shifted to the Mediterranean, where a desire to maintain their empire's far-flung possessions led the Byzantines to negotiate with the Fatimids of North Africa and Egypt and with the Umayyads of Spain. These diplomatic ties coincidentally expanded the sphere of Byzantine-Islamic cultural and artistic relations. This era, in which Byzantine silk brocades, enamels, and other luxury wares set the standard of excellence for the Islamic Mediterranean, was followed by two centuries during which the Byzantine state was buffeted by a series of crises.

The victory of the Seljuk Turks over the Byzantines in 1071 at Mantzikert, which allowed the Seljuks to seize control of the Anatolian heartland, was an important watershed in Byzantine-Muslim cultural and artistic relations. During the first two phases, from the mid-ninth to the mid-eleventh century, artistic connections often appear to have been tied to diplomatic exchanges between the Byzantine court at Constantinople and the courts of the 'Abbasids and various regional Muslim powers. In the post-Mantzikert era, however, Byzantine features discernible in the art of various Islamic dynasties in Syria and Anatolia probably owed more to a broad diffusion of Constantinopolitan culture than to any specific Byzantine initiative.

For the first two stages, Byzantine-'Abbasid relations were of paramount importance because the customs of the 'Abbasid court were emulated by their rivals and successors. During the Middle Byzantine period the relationship of the Byzantines with the 'Abbasids was built on the foundation of earlier connections established between the Byzantine and Sassanian dynasties (224–651) as well as on conditions that had prevailed during the first two centuries of Islamic rule, from the mid-seventh to the mid-ninth century. The Sassanian belief that their dynasty was destined to re-create the ancient Achaemenid empire (ca. 550–330 B.C.) made rivalry with Byzantium inevitable and led to several invasions of Byzantine

Dioskorides. Portrait from a manuscript, Baghdad (?), 1240. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Arab. d. 138, fol. 2v

territory and reciprocal Christian incursions into the Sassanid domains. Periods of hostility and conquest alternated, however, with long stretches of relative calm. Relations based on mutual respect between the two states, formalized in their protocols of diplomacy and correspondence, made each court aware of the pomp and ceremonial used by the other.¹

Following the mid-seventh-century conquest of the Sassanian state by the Muslim armies, the victors inherited much of the cultural framework of Byzantine-Sassanian relations. Nestorian clergy and scholars, who had sought refuge with the Sassanians from pressures exerted by the Byzantine Church, carried with them their knowledge of the cultural heritage of antiquity and prepared translations of important Greek texts into Syriac and Pahlavi. Sassanian interest in Greek learning was a starting point for the more systematic assimilation of the classical heritage under Islam, particularly during the caliphate of al-Ma'mun (r. 813–33). The theatrical character of the Sassanian court ceremonial was also emulated by Muslim rulers.²

During the Umayyad period (661–750) Byzantium was the chief antagonist of the Muslim rulers both in military and in cultural terms. The magnificence of Byzantine architecture, with its lavish use of marble and mosaic, was perceived as an important challenge to Muslim prestige. Within the Muslim community opinion was divided about whether it was advisable to compete with the Byzantines by imitating their taste in the public religious buildings erected in the new Islamic centers of Medina, Damascus, and Jerusalem. As is evident from the structures he sponsored, the Umayyad caliph al-Walid I (r. 705–15) decided that it was appropriate to create major religious structures that would rival those of the Byzantines in the opulence of their materials and the complexity of their pictorial decoration. Tenth-century Arab historians such as Muqaddasi and Tabari state that al-Walid obtained mosaic cubes, tools, and skilled craftsmen from the Byzantine emperor for the embellishment of his new mosques. Although some modern scholars have doubted the historical accuracy of these accounts, al-Walid's successors, the Umayyads of Spain, as well as subsequent Islamic historians, assumed them to be true.³

By the end of the Umayyad period the martial zeal of the initial Islamic expansion, which had separated Syria and Egypt from the Byzantine state and on several occasions had even brought Muslim armies to the gates of Constantinople itself, had waned, and the Byzantine-Abbasid frontier was a militarized zone where life alternated between small-scale raids and tacit coexistence. The stalemate along their borders notwithstanding, each side sought to exploit the other's weakness in raids organized more to generate prestige through the seizure of prisoners and booty than to establish permanent control. These military encounters were normally followed by an exchange of letters and envoys between the

two courts to arrange for a temporary truce during which the enemy's strength could be assessed and prisoners ransomed, in anticipation of renewed hostilities.⁴

Despite the ambivalent goals of these episodic contacts, which proceeded according to a mutually recognized protocol, they provided opportunities for the exchange of goods, ideas, and skills. Custom demanded that royal envoys be furnished with costly gifts for the rival ruler and his close associates; indeed, the possession of such objects was one of the ways in which an ambassador could establish the legitimacy of his credentials. In addition to conveying official gifts, the envoys themselves, although forbidden to export goods of military value, were often permitted to engage in commerce.⁵ Both the Byzantines and the Abbasids inherited from the Sassanians a taste for luxurious and elaborately patterned silk textiles. Both also maintained a degree of governmental control over the production and use of certain fabrics, so that the sending and the receiving of court textiles became symbolic of status and power.⁶

Echoes of these diplomatic, commercial, and cultural exchanges appear in historical sources as well as in the anecdotes found in literary texts. A story related by the mid-tenth-century author Mas'udi but set in the reign of the Umayyad caliph Mu'awiya I (r. 661–80) describes how a Syrian merchant shuttled between the Umayyad and Byzantine courts for more than a decade, procuring coveted items in Syria for members of the imperial court at Constantinople while executing a secret mission for the Umayyad caliph. One Byzantine courtier was so anxious to obtain a matching set of brightly colored rugs, bolsters, and cushions from Syria that he literally jumped from his seaside palace-pavilion into the merchant's boat.⁷ A structure in Baghdad known as the Patrician's Mill exemplifies a different symbiosis of diplomacy and commerce. The caliph al-Mahdi (r. 775–85) permitted a Byzantine envoy to build this mill as a personal investment and even loaned him the needed funds. Each year the mill's revenue was forwarded to the Byzantine owner, although on his death the property reverted to caliphal control.⁸ Other, less physical exchanges also occurred. Stories told about Muslim envoys at Constantinople and about Byzantine envoys to the Abbasid court reveal their critical scrutiny of each other's customs and accomplishments. As heirs to related traditions of court ceremonial, both the Abbasid and the Byzantine rulers developed an elaborate etiquette, opulently decorating their imperial residences. The similarity of their customs and taste made envoys to the rival courts especially acute observers. A mid-eighth-century Byzantine ambassador to the newly built palace-city of the caliph al-Mansur (r. 754–75) at Baghdad criticized both the inadequate water supply and the location of markets adjacent to the caliphal palace. Although Mansur pretended to dismiss these criticisms, he later acted upon the envoy's advice.⁹

Relations between the 'Abbasids and the Byzantines were particularly wide-ranging during the ninth century, when several 'Abbasid caliphs encouraged the translation and study of Greek texts dealing with mathematics, medicine, the natural sciences, and philosophy. These translations built on earlier attempts of the Sassanian and Umayyad eras and also stimulated new synthetic studies. The caliphs' military campaigns against the Byzantine state were coupled with an active interest in the accumulated wisdom of Greek antiquity. Harun al-Rashid (r. 789–809), for example, took Greek manuscripts as booty during his invasions of Anatolia.¹⁰ 'Abbasid patronage of scholars and translators also inspired emulation among rival dynasties, such as the Umayyads of Spain, and among some of their successors, including the Artukids.

The degree to which Byzantine-'Abbasid relations moved along several distinct but intersecting tracks is typified by the interchange between Theophilos (r. 829–42) and al-Ma'mun (r. 813–33), whose reigns were marked by a sequence of raids and retaliatory incursions. In 831 Theophilos wrote to Ma'mun proposing a truce that would lead not only to the freeing of prisoners but also to an increase in trade and to greater security for all. In his response Ma'mun threatened Theophilos with an 'Abbasid invasion that would leave only widows and orphans in its wake unless the emperor converted to Islam or paid tribute; Ma'mun followed this letter by launching yet another raid on Byzantine territory.¹¹

Despite such conflicts this period witnessed a remarkable convergence of taste and intellectual concerns between the 'Abbasid and Byzantine courts. Ma'mun's personal interest in classical learning led him to support not only translation projects but also various kinds of scientific inquiries, and he repeatedly offered a leading Byzantine mathematician an appointment at his court. Although Theophilos refused to allow the visit, he did arrange for a Greek manuscript to be sent to Ma'mun.¹² Among Ma'mun protégés were three brothers known as the Banu Musa, whose work with pneumatic devices, valves, and siphons built on the discoveries of Hellenistic scholars such as Heron of Byzantium (third century B.C.) and Philo of Alexandria (first century A.D.). While the principles involved had many practical applications, they also led to the creation of fountains and water-driven musical devices that were much admired at the 'Abbasid court.¹³

The emperor Theophilos is remembered as a builder of magnificent palaces equipped with marvelous fountains and curious objects, including a gold, jewel-encrusted tree with artificial singing birds. One fountain was used to dispense wine; others, made of gold, were shaped like lions or griffins. It has been suggested that the construction of such devices was stimulated by contact with the 'Abbasid court, where the popularity of similar objects is well documented in later periods. The Byzantine theologian John Synkellos, who was Theophilos's envoy to Ma'mun, took advantage of his

visit to study 'Abbasid palaces. When he described them to Theophilos, the emperor decided to build one for himself on the shores of the Sea of Marmara. This palace was said to have been virtually identical to its 'Abbasid prototype in both form and decoration.¹⁴

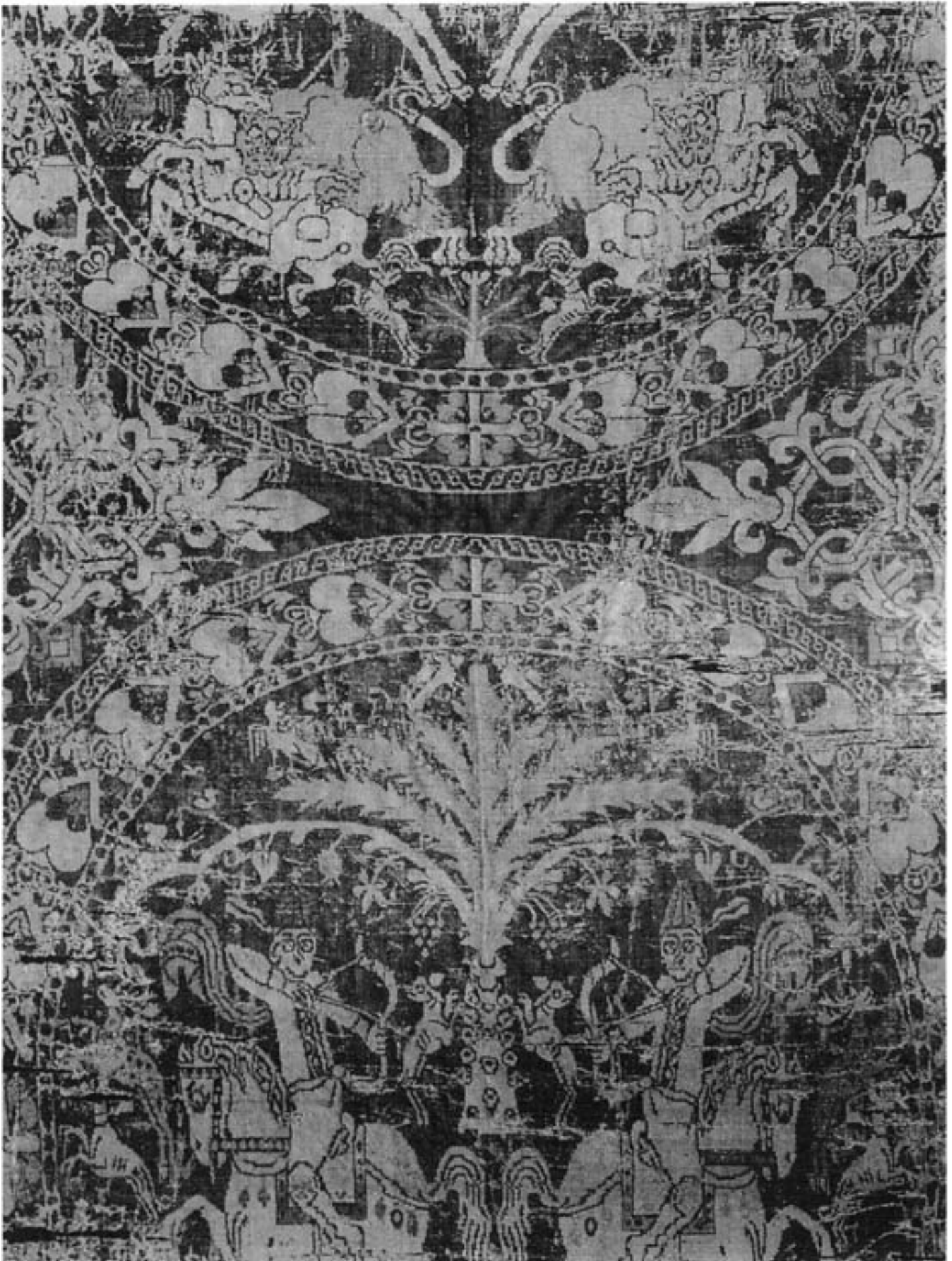
The equation made between the opulence of a ruler's residence and the power of his state is evident from textual descriptions of the receptions accorded to foreign envoys. Islamic sources contain highly detailed accounts of the reception prepared for Byzantine envoys from Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, then twelve, and his mother, Zoe, to the caliph al-Muqtadir (r. 908–32) during the summer of 917. By this time it was the Byzantines who were able to dictate terms to the 'Abbasid caliph, forcing him to pay a heavy price to ransom Muslim prisoners. When the Byzantine envoys appeared bearing gifts and a letter for al-Muqtadir, they were detained so that their audience with the caliph could be carefully orchestrated.

The envoys were not allowed to see al-Muqtadir until they had taken a tour of the royal compound, which had been designed to inculcate respect for 'Abbasid power and wealth. They visited the stables, the armory, and the caliph's zoo, which housed lions, elephants, and giraffes. Caliphal wealth was demonstrated through a display of jewels, precious hangings, and carpets. At the climax of their tour, when they had finally reached the audience hall, they were treated to the spectacle of an elaborate hydraulic device set within its own domed pavilion. It had a pool flanked by two rows of mechanical horsemen that could move backward and forward, fountains that dispensed perfumed water, and a central gold-and-silver tree on which artificial birds fluttered and sang. Only after witnessing this marvel were the envoys permitted to conduct their business.¹⁵

The care with which this pageant was organized is recorded in detail in historical sources. The floors of the caliphal compound were said to have been covered with some 22,000 carpets and its walls ornamented with 38,000 hangings and curtains. Among these were some 12,500 pieces of gold brocade decorated with medallions depicting such creatures as horses, camels, elephants, lions, and birds.¹⁶

Behind the politics of bedazzlement lay a visual language of royal pomp understood by both visitor and host, an important component of which was a shared enthusiasm for opulent textiles with decorative themes. Fabrics that ninth-century Byzantine emperors donated to Italian church treasuries are said to have depicted trees and birds, lions, griffins, eagles, and peacocks.¹⁷ Brocaded fabrics sent to the caliph al-Radi in 938 by the emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (r. 920–44) were embellished with horsemen, trees, birds, and animals. Among them were scenes that featured hunters and prey, or combats between various birds and beasts.¹⁸

The shared decorative themes in Byzantine and Islamic textiles probably reflect both a common heritage of designs



Bāhram Gūr at the Hunt. Silk, Constantinople (?), 9th century. Church of Saint-Calais, Saint-Calais (Sarthe), France. From Paris, *Byzance*, 1992

established in the Sassanian era and later efforts to replicate the appearance of each other's goods.¹⁹ Byzantine fabrics with patterns of Sassanian inspiration, such as animals in pearly roundels (see cat. no. 150) or the legendary hero Bāhrām Gūr at the hunt, were in circulation as late as the ninth or tenth century.²⁰

Neither the grand reception arranged for the Byzantine envoys in 917 nor the lavish gifts sent to al-Radi in 938 could mask the enfeebled position of the 'Abbasid caliphs or the fundamental weakness of their government. During the course of the tenth century Baghdad's control over its provinces continued to decline, as one region after another assumed de facto independence. This erosion of caliphal authority led the Byzantines to negotiate directly with regional powers such as the Hamdanids, the Ikhshidids, the Fatimids, and the Spanish Umayyads.

The Fatimids (909–1171) were the most important of these dynasties, and their ambitions brought them into repeated cycles of conflict and negotiation with the Byzantines. During the reign of 'Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi (909–34), the first Fatimid caliph, clashes with Byzantine forces in Sicily and southern Italy alternated with short-lived agreements, though relations during the time of al-Mu'izz (r. 953–75) appear to have had more lasting consequences. It was during his reign that Egypt was conquered and the palace-city of Cairo founded. As the Fatimid dynasty expanded, it also developed a more elaborate court ceremonial and its treasury was enriched with gifts from rival rulers.

Both these trends—the development of court etiquette and the acquisition of treasures—were in progress during the reign of al-Mu'izz, and contacts with the Byzantine court may have had a catalytic effect on each of them. Byzantine envoys visited al-Mu'izz on several occasions. After the Fatimids had defeated the allied navies of the Byzantines and Spanish Umayyads during 956–57, Constantine VII sent an envoy to al-Mu'izz to request a truce. He brought with him many precious goods, including silk textiles and vessels of gold and silver inlaid with gems. The truce was soon broken, but defeats that the Fatimids inflicted on the Byzantines during 965 led to another round of negotiations and a new truce.²¹ Al-Mu'izz is also said to have received a congratulatory visit from a Byzantine envoy after he moved to Egypt in 972. He was at that time given a set of horse trappings embellished with gold and jasper that allegedly had belonged to Alexander the Great.²²

The elaborate rituals developed at the Fatimid court were a local variant of broader traditions. The theatrical character of their ceremonial audiences, in which the caliph was concealed by curtains that were raised and lowered at the appropriate moments by court attendants, recalls practices at the Sassanian and 'Abbasid courts.²³ Other customs, such as the frequent royal processions in which the ruler—guarded by attendants carrying ornamented weapons and flanked by court officials—

rode on a horse with sumptuous trappings, are more analogous to Byzantine practice.²⁴ The Fatimid emphasis on ceremonies conducted on horseback must have made ornate horse trappings a particularly welcome gift. The caliph al-Mustansir (r. 1036–94), who was showered with gifts by Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–55) and Empress Zoe in anticipation of his support against the Seljuk Turks, reportedly received from them three saddles decorated with gold and enamels.²⁵

The use of horse trappings adorned with enamels appears to have been a Byzantine specialty. The *Book of Ceremonies*, compiled by Constantine VII, stipulates their use in certain processions. Enamel-studded saddles and horse harnesses are also mentioned in the Byzantine epic *Digenes Akritas*.²⁶ Although it is uncertain whether Fatimid rulers actually put into service the saddles and bridles they received from Byzantine emperors, the use of enamel-decorated harnesses does seem to have spread to Islamic Spain (see illus. on next page).²⁷

Gifts sent to Islamic rulers by the Byzantine emperors also included other types of enameled objects. In addition to saddles, al-Mustansir received one hundred gold and enamel vessels from Constantine and Zoe.²⁸ These rulers are also said to have given al-Mustansir's mother five chests of gold jewelry "of the finest workmanship" inlaid with five differently colored enamels (red, white, black, and two shades of blue).²⁹ Byzantine enameled jewelry appears to have inspired emulation in Fatimid Egypt as well as in Islamic Spain (see cat. no. 278).³⁰

Islamic sources often mention the elaborate presentation of Byzantine royal gifts. Luxury objects were customarily placed in boxes, sometimes even in a series of containers, one within the other. The gift made in 938 by Romanos I Lekapenos to the 'Abbasid caliph al-Radi included both an octagonal silver box inlaid with jewels, which contained gold-ornamented textiles, and a silver box housing a set of beakers inlaid with precious stones.³¹ The lavish gifts sent in 1046 to the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir by Constantine IX and Zoe reportedly filled one hundred brocade-covered boxes, which were carried on the backs of fifty mules.³² The Byzantine use of specially prepared containers to house royal gifts appears to have stimulated interest in boxes and caskets in various Islamic centers.

In 1069 a severe financial crisis in Egypt led to the looting of the Fatimid treasury; among the items consequently dispersed were numerous Byzantine royal gifts. Although there are verbal descriptions of the most remarkable of the Fatimid riches, few precious objects connected with the dynasty survive. A silver-gilt casket with niello decoration now at the Museo-Biblioteca de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro in León, Spain, is exceptional. It was made by a certain 'Uthman for the personal treasury of Abu Mansur Sadaqa ibn Yusuf al-Falahi, who was al-Mustansir's vizier between 1044 and 1047.³³



Horse-bridle ornaments. Gilt bronze and cloisonné enamel, Nasrid, 15th century. British Museum, London. Photo: A. C. Cooper Ltd., courtesy of the British Museum, London

The intricately executed niello decoration of this casket consists of rows of finely drawn concentric circles, each group linked to the next by a leaf drawn in profile. Trilobed forms with profile foliage in reserve spring from the craftsman's signature behind its lock, patterns that recall the stylized vegetal forms found on Byzantine objects ranging from the robes worn by Nikephoros III Botaneiates (r. 1078–81) in his Paris portrait (cat. no. 143) to the niello ornament on a fragmentary processional cross in Cleveland (cat. no. 24) and the marble carving from Komotini (cat. no. 5). These similarities raise the question of whether the casket of Abu Mansur might not have been modeled on one of the Byzantine objects sent to the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir.

The artistic and cultural relations between the Byzantines and the Umayyads of Córdoba (756–1031) also grew out of their diplomatic connections. The dynasties repeatedly sought each other's assistance in limiting Fatimid expansion. Their first exchange of envoys occurred in 839–40, but it was the series of negotiations in 945–46, 949–50, and 955–56 between Constantine VII (r. 945–59) and 'Abd al-Rahman III (r. 912–61) that were most significant.³⁴ The Umayyad caliph sought from the Byzantines not only support for his challenge to the Fatimids and the 'Abbasids but also materials with

which to embellish his palaces, among them marble columns and a green marble basin that became the centerpiece of an elaborate fountain with bejeweled golden animal sculptures.³⁵ His son al-Hakam (r. 961–76) turned to the Byzantines to obtain a mosaicist and mosaic cubes for his addition to the Córdoba mosque, a request that recalled the appeal of his Syrian ancestor al-Walid.³⁶ Byzantine acquiescence to this demand is confirmed by the physical evidence still in situ at Córdoba. The emperor also sent to Córdoba a Greek manuscript of Dioskorides' *De materia medica*, the text of which is said to have later been translated into Arabic by a monk sent from Constantinople expressly for that purpose.³⁷

Islamic historians describe in great detail the Umayyad reception of Byzantine envoys in 949–50. The goal of the mission was to conclude a treaty and to "exchange precious objects." For this occasion 'Abd al-Rahman III assembled his sons, his courtiers, and his army to create an impression of "majesty and power." The carefully staged event calls to mind the 'Abbasid court ceremonies described above, although the Spanish caliph was not concealed behind a curtain. The Byzantine envoys brought impressive gifts, but it was their lavish presentation of two imperial letters, written in Greek with gold letters on blue parchment, that was most meticu-



Casket. Silver gilt and niello, Fatimid, 1044–47. Museo-Biblioteca de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, León, Spain. Photo: Bruce White

Detail of casket seen at left, with front hinge open. Photo: Bruce White

lously recorded. One letter contained the emperor's message; the other listed the gifts he was sending to 'Abd al-Rahman. Authenticated by a gold seal, which bore the image of Christ on one side and that of Constantine on the other, they were contained in a pair of caskets. The outer box was lined with brocade, while the inner one, of carved silver, displayed an enamel portrait of the emperor set into its gilded lid.³⁸ The silver casket presented to 'Abd al-Rahman III is reminiscent of one now in the Vatican collection that combines a lid embellished with enamels and a base with high-relief decoration.³⁹

The luxury goods produced at the court workshops of Córdoba and Madinat al-Zahra' testify to the Umayyad enthusiasm for caskets; a number of their features reflect Byzantine artistic traditions. Although it is unlikely that Constantine VII's casket was copied exactly, its example may have encouraged the inclusion of portraits and high-relief figural decoration on ivory caskets produced in Umayyad royal workshops.⁴⁰ Some Umayyad ivory caskets appear to reproduce designs from Byzantine textiles that depict the hunt or other court pastimes.⁴¹ This transference of designs from one medium to another may perhaps be explained by the Byzantine practice of wrapping or lining caskets with textiles. A silver-gilt-and-niello Umayyad casket made for



al-Hisham II in 976, for example, may replicate the look of a Byzantine object,⁴² its regular scrolls with leaves and flowers recalling patterns on Byzantine works in various media, including the ivory panels in Paris (cat. no. 159) and the Hermitage reliquary (cat. no. 38), as well as the borders of manuscript paintings (cat. no. 60).

Cultural and artistic interrelations that took place along the Byzantine-Islamic border in northern Syria and Anatolia differed from those that developed at the 'Abbasid, Fatimid, and Umayyad courts. While connections between courts can often be linked to the actions of particular rulers or to specific historical situations, in zones where Byzantine and Islamic culture coexisted, it is often difficult to define the context that produced a given object. Some Islamic inlaid metalwork objects with Christian themes, for example, were made for Muslim patrons, whereas others may have been aimed at a Christian, and possibly Crusader, audience.⁴³ When patrons in such an area wished to obtain a translation of a classical text, they frequently turned to the local Christians, who

maintained cultural ties with Constantinople. A copy of Dioskorides' *De materia medica*, now in Istanbul, which was newly translated for a Syrian ruler in 1229, includes several paintings that closely resemble those in Byzantine manuscripts (cat. no. 288).

Although Muslim armies first entered Anatolia during the Umayyad period, the region remained predominantly Christian, and Byzantine expansion during the ninth and tenth centuries eliminated Muslim frontier enclaves. This situation was, however, reversed in the late eleventh century, when the crushing defeat inflicted on the Byzantine army in 1071 at Mantzikert, north of Lake Van, opened Anatolia to waves of Turkish settlers. The first century of Turkish domination was a transitional period largely occupied with the consolidation of power, and it was only in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century that attention was given to the building of monumental architecture and to the patronage of manuscripts. The earliest artistic culture of Turkish Anatolia was decidedly eclectic. Features reflecting Byzantine or earlier



Casket made for al-Hisham II. Wood, silver gilt, and niello, Umayyad, 976. Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Spain. Photo: Bruce White



Double-Headed Eagle. Ceramic tile, Turkish, 1200–1250. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin

local traditions were combined with elements drawn from an Islamic or even a Central Asian context.

By the early thirteenth century the most important of newly formed Muslim principalities, Seljuk Ikonion, had consolidated control of central Anatolia and reached a de facto accommodation with the Byzantine emperor, then residing in Nicaea (present-day Iznik). The Seljuks also made marriage alliances with nearby Christian rulers, such as the Georgians,⁴⁴ and aspects of Byzantine visual culture may have reached Anatolian Turks indirectly through such contacts.

Seljuk court regalia combined elements of 'Abbasid, Turkic, and Byzantine origin. The 'Abbasid caliphs sent the Seljuks robes of honor for their investiture ceremonies, including textiles bearing the caliph's name and titles and a specially wound turban.⁴⁵ It was from the Byzantines, however, that the Turks adopted the double-headed eagle. A royal association with this emblem is suggested by its appearance on the keystone of an arch from the Seljuk citadel at Ikonion. This link is made even more explicit by the double-headed eagle emblazoned with the word *al-Sultan* on a ceramic tile excavated at the palace of Alaeddin Kaykubad at Kubadabad, near Akşehir.⁴⁶ A similar, unscribed tile is seen above.⁴⁷

The Artukids (r. 1102–1408), a Turkish dynasty that controlled an area at the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, exemplify Anatolia's eclectic culture.⁴⁸ They supported a local scholar, Ibn al-Razzaz al-Jazari, whose research into pneumatic and hydraulic devices built upon the achievements of 'Abbasid science and of the Banu Musa in particular (see cat. no. 286). In addition to constructing waterwheels for irrigation, he made elaborate water clocks and devices that dispensed wine at court entertainments.⁴⁹ The name of an Artukid ruler also appears on an enameled copper basin executed in a Byzantine style (cat. no. 281); depicting the Ascension of Alexander, it may be of Georgian manufacture.

Despite the strong antagonism that existed between the Byzantine emperors and their Islamic rivals, a shared culture of court ceremonial and a common enthusiasm for luxury goods aided their communication. Other artistic and cultural ties were also forged between the two societies. A mutual interest in the scientific legacy of antiquity created bonds between scholars on both sides, and on a more popular level, a hybrid artistic idiom that combined elements from both the Islamic and Byzantine traditions grew up in regions with mixed Muslim and Christian populations.



269A



269B

269. Two Textile Fragments

A. Birds and Horned Quadrupeds Flanking a Tree of Life

Islamic (Near East), 11th or 12th century
Silk; warp-faced plain weave decorated with
pattern weft
43.2 × 40 cm (17 × 15¾ in.)

PROVENANCE: Formerly in the Kelekian collection.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1952 (52.20.10)

B. Star Pattern

Islamic (Near East), 11th or 12th century
Silk; warp-faced plain weave decorated with
pattern weft
39.2 × 30.5 cm (15½ × 12 in.)

PROVENANCE: Formerly in the collection of
Mme Paul Mallon, Paris.
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio
(41.292)

These two fragmentary silks can be best understood in the context of the group of eleven widely dispersed textiles (some known in several fragments) to which they belong.¹ Weft-patterned silks, they are paper-thin and always calendered. They are structurally similar, varying only in the distance of pattern-weft float, the floating length of pattern weft, and the number of warps between pattern-binding ground warps.²

In design the eleven textiles fall into two groups. One features repeat patterns of relatively large elements organized into rows of roundels or star-shaped compartments with pairs of animals or birds confronting a tree, a traditional Near Eastern composition. Reserve areas are filled with small-scale repeated geometric devices. The Metropolitan and Cleveland fragments are among the six textiles of this class, three of which bear Kufic inscriptions. The second group has narrow stripes of small-scale elements, either geometric patterns, Kufic inscriptions, or figural representations (vertical rows of falcons, lions, and pairs of birds with vegetal motifs interspersed).

The silks with repeat patterns are bichrome (all yellow on dark blue); the striped pieces have several colors, though each stripe is itself bichrome. The animals that adorn the silks are heavily stylized, displaying awkward draftsmanship—owing at least in part to structural limitations—and unnatural features.

The silks have been variously attributed to Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt.³ What we know about provenance does not clarify the issue: one fragment is said to have been found in Egypt,⁴ and two others have been linked to the so-called Bibi Shahr Banu finds near Ray, Iran, in 1925.⁵

The presence of Kufic inscriptions (none, unfortunately, containing any useful factual information) in more than half the extant pieces plus the similarities in design to Seljuk material argue for an Islamic origin, but one is inclined to follow Donald King in refraining from a precise attribution.⁶ The incorporation of a cross in the pattern of the Cleveland fragment suggests that some of this material was intended for a Christian market. That the two groups reflect vastly dissimilar tastes may further indicate that different destinations or different clients were intended. (See also cat. no. 271.)

It would seem appropriate to date the group to the eleventh or twelfth century. The Munich fragments in the group originally were preserved in a cross dating to the middle of the eleventh century and were accompanied by a label written about a century later.⁷ Such a dating places these silks before the advent in the Near East of the lampas structure, the next technological step in the weaving of patterned silks.

D W

1. In addition to the Metropolitan and Cleveland fragments shown here, nine other textiles may be cited: (1) Cleveland Museum of Art, 86.90, published in Wilckens 1991, p. 64, illus. 62 (2) A: Washington, D.C., Textile Museum, 31.3, published

in Müller-Christensen 1976, p. 20, fig. 10; B: other fragments in Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung, 3168 and 4247, published in Otavsky and 'Abbas Muhammad Salim 1995, no. 72 (3) Washington, D.C., Textile Museum, 3.117 (4) Lyons, Musée des Tissus, published in Müller-Christensen 1976, pp. 17–19, nos. 7, 8 (5) Washington, D.C., Textile Museum, 31.9 (6) A: Paris, Musée de Cluny, 22.046; B: other fragments in Copenhagen, David Collection, 24/1992, published in Folsach and Bernsted 1993, no. 9; C: other fragments in Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung, 4406, published in Otavsky and 'Abbas Muhammad Salim 1995, no. 73; D: Cleveland Museum of Art, 83.128 (7) Copenhagen, David Collection, 25/1992, published in Folsach and Bernsted 1993, no. 10 (8) Maastricht, Saint Servatius, 23-1, 23-2, 23-3, published in Stauffer 1991 (9) Munich, Residenzmuseum, published in Müller-Christensen 1976, pp. 17–19, nos. 7, 8.

2. I am indebted to Nobuko Kajitani for freely sharing with me her considerable knowledge of these textiles.
3. See sources cited in note 1.
4. Item (2) A in note 1. See Shepherd 1974, p. 88 n. 2, ref. Textile Museum, 31.3.
5. Shepherd 1974, p. 7. Regarding the Metropolitan piece, which was acquired from the Kelekian estate, there is no information in Museum files that it was previously in the Pozzi or Indjoudjian collections, so it is impossible to confirm Shepherd's identification of it with item ii on the list given in Ackerman 1939, p. 1998, n. 5.
6. King 1985, no. 4.
7. Müller-Christensen 1976, pp. 14–15.

LITERATURE: (A) Dimand 1958, p. 373, fig. 242; Shepherd 1974, p. 7, fig. 8; Müller-Christensen 1976, p. 19, fig. 9 (B) Ackerman 1936, p. 274 (color illus.); Underhill 1942, pp. 6–7 (illus. inside front cover); Weibel 1952, p. 113, no. 114.

EXHIBITIONS: (A) New York 1990 (B) New York 1944, no. 20; Baltimore 1947, no. 771; Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1991–93.

270. Textile Fragment with Double-Headed Eagles

Islamic (Spain), 11th–12th century
Silk
63 × 46 cm (24¾ × 18½ in.)

PROVENANCE: From the tomb of Saint Bernard of Calvó in the Cathedral of Vich, Catalonia, Spain; Miguel y Badia, Madrid.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1941 (41.92)

This silk fragment belongs to one of several fabrics found in the tomb of Saint Bernard of Calvó (d. 1243) in the Cathedral of Vich in Catalonia. They are believed to be a part of a booty from the reconquest campaigns against the Muslims of Spain that Calvó led as bishop of Vich.¹ The red silk displays a

dark green design of large, double-headed eagles separated by juxtaposed scalloped frames connected with disks. The eagles are shown frontally with raised wings and with pendant rings in their beaks and lions in their talons. The number of fragments of this silk in other museum collections indicates that the original textile was large.²

The provenance of the piece is secure, but establishment of its origin has proved difficult. The fabric has been considered Byzantine because it strongly resembles Byzantine textiles of the Auxerre eagle-silk group (cat. no. 149) and shares the twill-weaving technique most commonly found in Byzantine silks.³ However, it also has been classified as a Hispano-

Islamic work inspired by a Byzantine eagle silk from which it deviates significantly.⁴ The latter attribution is supported here.

The strictly symmetrical presentation, showing the eagles with double heads and with the prey held in the talons of each leg, as well as the use of diagonal diaper patterns on the breasts and necks and large palmettelike fillers and floral bands for their wings, are elements that reflect the propensity of Islamic art for patternization and ornamentalization of motifs.⁵ Moreover, two-headed eagles with and without prey were frequently depicted in textiles manufactured in Spain⁶ and elsewhere in the Islamic world before they were shown in Byzantine examples. In Byzantium



the two-headed-eagle motif appeared only in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries with the ascent of the Palaiologos dynasty,⁷ when it became associated with the Byzantine emperor.⁸ In addition, the use of the twill weave in Islamic Spain is not as unusual as is often thought. Although the best-known Hispano-Islamic silks are in lampas weave,⁹ the extensive Spanish silk industry manufactured fabrics executed in a variety of techniques.¹⁰ This double-headed-eagle silk is best understood as an eleventh- or twelfth-century Hispano-Islamic adaptation of a Byzantine textile, which could have reached Spain in the late tenth or early eleventh century.¹¹

11. Significant in this context is Caliph al-Hakam's request of about 965 to the Byzantine emperor for a mosaicist for the Córdoba mosque (H. Stern 1976, pp. 2, 43–45; also Shepherd 1952, p. 14).

LITERATURE: Weibel 1952, no. 60, p. 94; Starensier 1982, no. LIV, pp. 647–49.

271. Textile with Roundels of Elephants, *Senmurvs*, and Winged Horses

Eastern Mediterranean, 11th or 12th century
Silk; weft-faced compound twill (samite)
51 x 32.5 cm (20 1/8 x 12 3/4 in.)

PROVENANCE: Monastery of Santa Maria de l'Estay, Catalonia, Spain.

Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, New York, N.Y. Given by John Pierpont Morgan, from the Miguel y Badia Collection (1902-I-122)

Of the six fragments of this textile that are known, the Cooper-Hewitt piece is the largest and really the only one to provide a true sense of the variations and consistencies of the repeat pattern. Other fragments belong to the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence, the Musée de Cluny in Paris, and the Museu Tèxtil i d'Indumentària in Barcelona.¹ A fragment in Berlin supposedly destroyed in World War II appears to have been two fragments.² On the basis of the vertical sequence of animals (the fourth roundel of the Bargello fragment shows that the winged horse repeats), the alternation of the animals' orientation, and the matching irregularities of various cut edges and sewing marks, it is possible to partially reconstruct the original positions of the six fragments.³ The curvature of the lower edges of the Bargello and Cluny fragments, which originally flanked the Cooper-Hewitt piece, suggests that the fabric was in the form of a chasuble when it was cut up.

The rows of pearl roundels and the fantastic creatures within the roundels, particularly the winged horses and *senmurvs* (a hybrid of quadruped and bird), recall Sassanian tradition in Iran, where such animals may have served as symbols of royalty or divine protection.⁴ Popular usage of these features continued in Islamic times, most notably in Central Asia and the eastern Mediterranean. In the latter case the context may have been either Islamic or Byzantine, for although surviving Byzantine textiles of undisputed origin (undisputed on the basis of imperial inscriptions, Christian and pagan iconography, and heraldic motifs such as double-headed eagles, most often on a ground of imperial purple) do not employ such elements, the depictions

of textiles in Byzantine art make it clear that at least the pearl roundel and the winged horse were part of the established visual vocabulary.⁵

The attribution of this textile traditionally has been either to Byzantium or to Spain, with a date in the tenth or eleventh century.⁶ Priscilla Soucek, noting a series of similar representations in Armenian art, has assigned the textile to the eastern Mediterranean on the basis of the mixture of Iranian and Byzantine influences, dating it to the eleventh or twelfth century.⁷

The textile is difficult to place because it reflects a taste popular throughout the Mediterranean area and the Near East during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In woven structure and material it betrays no locality of origin. In palette it relates to no group, though in iconography and style, to many. Stylistic connections to Spanish material are notably weak, except in the most general terms. The closest stylistic link is to the famous Aachen elephant silk of the eleventh century⁸—hence the Byzantine attribution. But the far greater sophistication of the elephant silk suggests that the Cooper-Hewitt textile is unlikely, even if Byzantine, to be an imperial product. A group of *senmurv* silks also affords a good comparison in terms of design, but these are considerably earlier and may well not be Byzantine.⁹

Other examples urge us to look beyond a Christian milieu and to consider an Islamic context as well. An early roundel type with mounted Amazons hunting quadrupeds, attributed to eighth-century Syria and following an earlier polychrome model, may be found in three otherwise identical versions: with fluttering scarves, with a cross placed between the fluttering scarves, and with an Arabic inscription instead of scarves. It has been suggested that these represent products of different workshops,¹⁰ but it seems equally likely that they were produced in one or several workshops for various markets, both Islamic and Christian.

An eleventh-century Armenian painting shows King Gagik-Abas of Kars wearing a robe adorned with pearl roundels with elephants and ibex. The robe has *tiraz* bands with Kufic letters at the upper arms, indicating an Islamic origin. Perhaps it was a gift from the caliph or from an emir. In any case it demonstrates that a pattern popular in Byzantine circles may also be linked to Armenian and Islamic contexts.¹¹ Finally, a fourteenth-century Byzantine manuscript includes a depiction of a robe featuring tangent roundels containing pairs of addorsed lions.¹² A closely related but slightly earlier textile was made in a purely Islamic context; it

1. For the textiles in the tomb, see Gudiol i Cunill 1913, vol. 2, pp. 964–77; in New York, *Al-Andalus*, 1992, no. 88, p. 320.
2. Technical information: weft-faced compound twill. Warp: undyed silk. Weft: red, dark green, and yellow silk. Vich (Museu Arqueològic-Artístic Episcopal; May 1957, p. 46, fig. 31); Berlin (Kunstgewerbemuseum; in Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, 1913, vol. 2, p. 17, fig. 249); Cleveland (Cleveland Museum of Art; Shepherd 1952); New York (Cooper-Hewitt Museum; Baltimore 1947, no. 774, p. 153, pl. 114); Riggisberg (Abegg-Stiftung; Otavsky and 'Abbas Muhammad Salim 1995, no. 90, pp. 163–66).
3. For example, Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, 1913, vol. 2, p. 17; and most recently Otavsky and 'Abbas Muhammad Salim 1995, no. 90, pp. 163–66.
4. Shepherd 1952; May 1957, p. 49; Beckwith 1974, pp. 351–52.
5. Geometric patterns on eagles' bodies appear with particular frequency in Hispano-Islamic textiles (May 1957, figs. 25–27; Grube 1960, p. 79, fig. 2; New York, *Al-Andalus*, 1992, p. 108, fig. 2).
6. For Spanish examples, see Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, 1913, vol. 1, figs. 184, 185, 200, 202; May 1957, figs. 26, 27; New York, *Al-Andalus*, 1992, p. 108, fig. 2; Wilckens 1992, no. 106, p. 63. A double-headed-eagle silk textile of an unknown provenance but possibly from Rayy in Iran, and particularly close to the present fabric, has been given both Hispano-Islamic (Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum; Wilckens 1992, no. 105, pp. 62–63; first half of the twelfth century) and Byzantine attributions (Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung; Otavsky and 'Abbas Muhammad Salim 1995, no. 80, pp. 134–36; eleventh to twelfth century).
7. Fourlas 1984.
8. As shown on the footstools of Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (John VI Kantakouzenos, *Theological Works*, 1370–75; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 1242, fols. 5v, 123v; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 355, pp. 419, 461).
9. For example, the Lion Strangler silk, also from the tomb of Saint Bernard of Calvó (first half of twelfth century; New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum; New York, *Al-Andalus*, 1992, pp. 320, 106, no. 88).
10. May 1957; Serjeant 1972, pp. 165–76; New York, *Al-Andalus*, 1992, pp. 105–13. For the availability of Hispano-Islamic silks in medieval Egypt, see Goitein 1967–83, vol. 1, pp. 102, 222–25.



bears an Arabic inscription which suggests that it was made for the Seljuk sultan Kayqubad ibn Kaykhusraw (r. 1219–37).¹³ The same goods must at this time have appealed both to Byzantine and to Islamic tastes.

The pronounced similarities between textiles made for different markets implies a consistency of taste in the eastern Mediterranean region that transcended cultural and religious boundaries. In the absence of specific identifying symbols or concrete technical evidence, it may thus be unwise to link such textiles to a particular culture.

D W

1. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, 634/F, in Milan 1993, no. 31 (entry by Anna Contadini, with references); Musée de Cluny, 22.818, unpublished; *Museu Tèxtil i d'Indumentària*, 32,942, in Rome 1994, no. 34 (entry by Maria Carlotta Romano, with further references).
2. Kunstgewerbemuseum, 91.157; color drawing in Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, 1913, vol. 2, p. 11, fig. 237. Photographs from Berlin in the Cooper-Hewitt file show just two small fragments, so Falke's illustration must be a graphic reconstruction.
3. I am grateful to Milton Sondag for sharing with me a reconstruction he made some years ago of all but the Berlin fragments.
4. See Soucek, in *Ann Arbor* 1981, no. 2, p. 24.
5. Starensier 1982, esp. figs. 16, 22, 24, 30.
6. To Byzantium: Pasco y Mensa 1900; Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, 1913; Weibel 1952. To Spain: Shepherd 1943; Beckwith 1974, p. 351; Contadini, in Milan 1993, no. 31, cited above; Romano, in Rome 1994, no. 34, cited above.
7. See note 4.
8. Muthesius 1984, pp. 251–54, figs. 8, 9.
9. On this group, see Riboud 1976 and Martiniani-Reber, in Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 281.
10. See Beckwith 1974, p. 348, figs. 15, 16.
11. Der Nersessian 1978, pp. 108–9, fig. 75.
12. See Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 351.
13. R. Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987, pp. 382–83, fig. 401.

LITERATURE: Pasco y Mensa 1900, pl. 16; Shepherd 1943, pp. 357–63, fig. 1; Weibel 1952, p. 96, no. 64; *Ann Arbor* 1981, no. 2 (entry by P. Soucek).

EXHIBITIONS: Worcester 1937, no. 147; Boston 1940, no. 84; Baltimore 1947, no. 772; *Ann Arbor* 1981, no. 2.

272. Bowl with Eagle

Fatimid (Egypt), ca. 1000
Glazed and luster-painted earthenware
DIAM. 25.4 cm (10 in.)

SIGNED: "Muslim"

CONDITION: The bowl is repaired.

PROVENANCE: Formerly in the Walter Hauser collection.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles K. Wilkinson, 1963
(63.178.1)



The ceramist who made and signed this outstanding bowl—once beneath the bird's right talon on the interior of the vessel and again on its foot—was active about the year 1000. Although it was common practice for potters of the Fatimid period (969–1171) to sign the objects they made, Muslim is the only such artisan whose work can be precisely dated. Muslim chose a long-popular motif for his principal decoration, a heraldic eagle with spread wings, claws, and a tail. Used as the insignia of the Roman legions before passing from the Roman into the Byzantine repertoire, the eagle became an important decorative motif on objects created by and for the Christian population in Egypt before the Arab conquest in 641. As the Muslim conquerors fell heir to the Greco-Roman tradition, so prevalent in Egypt at the time, it is not at all surprising to find this motif adapted—note the beak and tail feathers terminating in a vegetal design—on the present work.

This vessel and the one discussed below (cat. no. 273) are both decorated by means of the luster-painting technique, one of the

most important contributions of potters working under Muslim patronage and one that left a permanent imprint on the ceramic industry in general. Potters active in the Byzantine realms never worked in this technique. Because it was a carefully guarded secret passed from father to son and traveling to another Muslim country only when the center of power (and thus the patronage) shifted, Byzantine ceramists most likely never had the opportunity to learn the technique.

Byzantine pottery is usually cruder and far less refined than that produced contemporaneously in the Islamic world. Indeed, the most prevalent decorative techniques used in Byzantine ceramics are those found on the more common or provincial types of Islamic pottery. Is this an accident of history? Were the Byzantines more interested in vessels of precious or base metals than in those of the cheaper, more fragile earthenware? Or were Byzantine potters simply less adventurous and less capable than their Muslim neighbors?

M J-M



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LITERATURE: Grube 1965, p. 214, fig. 11; Lukens 1965, p. 7, fig. 8; Jenkins 1968, p. 367, fig. 2; Jenkins 1975, p. 9, colorpl.; Jenkins, "Islamic Pottery," 1983, p. 13, no. 11; Tokyo 1987, pp. 23, 25, no. 13.

273. Bowl with Coptic Monk

Fatimid (Luxor), second half of 11th century
Glazed, luster-painted, and incised composite body
H. 9.6 cm (3¾ in.), DIAM. 22.3 cm (8¾ in.)

CONDITION: The bowl is repaired.

PROVENANCE: Found near Luxor(?); Dikram Garabed Kelekian collection.

The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England (C49-1952)

Reputedly found in Luxor, Egypt, this bowl is the only extant complete luster-painted bowl produced under the patronage of the Fatimid dynasty (969–1171) that bears a Christian subject as its sole interior decora-

tion.¹ A figure with a goatee and wearing a cowl or hood carries in his right hand a large lamp suspended from three chains. To his left can be seen a representation of an ankh, the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic sign for life, which the Christian Egyptians, or Copts, adapted to their new faith.²

Although we know that the market both for the bowl and for two related fragments was Christian, we cannot even speculate about the religion of the artisan or artisans who created them. Cairene society was at this time so pluralistic that all guilds most likely included Muslims, Christians, and Jews.³

The principal decoration on the exterior of this bowl consists of the Arabic word *sa'd*, repeated twice. This benediction, meaning "good luck," "good fortune," or "good omen," appears as part of the decoration on a group of forty-six objects created during the Fatimid period that has been dated to the last half of the eleventh century on the basis of comparisons with the decoration on dated or datable textiles from the period.⁴ Further substantiating this dating is the fact that a bowl of

very similar shape, technique, and style was found set into the facade of the Church of San Sisto in Pisa, which was built and decorated between 1070 and 1088.⁵

M J-M

1. Two fragmentary luster-painted objects of the same period with Christian subject matter are known: one, in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo (see Cairo 1930, pl. XXXII.2); and a second fragment, in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst.
2. Contrary to the opinion of Contadini (in Phillips 1995), the representation to the monk's left is not a cypress tree, and the object held in his right hand is not a censer. For the lamp and the censer, see J. Leroy, *Manuscripts coptes*, 1974, pls. 58, 63, 64.
3. Jenkins 1972.
4. Jenkins, "Sa'd," 1988.
5. The first to make this comparison was Arthur Lane (1947, p. 22).

LITERATURE: Kelekian 1910, pl. 6; Butler 1926, p. 54, pl. XI; Lane 1947, pp. 22–23, pl. 26A; Caiger-Smith 1973, p. 37, pl. B; Féhérvári 1985, p. 105; Jenkins, "Sa'd," 1988, pp. 68–69, fig. 6.



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274. Single Gold Earring

Islamic (Greater Syria), first quarter of 11th century
Gold: fabricated from wire and sheet, decorated with granulation; originally outlined with strung pearls and/or stones

H. 5.3 cm (2 1/8 in.)

PROVENANCE: Octave Homberg collection.
Benaki Museum, Athens, Greece (1820)

This single earring consists of three octagons constructed from a series of round wires laid side by side and bordered on the outer edge by granules and on the inner edge by flattened plain wires bent into S curves. Each of the octagonal frames supports an openwork quadripartite hemisphere constructed of granulated round wire, surmounted by coiled wire holding a large grain, and framed by four evenly spaced loops for stringing pearls or semiprecious stones. Additional loops for stringing frame the lower portion of each octagon. The interstitial areas are decorated with S curves contained within wire borders and with granulated vegetal designs. Each of the openwork areas is supported on the reverse by small gold strips.

Four other such earrings are extant. One, found during the excavation of a ship that went down off the Turkish coast about 1025, suggests a dating for all five earrings to the first quarter of the eleventh century.¹ All five are of the basket type (see also cat. nos. 168, 169, 275B), and all five incorporate features characteristic of Fatimid goldsmiths' work (see also cat. no. 277). This group may provide not

only the date of the vogue for basket-type earrings but also proof of their Islamic origin; examples of such earrings have been variously dated and attributed over the years both to Byzantine and to Islamic jewelers.

An Islamic attribution is further supported by a treatise by the eleventh-century author Ibn Zubayr, which discusses at length "a splendid gift of enormous value" given to the Byzantine king Romanos I Diogenes in 1071 that included "unusual, very beautifully fashioned gold jewelry."² This description, together with the fine craftsmanship of gold jewelry made in Egypt and Greater Syria during the eleventh century, and the fact that jewelry of the same period produced in the Byzantine realms is renowned more for its work in enamel than in gold, would lend support to an Islamic attribution for the basket-type category in general.

M J-M

1. See the pair of earrings in Coche de la Ferté 1963, vol. 3, no. 218, pl. 44; for a single ornament, currently in the Bodrum Museum (Bodrum, Turkey), see Jenkins, "Jewelry" (forthcoming); and for another single earring, see Rudolph and Rudolph 1973, no. 197.
2. Qaddumi 1990, para. 105, pp. 94-95.

LITERATURE: Segall 1938, no. 252, pl. 50.

EXHIBITION: Athens 1964, no. 444.

275. Earrings from the Tiberias Hoard

A. Pair of Earrings in the Shape of Garlic Cloves

Islamic (Greater Syria or Egypt), before 1036
Gold: fabricated from sheet and wire
H. 2.1 cm (7/8 in.)

The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Israel (IAA 74-2138)

These earrings and the following pieces of jewelry (cat. nos. 275B, 276) were discovered in 1973 during an excavation in Tiberias. Fortunately for the art historian, they were found in an unglazed earthenware vessel that also contained sixteen gold Islamic coins (dinars) minted during the Tulunid, Ikhshidid, and Fatimid periods. The latest coin is dated A.H. 427 (A.D. 1036), thus providing us with a terminus ante quem for the burial of the hoard.¹ Because of the technical and iconographic similarity of these pieces both to those in another cache discovered in present-

day Tunisia with a terminus ante quem of 1044-45² and to that found during the excavation of a ship that went down on the Turkish coast about 1025,³ we can assume not only that they are closely related chronologically but also that they can be safely placed in the first half of the eleventh century or slightly later.

Each of the present pair of earrings is constructed of two sheets of gold joined at the edges. The sole decoration consists of three loops evenly placed around the outer edge of each earring for the stringing of pearls or semiprecious stones or for the suspension of smaller gold elements or beads.

Several twelfth-century trousseau lists from the Cairo Geniza (literally, a repository of discarded writings), an invaluable source for the study of Mediterranean history from the eleventh through the mid-thirteenth century, mention *zawj hilaq thum* (pair of earrings of garlic-clove shape). One such list from 1156 and another from 1186 give the price of 3 dinars for such a pair; a third, also from 1186, states the price of 4 dinars. An earlier list, from 1110, enumerates "golden garlics" in an inventory of jewelry, leading S. D. Goitein to suggest that earrings in this shape were so popular that the word *garlic* was used in lieu of the word *earring*.⁴

The value of a dinar during the period of the Cairo Geniza was equivalent to approximately 100 dollars; 2 dinars was considered a sufficient monthly income for a lower-middle-class family.⁵ The brides whose trousseaux are cited therein were thus from families of some means. Differences in the type of decoration may account for the variation in price. The six known contemporaneous individual gold earrings of this type exhibit a variety of ornamentation.⁶

Were the same goldsmiths in Greater Syria or Egypt making the *zawj hilaq thum* for local Muslim, Jewish, and Christian clients or for sale to Christian consumers in Constantinople? Or was a Byzantine version created independently on Byzantine soil? If a Byzantine version of *zawj hilaq thum* was created in imitation of those being made in the Fatimid realms, the only known pair of earrings that is similar enough yet different enough, and thus might qualify for a totally separate area of production, is one in Athens.⁷

M J-M

1. Lester 1987, p. 22.
2. Marçais and Poinssot 1952; Jenkins, "Mamluk Jewelry," 1988.
3. Jenkins, "Jewelry" (forthcoming).
4. Goitein 1967-83, vol. 4, p. 209 n. 418.
5. Goitein 1967-83, vol. 1, p. 359.

6. Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, acc. no. 13247/172 (unpublished); Hasson 1987, nos. 95–97; Bahgat and Gabriel 1921, pl. xxx (upper left); and cat. no. 171.
7. Coche de la Ferté 1963, vol. 3, pl. 44, fig. 219.

LITERATURE: Lester 1987, pp. 26–27.

B. Pair of Basket Earrings

Islamic (Greater Syria or Egypt), before 1036
Gold: fabricated from sheet, pierced and decorated with twisted wire and granulation
H. 2.6 cm (1 in.)

The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Israel (IAA 74-2139)

This pair of earrings, which belongs to the group known as the basket type, discussed above (see cat. no. 274), is constructed of five hemispheres decorated with twisted wire and granulation. A second, almost identical pair is in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. no. 168).¹ Only minor differences distinguish the two pairs, and because such slight variations do not warrant attributions to two separate cultures, we posit that the two pairs of earrings were made in the same area at about the same time.

It is, of course, possible that basket-type earrings were produced in cosmopolitan centers within both the Islamic and the Byzantine cultures, but the fact that some

basket-type earrings exhibit the classical Fatimid vocabulary (cat. no. 277), coupled with literary and physical evidence, should perhaps make us more confident about attributing this entire type to the Muslim world. Maybe basket-type earrings should be equated with the “pair of small ones, cups [earrings]” mentioned in a document of 1146 in the Cairo Geniza and henceforth be known by the rubric *cups* rather than *basket*.²

M J-M

1. Jenkins and Keene 1983, p. 70, no. 39b.
2. Goitein 1967–83, vol. 4, p. 327 n. 126.

LITERATURE: Lester 1987, pp. 24–26.

276. Ring from the Tiberias Hoard

Islamic (Greater Syria or Egypt), before 1036
Gold: fabricated from wire and sheet, decorated with granulation
MAX. DIAM. 1.5 cm (5/8 in.)

The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Israel (IAA 74-2140)

This gold ring belongs to a group of seven, all closely related in style, technique, and decoration.¹ Harking back stylistically to Early Islamic hollow gold and silver rings, which have been shown to have Roman

antecedents,² the rings are crafted in two identical sections joined vertically along each side of the high bezel and continuing around the outside of the shank. The table of the bezel was added separately, and a gold sheet was attached to the inside of the shank for strength and for wearing comfort.

The Cairo Geniza documents (see cat. no. 275A) refer to filigree-executed decoration as *mushabbak* (latticework), and as this term is often used in the trousseau lists in connection with rings, especially gold rings, such ornaments must have been popular in Egypt at this time.³ The manner in which the decoration is executed and the principal design elements employed on the ring shown here — namely the S curves and the granulated openwork arabesque designs formed of paired twisted wires, all supported by small strips — are characteristic of gold jewelry produced during the first half of the Fatimid period, or about 1050 (see cat. no. 277).

The style of all seven rings and the motifs used as embellishment are found in other techniques as well. Two early medieval Islamic rings, one executed in gold and the other in silver, share a hollow form and high bezel as well as closely comparable arabesque designs with niello inlay,⁴ and a Western ring from the second half of the eleventh century is executed in champlevé enamel (cat. no. 341C). In all these examples the high bezel is made even more rakish by the addition of an inset



Left: 275B. Center: 276. Right: 275A

stone. The gold and silver rings, which were directly inspired by the filigree examples, are set, respectively, with a turquoise and a carnelian sealstone; the ring in champlevé enamel, which shows the influence of the Fatimid filigree-executed rings, is set with a sapphire.

M J-M

1. Hasson 1987, nos. 108–10; Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 1982.310; Jenkins, *Islamic Art*, 1983, p. 64; Segall 1938, no. 296.
2. Jenkins and Keene 1983, pp. 16–17.
3. Goitein 1967–83, vol. 4, pp. 211–12.
4. For the gold example, see Washington, D.C., *Islamic Metalwork*, 1985, no. 9, pp. 81, 82; the silver example, in the Madina collection, New York, acc. no. J0008, is unpublished.

LITERATURE: Lester 1987, pp. 23–24.

277. Pair of Earrings

Islamic (Greater Syria), 11th century
Gold: fabricated from wire and sheet, decorated with granulation; originally outlined with strung pearls and/or stones

2.5 × 3.3 cm (1 × 1¼ in.)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Purchase, Gifts in memory of Richard Ettinghausen, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1979
(1979.278.2a,b)

The most elaborate extant example of filigree and granulation work from the Fatimid period in Egypt and Greater Syria (969–1171), this pair of earrings is illustrative both of the most characteristic goldsmith work and of one of the most popular shapes for jewelry of the period—the *hilal*, or crescent.

Each earring consists of two openwork faces connected by a horizontally aligned section, thus forming a crescent-shaped box. The faces were originally framed with five evenly spaced loops, through which pearls



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or semiprecious stones were strung. The openwork surface behind the loops is formed of flattened plain wires bent into S curves. The central area of each face and the outer borders of the wide horizontal edges are constructed of paired twisted wires worked into arabesque designs, with granules lining the crevices; the openwork areas are supported on the back by small gold strips.

This basic vocabulary—a box construction, rings for stringing, openwork S curves and arabesque designs supported with small strips, and the crescent shape itself—seems to have dominated jewelry production in the Fatimid world into the second half of the eleventh century and perhaps later. The influence of this vogue was widespread. Goldsmiths working under the Mamluks (1250–1517) adapted this vocabulary,¹ as did jewelers of Nasrid Spain (1232–1492),² while echoes reverberated in Rus', Ottoman Turkey, Mogul India, and North Africa.

M J-M

1. Jenkins, “Mamluk Jewelry,” 1988.
2. Jenkins, “Fatimid,” 1988.

LITERATURE: Jenkins and Keene 1983, pp. 85, 86.

278. Pendant

Islamic (Egyptian), 11th century
Gold: fabricated from wire and strips of sheet; set with cloisonné enamel and turquoise; originally outlined with strung pearls and/or stones
4.5 × 3.5 cm (1¾ × 1⅜ in.)

CONDITION: The pendant is repaired.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915 (30.95.37)

“[Khatir al-Mulk] had told me at an earlier date that the Byzantine King Michael had offered to the Lady, the mother of al-Imam al-Mustansir bi-Allah [Fatimid caliph, r. 1035–95], five chests [*dast*] of jewelry enameled [*mujra bi-zujaj*] with glass in five colors: deep red, snow white, jet black, sky blue, deep azure. It was fashioned in the best goldsmiths’ work [*siyaghah*]. Its decoration [*naqsh*] was inlaid with finest craftsmanship.”¹

This eleventh-century source documents that these enameled jewelry items were sent as gifts from Byzantium to a Muslim ruler along with an enameled gold Rumi girdle and one hundred gold vessels inlaid with



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enamel.² The author is silent, however, regarding enameled jewelry or any other enameled objects moving in the opposite direction.

Additional contemporary information about enameled objects is provided by the trousseau lists among the Cairo Geniza documents (see cat. no. 275), which mention enameled bracelets, pins, and elements that form a tiara. S. D. Goitein has suggested that, because enamel (*mina*) is never specifically described in this repository, the goldsmiths in Egypt did not themselves make the enamel but bought it ready-made in the suq.³

These facts, together with the paucity of enamel work attributable to the Muslim world before the Late Islamic period and the abundance of enameled jewelry and other gold objects from the Byzantine world, lead one to wonder whether the cloisonné-enamel plaques on Fatimid gold jewelry were made in Muslim lands or imported into Syria or Egypt for use in the manufacture of this jewelry. The present work and a pair of earrings with enameled insets in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. no. 210) appear to support the latter thesis.

The pendant incorporates in its goldwork the basic vocabulary that dominated jewelry production in the Fatimid domains into the second half of the eleventh century and perhaps later (see cat. no. 277), except that rather than using granulation to highlight the filigree decoration, the goldsmith inset a plaque of cloisonné enamel as embellishment. The translucent green and opaque white and red enamels appear to have compositions consistent with what is known of Islamic glassmaking and glazing technology of the period.⁴

The craftsman who made the pendant did not use the setting he designed to secure

the plaque. Instead of placing the plaque against the back of the enframing twisted wires and then securing it with a filigreed back, he constructed the entire ornament minus the enamel. The only way an enamel plaque could then be incorporated was to add one that was smaller than the opening. And the only way it could be secured was by means of an adhesive.⁵

Why would a jeweler capable of producing a filigree object of this quality not plan ahead? Perhaps because he did not execute the enamel work himself but instead bought it in the *suq* and set it into an already finished pendant, a scenario Goitein felt was implied in the Geniza documents. Two other pendants in the Metropolitan Museum, each with a similar overhanging frame for the enamel plaque, support such a theory. One (1974.22), composed of fine filigree work highlighted with granulation, has lost its cloisonné-enamel plaque; the second (1970.76), of even finer filigree and granulation work, is now set with a piece of glass where the enamel would originally have been. If each plaque had been sized and properly set as an integral part of the pendant, it could not have become dislodged unless the entire ornament was taken apart or broken. The fact that the pendant now set with glass has remained intact fully supports this theory.

M J-M

1. Qaddumi 1990, para. 97, p. 90.
2. *Ibid.*, paras. 62, 82, pp. 62–63, 83–84.
3. Goitein 1967–83, vol. 4, p. 208.
4. This information, and that for cat. no. 210, was provided by Mark T. Wypyski of the Department of Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, after he had done surface analyses on the enamel plaques using energy-dispersive X-ray spectrometry (EDS). Mr. Wypyski states that such Islamic-type enamels were not used exclusively on objects manufactured in the Muslim world but have been found on Byzantine as well as medieval Limoges enameled objects.
5. This information and that on Metropolitan Museum of Art 1974.22 and 1970.76 (discussed in the present entry) and cat. no. 210 was provided by Pete Dandridge of the Department of Objects Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. To date, no Fatimid jewelry object with a cloisonné-enamel plaque has been found that utilizes the setting designed to secure it.

LITERATURE: Rorimer 1931, p. 24, illus.; Ross 1940, pp. 165–67; Dimand 1944, p. 147, fig. 88; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 1 (Spring 1975), p. 8, colorpl.; Jenkins and Keene 1982, p. 255, no. 20, pl. XXXIV; Jenkins and Keene 1983, p. 80, no. 47, p. 81, colorpl.; Jenkins 1993, p. 79, illus.



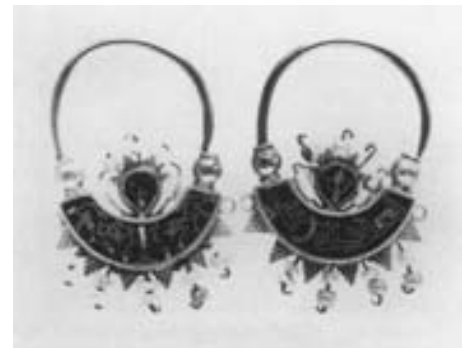
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279. Pair of Gold Earrings

Islamic (Andalusia), late 12th century
Gold: fabricated from wire and sheet, decorated with granulation; originally outlined with strung pearls and/or stones
H. with wire 5.5 cm (2 1/8 in.)

Benaki Museum, Athens, Greece (1862)

This pair of earrings from the westernmost region of the Islamic world clearly exhibits a technical indebtedness to the jewelers' art of the Fatimid period (969–1171).¹ The basic vocabulary of eleventh-century goldsmiths' work from Egypt and Greater Syria is also found on these ornaments made in Spain during the following century. Not only do they exhibit box construction and loops for stringing pearls or semiprecious stones, but they also bear the *hilal*, or crescent shape, popular during the earlier, Fatimid, period. Decoration executed in filigree and granulation, prevalent in the latter period, continues here as well, but instead of being laid on a strip support and thereby creating the more common openwork designs (see, for example, cat. no. 277), the wires here are laid on gold sheets—a considerably less laborious method of construction than that employed on the best Fatimid pieces. Further simplification was to continue in al-Andalus during the Nasrid period (1232–1492). Anticipating a characteristic of Nasrid jewelry is the use of granulation to silhouette motifs, in this



Pair of earrings from Crete, National Archaeological Museum, Athens

case the Arabic inscription.² Executed in a type of *nashk* script peculiar to Spain, it reads, "In the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate; May God bless the Prophet Muhammad."

As to the prototype for the configuration of the earrings, one must look back even further, to a pair of earrings manufactured in Crete before the Byzantine conquest in 961, while the island was still under Arab domination. These ornaments (see above) not only share with the earrings from Andalusia the same semicircular profile but they incorporate Arabic inscriptions as well as triangular protrusions from the outer edge of each ornament; the last two features are, however, executed in different techniques.³ Other examples of the earlier type are a pair from Berlin (cat. no. 167), a pair in the British

Museum (cat. no. 166), and two single earrings in Preslav (cat. no. 228A,B). The pair from Berlin is particularly close to the present pair, though made more than two centuries earlier: they are executed mainly in gold, their principal decoration is an inscription (in Greek rather than Arabic), and they bear a figural design above the calligraphy that is contained within the inner curve of the *hilal*.

Although acquired on the Paris art market, the present pair of earrings is so very similar to a pair found in Majorca, in a pottery jar together with other jewelry and gold and silver coins minted at the end of the twelfth century, that we can assume they were made in the same workshop at approximately the same time.⁴ M J-M

1. See Jenkins, "Fatimid," 1988, for a discussion of Fatimid influence on earlier Spanish jewelry of the Umayyad period.
2. Jenkins, "Mamluk Jewelry," 1988, pp. 35–36.
3. Jenkins 1993, pp. 79–80.
4. New York, *Al-Andalus*, 1992, p. 300; Palma de Mallorca 1991.

LITERATURE: Segall 1938, no. 285, p. 179, and pl. 57; London, *Arts*, 1976, no. 651, p. 388; Jenkins 1994, pp. 79–80.

EXHIBITION: New York, *Al-Andalus*, 1992, no. 70.

280. Coin of Qutb al-Din II-Ghazi II

Islamic (Mardin), 1181–82 (A.H. 577)
Bronze

Obverse

DIAM. 33 mm (1¼ in.), 14.49 gm

INSCRIBED: Above, in Kufic characters, SAB³ WA SAB³ IN WA KHAMASAMI³A (seven and seventy and five hundred [A.H. 577, the date]).

Two busts facing: the larger, on the left, has disheveled hair and wears a chlamys fastened at the right shoulder; the smaller, on the right, wears a similar garment and a helmet. Border of dots.

Reverse

DIAM. 35 mm (1¼ in.), 11.43 gm

INSCRIBED: QUTB AL-DIN BIN AL-NASIR LIL-DIN AMIR AL-MU³MININ HADHA AL-DIRHAM MAL³UN MAN YU³AYYIRUHU (Qutb al-Din bin al-Nasir lil-din, commander of the believers. Cursed be he who dishonors this dirham).
Border of dots.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (obverse: 1971.316.980; reverse: 1917.216.1024)

The obverse clearly derives from a solidus of Herakleios and Herakleios Constantine, struck in 613–16. The crosses that surmount the crowns on the prototype have been removed, and some commentators have seen in the protrusions on this piece a rendering



280. Obverse



280. Reverse

of the wings on the helmet of Mercury. Artukid coppers, as their legends show, are totally removed from context. This coin is part of a series whose prototypes are all ancient and unrelated to one another. It has been suggested that there is astrological significance to the entire series read together. Whatever the interpretation, it is clear that the prototype has been completely misunderstood. W E M

281. Bowl with the Ascension of Alexander

Anatolian, mid-12th century
Copper gilt with cloisonné and champlevé enamel
H. 5 cm (2 in.), DIAM. 26.5 cm (8⅞ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the interior, below the rim, AL-AMIR, AL-ISFAHSALAR AL-KABIR, AL-MU³AYYAD, AL-MANSUR, NASIR AL-DIN, RUKN AL-DAWLA WA SAMSAAM-MILLA WA BAH³AL-UMMAH, ZA³ IM AL-JUYUSH, TAJ AL-MULUK WA-AL-SALAT N, QATIL AL-KAFARA WA AL-MUSHRIK N, ALP SAVINJ SUNQUR BAK ABA SULAYMAN DAWUD IBN ARTUQ, SAYF AM R AL-MU³MININ (The great prince and army commander, the fortified [by God], the victorious Nasir al-Din Rukn al-Dawla, saber of the community of believers, splendor of the nation, leader of the armies, crown of kings and sultans, slayer of infidels and polytheists, Alp Sevinch Sunqur Beg Abu Sulayman Da³ud, son of Artuq, sword of the Commander of the Faithful); the exterior inscription, in Persian, is illegible.

Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, Austria

This shallow copper bowl, carefully decorated with enameling on both its interior and exterior, has been the focus of a debate over its provenance, date, and significance because it is the only known enameled object that bears the name and titlature of an Islamic ruler. The interior decorative scheme comprises a central roundel showing the Ascension of Alexander the Great surrounded by six smaller medallions in which frontally depicted peacocks alternate with scenes of animal combat. The interstitial zones are occupied alternately by palm trees flanked by lions and court entertainers. The six medallions around the vessel's foot are arranged in opposing pairs. Two show griffins attacking quadrupeds and two have haloed eagles standing on their prey. The remaining two medallions contain pairs of wrestlers or musicians. The interstitial zones here are decorated with palm trees and lions alternating with dancers. Colorful foliage scrolls fill the backgrounds of the medallions and the intermediate zones on both the interior and the exterior of the bowl.

The original reading of the Arabic inscription by Maximilian Van Berchem has recently been emended in turn by Scott Redford and Lutz Richter-Bernburg. All three interpretations link the vessel to Rukn al-Dawla Abu Sulayman Da³ud, a Turkoman ruler who controlled the eastern Anatolian cities of Hisn Kayfa and Khartpert from 1114 to 1142. The poorly written Persian inscription may be a maxim.¹ Although it is documented that the bowl entered the Tiroler Landesmuseum in 1825, its earlier history is unknown.²

Two features of the vessel's decoration have attracted particular attention: the dancers, who often have been paired with those on the so-called Crown of Constantine IX Monomachos (cat. no. 145), and the scene of Alexander's ascension, which has been compared with a relief now in Venice.³ Opinion remains divided, however, about where the bowl was produced. In 1946 Hugo Buchthal noted analogies between thirteenth-century Limoges gemellions and this bowl's medallion scheme, dancers, and spiraling vines and proposed that the French vessels had been inspired by the Artukid one.⁴ Recent research into the history of gemellions emphasizes their evolution within a well-established European tradition and removes any need to ascribe Islamic inspiration to them.⁵ The 1975 study by V. P. Darkevich links the Innsbruck vessel with Constantinopolitan secular art of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Although Darkevich's analysis stresses the dancers and the roundel with Alexander's ascension, the objects that he publishes



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provide parallels for other aspects of the Innsbruck vessel's themes, including musicians, acrobats, birds, and beasts.⁶ The silver-gilt plate now in Siberia (cat. no. 267), on which Alexander's ascension is also depicted, offers yet another parallel to the Innsbruck bowl. Redford attributes the objects published by Darkevich as well as the Innsbruck bowl to Georgia.⁷ Thomas Steppan, however, finds a connection with Constantinople more convincing and suggests that the bowl may have been a Byzantine royal gift to the Artukid ruler.⁸

P S

1. Van Berchem and Strzygowski 1910, pp. 121–28; Redford 1990, pp. 120–24; Richter-Bernburg 1995.
2. Prantl 1995, pp. 67–70.
3. Van Berchem and Strzygowski 1910, pp. 348ff.; Darkevich 1975, pp. 157–58, 178, figs. 228–32, 270, 271.
4. Buchthal 1946, pp. 195–98.
5. New York 1996, pp. 33–39, 40–42, 360–70.
6. Darkevich 1975, pp. 100–117, 165, figs. 163–79, 251a,b.
7. Redford 1990, pp. 129–32.
8. Steppan 1995, pp. 33–35.

LITERATURE: Innsbruck 1826, p. 20; Migeon 1907, pp. 155–56, fig. 138; Falke 1909, pp. 234–41; Van Berchem and Strzygowski 1910, pp. 121–28,

348–54, pl. 21, fig. 295; Riegl 1923, pl. XLVIII; Glück and Dietz 1925, p. 583, pl. 452:3; Zimmer 1930, pp. 23–26; Bárány-Oberschall 1937, pp. 75–78, pl. 16; L. Mayer 1939, p. 101; Buchthal 1946, pp. 195–98, fig. 2; Seebass 1973, pp. 162–64, pl. 130; Sourdél-Thomine and Spuler 1973, pp. 303–4, pl. 42; Darkevich 1975, pp. 157–58, 178, figs. 228–32, 270, 271; Burckhardt 1976, p. 114, pl. 97; R. Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987, p. 362, fig. 384; Frazer 1989, pp. 86–87; Redford 1990, pp. 119–35; Restle 1994, pp. 25–41; Munich, *Artuqid-Schale*, 1995.

EXHIBITIONS: Munich 1912, vol. 2, no. 3056; Paris, *Vienne à Versailles*, 1964, pl. 141; London, *Arts*, 1976, no. 238; Berlin 1989, no. 1:255; Munich, *Artuqid-Schale*, 1995; Rome 1995, no. 142.



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282. Mirror with a Hunter on Horseback

Anatolian, first half of 13th century
Steel, with gold inlay
H. 41 cm (16½ in.), DIAM. 20 cm (7¾ in.)
Topkapi Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul, Turkey (2/1792)

This mirror, with its decorated back—the sole cast-steel object inlaid with gold to survive from thirteenth-century Anatolia—combines unique technical features with

a widely employed decorative scheme. Its maker is thought to have been trained in one of the Artukid metalworking centers, such as Mardin or Diyarbakir, that specialized in casting, although the mirror may have been made elsewhere.¹ The central field merges the themes of a hunter on horseback and a dragon-slaying hero. The mounted hunter, with a falcon on one hand and the

reins of his horse in the other, has a lively hunting dog tied to his saddle; as he rides, a duck flies away and a fox(?) seeks cover.

Fragments of tile decoration from the Seljuk palace in Konya offer close parallels to the pose and costume of this falconer.² Although he appears nonchalant, hints are given of the rider's special powers, such as the benediction inscribed in minute letters on his horse's harness. The horse is about to trample a coiled serpent underfoot, and a pair of coiled, crossed serpents above the hunter's head recalls the use of carved serpents as guardians at the gate.³ The mirror's decoration may reflect the long-standing Anatolian belief in the power of a demon-slaying hero to offer protection against the evil eye.⁴

P S

1. Erginsoy 1978, pp. 449–62, figs. 225a,b; Tapan 1983, pl. D. 128.
2. Yetkin 1972, p. 160, pl. III.
3. Burckhardt 1976, p. 113, pl. 95; Öney 1988, figs. 31, 32.
4. Russell 1995, pp. 40–41; Vikan 1984, pp. 79–80.

LITERATURE: Washington, D.C., 1966, no. 168, pp. 97–98; Öney 1969, p. 171, fig. 21; Aslanapa 1971, p. 288, fig. 222; Inal 1971, p. 171, fig. 7; Esin 1976, p. 450, fig. II; Erginsoy 1978, pp. 456–62, figs. 225a,b; Erginsoy 1980, pl. 153; Tapan 1983, pl. D. 128.

EXHIBITIONS: Washington, D.C., 1966, no. 168, pp. 97–98; Istanbul 1983, pl. D. 128.

283. Tray

Syrian or northern Mesopotamian (Jazira), ca. 1240–50 (Ayyubid period)
Brass with silver inlay
DIAM. 43 cm (16¾ in.)

CONDITION: The tray retains most of its silver inlay.

PROVENANCE: Bought by the State Hermitage in 1898.

The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (CA-14238)

Islamic metalwork integrating Christian iconography was produced in the late Ayyubid period, especially in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. Eighteen objects of different shapes can be included in this group: incense burners, trays, cylindrical boxes (cat. no. 285), ewers, candlesticks, a basin, and a canteen.¹ Although the *raison d'être* for this miscellaneous group has not been discovered, dedicatory inscriptions on some of these objects indicate that they were not produced for a Christian clientele but rather for Muslim patrons. Christians in Ayyubid territory—either Jacobites and Nestorians or such newcomers as former



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Crusaders—had no role in the creation of these works. Other details confirm an all-Muslim environment: the objects' shapes are characteristically Islamic, and the Christian figures, although prominent, share the ornamented space with bands of established Islamic decorative motifs—running animals, polo games, and scenes of leisure activities and court life. In addition, many Christian scenes do not follow standard European or Middle Eastern archetypes, since some details were misinterpreted by

Islamic artists (see, for example, cat. no. 285). The presence of Christian images in Islamic metalwork, enameled glass, and other media² may be simply an appropriation of familiar but nonindigenous motifs. An acknowledgment of Christianity's peaceful role within Muslim society—rather than a declaration of Muslim victory or superiority over Christians—seems to underlie these objects.³

On the Hermitage tray concentric bands from the rim to the center present a vegetal scroll, a lengthy benedictory inscription in

naskh script, a band of running animals, twelve pairs of Christian figures standing under lobed arches, a second band of running animals, a complex arabesqued vegetal pattern, and a central twelve-petaled rosette. The Arabic inscription, which is dedicated to an anonymous “master, elevated and magnificent,” includes a long list of good wishes and blessings to the tray's owner.⁴ The seemingly arbitrary sequence of figures under the arches supports the hypothesis that no special meaning—other than a generic representation of

Christian images — was intended. All the figures are male, haloed, and barefoot and wear non-Islamic attire and carry liturgical objects (incense burners, staves, books). One holds a pyxis, another a diptych, a third a flabellum, a fourth a footed cup. None is a figure of special importance or rank in the Christian hierarchy.

Two other large trays showing Christian images are known: one is in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris (inv. no. 360) and was dedicated to the last Ayyubid sultan, al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub (r. 1240–49); the whereabouts of the other, once in the Piet-Lataudrie collection, is unknown. Surprisingly, the Hermitage tray is reported to have been found at Kashgar⁵ (present-day Kashih in western China, not far from the borders of Kirghizstan and Tajikistan); it is the only object of this group known to have traveled so far east. S C

1. They are studied and published in Baer 1989.
2. This would also include manuscript illustration. However, in the present case the issue is more complex, since the text itself prompted the execution of the miniature paintings.
3. See Katzenstein and Lowry 1983, p. 65.
4. A full translation and transliteration of the inscription are in Baer 1989, p. 10 and n. 28.
5. Munich 1912, vol. 2, pl. 153.

LITERATURE: Munich 1912, vol. 2, pl. 153; Katzenstein and Lowry 1983, pl. 14; Baer 1989, figs. 23, 25–36.



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284. Incense Burner

Syrian, ca. 1240
Brass, pierced and inlaid with silver and gold
H. 20.3 cm (8 in.)
The Trustees of the British Museum, London, England.
Henderson Bequest no. 879 (OA 1878.12–30.679)

Incense burners supported on three feet, with cylindrical bodies, domical lids, and horizontal handles, enjoyed a long and widespread popularity in the Near East. This example, now missing its handle, can be linked to mid-thirteenth-century Syria on the basis of certain details of its shape and the scheme of its incised and inlaid decoration.¹ A continuous, undulating band, which forms a sequence of polylobed arches, divides the surfaces of both the body and the lid into compartments, each occupied by a single figure. These figures have been identified as Christians because some carry a censer and others a flabellum, although the remainder

hold seemingly ordinary objects such as a staff or a conical cup.² The inscription around the knob of the vessel's lid contains generic wishes for its owner's health and prosperity that would have been equally appropriate for a Muslim or Christian. Similar rows of figures framed by cusped arches are found on other thirteenth-century inlaid metalwork from Syria (see cat. nos. 283, 285). This form of decoration also appears in a variant in which the arches and columns are more clearly delineated.³ The inspiration for both designs probably should be traced to a series of Early Christian and Byzantine objects on which an architectural frame links as well as separates a sequence of figures, such as the sixth-century chalice found at Hamah, the late-tenth-century Bedia Chalice (cat. no. 231), and the late-tenth- to early-eleventh-century ivory pyxis in Cleveland (cat. no. 33).⁴

P S

1. Baer 1983, pp. 43–56; Ward 1993, p. 85, figs. 61, 63.
2. Baer 1989, figs. 1, 15–20.
3. Ibid., figs. 9–14, 57–61, 63.
4. New York 1979, pp. 599–600, no. 532; Amiranashvili 1971, pp. 66–67, pls. 39, 40.

LITERATURE: Baer 1983, pp. 54–55, fig. 40; Baer 1989, pp. 7–10, pls. 1, 15–21; Ward 1993, p. 85, figs. 61, 63.

285. Cylindrical Box

Syrian or northern Mesopotamian (Jazira), ca. 1225–50 (Ayyubid period)
Brass with silver inlay
H. 10.5 cm (4 1/8 in.), DIAM. 10.5 cm (4 1/8 in.)

CONDITION: The base is resoldered, and there are cracks along the upper rim of the lid; the clasp and the inner ring that holds the lid in place are not original; most of the silver inlay is lost.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Rogers Fund (1971.39)

Cylindrical lidded boxes (pyxides) were probably used in the Islamic world to hold *ushman* (alkaline ashes of the soda plant which were used for washing). This pyxis was made from a single sheet of brass that was subsequently inlaid with silver. Its base and lid (the latter made in one piece) were worked separately. A number of these boxes were produced in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods (thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries), and some of them are dated or can be dated with accuracy.¹ Their dimensions vary, and their lids may be straight, tapered, or surmounted by a dome.

There are three surviving Ayyubid boxes that present Christian images: two of them, in Cairo and London,² bear inscriptions; the third one, discussed here, is the most refined of the three and has no inscription. The body of the present box, entirely filled with vegetal scrolls, is divided into eight lobed medallions, each containing a figure. One medallion shows the entry of Christ into Jerusalem astride a donkey; he is accompanied by two men who are about to throw their garments under the animal's hooves and by two others who carry palm branches. Two angels hold a canopy above Christ's head, an image similar to secular throne scenes in contemporary Islamic manuscripts from northern Mesopotamia. In the medallion opposite the Entry into Jerusalem scene, a holy man is depicted frontally: he wears a chasuble, has a long, bifurcated beard, and holds a large cross. The remaining six medallions are occupied either by a figure holding an incense burner, a supplicant, or a monk. Four of these figures look toward Christ, emphasizing the focus of the composition, while the other two flank the holy man and turn toward him.

The Virgin and Child with Saint Joseph are seen on the lid. This scene was partially reworked at a later date, and some details are puzzling. The Virgin, who appears to be seated on a low stool, seems to be wearing a turban, an article of clothing that would transform her into a Muslim man; in addition, the Child is not haloed. It is difficult to explain this unusual iconography, which recalls a Shiite scene of 'Ali and his two sons, Hasan and Husain; perhaps the Muslim metalworker conflated the Virgin and Child with an image that was more familiar to him. Recent studies, which may have some bearing on the present discussion, reveal analogies between images of Fatima ('Ali's wife) and the Virgin Mary.³

2. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art (15130); London, Victoria and Albert Museum (320-1866). See Baer 1989, pp. 13-15.
3. Fontana 1994, pp. 26-29.

LITERATURE: Katzenstein and Lowry 1983, pl. 8; Baer 1989, pp. 14-15, figs. 39-44, 88, 107, 108; Fontana 1994.

EXHIBITIONS: London 1970, no. 73; Berlin 1981, no. 55.

286. *Kitab fi Ma'rifat al-Hiyal al-Handasiyah* (Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices)

Islamic (Diyarbakir), 1205-6 (A.H. 602)

Tempera on paper

33.8 × 22.5 cm (13¼ × 8¾ in.)

Library of the Topkapi Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul, Turkey (H. 414)

This is the most elaborate of four devices designed by Isma'il ibn al-Razzaz al-Jazari to measure the amount of blood removed from a patient during a bloodletting treatment, a frequent practice in medieval medicine. Al-Jazari states that his machine improved on one created by a predecessor that merely collected the blood in a container.¹ Fundamental to al-Jazari's blood gauge was a collecting

basin, which drained into an inner compartment containing a float that was counterbalanced by a weight and linked to a revolving wheel by pulleys. Other parts of the gauge were connected by gears to the axle on which the wheel turned so that as the level of blood rose they too revolved. These revolving elements were calibrated to record the quantity of blood that had collected in the catchment basin. The four blood gauges described by al-Jazari vary in the complexity of their superstructure and the manner in which the volume of blood was recorded.²

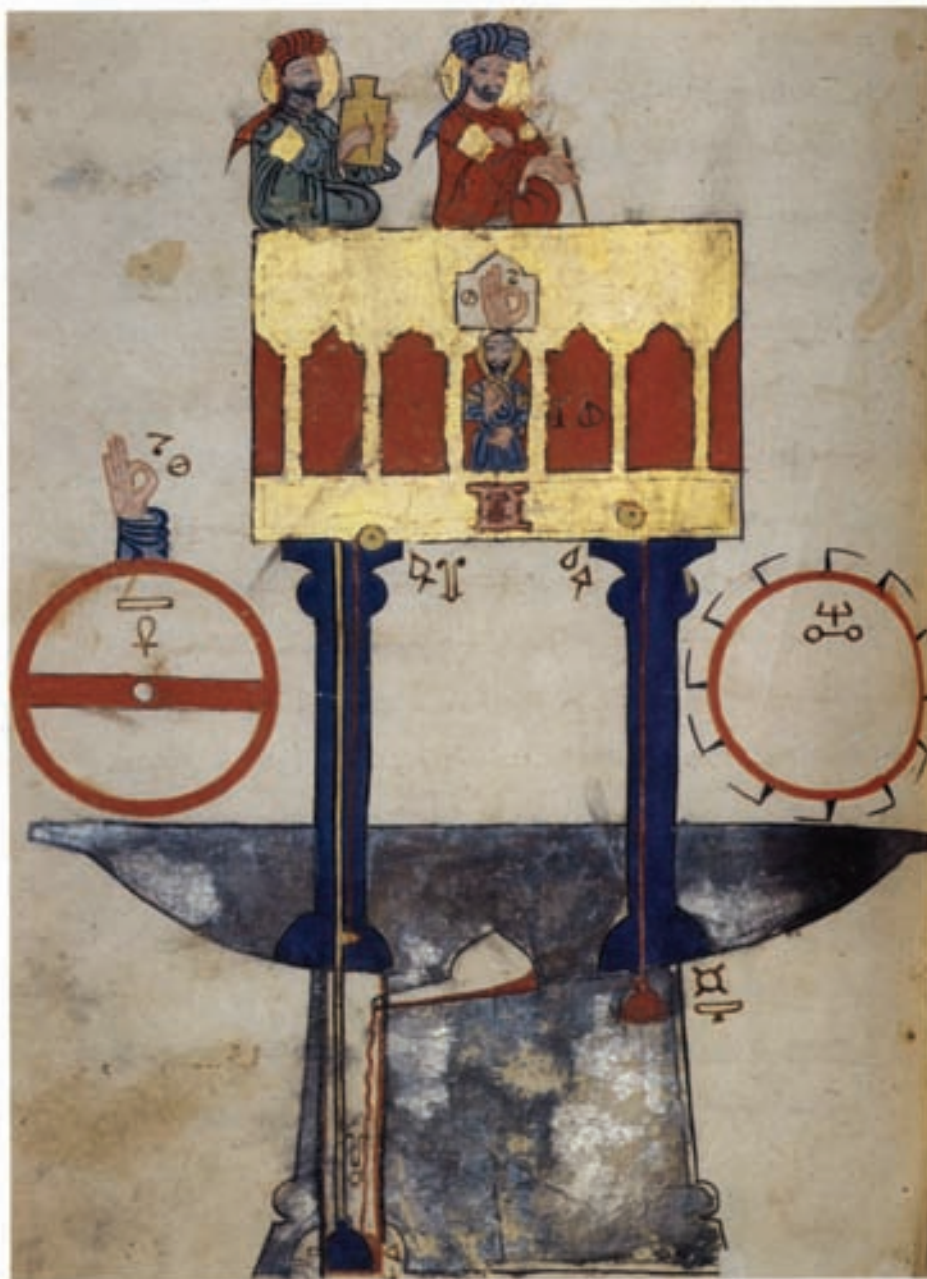
This particular gauge, known as a castle, is designed to record 120 dirhams of blood. As the blood flows into the basin below, the seated figure at the upper right gradually rotates, moving his rod from number to number on a calibrated plate. The figure at the upper left records the blood level by gradually raising his right arm and pointing to the numbers one through ten, which are inscribed on the board that he holds in his left hand. When the number ten is reached, his right arm falls and the process is repeated. These figures are connected to an axle that rotates two lower disks visible through openings in the castle (the disks are also drawn in cross section at the right and left of the gauge). Each decimal unit recorded by the figures



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1. Baer 1983, pp. 76-78.

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286. Blood-measuring device

thus triggers a rotation of the lower disks. As the disks move, images appear in the arched windows of the castle, registering the units ten, twenty, thirty, and so on. The upper disk depicts a series of hands, each of which points to units of ten that appear sequentially in a window below the man holding the rod. The lower disk carries twelve L-shaped panels, each of which bears the figure of a youth and a decimal unit. Each rotation of the axle reveals a number and a youth who stands in an arched window between two columns at the center of the castle.³

Al-Jazari composed this text during his years of service to various members of the Artukid dynasty at Diyarbakir (present-day Amida). It probably was completed between 1198 and 1200 under the patronage of Mahmud ibn Muhammad ibn Qara Arslan

(r. 1201–22). This manuscript is one of three known to have been copied in 1205–6 (A.H. 602) and is presumed to have been written and illustrated at Diyarbakir under the author's supervision.⁴ Al-Jazari's text and the devices he records combine practical knowledge of basic physical principles with a degree of whimsy. He states that he has taken into account the patient's viewpoint when designing the four measuring gauges of the castle.⁵ His claims that he both studied the texts of earlier scholars, including Apollonios of Tyana and the Banu Musa, and improved on their work through his own knowledge and experimentation have been accepted by modern historians of science.⁶

P S

1. Al-Jazari 1974, p. 137.

2. Ibid., pp. 137–48, figs. 113–17.
3. Ibid., pp. 146–48, fig. 117.
4. Ward 1985, pp. 74–75.
5. Al-Jazari 1974, p. 146.
6. Ibid., pp. 15–16; al-Hassan and Hill 1986, pp. 15–17, 56–59.

LITERATURE: Weitzmann 1952, pp. 244–50, figs. 3, 4; al-Jazari 1974, pp. 146–48, fig. 117; Ward 1985, pp. 69–76, figs. 1–4, 8; al-Hassan and Hill 1986, pp. 10, 12, 15–17, 55–59; Öney 1988, pp. 152–53, figs. 124–30, esp. fig. 129.

287. *Maqamat* of al-Hariri

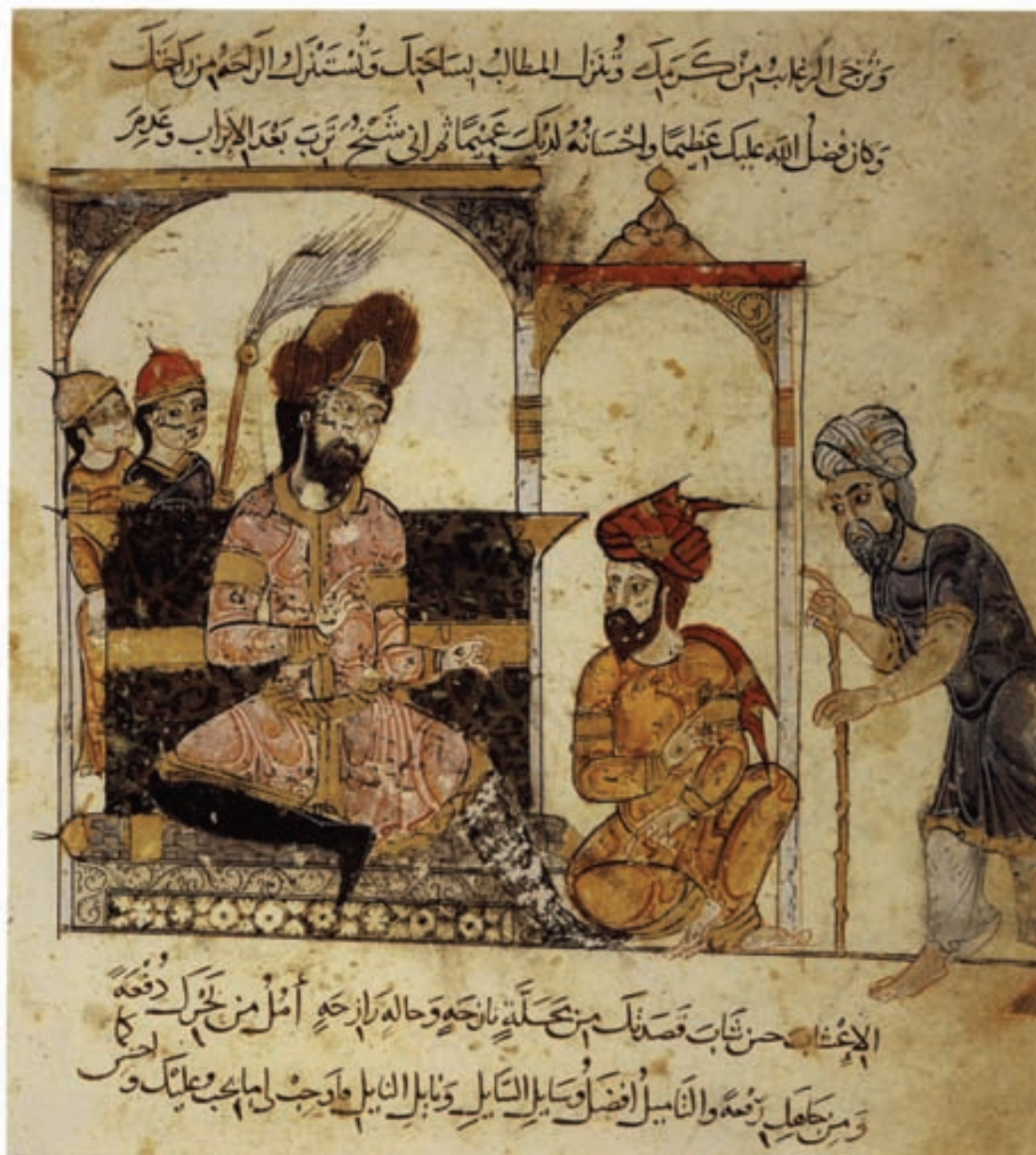
Islamic (Syrian or Egyptian), 1222–23 (A.H. 619)
Tempera on paper; 187 fols., 39 illus.
30 × 23 cm (11 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 9 in.)

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, France
(Ms. arabe 6094)

The illustrations in this manuscript of al-Hariri's *Maqamat* are exceptional in their debt to Byzantine pictorial sources. Hugo Buchthal's 1940 study draws attention to similarities of pose and gesture in the present scene and in the depiction of Elijah's meeting with the king of Israel in the Bible of Leo Sakellarios, now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (cat. no. 42).¹ Oleg Grabar notes parallels between the figure style of the present manuscript and Byzantine paintings, ranging from the Khludov Psalter (cat. no. 52) to wall paintings in Cappadocian churches.²

This *Maqamat*, a collection of fifty anecdotes in rhymed prose composed by Abu'l Hasan al-Hariri (d. 1122), is one of the most admired works of Arabic literature. Al-Hariri structured his essays around the adventures of Abu Zayd, an eloquent vagabond, and al-Harith, his traveling companion, who also serves as the narrator.³ Here we see Abu Zayd displaying his oratorical skills before a *qadi* (judge) in the city of Merv by offering a peroration in praise of generosity, which moves the *qadi* to give Abu Zayd a handsome reward. Al-Harith stands to the right observing the scene.

The thirteen illustrated copies of al-Hariri's *Maqamat* are all dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although arabe 6094 lacks a colophon, the images on folios 68 and 167 both contain the internal date of A.H. 619 (A.D. 1222–23), which makes this example one of the earliest illuminated versions of al-Hariri's text. The artist's acquaintance with Byzantine figure painting suggests that he was a Christian living in Syria or Egypt. His paintings, however, differ from those in the Bible of Leo or in other Constantinopolitan manuscripts of the tenth to the twelfth century in the simplicity of



287. Abu Zayd before a Judge in the City of Merv, fol. 133v

their settings. The buildings here are symbolized by schematic arches and domes with minimal architectonic substance — a device that may derive from the use of arches or aediculae to frame canon tables and evangelist portraits in Gospel manuscripts. While some Constantinopolitan narrative paintings are set within elaborate architectural frames (see cat. nos. 62, 63), compositions in Georgian, Armenian, Syriac, or Coptic manuscripts provide a closer parallel to the abstracted forms in the *Maqamat* manuscript (see cat. no. 251).⁴ Schematic architecture also appears on thirteenth-century Syrian inlaid metalwork (see cat. nos. 283–285) in subjects that are Christian in inspiration.⁵

1. Buchthal, “‘Hellenistic’ Miniatures,” 1940, p. 126, figs. 6, 7.
2. O. Grabar 1984, pp. 9, 179, nos. 45–47.
3. Beeston 1990, pp. 132–35.
4. Amiranashvili 1966, pls. 7–12; Korkhmazian et al. 1984, pls. 39, 40, 72.
5. Atil 1975, nos. 27, 28, pp. 64–73; Baer 1989, pls. 9–14, 45–48, 63, 85.

LITERATURE: Holter 1937, pp. iff., no. 25; Buchthal, “‘Hellenistic’ Miniatures,” 1940, pp. 126–28, figs. 1, 3, 6, 8, 13, 16, 17, 19, 22, 29, 32, 37, 40, 43; Buchthal, “Illustrated Hariri Manuscripts,” 1940, pp. 148, 151, pl. II:d; Ettinghausen 1962, pp. 79–80; O. Grabar 1984, pp. 8–9, 87, and passim.

EXHIBITION: Paris 1938, no. 1.

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288. *De materia medica* by Dioskorides

Copied by Abu Yusuf Bihnam b. Musa b. Yusuf al-Mawsili for Shams al-Din Abu’-l Fada’il Muhammad Islamic (Northern Mesopotamia), 1229 (A.H. 626)
Ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper
19.2 × 14 cm (7½ × 5½ in.)

Library of the Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi, Istanbul, Turkey (Ahmet III, 2127)

Illustrated manuscripts of the works of Dioskorides (Greek physician, pharmacologist, and author, active ca. A.D. 65) are a particularly interesting chapter in the history of Islamic art because both text and images embody a process of transmission and transformation. First translated from Greek into



288. Double frontispiece: Dioskorides Presented with Copies of His Book, fols. iv and 2r





289. *Silene inflata*, fol. 115v

Arabic in the mid-ninth century, Dioskorides' treatises on the pharmacological properties of plants underwent several further translations and revisions. This complicated history is important to an understanding not only of the Arabic manuscripts themselves but also of their relationship to the Byzantine Greek tradition.¹

This Arabic Dioskorides (*Hayula 'Ilaj al-Tibb*) of 1229 is one of four such manuscripts that include author portraits.² In the double frontispiece seen here, Dioskorides is depicted seated on the right page. He gestures toward

the left page, where two individuals hold books (one offers his open book to the Greek physician). As has often been noted, this author portrait derives in nearly all its details from depictions of evangelists in tenth- and eleventh-century Byzantine Gospel books.³ Here, however, the artist, while maintaining the halo of his model, has given the classical author a turban, perhaps to emphasize his new Islamic context.

It has recently been proposed that the complete iconographic program of this double-page composition may be associated with

twelfth- and thirteenth-century Byzantine Egyptian manuscript illustrations of the evangelists presenting the Gospel to Christ.⁴ The precise identification of the two figures on the left, clad in typical Muslim garb, is still an open issue. They may be students submitting their own copies of *De materia medica* to their master for approval, or they may be the scribes/illustrators of the present text or perhaps the original translators of the text. What is clear is that the composition is a visualization of the transmission process itself: the classical author recognizes and

receives the new Arabic Islamic version of his famous handbook. A related theme is repeated in a second, single-page frontispiece on the succeeding folio of this manuscript (fol. 2v). In this painting Dioskorides, now clad entirely in Muslim garb, is seated on a low bench. A similarly clothed student sits on a cushion before his master, holding a mandrake plant. In translating the Greek sage and physician into a Muslim scholar—and by extension making him part of an Islamic past—the frontispiece is a visual rendering of the transmission of the scholarly heritage of classical antiquity to the Islamic world.⁵

The process by which figural and compositional types derived from Byzantine Gospel illumination were transmitted and transformed, or “islamized,” is not fully understood. A possible clue is provided by the identity of the copyist of this manuscript, Abu Yusuf Bihnam b. Musa b. Yusuf al-Mawsili, who is also known through a note he inserted in another Dioskorides manuscript, in Paris.⁶ It is evident from his notation that Bihnam was a Christian.

There is nothing to indicate that the Christian Bihnam, in addition to copying the present Dioskorides, was also the artist responsible for the manuscript's frontispiece or other illustrations. In fact, inscribed on two of the folios with plant illustrations is the Muslim name ‘Abd al-Jabbar b. ‘Ali.⁷ Bihnam's religious identity points to a collaboration between Christian and Muslim that helps to indicate a broader context in which artistic syncretism occurred.

L K

1. See Sadek 1983, pp. 7–13; Saliba 1987, pp. 374–75.
2. The other three are Istanbul, Ayasofya no. 3704; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. arab.

2954; Oxford, Bodleian Ms. Arab. d. 138; illustrated in Grube 1959, figs. 6, 8, and 9, respectively. For the Bodleian manuscript, see cat. no. 289.

3. For example, R. Ettinghausen 1955, p. 75; Weitzmann, “Book Illuminations,” 1975, pp. 38–39; Hoffman 1993, p. 8.
4. Hoffman 1993, pp. 8–9.
5. On this general subject, see *ibid.*, pp. 6ff.
6. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. arabe 4947. First noted by Sadek (1983, p. 17), who misread the word “al-Masihī” (the Christian) for “al-Mawsili” (of Mosul, a city in northern Mesopotamia). Bihnam does sign himself “al-Mawsili” in the Istanbul manuscript. The two epithets are not mutually exclusive. I am grateful to George Saliba for the information on the correct reading of Bihnam's name in the Paris manuscript.
7. R. Ettinghausen 1962, p. 74.

LITERATURE: Ünver 1944, figs. 5–8; R. Ettinghausen 1955, p. 119, pls. IVb, v; Grube 1959, p. 178; R. Ettinghausen 1962, pp. 67–74; Weitzmann, “Book Illuminations,” 1975, pp. 38–39, fig. 35; Sadek 1983, pp. 17, 44–47; Rogers et al. 1986, pp. 31–32, figs. 16–19; Hoffman 1993, pp. 7ff., figs. 1, 9.

289. *De materia medica* by Dioskorides

Copied by al-Hasan b. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Nashawi
Islamic (Mesopotamia, Baghdad), 1240 (A.H. 637)
Ink and opaque watercolor on paper
24.6 × 17.2 cm (9¾ × 6¾ in.)
The Curators of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, England (Ms. Arab. d. 138)

According to its colophon (fol. 210r), this manuscript was copied in al-Madrassa al-Nizamiyya, most likely the theological college of that name in Baghdad.¹ The present volume includes *maqalas* (treatises) 3, 4, and 5 (*maqalas* 1 and 2 may have been bound in a separate volume). *Maqala* 3 is preceded by

an author portrait of Dioskorides, which has been partially effaced (particularly in the head) and then restored. It nonetheless appears that this illustration of the Greek physician and pharmacologist (active ca. A.D. 65) was based on a Middle Byzantine evangelist's portrait. Although *maqala* 5 is without illustrations, *maqalas* 3 and 4 have depictions of plants on nearly every page.

This folio and the facing page discuss and illustrate *Silene inflata*, or *khushkhash* (fol. 115v), and henbane, or *binj* (fol. 116r). As noted in the accompanying text, the dried *khushkhash* fruit, when mixed with a liquid, was a purgative that was thought to be beneficial for the eyes. The text also states that the best type of *binj*, which was used as a painkiller, has a white flower and grows close to the sea. The *binj*'s seeds, stem, and leaves were pulverized and left to dry in the sun. To prevent spoilage, this material was mixed with flour to form something like tablets.

These illustrations, like others in the manuscript, emphasize the distinguishing characteristics of each plant. Such botanical representations—which suggest that the artist was not concerned with producing a realistic likeness of the plant but aimed instead for an approximation—are typical of the majority of extant Arabic Dioskorides manuscripts. In contrast, the representations of plants in Byzantine Dioskorides manuscripts exhibit far greater and more consistent naturalism.

L K

1. *EL*, vol. 5, pp. 1126–27.

LITERATURE: Grube 1959, p. 179, fig. 9.

EXHIBITIONS: Oxford 1972, no. 2; London, *Arts*, 1976, no. 522.



BYZANTINE ART AND THE LATIN WEST

WILLIAM D. WIXOM

This survey is divided into three sections. In the first, Byzantine objects known to have been in the Latin West from the mid-ninth century to 1261—the period covered in the exhibition—are grouped by the century of their probable arrival in their new home; the second is concerned with Byzantine iconographies that appear to have been taken over partially or entirely by Western artists; and the third focuses on possible Byzantine stylistic influences as well as on parallel developments in style.

The high esteem in the West for the art produced in the Byzantine capital at Constantinople is documented by various texts, the most famous of which is a statement by Suger (1081–1151), abbot of Saint-Denis (see cat. no. 296), and by the evidence of actual objects, some now lost. C. R. Dodwell has recently marshaled much of the documentary evidence, using selected Latin sources in Germany, Lotharingia, Italy, and Britain,¹ including illustrated manuscripts, metalwork, enameled reliquaries, ivory icons, gems, and silk textiles and vestments. Early on, many of these works of art came to the West as diplomatic gifts, others were purchased or commissioned in Constantinople, and some were acquired by travelers at transfer locations such as Rome and Pavia. Just before the period under discussion, Popes Leo III (r. 795–816) and Pascal I (r. 817–24) gave to churches in Rome and Ravenna numerous Byzantine-style figured silks that may have been made by Greeks fleeing the Iconoclasm of Byzantium itself.² With the sack of Constantinople in 1204, additional objects—many now lost—came to the West as loot.³

This transfer of cultural works occurred against a background of individuals on the move: imperial diplomatic emissaries, kings, princes, high and low ecclesiastics, scholars, artists, and traders, as well as the marauding armies of the Crusades, all of whom traveled the often two-way routes between the Latin West and Byzantium and the Holy Land.⁴ Byzantine hegemony extended westward once more when the empire regained the southernmost part of the Italian

peninsula and the eastern part of Sicily. Byzantine religious and cultural forces were subsequently combined with European ones in the hybrid kingdom of Norman Sicily. Before this, diplomatic and political contact had reached a pinnacle, from the Western point of view, with the marriage in 972 of Theophano, a lesser Byzantine princess and niece of the emperor John I Tzimiskes, to the German prince who later became Emperor Otto II (see cat. no. 337).⁵ Byzantine ecclesiastical and court ceremonies and rich vestments and interiors dazzled Western travelers. Emulation must have come easily at the courts of Otto II and Theophano and at those of their successors, as well as in Norman Sicily. The histories of Byzantine objects that came to the Latin West during the Middle Byzantine period are occasionally connected to such high-level contacts and events.

NINTH CENTURY

Prestigious transfers were well under way at this time. Just after the mid-ninth century, Emperor Michael III (r. 842–67) sent an illustrated Gospel book to Pope Benedict III (r. 855–58) that was described as having been illustrated “by the hand of the monk Lazarus who was highly skilled in the art of painting” and bound “in purest gold and decorated with a variety of precious stones.”⁶ The Byzantine textile cover on Saint Remi’s cushion (preserved in Reims), probably dating to the ninth century if not earlier, was embellished further by the embroidery of Alphéide, the sister of Charles the Bald (823–877), on the occasion of the translation of the saint’s relics by Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, in 852.⁷ A Byzantine ninth-century textile was placed in the tomb of Saint Cuthbert in 883.⁸ A bishop of Cambrai was presented with unspecified fine Byzantine ivories, also in the ninth century.⁹

TENTH CENTURY

The miniature ivory or steatite icons carved in relief beginning in the second half of the tenth century, and still preserved, dramatically demonstrate Western admiration for the authority and artistry of imports from Byzantium, even though their original functions seem not to have been understood.

Apse and central dome mosaics. Byzantine and Venetian, 12th century and later, Basilica of San Marco, Venice. Photo: Bruce White



Roger II Crowned by Christ. Mosaic, Byzantine, 1146/47–51, Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio (the Martorana), Palermo. Photo: Bruce White

Two late-tenth-century Byzantine ivories depicting the Koimesis were incorporated into Western book covers that were contemporary with the Reichenau manuscripts they protect.¹⁰ A fine tenth-century Byzantine heliotrope or bloodstone cameo of Saint John the Baptist adorns the upper border of one of these covers.¹¹ When Charlemagne's tomb in Aachen was opened in the year 1000 by Otto III, an exotic late-tenth-century Byzantine elephant-patterned silk was placed in it.¹² The Byzantine steatite icon known as the Lukasmadonna—formerly in the Treasury of Aachen—probably was carved shortly before it, too, was apparently added to Charlemagne's tomb by Otto III.¹³ A textile decorated with lions and bearing an inscription that refers to Basil II (r. 976–1025) and Constantine VIII (r. 1025–28) was used in the tomb of Heribert (970–1002), archbishop of Cologne and an intimate of Otto III.¹⁴ The tenth century also witnessed the spread of Byzantine art as far as the southern end of the Italian peninsula, where the execution of wall paintings described as purely Byzantine in style resulted from the migration of Byzantine members of the Order of Saint Basil, who had fled the Iconoclasts.¹⁵

ELEVENTH CENTURY

The adaptation of Byzantine ivories and hard-stone cameos for Western purposes continued in the eleventh century.¹⁶ Examples include the four ivories with arched tops from a late-tenth-century iconostasis beam with standing figures of Christ, the Virgin Hagiosoritissa, and two apostles that were used as the front and back covers of the Gradual of Holy Roman Emperor Henry II (r. 1014–24) and his wife, Kunigunde;¹⁷ the manuscript pages were made to conform to the rounded tops of the ivories. Another example, illustrating the Deesis, is set into the cover (ca. 1000–1010) of the “Precious” Gospels in the Treasury of Hildesheim (cat. no. 305). Occasionally, Western inscriptions were added to these Byzantine ivories (see cat. nos. 307, 323, 329). According to contemporary Latin sources, a number of gold and silver vessels and other secular and liturgical works—some of them gifts—came to the Latin West at this time,¹⁸ but how these objects were utilized is not known. In addition, we have the account of Anna Komnene (1083–1153) concerning the gifts that her father, Emperor Alexios I (r. 1081–1118), gave to Henry IV of Germany (r. 1056–1105). Among these were “a gold pectoral cross with pearls; a reliquary inlaid with gold containing fragments of various saints, identified in each case by a small label; a cup of sardonyx and a crystal goblet.” Promised gifts included 144,000 pieces of gold and “one hundred purple cloths of silk.”¹⁹

Evidence of Byzantine manuscript painting in the Latin West during the eleventh century is sparse but significant. A Byzantine artist completed the head and hands of Christ in the Gospel book produced for Emperor Henry III in Echternach between 1043 and 1046.²⁰ An illustrated Constantinopolitan psalter of about 1077 was commissioned for the Sankt Gereonskirche in Cologne, built by Archbishop Anno and consecrated in 1069.²¹

Byzantine figured silks continued to appear in the Latin West in the eleventh century. The most spectacular is the huge eagle-patterned silk given in 1030 by Archbishop Hugh of Châlons in honor of Saint Germain of Auxerre (d. 448) to wrap the saint's remains (cat. no. 149). A second important figured textile is the silk fragment found in the tomb of Saint Edward the Confessor, king of England (r. 1042–66); while it is neither clearly Byzantine nor Islamic, it is representative of Constantinopolitan textiles that were brought to the Latin West at this time.²² A third major figured silk, probably woven in honor of the triumph of Basil II over the Bulgars in 1014–18, was found in the tomb of Bishop Gunther (d. 1065) in the Cathedral of Bamberg.²³

The contacts between the Greek East and the Italian peninsula in this period were important not only because of Byzantine hegemony over Apulia, Calabria, and Venice but also because of the widespread admiration for Byzantine artistry and craftsmanship. This is reflected most significantly



The Last Judgment. Mosaic, Byzantine, late 11th century, Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello. Photo: Bruce White

in the commissions in the second half of the eleventh century for sets of bronze church doors ordered from foundries in Constantinople by powerful Westerners, especially members of the Pantaleoni family of Amalfi.²⁴ Many individual panels on these doors are notable for their engraved and inlaid imagery, which was primarily biblical and presented in the symbolic context of the Gates of Paradise. Toward the end of the century Byzantine mosaicists had begun working in Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello (see cat. no. 293), and in San Marco, Venice (see illus. on p. 434). The fine mid-eleventh-century frescoes in the Cathedral of Saint Sophia at Ohrid, on the western, Slavic edge of the Byzantine Empire, may have been seen by Western travelers and possibly by members of the First Crusade led by Count Raymond of Toulouse and Bishop Adémar of Le Puy as they moved down the Illyrian

coast and headed east to Constantinople in 1097, and it is not unlikely that the frescoes reflect the painting style prevalent in the capital.²⁵

TWELFTH CENTURY

It has been impossible until now to identify any preserved Middle Byzantine icons painted on panel prior to about 1100 that were transferred to the Latin West. In fact, only two are known: a Virgin of the Paraklesis type, probably dating to the late eleventh or early twelfth century, which was given by Frederick Barbarossa (ca. 1122–1190) to the Cathedral of Spoleto in 1185,²⁶ and a Virgin of the Hagiosoritissa type (see p. 441). Surely other paintings of this kind began to reach the West at the same time. For example, a twelfth-century Calabrian

abbot was described as having received gifts for his church from the Byzantine emperor and empress that included not only sacred vessels, costly vestments, and books but also images that perhaps were painted icons.²⁷ However, a magnificently painted box with images of saints, similar to an icon and made as a reliquary for the True Cross, does still exist (cat. no. 35). This rare Constantinopolitan work of the second half of the tenth century, from the Sancta Sanctorum, has been referred to as a diplomatic gift because it seems to fit the description by John Diakonos in the twelfth-century inventory compiled for Pope Alexander III (r. 1159–81).²⁸

Monumental murals in Norman Sicily in the form of mosaics dating from the mid-twelfth century, such as those in the Cathedral of Cefalù,²⁹ the Cappella Palatina,³⁰ and Santa Maria dell'Amiraglio (the Martorana; see *illus.* on pp. 32 and 436)³¹ in Palermo, as well as the mosaics of about 1180–90 in the Cathedral of Monreale (see *illus.* opposite),³² represent a major invasion — however encouraged and adapted — of the finest Byzantine techniques, styles, compositions, and iconographies. While competing directly against the Byzantine emperors in conquest, King Roger II (1095–1154), his son William I (1120–1166), and Roger's grandson William II (1154–1189) nevertheless admired and emulated the Byzantines both in court ceremonies and in the decoration of their churches, especially in the vast expanses and extensive cycles of mosaics. In addition to importing Greek mosaicists, they brought Byzantine silk weavers to Sicily, where they set up their own workshops and produced fabrics that not only resembled Byzantine patterned silks but matched them in quality (see cat. no. 344).

The other important locale in the West where Greek mosaicists worked on walls, vaults, and dome interiors was evidenced by the continuing work in the Veneto: in Torcello, Murano, and Venice. The present Basilica of San Marco, begun about 1063 and completed about 1084, the third on its site, was the envelope for an amazing series of mosaics (see *illus.* on p. 434). Beginning with the apse mosaic and its monumental early-twelfth-century figures of Saints Nicholas, Peter, Mark, and Hermagoras, the decoration includes the mosaics of about 1180–1200 in the central dome and west vault.³³ In contrast to the relative stylistic restraint of many of these mosaic murals in Sicily and the Veneto, a new, highly expressive, even emotional style characterizes the frescoes of about 1164 that depict the Descent from the Cross and the Lamentation (Threnos) in the Church of Saint Panteleimon, Nerezi, on the western border of Byzantium.³⁴

While none of the Middle Byzantine illuminated manuscripts found in European libraries today appears to have been brought to the Latin West during the twelfth century, two important manuscripts could have been conveyors of Byzantine iconography, compositions, and style. The first is the “Crusader” Queen Melisende's Psalter (see cat. no. 259 and

illus. on p. 391), made in Jerusalem between 1131 and 1143, which was apparently in France by the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.³⁵ The second, a profusely illustrated version of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes of about 1150, attributed to the Norman scriptorium in Palermo (see cat. no. 338 and *illus.* on pp. 6–19), contains miniatures in both purely Byzantine and Western styles while also reflecting Islamic elements.³⁶

According to the monk Robert of Torigni, of Bec, Matilda (1156–1189), daughter of Henry II Plantagenet (1133–1189) and wife of Duke Henry the Lion (1129/30–1195), gave the church of Bec Abbey in Normandy “many gifts, most precious alike from their material and workmanship, which she had obtained at great cost, from Constantinople.”³⁷ Her husband returned from the Holy Land and Constantinople in 1173 with relics and reliquaries, which he contributed to the Treasury of the Burgkirche of Saint Blaise in Braunschweig (the “Guelph Treasure”).³⁸ The two small enameled Byzantine triptychs, dated to the eleventh century, at the center of the Stavelot Triptych (cat. no. 301) also may have been brought from Constantinople in this way, after the mission there of Abbot Wibald of Stavelot (1130–58) in the winter of 1155–56. We are not certain how the diminutive pectoral cross associated with Queen Dagmar (d. 1212; cat. no. 335) reached Denmark. Proposals for the time of arrival in Aachen of the magnificent silver artophorion from the late tenth century (cat. no. 300) have ranged from that period to sometime between 1100 and the 1160s.³⁹

Occasionally, when objects bear connections with Western monarchs or heads of state, their dates of entry into the West are more certain. The enameled enkolpion (cat. no. 333) found in the grave of the Hungarian king Béla III (r. 1172–96) may have been a gift from Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80). The silver-gilt Beszterec holy water vessel (cat. no. 299) may have been made by Byzantine craftsmen in Hungary at this time. The far grander staurotheke from Esztergom (cat. no. 40) is the most significant Byzantine enameled object to have been imported into Central Europe either contemporaneously or about 1190, possibly also as the gift of one of the Komnenian emperors. The nearly overwhelming array of enamels on the Pala d'Oro in San Marco, Venice, and their uncertain history present special problems. A few of the smaller enamels may derive from the silver altar frontal (antependium) commissioned from Constantinople by Pietro I Orseolo (doge 976–78). The first major importation of Byzantine enamels into Venice, however, came as part of the gold altarpiece ordered in 1105 by Ordelafo Falier (doge 1102–18), which forms the core of the Pala d'Oro as we know it today.⁴⁰

Little is preserved in present-day France other than textiles and written sources concerning relations with and imports from the Byzantine Church from the end of the eleventh century through the twelfth. The monasteries at Cluny,⁴¹ Moissac,⁴² and Grandmont,⁴³ for example, maintained direct



Apse and crossing mosaics. Byzantine, 1180–90, Monreale Cathedral, Sicily. Photo: Bruce White



Cover of the Reliquary of the Stone of the Holy Sepulchre. Silver gilt, Constantinople, 1150–1200. Musée du Louvre, Paris

relations with their counterparts in Byzantium and the Holy Land. The silk shroud of Saint Siviard (cat. no. 150) may have come to Sens in this way, but it is far from certain. Silks continued to be sought by emperors, kings, and princes of the Church throughout the West.⁴⁴

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

If extant works are reliable indicators, imports from the East continued at an equal if not intensified pace in the thirteenth century. The *Melisende Psalter* (cat. no. 259), as already mentioned, was in France as early as the late twelfth or the early thirteenth century. Another illuminated manuscript that came from a Latin (or Crusader) state in the East is a Gospel book that possibly was created in southern Greece during the second quarter of the thirteenth century and very likely acquired after 1230 by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln; the book was left to the Franciscans in Oxford after Grosseteste's death in 1253.⁴⁵ A Byzantine icon of the Hagiosoritissa type, originally painted about 1100, probably reached the West in the mid-thirteenth century (it is now in the Diözesanmuseum, Freising).⁴⁶

The earliest reference to any of the Byzantine objects brought to Venice after the Crusader's looting of Constantinople in 1204 is to the silver-gilt reliquary of Saint Marina (cat. no. 332), probably commissioned in Constantinople early in the thirteenth century, a few years after the sack. Valuable as it is, the 1325 inventory of the Treasury of San Marco provides no clues as to when the booty arrived in Venice or when the several distinguished marble reliefs from the Greek East were transferred there to be set up in the interior and on the facade of San Marco.⁴⁷ A Constantinopolitan icon relief of the Virgin Orans from the mid- to late twelfth century (cat. no. 291) came to Messina possibly in the thirteenth century.⁴⁸

Not all of the looted precious materials taken from Constantinople to the Latin West are undocumented with respect to the manner and date of their arrival. The magnificent mid-twelfth-century silver-gilt paten (cat. no. 30) and possibly the enameled enkolpion of about 1000 (cat. no. 108) with Saints Demetrios and Nestor were among a number of important reliquaries and other works given to the Cathedral of Halberstadt by Konrad von Krosigk, bishop of that city from 1202 to 1208.⁴⁹ The enameled enkolpion from Maastricht (cat. no. 113) was taken from Constantinople by an anonymous cleric in 1206.⁵⁰ The small staurotheke formerly in Maastricht and now in the Vatican has a similar history.⁵¹ The ivory casket from Troyes (cat. no. 141) with equestrian emperors and hunters was removed from Constantinople a little after 1204 by Jean Langlois, chaplain to Garnier de Trainel of Troyes, and a dozen of the bishops of the Fourth Crusade in charge of relics.⁵² A small silver-and-silver-gilt reliquary of the

True Cross presumably was taken in 1205 by Vuibert, chaplain to Alleaume de Fontaines, lord of Longpré (also a member of the Fourth Crusade), to Longpré-les-Corps-Saints (Somme), where it resides today in the treasury of the parish church.⁵³ Far more imposing is the beautiful silver-gilt inscribed plaque that was a sliding cover for the reliquary of the Stone of the Holy Sepulchre in the Louvre.⁵⁴ The embossed decoration on the upper surface of this twelfth-century Constantinopolitan masterpiece represents the Holy Women at the Tomb, with the angel announcing that Christ has risen (Matt. 28:6), while the lower surface bears a cross ornamented with simulated gems and leafy decoration extending from the base of the cross; the rest of the reliquary is missing. Probably among the collection of reliquaries of the Passion removed from Constantinople in 1204, this fine work arrived in Paris only in 1241, when it became part of the collection of the Sainte-Chapelle of Saint Louis (Louis IX). The rendering of the draperies, employing the system of thin folds with alternating and overlapping curves, is reminiscent of that seen in mid-eleventh-century Byzantine works,⁵⁵ while the dramatic spacing and the arrangement of the figures in a stark setting recall mid-twelfth-century Byzantine style.⁵⁶ The famous tenth-century enameled staurotheke now in Limburg an der Lahn was



Detail of a cruciform staurotheke. Gold, silver gilt, and cloisonné enamel: Byzantine, 11th century; metalwork surrounds: Hungarian, 1225–50 and later. Monastic Treasury, Vyšší Brod (Hohenfurth), Czech Republic

removed from Constantinople by Heinrich von Ulmen in 1207 and given to the Convent of Saint Nicholas at Stuben, near Trier.⁵⁷

Not all the important extant Byzantine works that came to the Latin West in the thirteenth century are associated with the conquest of 1204. There is, for example, the ninth-century Fieschi Morgan Stauotheke (cat. no. 34), which is thought to have belonged to Pope Innocent IV (Sinibaldo Fieschi; r. 1243–54). Another such example is the eleventh-century reliquary casket for the head of Saint Praxedes, fashioned of silver and cloisonné enamel on gold, formerly in the Sancta Sanctorum.⁵⁸

As in earlier centuries, the date of arrival of some Byzantine objects in the Latin West, while not documented, can be roughly ascertained by the new contexts provided for them. This is true of the Lower Saxon thirteenth-century silver-gilt cover for the Gospels of Abbess Adelaide in Quedlinburg, which incorporates a late-tenth-century Constantinopolitan ivory illustrating four feast scenes.⁵⁹ The ivory may have come to the West during the Ottonian period because the manuscript itself is datable to 999–1002 and Adelaide, a daughter of Otto II and

Theophano, may have inherited the ivory from her parents. Another example whose setting offers a clue is the silver frame from Aachen-Burtscheid, made in Aachen about 1220 for the miniature mosaic icon of Saint Nicholas (cat. no. 306).⁶⁰

Fragments of Byzantine objects also were incorporated into Western ensembles.⁶¹ Two important crosses with double transverse arms — one, early-thirteenth-century Mosan and now in Namur⁶² and the other, Hungarian, from the second quarter of the thirteenth century (and later) and now in Vyšší Brod (see illus. on preceding page)⁶³ — contain remounted earlier Byzantine cloisonné medallions with busts of apostles and various saints. The enamels on the Vyšší Brod cross may have come to Hungary during the reign of King Béla III, the lunette-shaped ones perhaps originally pendants like the Metropolitan Museum's example (cat. no. 170). The later enamels on the Pala d'Oro⁶⁴ and the continued activity of Greek and Venetian mosaicists also reflect the predominance of Byzantine techniques and styles in the West at this time.⁶⁵

Nearly five centuries of Byzantine imports — the result of gifts, purchases, or thefts, in many instances recorded in early accounts — underscored by the numerous works still extant, make clear that Byzantium was increasingly regarded in the West with a mixture of awe, amazement, respect, competitiveness, envy, and covetousness. While the focus of these reactions was the perception of the wealth, ceremony, and opulence of the Byzantine capital and court,⁶⁶ of equal intensity was the desire for Christian relics from the Holy Land, most often translated through Byzantium. A corollary was the European acquisition of the precious containers for these relics (such as the staurothekai); icons of ivory, enamel, and mosaic; and liturgical objects of gold, silver, and enamel. Western demand also brought Byzantine patterned silks to Europe, the largest serving as shrouds for secular and ecclesiastical princes, while others were utilized to wrap both Eastern and Western relics. The bronze-casting workshops of Constantinople were commissioned to produce elaborate doors with figured panels for churches in southern Italy, Rome, and Venice.

SOME QUESTIONS

A crucial question is whether these imports, collectively or individually, had any impact on the arts of the Latin West. Not all Byzantine works that came to the West are preserved, and we know little about the reporting role of traveling ecclesiastics, merchants, artists, and Crusaders. What was their firsthand understanding of the art of the Byzantine capital or of the reflections of this art in other locations, as in the frescoes of Nerezi and the mosaics of Norman Sicily? Did the art of Byzantium as a whole, during the middle centuries, have a demonstrable influence on the West and, if so, what was the nature of this influence over time? Was this influence in the



Samson. Bronze door panel, Augsburg, early 11th century, Augsburg Cathedral. Photo: Hirmer Verlag Munich



The Koimesis. Miniature from the Pericope Book, Reichenau, ca. 1000. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 84.5 Aug. 20, fol. 7v

realm of iconography and/or style? Can any review be more than hypothetical, sketchy, and speculative? Certainly, caution should be exercised not to confuse contact with lasting impact.⁶⁷

The exposure to Byzantine works in the Latin West surely could have been direct, even though there might have been a time lag. A specific question is whether the classicizing subjects and style of the Byzantine ivory rosette caskets, dating from the end of the tenth century (see cat. nos. 153–156), had a direct effect on two North Italian reliefs from the end of the twelfth century⁶⁸ and on several Rhenish silver-gilt caskets dating to about 1200.⁶⁹ The reliefs with an archer-centaur (a Sagittarius?) and Samson and the Lion on the early-eleventh-century bronze doors of the Cathedral of

Augsburg⁷⁰ possibly exemplify an influence without a time lag. However, the fighting men with shields, the archer, Samson and the Lion, and the archer-centaur on Barisanus of Trani's bronze doors for the cathedrals at Ravello (1179)⁷¹ and Monreale (1185–89),⁷² like the Rhenish caskets, represent an influence with a probable delay, depending on when the Byzantine caskets traveled westward.

The figured, gold-embroidered stole made at Winchester between 909 and 916, found in the coffin of Saint Cuthbert and preserved in the Treasury of Durham Cathedral, has been described as betraying “influences of Byzantium,”⁷³ perhaps a result of the availability of Byzantine figured silks in Pavia and Rome.⁷⁴ The drapery and figure style of the standing prophets



The Koimesis. Limestone, Strasbourg, ca. 1230, left tympanum of south transept, Strasbourg Cathedral. Photo: Hirmer Verlag Munich

depicted on the stole did not have to depend on Byzantine textiles but could have been based on earlier or contemporary fresco or mosaic murals in Rome.⁷⁵ Herein lies a continuing problem in trying to trace the most immediate origins of iconographies and styles in the Latin West that have been seen as Byzantine inspired.

ICONOGRAPHY

During the Ottonian period, recurring Byzantine iconographies seem to have emanated directly from almost contemporary Constantinopolitan works. The depiction of Christ's coronation of Emperor Henry III and Empress Agnes in the Gospel book produced for Henry in Echternach about 1050–56 and made for the Cathedral of Goslar was based on a purely Byzantine invention.⁷⁶ The difference in the Western coronation scene is that Henry and Agnes, with hands raised, bow in submission to Christ, whereas in the Byzantine models the sovereigns proudly face the viewer. Later, the theme of enthroned apostles facing each other in pairs and holding books or *rotuli*, as on the decorative frieze on the exterior of the Fritzlar chalice (cat. no. 297), seems to echo in part the iconographies of Byzantine and Georgian liturgical containers dating from two centuries earlier (see cat. nos. 33, 231).

Additional examples of iconographic dependence may be seen in some Western manuscript illustrations with compositions that echo scenes of the Great Feasts of the Byzantine Church. The earliest and most often cited instance is the illustration of the Koimesis in the Pericope Book (see illus. on preceding page), painted in Reichenau about 1000,⁷⁷ for which a Byzantine work, other than the ivory of the same subject on the cover of that very manuscript, must have served as a partial model.⁷⁸ The most developed Byzantine representations of the Koimesis appear in certain other images in manuscripts⁷⁹ and in ivory (cat. no. 101)⁸⁰ and steatite carvings (cat. no. 102). The iconography continued in later Byzantine periods, as on an enameled plaque from the eleventh century on the Pala d'Oro,⁸¹ the mosaic of about 1100 at Daphni,⁸² the fresco of 1105–6 at Asinou, by Greek artists working from 1146/47 to 1151 in Santa Maria dell'Amiraglio, Palermo;⁸³ and a panel from an iconostasis beam, dating to the end of the twelfth or the early thirteenth century, at the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai.⁸⁴ Variations by Western artists on this Byzantine subject and composition appeared in Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as at Monte Cassino (cat. no. 309); at Santa Maria in Grotta, Rongolise;⁸⁵ in Umbro-Roman manuscript illustration;⁸⁶ and in the Ranieri bronze door by Bonanus, of about 1180, at



Barisanus of Trani. The Anastasis. Bronze door panel, 1179, west portal, Ravello Cathedral. Photo: Hirmer Verlag Munich

the Cathedral of Pisa.⁸⁷ Variants of the Koimesis iconography also are found in Regensburg manuscripts of the second and third quarters of the twelfth century,⁸⁸ a Salzburg antiphony of about 1160,⁸⁹ a Weingarten missal of about 1200–1232,⁹⁰ and on the tympanum, of about 1220–30, over the left door of the south transept of Strasbourg Cathedral.⁹¹ A prime example in Britain was the Winchester Psalter of about 1145–55 (cat. no. 312). The same Byzantine subject and composition are found in the works produced at the Crusader art centers in Jerusalem (see cat. no. 259), Cyprus,⁹² and Acre.⁹³

Other Byzantine feast scenes seem to have had a following in the Latin West as well, foremost among them being the Anastasis (Christ's Descent into Hell), well known from the Byzantine mosaic of about 1020 at Hosios Loukas⁹⁴ and from one of about 1100 at Daphni;⁹⁵ for examples of other such scenes included here, see catalogue numbers 34, 60, 63, 68, 74, 91, 93, and 115. Of special interest in the Latin West were the panel with the Anastasis on the bronze doors ordered from Constantinople in 1070 for San Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome,⁹⁶ and the two enameled plaques from the

eleventh or early twelfth century on the Pala d'Oro.⁹⁷ The subject is also found in Crusader works (see cat. no. 259).⁹⁸

Key elements of the Anastasis occurred in the art of the Latin West over a period of four centuries. Examples include the Benedictional of Saint Ethelwold, Winchester, of 963–84;⁹⁹ the Exultet Roll (cat. no. 308) probably made in Benevento between 981 and 987; the Exultet Roll executed in Bari about 1000;¹⁰⁰ the panel by Barisanus of Trani on the bronze doors of 1179 at Ravello;¹⁰¹ the late-eleventh-century mosaic of the Last Judgment in Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello (see illus. on p. 437);¹⁰² the mosaic of about 1180–1200 in the west vault of the central dome of San Marco (see illus. on p. 434);¹⁰³ the Getty New Testament, of about 1200 (cat. no. 47); a panel on the early-thirteenth-century bronze doors of the Cathedral of Benevento (Campania);¹⁰⁴ the Exultet Roll in Salerno made in Campania during the first half of the thirteenth century;¹⁰⁵ and the three leaves of the Wolfenbüttel "Model Book" (cat. no. 319), of about 1230–40, which has been attributed to Saxony or Venice.

Representations of a number of other Byzantine feast scenes, such as the Baptism of Christ, continued to prevail in the Latin West. Among the many Byzantine examples are the Constantinopolitan ivory icon of about 970 affixed to the cover of the Gospels of Abbess Adelaide at Quedlinburg; the panel on the Constantinopolitan bronze doors of 1070 at San Paolo fuori le Mura; and a twelfth-century enameled plaque on the Pala d'Oro.¹⁰⁶ Close variants appeared—roughly chronologically—in the West in Amalfi,¹⁰⁷ Swabia,¹⁰⁸ Benevento,¹⁰⁹ and Saxony-Thuringia.¹¹⁰

Similarly, it is possible to trace the iconographies of several other feast scenes and related subjects from the Greek East to the Latin West: Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles,¹¹¹ the Last Supper (cat. no. 28),¹¹² the Agony in the Garden (cat. no. 319),¹¹³ the Descent from the Cross (cat. nos. 92, 100, 252, 322B),¹¹⁴ the Lamentation (cat. nos. 319, 322C),¹¹⁵ the Ascension of Christ (cat. nos. 62, 98),¹¹⁶ and the Transfiguration (cat. nos. 67, 77, 91, 248, 319, 328).¹¹⁷

As Kurt Weitzmann noted,¹¹⁸ it must be understood that these iconographies and compositions, which originated in Byzantine sources and were adapted in the Latin West, generally are confined to individual scenes within larger cycles. Byzantine iconographies must have been received selectively, since the rest of the scenes in Western cycles were based on compositions that had evolved wholly in the West. Style usually was not part of the adaptive process. According to Weitzmann, the appeal for the West was in the "ceremonial dignity" and "iconic quality" of the feast pictures in particular. "These, in the course of a long tradition, had acquired certain dogmatic and liturgical overtones and expressed them visually in such balanced and harmonious compositions that they assumed a kind of canonicity."¹¹⁹ Underlying these suppositions is the question of transmission. Only rarely are the



The Tree of Jesse and the Virgin and Child. Illustration from Saint Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah, Cîteaux, ca. 1115–25. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 129, fol. 4v. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, New York

avenues of influence absolutely clear; proof is elusive.¹²⁰ However, the role of motif books provides important avenues for speculation (see cat. nos. 318, 319).

STYLE

A more difficult situation exists with regard to style. Most of the Byzantine stylistic features observable in Late Carolingian and Ottonian art seem to derive from pre-Iconoclastic sources that were most likely available in Ravenna, Milan, and Rome. A key exception is in the realm of Ottonian ivory carving: the figures on three late-tenth-century book-cover plaques (see, for example, cat. no. 324)¹²¹—their proportions, frontal poses, bearded facial types, and sharply pleated draperies with angular edges—clearly depend on those seen on roughly contemporary Byzantine ivory icons, several of which, as we have observed, were known in the West by the late tenth or the early eleventh century.¹²² The key stylistic comparisons for these Ottonian reliefs are such Byzantine ivories with standing apostles as catalogue numbers 89A,B

and 90. Another example of contemporary influence is suggested by a comparison of the Troyes Casket (cat. no. 141) with certain Ottonian manuscripts—in particular, with the phoenixlike birds in the backgrounds of the images of the saints in the Egbert Psalter of about 980 and the equestrian figures in the Bamberg Apocalypse of about 1020.¹²³

During what is commonly regarded as the Romanesque period in the Latin West—the late eleventh through the twelfth century—there was a perceptible, growing, and eventually widespread artistic movement, in painting especially, toward an organic conception of the human form that emphasized well-articulated figures, well-modeled physiognomic types, and a vivid delineation of drapery, which included groups of angular, parallel, sweeping, and clinging folds that occasionally spread to reveal the underlying figural masses (so-called damp folds).¹²⁴ Wilhelm Koehler long ago provided a vivid stylistic analysis of such developments in both fresco and monumental painting in Burgundy (Berzé-la-Ville and Cluny; see cat. no. 311); Cîteaux; Saint-Armand, near Valenciennes; Canterbury (see illus. opposite); Winchester (cat. no. 312); Salzburg; and Rome.¹²⁵ Koehler also cited a related trend in sculpture, as seen on the central tympanum at Vézelay and the Royal Portal at Chartres.¹²⁶ He regarded Byzantine art of the eleventh century as the source for this style,¹²⁷ a hypothesis that has been extended and refined by others.¹²⁸

Weitzmann suggested that Crusader manuscripts may have been a catalyst in the spread of the Byzantine style,¹²⁹ although it is clear that they were predated by developments at Cluny. The problem of the initial transmission of the Byzantine style to the Latin West remains an open question because during the period covered by this exhibition only two manuscripts with Byzantine miniatures were recorded as in Western possession.¹³⁰ It is very possible that the impetus may have come from the many ivory icons and figured textiles that were already in the Latin West by the late tenth and the eleventh century. Late-twelfth- and thirteenth-century drawings in the form of pages from sketchbooks or motif books (cat. nos. 50, 318, 319) also may have been a means of transmission of Byzantine styles (as well as iconographies).¹³¹ While certain elements of Byzantine physiognomies, treatment of hair and beards, drapery folds, and costumes may be detected in twelfth-century Northern European manuscript illustrations produced in Salzburg, Regensburg, and Saxony (especially Helmarshausen),¹³² variations of these details also may be seen in works produced on the Italian peninsula during this period—as, for example, in Venice (Porta Maggiore)¹³³ and Amalfi (compare cat. nos. 91, 105, 326, 327). Weitzmann attributed the admiration for and adaptation of a Byzantine stylistic vocabulary by the Latin West to “Byzantium’s high standards of technical perfection” and its preservation of the classical tradition, as well as to the uplifting beauty and quality of its iconic art.¹³⁴



Saint Paul and the Viper. Fresco, Canterbury, ca. 1163, Saint Anselm's Chapel, Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury. Photo: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, London



Crucifix with scenes from the Passion. Tempera and gold on wood, Pisa, ca. 1230–40. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Fund (95.5)

It is clear that the Byzantine style in art was not static in the Late Komnenian period (the later twelfth century). One reason was that Byzantine art was constantly renewing itself while upholding time-honored iconographies. As underscored by Ernst Kitzinger, this art was “perpetually nourished and reinvigorated by Byzantium’s Greco-Roman heritage,” especially eloquent in figures “in lively action, in three-dimensional corporeality, and in spatial settings.”¹³⁵ Thus, in the last decades of the twelfth century, Byzantine art entered a dynamic, somewhat linear phase, as demonstrated by the wall paintings of about 1164 at Nerezi,¹³⁶ some of the mosaics of 1180–90 at Monreale (see illus. on p. 439),¹³⁷ and the wall paintings of the 1190s at Kurbinovo,¹³⁸ whose agitated mannerism is also seen in the Annunciation icon from Mount Sinai (cat. no. 246).

This stylistic phase was followed by one in which a “new simplicity and calm monumentality of form and expression”¹³⁹ were emphasized, as in the wall painting of Saint John in the Church of the Virgin at Studenica.¹⁴⁰

Because a somewhat related movement occurred in the Latin West, the question arises as to the extent of Byzantine influence, or whether the phenomenon can be explained better in terms of parallelism.¹⁴¹ In any case, examples of an early linear, dynamic phase in the Latin West include the historiated initials by the Master of the Leaping Figures in the Winchester Bible, from the third quarter of the twelfth century;¹⁴² the fresco of about 1163 of Saint Paul and the Viper, at Canterbury (see illus. on preceding page);¹⁴³ and a Salzburg pen drawing of about 1150–75 of Christ Pantokrator.¹⁴⁴ The next major development is seen in the champlevé-enamel

plaques by Nicholas of Verdun (active 1181–1205) from the former ambo of 1181 at Klosterneuberg.¹⁴⁵ Here, the dynamic phase paralleling the Byzantine style is apparent, although transformed by a new burst of creativity—without, however, a clear connection to Middle Byzantine art. All of the earlier iconographies and stylistic elements, including figures in motion characterized by contrapposto stances, dramatic gestures, and classicistic draperies, are so subsumed that Nicholas's personal and highly expressive style stands almost as a unique monument in the evolution of art in the Latin West.¹⁴⁶ Subsequent works by Nicholas—the Shrine of the Three Kings in Cologne¹⁴⁷ and the Shrine of the Virgin of 1205 in Tournai¹⁴⁸—reveal a more restrained and introspective classicism, which is echoed by a more generalized trend in the Latin West that led to the calm monumentality observed by Kitzinger¹⁴⁹ in certain miniatures in the Westminster Psalter¹⁵⁰ and the Psalter of Queen Ingeborg.¹⁵¹ The same spirit marks the miniatures of the so-called Gothic Master in the Winchester Bible,¹⁵² as well as the frescoes of the chapter house at Sigena (see cat. no. 294). While the hypothesis of Byzantine influence on the Sigena frescoes by way of the mosaics in Norman Sicily probably will be sustained, it is difficult to accept the notion of a stylistic influence from Byzantium on the other above-mentioned Western works. Indeed, if such an influence existed, it probably derived from Byzantine art of a much earlier period.¹⁵³

Often subtle and certainly hypothetical, the relationship between the Byzantine style and the style that evolved in the Latin West during the thirteenth century is further complicated by the uncertain role of the art of the Holy Land during the Crusader period. With regard to Italy, iconographic and stylistic developments in panel painting—in, for example, the so-called *vita* icons in the West—are exemplified by the imposing figure of Saint Nicholas and the scenes from his life

(cat. no. 320). Images of the Virgin and Child,¹⁵⁴ historiated painted crucifixes (see illus. opposite),¹⁵⁵ and altarpieces or tabernacles with Passion scenes (cat. no. 322),¹⁵⁶ painted in the so-called *maniera greca*, from the Tuscan and Umbrian regions of the Central Italian peninsula reveal a Western interpretation of Byzantine imagery as well as changes in function and patronage. While it remains unclear which Byzantine or Crusader painted icons were accessible to these Italian artists, Byzantine images and iconographies existed in abundance in the form of mosaics, frescoes, and figurative panels on bronze doors in Venice, Rome, Monte Cassino, Amalfi, Salerno, and Sicily. Byzantine conventions also were reflected in the continuing production of Beneventan illustrated manuscripts¹⁵⁷ and Umbro-Roman paintings.¹⁵⁸

The relationship between Byzantine styles and the art of Northern Europe is enigmatic in that the recurring classicism of Byzantine art could not have been the source of the classicism that was increasingly in evidence beginning with the late style of Nicholas of Verdun and the unknown artists of the Ingeborg Psalter. Kitzinger rightly underscored the interim steps leading from these Western works to the eloquent sculptures at the cathedrals of Laon, Chartres, and Reims.¹⁵⁹ Because Byzantium had no direct influence on this maturing Gothic art, its possible stylistic role in the development of Early Romanesque art, as discussed by Koehler, must have been almost completely assimilated by the thirteenth century. Even by the time of Nicholas's Klosterneuberg enamels of 1181, this role had been absorbed. In the thirteenth century the importance of Byzantium's influence on the creators of canonical images and iconographies was far more evident than its effect on style. Nowhere is this more apparent than on the tympanum with the Koimesis, of about 1230, above the south portal of the Cathedral of Strasbourg (see illus. on p. 444).¹⁶⁰



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290. Transenna Panel with Interlace Design

South Italian (Siponto), second quarter of 11th century
Marble

76.8 × 74.9 × 6 cm (30¼ × 29½ × 2⅜ in.)

CONDITION: The relief has been cut out of a larger panel, resulting in damage to the molding; there are two cracks at the top and bottom of the panel; several small areas of higher relief are broken off.

The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Mo.
Purchase: Nelson Trust (49-6)

Originally this marble panel and another, similarly carved panel probably constituted a single large rectangular piece that served as a chancel screen. Remains of such double panels, some with carvings identical to that on the Kansas City marble, are found at Monte Sant'Angelo in Apulia,¹ the location of a well-known fifth-century sanctuary and pilgrimage destination dedicated to Saint Michael, near the port of Siponto, which the Byzantines controlled from the late tenth to the late eleventh century.²

An almost identical panel was discovered in a truncated state, built into an eighteenth-century altar in the Church of Santa Maria di Siponto. Excavations have shown that the eleventh-century church was built on the site of what was probably the baptistery of a fifth-century basilica, the original

cathedral of Siponto.³ In 1022 Siponto and Monte Sant'Angelo were elevated to a joint archbishopric of the Latin Church under Leone, who in 1049 hosted a papal synod at Siponto.⁴ It seems likely that the Siponto church furnishings, including a pulpit and an episcopal chair, were made for the basilica, which is known to have still been standing at that time, though it suffered an earthquake in 991.⁵ The church furnishings are generally attributed to the sculptor Acceptus, whose name appears on a marble beam found at Siponto and who signed an episcopal chair at Monte Sant'Angelo dated 1041.⁶

The chancel panel's interlaced running meanders and starburst palmettes, possibly of apotropaic intent,⁷ are closely related to those on the first-century dome of the Hulda Gates in Jerusalem⁸ and to the patterns found in Early Christian church floor mosaics, including those at Siponto.⁹ These similarities suggest that the Kansas City panel represents an eleventh-century replacement of the cathedral's original chancel panels, which must have been damaged by the earthquake.

M L C

1. Salvatore 1980, pp. 444-49.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 437-39.
3. Serricchio 1986, pp. 80ff.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

5. *Ibid.*
6. Belli d'Elia and Garton 1975, pp. 58-67.
7. H. Maguire, "Magic and Geometry," 1994, pp. 265-74.
8. Bornstein 1986, no. 45; Turnheim 1994, pp. 118-25, fig. 1.
9. Moreno Cassano 1976, pp. 289-92. One of the Siponto mosaics has a running meander, simpler than the one on the marble panel.

LITERATURE: Stokstad 1977, no. 6; Brenk 1978, pp. 85-87, pl. 1; Bornstein 1986, pp. 285-92, fig. 38; Severin 1986, pp. 104-7, fig. 3.

EXHIBITION: Ann Arbor 1981, no. 45.

291. Icon with the Virgin Orans

Byzantine (Constantinople), mid- to late 12th century (relief); Italian (coats of arms)
Marble

181 × 108 cm (71¼ × 42½ in.)

INSCRIBED: MP ΘΥ (Mother of God)

CONDITION: Formerly broken into seven pieces, the icon is now reassembled; the fragment at the upper right, including part of the Virgin's halo, has been reconstructed.

Museo Regionale, Messina, Italy (20)

The large marble plaque shows the Virgin standing on a footstool. Represented in low relief, she is veiled and haloed and wears a *maphorion* that falls gracefully from her arms, which are raised in a gesture of prayer.

The palms of the Virgin's hands are pierced, as are those on several other surviving plaques of the Virgin similar in size and iconography. An almost identical plaque was found in the excavations of Saint George of Mangana in Constantinople and is now in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul. It was thought that the Virgin had once appeared in such a pose at the *hagiasma*, or holy-water spring, in the Blachernai Church in Constantinople, which adjoined the main imperial residence. Apparently, after the icon was placed in the church, water began to flow from the Virgin's hands. The popularity of this venerated image helps to explain its proliferation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Two coats of arms have been carved into the planar surface, just above the footstool. The heraldry is apparently a later, Western addition.

R O

LITERATURE: Kondakov 1915, vol. 2, pp. 89-90; Toesca 1927, p. 857; A. Grabar 1963; Lange 1964, pp. 66-67, pl. 15.





292

292. Transenna Panel

North Italian (Venice?), 10th–11th century
Marble

66 × 110 cm (26 × 43¼ in.)

CONDITION: The plaque is trimmed on three sides; the surface is abraded in a few spots.

Museo Marciana, Venice, Italy

Broad, grooved relief bands curve inward from the frame (preserved on one short side), interlacing in small circles that alternate with large quatrefoils in an overall pattern. The outer curves of the circles and quatrefoils form dodecagons with concave sides. Various floral and geometric elements fill both the interlace quatrefoils and the twelve-sided voids. With few exceptions, crosses and cruciform shapes appear in the quatrefoils. Greater diversity marks the decoration of the larger dodecagons, which enclose truncated fret patterns, crosses, stars, palmettes, rosettes, and other floral forms randomly distributed over the plaque.

The dense scheme of ornamentation brings to mind Early Christian chancel slabs, but in technique and layout the Venice plaque more closely resembles Middle Byzantine reliefs carved in Greece and in the East. The ninth- or tenth-century relief from Kavala (cat. no. 1), for example, bears a similar interlace of quatrefoils. Production in a Venetian workshop is more likely than the Greek origin proposed by Fulvio Zoliani.¹ The prominence of many decorative elements not common before the

tenth century, such as the star- and patera-shaped rosettes, confirms a Middle Byzantine date in the tenth or eleventh century.

J D A

1. Zoliani 1970, p. 126.

LITERATURE: Zoliani 1970.

EXHIBITION: Milan 1990, no. 109, pp. 274–75.

293. Two Mosaics from a Last Judgment Composition

A. Head of an Angel

North Italian (Venice region, Torcello), late 11th century

Mosaic (stone and glass tesserae)

31 × 24.6 cm (12¼ × 9¾ in.)

Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris, France (OA 6460)

B. Head of an Apostle

North Italian (Venice region, Torcello), late 11th century, with 12th- and 19th-century repairs

Mosaic (stone and glass tesserae)

47 × 36 cm (18½ × 14½ in.)

Private collection, New York, N.Y.

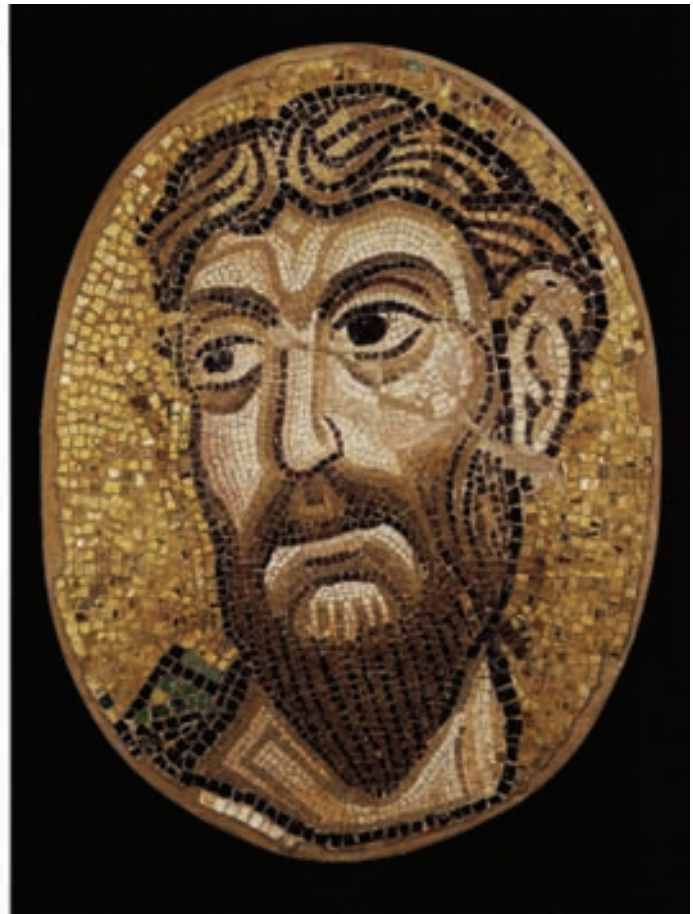
These two mosaic heads, as well as a third (see illus. at right), were part of a late-eleventh-century Last Judgment on the west wall of Torcello's Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta.¹ Despite drastic reworking of the three upper registers in the second half of the nineteenth

century (see illus. on p. 437), this ensemble includes Middle Byzantine wall mosaics of the highest quality; in style and technical execution they equal the panel of the empress Zoe in Hagia Sophia and the better parts of the decorations in Hosios Loukas and Daphni. The unsubtle but monumental format—comparable to the treatment of the Last Judgment in Byzantine icons and manuscripts—was imposed by the preexisting west wall.

The apostles, gathered as if in a court of judgment, sit on benches to the left and right of the central composition of Christ with the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist. Angels stand behind them as guards. Although the apostles lack inscribed names, they are so typical of contemporary Byzantine apostolic representations that most of them can be identified by their portraitlike features, their attributes, or both, in the Middle Byzantine canon. The present head belongs to one of the two bearded apostles whose type is ambiguous, either Bartholomew or James the Greater. Certainly he is not an evangelist or either of the two beardless apostles, Thomas and Philip. The modern copy of this head was wrongly placed at the far right, a position that belongs to Thomas or Philip in Byzantine iconography. Some art historians, unaware of the nineteenth-century change in the apostolic sequence, have misidentified this head as that of Philip (whose original head is now missing from the Torcello series).²



293A



293B

Each apostle's head is turned slightly to the left or the right, indicating interaction among them. Every asymmetrical face is an exercise in virtuosity. The materials are high-quality stone and glass paste in a wide range of colors, all found in contemporary mosaics. The relatively small pieces are carefully cut into squares and rectangles and occasionally triangles.

In the angel's face (A) the shadings are comparatively light; transitions between lit and shaded areas are softened by tapering rows that blend smoothly where they meet (at the cheeks and chin and around the neck). This sort of gradual transition is noticeable even in the more strongly structured face of the apostle (B), whose more prominent cheek is modeled by rows that gradually darken, not by an abruptly contrasting outline. The hair and beard are treated with the same care, combining alternating rows of darker and lighter shades. The more visible side of the head is emphasized by a contouring row of larger, dark tesserae, while the contour of the less visible side contains three differently colored row segments (red, amber olive, and almost black glass in the angels' faces). Similar subtlety is apparent in the eyelashes and eyebrows.³ The style of a single workshop is

evident throughout the west wall, but several mosaicists can be distinguished by their repertoire of features and choice of materials (the two angels pictured here, for example, are by two different craftsmen).

Mostly genuine, the three Torcello heads under discussion were detached surreptitiously in 1872–73.⁴ In the nineteenth century, after its removal from the wall, the apostle's head was given its present oval shape and gold background. All that survives of the apostle's original halo are three dull green glass tesserae on the lower left. The shinier green area adjoining them was reworked from remnants of the bench's finial. Two olive glass tesserae, on the lower right where the neckline and beard meet, indicate the contour and the color of the original mantle; below them four gray marble and two limestone tesserae are the mantle's only other remnants. On the left the hair once ended at the corner of the eye but was replaced by the new gold background. In the late twelfth century a repair was made to the right ear and to the hair and beard above and below it.

I A-T

1. Andreescu 1972, 1976, 1981; Cormack 1987.
2. Cormack 1987.



Head of an angel, Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello

3. Andreescu-Treadgold, *Corpus* (forthcoming).
4. Not by Moro, as Cormack believed (in Cormack 1987); see Andreescu-Treadgold, "The Real and the Fake" (forthcoming).

LITERATURE: Andreescu 1972, pp. 184–223; Andreescu 1976, pp. 247–341; Andreescu 1981, pp. 15–30; Cormack 1987; Andreescu-Treadgold, "The Real and the Fake" (forthcoming); Andreescu-Treadgold, *Corpus* (forthcoming).



294A

294. Three Ancestors of Christ

- A. Her
- B. Jesse
- C. King David

A Winchester artist
Spanish (Sigena), ca. 1190–1200
Fresco on plaster (transferred)
67 × 54 cm (26 3/8 × 21 1/4 in.)

INSCRIBED: Below the figure of Her, QUI • FUIT • HER (This was Her); the inscription below Jesse is illegible.

CONDITION: The discoloration is the result of fire damage.

PROVENANCE: Chapter House of the Convent of Santa Maria in Sigena (Huesca).

Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona, Spain (MNAC/MAC 8670††)

Located in Villanueva de Sigena, near Sariñena in northern Aragon, and founded in 1183 by Queen Doña Sancha of the royal house of Aragon,¹ the Convent of Sigena incorporated a large chapter house, whose glory was the great series of paintings of Old and New Testament scenes and of fifty-six busts of the

ancestors of Christ.² These paintings, severely damaged by fire in 1936, have been attributed to a migrant English artist whose style is closely related to that of the Winchester Psalter painters (cat. no 312), active about 1160–80.³ While certain byzantinizing details are shared with the Bible's historiated initials, other features at Sigena indicate direct and vivid yet sporadic references to some of the monumental images in the Siculo-Byzantine mosaics in Palermo: in Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio (the Martorana), of 1146/47–51, and in the Cappella Palatina, of about 1143, as well as in the Cathedral of Monreale, of about 1182.⁴

The creative adaptation of Byzantine classicism, which pervades many of the biblical figures at Sigena, is especially clear in the busts of the ancestors of Christ that decorated the undersides of the arches supporting the chapter house ceiling. Not only the physiognomic types and the three-quarter views of the busts but also the suggestion of introspection and the proportions recall many of the Siculo-Byzantine mosaics.⁵ The

Sigena busts convey a sense of composure and an imposing monumentality that also must have resulted from firsthand observation of the Palermo mosaics in particular. This Byzantine-inspired classicism at Sigena seems to anticipate the trend in this direction in English manuscript painting about 1200, as suggested by a comparison with the Westminster Psalter and the Saint Albans Gospels.⁶

The only more extensively preserved series of the ancestors of Christ is also English — namely, the contemporary stained-glass panels from the clerestory windows of Canterbury Cathedral.⁷ Many of these even more monumental representations also refer in part to Byzantine sources.⁸ The style of the so-called Methuselah Master has been seen as “closely allied” to the paintings at Sigena.⁹

When the Old and New Testament scenes in the spandrels and on the walls at Sigena are viewed together with the ancestors of Christ, a program of biblical history is made dramatically clear. This historical panorama was intended for the education and contemplation of the novices, the nuns, and both visiting and resident royalty.¹⁰

W D W

1. Pächt 1961, p. 166.
2. Oakeshott 1972.
3. Pächt 1961, pp. 170–75; Oakeshott 1972, *passim*; Kauffmann 1975, pp. 108–11, nos. 83 (illus. 229–39, figs. 26, 34, 38), 84 (illus. 240, 241, colorpl. p. 9); Oakeshott 1981, pp. 75–82, compare illus. 83, 84, 104–6.
4. Pächt 1961, p. 172; Kitzinger, “Norman Sicily,” 1966, pp. 130, 133, figs. 96, 97, 100, 103; Oakeshott 1972, pp. 75–122.
5. For example, in the Martorana; see Kitzinger 1990, colorpls. x, xvii, figs. 16–51.
6. Pächt 1961, p. 172; N. Morgan 1982, pp. 49–51, nos. 2, 3, illus. 8, 9, 13, 15.
7. Caviness 1977, pp. 107–15.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 109, 115.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
10. Dodwell 1993, pp. 372–73.

LITERATURE: Pächt 1961; Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, p. 42, fig. 28; Kitzinger, “Norman Sicily,” 1966, pp. 130, 133, figs. 97, 103; Demus, *Byzantine Art*, 1970, pp. 155, 158, 165, 193, figs. 171, 179; New York 1970, pp. 235–37, no. 238; Oakeshott 1972; Demus 1975, p. 103, fig. 3; Caviness 1977, pp. 56, 103, 109–11, 113, 155; Oakeshott 1981, pp. 3, 25, 71, 75–82, illus. 15, 84, 99, 102, 157, 160; Avril et al. 1983, pp. 246, 248, 250–51, figs. 213, 390; Dodwell 1993, pp. 39, 42, 268, 370–73, illus. 376, 377; New York 1993, pp. 228, 229, no. 104; Schuler 1994.

EXHIBITION: New York 1970, no. 238.



294B (top); 294C (bottom)

295. Central Plaque of a Processional Cross

French (Limoges), ca. 1185–95
Copper, engraved, stippled, and gilded, with
champlevé enamel
37.2 × 30 cm (14 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: IHS XPS (Jesus Christ)

CONDITION: There are some losses to the gilding overall, as well as a cut at the top.

PROVENANCE: In the possession of the dealer Alfred André, Paris; sold 1910; J. Pierpont Morgan, London and New York.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.409a–c)

The figure of Christ and the rough stem and arms of the inset arbor vitae cross are executed in enamel on a gilded background. Christ's torso and limbs are enameled in white, in stark contrast to the dark green of the cross and the deep blue of his long loincloth, which is knotted at his hip. Christ's beard and hair are enameled in red, while his face is a delicate rose color.

The refinement of the reserved lines of gilded copper that suggest the interior and exterior lines of Christ's arms, ribs, abdomen, and loincloth seems to refer simultaneously to earlier Limoges manuscript painting¹ and to the effect of cloisonné enameling. Two relatively large Byzantine cloisonné enamels on gold, dated between the eleventh and the mid-twelfth century, display such similar features as Christ's sagging body, bowed head, closed-up heels, and splayed feet. The imagery of these two comparative works—a plaque mounted at the center of a composite icon from southern Italy, in the Hermitage,² and the Wittelsbach enamel in Munich³—is related to that of the monumental mosaic of Christ on the cross, of about 1100, at Daphni (see illus. on p. 33).⁴ In type and style these cloisonné-enamel images of Christ are close to the cloisonné enamels attributed to Byzantine artists working in southern Italy or Sicily from the third quarter to the end of the twelfth century, as, for example, the reliquary cross from Cosenza⁵ and a cross in Dijon.⁶ The iconographic and compositional relationship of the Metropolitan's plaque to the Cosenza cross is particularly telling; even the abstract delineation of the sinews and muscles of Christ's arms is analogous. In addition, similarities in iconography and style have been observed in the Crucifixion window, dated by Louis Grodecki to about 1165–70, in the Cathedral of Poitiers.⁷

The present work is one of at least nine other close examples, all of which have a stylistic and technical connection to enamels (of other subjects) made for the Abbey of



295

Grandmont, just outside Limoges, and its dependencies.⁸ While the Order of Grandmont was an eremitic one, the abbey did not exist in total isolation; its contact with the Byzantine world is documented by the gift of a triptych reliquary with a relic of the True Cross in 1174 by Amalric I, ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and an uncle of Henry II of England. Now lost, it is known from a seventeenth-century description and from an engraving on the back.⁹ That reliquary, however, with its repoussé-silver Crucifixion, could not have served as a direct source for the Limoges enameled crosses.

Nonetheless, the clinging folds of the loincloths in images of the crucified Christ from Limoges, in the Grandmont manner, and of the crucified Christ depicted in the Poitiers glass (together with the byzantinizing Pantokrator at the top of the same window) testify to the wave of Byzantine stylistic influence in the rendering of drapery folds—

sometimes referred to as damp folds—which became pervasive in Western European painting and manuscript illumination in the first half of the twelfth century.¹⁰ This raises the possibility of multiple contacts over the course of the twelfth century as well as rephrasings of Western assimilations of Byzantine elements in the earlier decades of that century.

B D B and W D W

1. *Sacramentary of the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne*, Limoges, about 1100 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9438, fol. 59); Porcher 1953, pl. IX.
2. Bank 1960, fig. 85; Bank 1966, figs. 186, 187 (color).
3. Wessel 1967, pp. 166–68, no. 51, color illus.
4. Diez and Demus 1931, fig. 99; N. Chatzidakis 1994, p. 133, colorpl. 116.
5. Wessel 1967, pp. 176–81, no. 56, color illus.; Souchal 1967, p. 31 n. 1; Gauthier 1983, pp. 104–5, no. 58, color illus.; Rome 1995, no. 11.2.
6. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 255, color illus.

7. Souchal 1967, p. 3,1 n. 1; Boehm, in New York 1996, p. 232, no. 62; see also Grodecki 1977, pp. 72–74, fig. 58 (color).
8. Souchal 1967, pp. 26–37, figs. 4, 6–9; Gauthier 1987, pp. 210–20, pls. s, t, CCXV–CCXX, CCXXIII, CXXV, CCXXVII; New York 1996, pp. 232–41.
9. Ogier 1658; Texier, *Dictionnaire*, 1857, cols. 834–36, 882–89; Duplès-Agier 1874, p. 58; Du Cange 1883–87, vol. 10, pp. 90–93; Rupin 1890, p. 46; Frolov, *Relique*, 1961, p. 85, nos. 319, 365; Frolov 1965, passim; Gauthier 1983, pp. 57–58.
10. See the discussion of the Cleveland Cluny leaf, no. 311, esp. nn. 1, 2; Koehler 1941, pp. 70–79; Weitzmann, “Various Aspects,” 1966, p. 20; Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, p. 37.

LITERATURE: Breck and Rogers 1929, p. 101, fig. 54; Thoby 1953, pp. 989–99, no. 16, pl. XI; Gauthier 1967, p. 148; Souchal 1967, p. 34, fig. 8; Gauthier, “De la palette” 1972, p. 625, pl. 469-2; Gauthier, *Émaux*, 1972, no. 51; Hospital 1979, pp. 29–30, fig. 5; Gauthier 1987, pp. 203–4, no. 245, illus. 721, pl. CCXVII.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1970, vol. 1, no. 156; New York 1996, no. 62.

296. Chalice of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis

Egyptian (Ptolemaic, Alexandria), 2nd–1st century B.C. (cup); French, 1137–40 (mounts)

Cup: sardonyx; mounts: silver-gilt, adorned with filigree, semiprecious stones, pearls, glass insets, and opaque white-glass pearls

H. 18.4 cm (7¼ in.), DIAM. at upper rim 12.4 cm (4¾ in.), at base 11.7 cm (4⅝ in.)

CONDITION: Alterations were made in London (?) in 1804–1922; when the chalice is compared with Daniel Rabel's watercolor of 1633 for Nicolas de Peiresc (Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), it is clear that there have been changes and repairs to the silver-gilt mounts and their decoration;¹ the most obvious include the steeper profile of the foot and the modern replacements of all the medallions except for the one depicting Christ; the inscription *SUGER ABBAS*, recorded in 1739, had already disappeared by 1791.

PROVENANCE: Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, 1137/40–1791 (mentioned by Abbot Suger² and cited in the 1634 inventory as no. 71);³ appropriated by the Cabinet National des Médailles et Antiques, September 30, 1791; stolen, 1804; Charles Townley, 1737–1805, England; in the possession of the dealers Harry Harding, England, 1920, and J. and S. Goldschmidt, Frankfurt am Main, 1920–22; to Joseph Widener, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, 1922–42; gift of Widener to the National Gallery of Art.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Widener Collection (1942.9.277 [C-1])

Abbot Suger does not mention the transformation of the ancient vessel that forms the core of this footed chalice, but that he marveled at its beauty is evident from his description: "We also procured for the services at the aforesaid altar a precious chalice out of one solid sardonyx, which [word] derives from 'sardius' and 'onyx'; in which one [stone] the sard's red hue, by varying its property, so keenly vies with the blackness of the onyx that one property seems to be bent on trespassing upon the other."⁴ The ancient vessel has been identified as Alexandrian, from the second to the first century B.C.⁵

That the decorative details of the chalice's silver-gilt mounts are thoroughly Western in inspiration and practice is clear when they are compared with the metalwork of the late tenth and eleventh centuries in the Rhineland and with the mounts made for Suger's other liturgical vessels.⁶ Yet Suger wrote: "I used to converse with travelers from Jerusalem and, to my great delight, to learn from those to whom the treasures of Constantinople and the ornaments of Hagia Sophia had been accessible whether the things here could claim some value in comparison with those there."⁷

It is not surprising therefore that Suger's chalice, in its use of an earlier hard-stone object as the core of a Christian altar vessel, may be



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a case of conscious emulation. Certainly, in its overall form, Suger's chalice reflects Byzantine tradition: its shape and proportions are generally similar to those of several Byzantine chalices made in the previous two centuries in Constantinople and brought back to Venice after the sack of the imperial city in 1204.⁸ While there was an even earlier Western tradition with common Eastern roots,⁹ and although the examples now in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice, were not yet in Western possession when Suger's chalice was completed, the several similarities are compelling. The conical foot, origi-

nally graced with busts of holy personages and surmounted by a knob, the bowl of agate or sardonyx, the wide rim of silver gilt, and the handles that clamp the rim and knob tightly to the bowl are elements of the Suger chalice that may be based in earlier Byzantine tradition. The one remaining original medallion, that of Christ as Pantokrator, while clearly Western in its modeling and in the paleographic character of the letter A (alpha), is nevertheless Byzantine in inspiration. This connection is underscored by comparison with Byzantine coins as well as with the repoussé medallions on the back cover of a

reliquary of the archangel Michael¹⁰ and the silver-gilt medallions of Christ on the processional crosses from Cleveland and Paris (cat. nos. 24, 26).¹¹

W D W

1. For descriptions and an analysis, see Wixom, in New York 1981, pp. 109–10; Paris 1991, pp. 174–76; Verdier 1993, pp. 4, 8–10.
2. Suger, *De administratione* [xxxiv A], in Panofsky 1979, pp. 78–79, 220–21.
3. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1973–77, vol. 1, pp. 164ff., no. 71.
4. Suger, *De administratione* [xxxiv A], in Panofsky 1979, pp. 78–79.
5. Cooney 1967; Panofsky 1979, p. 221.
6. Montesquiou-Fezensac and Gaborit-Chopin 1973–77, vol. 3, p. 42; Wixom, in New York 1981, p. 110 (citing crosses in the Treasury of Essen, as well as manuscripts in Cologne); Gaborit-Chopin 1986, p. 291; Wixom 1986, pp. 300–302.
7. Suger, *De administratione* [xxiii], in Panofsky 1979, pp. 64–65.
8. Wixom 1967, p. 70; Wixom 1981, p. 110; Wixom 1986, p. 294.
9. Elbern 1963: Tassilo Chalice, pp. 8, 13–15, 70–71, no. 17, figs. 4, 5; Gauzelin Chalice, pp. 34–35, 37, 72, no. 22, fig. 36; Wixom 1986, p. 294.
10. Boehm, in New York and Milan 1984, pp. 141–47, illus. p. 143 (color).
11. See the more detailed discussion in Wixom 1986, pp. 294–95, figs. 1–4; Gaborit-Chopin, in Paris 1991, pp. 173, 176; Verdier 1993, p. 8.

LITERATURE: Félibien 1706, p. 541; Texier 1857, vol. 27, col. 136.5, illus.; Rohault de Fleury 1883–89, vol. 4, p. 123, pl. CCCIX; Guibert 1910, pp. 27ff., pl. III; Conway 1915, pp. 143–44, pl. XVI, fig. 1; Ricci 1923, pp. 335ff.; Rosenberg 1926, pp. 209ff., figs. 1, 2, 6–8; Panofsky 1979 (1946 ed.), pp. 79, 205, pl. 24; Cleveland 1967, pp. 70–71, 353–54, no. III-13, illus. (color); Verdier 1975, fig. 1; Wixom, in New York 1981, pp. 108–11, no. 25, cover illus. (color); Gaborit-Chopin 1986, p. 286, figs. 9, 10; Wixom 1986, p. 294, figs. 1, 5; Paris 1991, no. 28; Verdier 1993, pp. 5–12, figs. 1–10, illus. (color).

EXHIBITIONS: Cleveland 1967, no. III-13; Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1978; New York 1981, no. 25; Paris 1991, no. 28.

297. Chalice

Hessian (Fulda?) or Middle Rhenish, ca. 1170–80
Silver, chased, chiseled, engraved, punched, and gilded
H. 25 cm (9⁷/₁₆ in.), DIAM. of cup 18.5 cm (7¹/₄ in.)

CONDITION: The knop, the sleeves above and below, and the openwork on the edge of the foot are restorations from the first half of the fourteenth century.

Domschatz des Katholischen Saint Petri-Domes zu Fritzlar, Fritzlar, Hessen, Germany

Twelve apostles with fluted halos, seated on a decorated bench, encircle the broad bowl of this large chalice. Partially offset by

a stippled background and framed by an arcade supported on short columns, the apostles turn toward one another in pairs. They hold books or *rotuli*. Only Peter and Paul are identifiable by their attributes (tonsure and keys for Peter; high forehead and pointed beard for Paul). Round, domed towers appear in the spandrels of the arcade, backed by a crenellated wall. The six busts of angels on the foot also face one another in pairs; each holds a Host or an orb topped with a cross, and some a scepter topped with a fleur-de-lis. Foliated vines surround the upper edge of the base, while palmettes in series extend upward into the flutes of the lower stem.

Stylistic parallels with portions of the small retable in the same treasury and similarities with reliefs in Fulda support the attribution and date.

The theme of enthroned apostles facing each other in pairs and holding books or *rotuli* as the decorative frieze of the exterior of a liturgical object has an earlier history in Byzantium as well as in Georgia (see cat. nos. 33, 231). While no direct influence can be postulated, the continuing recurrence of this imagery does suggest something of the currently fashionable art-historical concept of “memory.” In any case, the German goldsmith of the Fritzlar chalice created an



imposing Romanesque variation on the concept through great technical skill and careful planning. The handsomely worked heads, the “damp folds” of the draperies, the series of arches, and the repeated motifs of the continuous seat are some of the rhythmically ordered compositional elements of this beautiful chalice.

W D W

LITERATURE: Rauch 1925, p. 76; Braun 1932, pp. 85, 90, 159, 163, 190, 219, 228, 230, 236, 241; G. Swarzenski 1932, p. 281 n. 79; Gaetgens 1957, pp. 156–59; Pralle and Vogel 1973, p. 53; Niederquell 1974, pp. 9ff., nos. 8, 18.

EXHIBITIONS: Munich 1960, no. 74, illus.; Stuttgart 1977, no. 572, illus.

298. Portable Altar

German (Regensburg), ca. 1020
Copper, with gilding over an oak core, and white marble
35 × 23 cm (13¼ × 9 in.)

INSCRIBED: On the central medallion, + HIC PATER ET LOGOS NEC NON PARACLITVS [H]AGIOS (This [is the] Father, Son, and [also the] Holy Spirit); at the upper left, IVSTITIA (Justice); at the upper right, TE[M]PERANTIA (Temperance); at the lower left, PRVDENTIA (Prudence); at the lower right, FORTITVDO (Fortitude)

CONDITION: The four shorter foliated strips on the top have been trimmed to enframe the marble altar stone, which is a replacement; the two inhabited strips once may have served, along with two others now missing, as the side panels of a chestlike portable altar, the total elevation of which has been greatly reduced; a portion of the borders that once flanked these side panels has been crudely repositioned on the top of the altar; patches of soft brown patina occur where the gilding has worn away.

PROVENANCE: Church at Watterbach, Franconia; purchased in Kirzhzell, 1885.

Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, Germany (MA198)

Even though this portable altar has lost its three-dimensionality, it still would have been able to serve its original function in the later Middle Ages. Its decoration represents an important phase in Late Ottonian metalwork and engraving, and its ornamentation and figure style relate this work to a variety of objects associated with or commissioned for Henry II (973–1024), Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1014–24).¹ The most important of these is the large gold altar frontal of Emperor Henry II, now in the Musée de Cluny, which shares the decoration of foliated vine tendrils and medallion busts of personi-



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fications in its framing. The inscribed busts on the underside of the portable altar, which flank that of Christ, represent the four cardinal virtues.

The particular interest here is the possible relationship that the altar's ornamentation has to earlier and contemporary Byzantine decoration. Because there are striking similarities to Byzantine foliated vine patterns—as seen, for example, in the earlier ivory casket panel from the Louvre (cat. no. 159)—this phenomenon would seem to parallel several other specific instances of Ottonian adaptive borrowings from ivory carvings or illustrated manuscripts. An additional dependence may be seen in the lunate jewelry suspended from the hair or crowns of the female

personifications, a phenomenon that is echoed in some of the “Gisela” Treasure jewelry (cat. no. 34 IA,B). The Metropolitan Museum's unique temple pendant of cloisonné enamel on gold (cat. no. 170), although slightly later, perhaps is representative of the kind of prototype that may have influenced the Ottonians.

W D W

1. Mütterich 1964, pp. 55, 58; Fillitz, “Ottonische Goldschmiedekunst,” 1993, p. 184.

LITERATURE: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum 1955, p. 36, no. 6; Mütterich 1964, pp. 55–62, figs. 1–4; Steenbock 1983, pp. 29–31, figs. 6a,b; Fillitz, “Ottonische Goldschmiedekunst,” 1993, pp. 184–85, fig. 72.



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299. The Beszterec Holy Water Vessel

Hungary (?), 11th or early 12th century
Silver gilt and cast silver
H. 26.2 cm (10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), including handle

INSCRIBED: HZOC ΠΗΓΙ ΧΕ ΤΟΝΗ ΑΜΑΤΟ
(Jesus is also the source of healing)

CONDITION: One leg which was missing and another in fragmentary condition when the object was found have been repaired.

PROVENANCE: Found in Beszterec, East Hungary, near the site of the recently excavated monastery.

Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, Hungary

The Beszterec holy water vessel is the only extant vessel in the Byzantine style made for containing holy water for sprinkling.¹ In the Latin West the blessing and the sprinkling of holy water preceded the Sunday Mass, though in certain areas, such as Hungary, it

was also part of the liturgy on Epiphany, as in the Orthodox world. The inscription is generally understood to read, “Jesus is also the source of healing,” which recalls a passage from the ceremony of the Lesser Blessing of the Waters. In the inscription HZOC the use of the letter Z for the letter C indicates a provenance outside the areas directly influenced by Orthodoxy, where the pronunciation (I)ICYC is obligatory. The object must therefore be Western in origin, perhaps Hungarian, where Jesus’ name is pronounced with a Z, following Slovenic and Latin usage.²

In form the vessel resembles sixth- to seventh-century hexagonal² glass pilgrim flasks from Jerusalem.³ It can also be related to the s.c. Lanterne de Beaulieu, a cylinder-shaped reliquary with a handle, since they are all narrower at the top than

at the bottom.⁴ The two human heads that anchor the handle appear also on several Western holy water buckets. Alternate sides of the vessel are nearly identical; their leaf-scroll, palmette, and border motifs are comparable to those on the Halberstadt paten (cat. no. 30). The punched base of the plates points to a date at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. The griffin and the lion are common motifs in Byzantine art; the winged lion appears as well, but rarely.⁵ These characteristics and the sophisticated shape of the vessel point to Constantinopolitan patterns.

This type of vessel was first mentioned in the West in 1090, in the inventory of the Hungarian Benedictine Monastery of Saint Martin’s Mount (now Pannonhalma).⁶ Only a few examples in silver survive, although they are frequently listed in inventories. The Beszterec holy water vessel thus may have been a gift from an important person, perhaps the masterpiece of a major Byzantine workshop, possibly in Hungary, dating from the eleventh or early twelfth century. A foot from a Byzantine liturgical vessel, possibly a candlestick, was also recovered within the area of the Monastery of Beszterec. Consequently, the existence of an earlier Orthodox monastery in this area cannot be excluded.⁷

E K

1. Feticch 1959, pp. 33–50; E. Thomas 1976, pp. 412–13.
2. Melich 1912.
3. New York 1979, nos. 354–56.
4. Paris 1965, no. 390.
5. Paris 1980, p. 108, Darkevich 1975, p. 365; Moscow 1991, no. 62.
6. Braun 1932, pp. 581, 583.
7. Németh 1986, pp. 115–28; Budapest 1996, p. 135.

300. Reliquary of Saint Anastasios the Persian

Byzantine (Antioch), late 10th century
Silver repoussé, with gilding and niello
19.6 × 20 × 39 cm (7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: Surrounding the apse, + KE ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΩ ΣΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ ΕΥΣΤΑΘΕΙΩ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩ ΠΑΤΡΙΚ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΓΩ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑΚ ΚΑΙ ΛΙΚΑΝΔΟΥ (Lord, help your servant Eustathios, the proconsul, patrician, *strategos* of Antioch and Lykandos); on the other faces, ANACTHΘΙ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΝ ΟΥ ΚΥ ΚΑΙ Η ΚΙΒΩΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΑΚΜΑΤΟΣ (Rise up, O Lord, and go to your resting place, you and the ark of your might [Ps. 131:8 (132:8)]); ΕΞΕΛΕΞΑΤΟ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΣΙΩΝ ΗΡΗΤΙΚΑΤΟ ΑΨΤΗΝ ΕΙΣ

ΚΑΤΟΙΚΙΑΝ ΕΥΑΤΩ (For the Lord has chosen Zion, he has desired it for his habitation [Ps. 131:13 (132:13)]); ΔΕΔΟΞΑΜΕΝΑ ΕΛΛΑΗΘΗ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΟΥ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ (Glorious things are spoken of you, O city of God [Ps. 86:3 (87:3)])

Domkapitel Aachen, Domschatzkammer, Aachen, Germany

The Eustathios of the dedicatory inscription may be identified as Eustathios Maleinos, who apparently held the position of *strategos* (commander of the troops) at Antioch about 969–70, and apparently it was he who ordered and donated the object. The additional verses from the Psalms interpret the small domed church as an image of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

The reliquary is nearly cubical in shape and has been enlarged by the addition of a windowed apse and a dome raised on a drum crowned by a small cross. It thus has

the form of a small but ornate Byzantine church and is opened on three sides by means of doors that resemble church portals decorated with crosses. The ogival doorframe and the billowing segments of the pumpkin dome and apse concha are embellished with a rinceau pattern in niello; other details are highlighted in gold.

Although it is difficult to compare what may be the decorative flourishes of a metalsmith with actual buildings, several distinctive features may help to situate the production of the piece. The pumpkin-dome form was common in Byzantine architecture in Constantinople during the tenth century. On the other hand, many of the decorative features, such as the ogival arches, the rolled moldings of the apse windows, and the arcaded drum seem closer to medieval Armenian or Georgian architecture than to Byzantine,

which may indicate an Eastern origin for the metalsmith, who was perhaps a Georgian working in Antioch.

It has been suggested that the reliquary was originally a censer or a lamp, but the fact that it lacks holding rings and has few openings would make it poorly equipped for either function. It was more likely an artophorion, a container for the reserved Host. As such, the image of the Heavenly Jerusalem — or perhaps a generalized version of the Holy Sepulchre — would have provided an appropriate symbolism for the container of the Body of Christ. After its removal to Western Europe (before 1204) it was converted to a reliquary to contain the head of Saint Anastasios, a Persian martyr (d. 628).

R O

LITERATURE: Schlumberger 1905, pp. 201–6; Grabar, “Reliquaire,” 1968, pp. 427–33; Grimme 1972, pp. 46–47; Saunders 1982, pp. 211–19.

EXHIBITIONS: Essen 1956, no. 414; Athens 1964, no. 514; Brussels 1982, no. 0.20; Cologne 1985, no. H12.

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301. The Stavelot Triptych

Mosan (Diocese of Liège [perhaps Stavelot]), ca. 1155–58 (framing elements and champlevé enamel roundels); Byzantine (Constantinople), ca. 1100 (cloisonné enamels)

Gold, copper gilt, silver, enamel, vernis brun, and precious stones

48.4 × 66 cm (19 × 26 in.) open; center panel: 48 × 31.8 cm (18 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

CONDITION: The outer two silver columns are replacements.

PROVENANCE: Stavelot, Belgium, to 1796; Walz family of Hanau, Germany, to 1909; purchased from Durlacher Brothers, London, by J. Pierpont Morgan, 1910; inherited in 1913 by J. P. Morgan Jr., who lent it to the Morgan Library and bequeathed it in 1943.

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N.Y.

Even in an age that excelled in the use of precious and costly materials, the Stavelot Triptych is a work of astonishing richness, no doubt owing to its function as a reliquary of the True Cross, the most sacred of all Christian relics. Such relics and reliquaries from Constantinople must have been particularly prized through their possible association with the large fragment of the True Cross supposedly deposited there by Constantine, who received it from Helena, his mother. The relics, enclosed in a cross-shaped metal container decorated with gold pins and four pearls, are embedded in the larger of the



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two Byzantine triptychs mounted in the center panel. The area around the two triptychs, now covered with red velvet, was once more dazzling—appropriately covered with gold leaf and studded with gems and precious stones. Although the triptych form had been used in Byzantine devotional ivories and True Cross reliquaries several centuries earlier, the Stavelot Triptych may have helped to further its popularity in the diocese of Liège and beyond.

The triptych takes its name from the great imperial Benedictine Abbey of Stavelot, in present-day Belgium. While there is no early documentation linking it with Stavelot, it was in the possession of the abbey's last prince-abbot, Célestin Thys, when he fled to Hanau in 1792. Moreover, style and technique suggest that it came from the same workshop responsible for two other objects most assuredly made for Stavelot, the Pope Alexander I head reliquary, dated 1145, in the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels, and the *Remaclus* retable, also of

1145 (largely destroyed except for two enamel roundels now in the *Kunstgewerbemuseum*, Berlin, and the *Museum für Kunsthandwerk*, Frankfurt). Both works were commissioned by Abbot Wibald, the famous ecclesiast, art patron, and statesman who headed the abbey from 1130 to 1158, and it is quite possible that the Stavelot Triptych was made for him as well. Wibald acted as adviser and agent for three successive Holy Roman emperors, Lothair II, Conrad III, and Frederick I Barbarossa. He may have acquired the two Byzantine triptychs on a diplomatic mission to the court of Manuel I Komnenos in Constantinople during the winter of 1155–56. If so, the triptych would have been commissioned shortly after his return. Wibald died in July 1158, in *Monastir*, Macedonia, on his return from his second trip to Constantinople. Byzantine enamels are difficult to date, but their inclusion in the triptych provides a *terminus ante quem* for them. The Western artists harmonized their work with that of the Byzantine enamellers by adopting such

features as the gold backgrounds, blue enamel inscriptions, matching halo colors, and the use of transparent enamel.

Scholars had formerly been precluded from making such observations because the two Byzantine triptychs were incorrectly published as part of the *Treasury of Trier*, which had led some to assume that they were nineteenth-century replacements of an earlier program. In 1973, however, when Jens Yow, the conservator at the Morgan Library, attempted to remove the two Byzantine triptychs, he discovered they were not independent and detachable but were composed of metal frames (of Western workmanship) and enamels nailed to the same sculpted oak support as the rest of the center panel. When the Crucifixion enamel of the smaller triptych was removed, an unexpected cavity yielded a rolled-up piece of vellum and a small silk pouch tightly wrapped in red silk thread. The pouch contained pieces of wood, a scrap of white linen, and soil. The silk is probably of Spanish origin and imitates a

Byzantine model. The inscription on the velum did not, unfortunately, mention Wibald or the artist, or give a date, but it did refer to the contents of the pouch: wood from the Lord's sepulchre and a portion of the Virgin's garment. The twelfth-century script, however, confirmed that the pouch, its contents, and, by implication, the small triptych were part of the original program.

The top of the Crucifixion enamel and its Western frame are slightly curved, as are the wings, the outer panels of which depict the Annunciation, with Gabriel on the left and the Virgin on the right. In the larger triptych below, the four standard military saints of Byzantium appear on the inner wings: George and Prokopios on the left, Theodore and Demetrios on the right. Half-length portraits of the Four Evangelists appear on the outer wings: Matthew and Luke on the left, John and Mark on the right. In the center panel, beneath busts of the archangels Gabriel and Michael, and flanking the cross composed of the relic itself, are Emperor Constantine and his mother, Empress Helena. The popular Byzantine composition of Constantine and Helena holding or flanking the cross symbolizes their roles in the legend of the True Cross. It was not until Constantine's conversion that Christianity became the official religion of the state and the cross its public symbol; Helena discovered the True Cross and gave her son a section of it. The composition, used in several Western manuscripts, such as the Antiphony of Saint Peter's (now in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, but made in Salzburg about 1160), reveals a receptiveness to Byzantine iconographic formulas.¹ Indeed, the placement of Constantine and Helena not only dictated the arrangement of the narrative roundels on the wings of the Stavelot Triptych but gave each of them the same number of scenes, a unique occurrence in early True Cross cycles.

The three roundels on the left wing deal with Constantine's conversion and read from bottom to top. Constantine in a dream sees a flaming cross with the legend "By This, Conquer." He defeats Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge. And he is baptized by Pope Silvester I. In none of these scenes is Constantine depicted wearing imperial regalia, crowned, or haloed, as in the Byzantine enamel. The explanation is liturgical, for Constantine, unlike Helena, never achieved the status of a saint in the West, while in Byzantium both appear as saints by the eighth century. Receptive as the West was to Byzantine artistic influence, it resisted when images conflicted with its own liturgy.

The three champlevé enamels on the right, which also read from bottom to top, treat Helena's discovery of the True Cross: she interrogates the Jews, who, threatened by fire, single out Judas; Judas finds three crosses; and Bishop Makarios identifies the True Cross when it miraculously restores a dead youth to life. Unlike Constantine, Helena is haloed. She even undergoes a kind of elevation, for in the first two roundels she is referred to as Regina (Queen), while in the last she has become Sancta (Saint), the True Cross having been verified, and her simple crown has become a double tiara. The inscriptions above the top roundels of each wing affirm the power of the Cross, alluded to in both sets of roundels, as well as the triptych's liturgical function. Taken together, they form part of an antiphon sung at Lauds on the feast days of the Discovery (May 3) and the Exaltation (September 14) of the True Cross: "Behold the Cross of the Lord. Flee, you hostile powers. The Lion of the Tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has conquered."

The various elements of the Stavelot Triptych, including the classical gems set into the frame, provide a telling meeting ground for East and West. The Eastern symbolic representation of Constantine and Helena is juxtaposed to the Western narrative mode, and Byzantine liturgy and hagiography (in which Constantine is a saint) are contrasted with their Western counterparts. Although the identity of the maker is unknown — the traditional attribution to Godefroid de Huy can no longer be supported — the Stavelot Triptych is the earliest cross reliquary with scenes from the Legend of the True Cross, an uncontested masterpiece of the twelfth-century renaissance.

W V

1. Voelkle 1980, fig. 52.

LITERATURE: Voelkle 1965; Wessel 1969, pp. 8–9, 23, 29, 153–57, figs. 47a–d; Voelkle 1980; Chapman 1988, pp. 259, 285, 314–16; Lafontaine-Dosogne, in *Byzantine East*, 1995, pp. 185–86.

EXHIBITIONS: London, The Royal Society of Antiquaries, 1909; London, British Museum, on view 1910–14; Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1928; Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, 1928; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1938; Boston 1940, no. 202; Baltimore 1947, no. 530; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 1974; New York 1980.

302. Reliquary Chest

English (Canterbury), ca. 1200–1207
Copper, shaped, engraved, chased, and gilded; feet cast

17.8 × 25.4 × 11.4 cm (7 × 10 × 4½ in.)

CONDITION: Much of the original gilding is worn away from the most exposed areas and the parts with the highest relief.

PROVENANCE: Christ Church, Canterbury(?); owned by Samuel James Whawell (1857–1926), Hampstead, England, and Robert Haynes, England; in the possession of the dealer D. Black, London, 1966; in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. John Hunt, Drumleck Baily, County Dublin, Ireland.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
The Cloisters Collection, 1980 (1980.417)

Traditional in form and self-contained, this oblong hipped-roof reliquary is a major document of the iconographic and stylistic trends in monastic art in Britain about 1200. The rich decoration, which includes an explicit series of holy personages — among them five archbishops of Canterbury, two saintly and revered British monarchs, and two female martyr saints thought to have come from Britain — gives this handsome work a unique and special connection with Canterbury, the preeminent diocese in Britain.¹

Of the utmost importance in the present context is the abandonment — most significantly, in the medallions on the lid — of Early Romanesque formulas for physiognomic types and drapery in favor of Byzantine-inspired conventions, which were beginning to prevail in the figurative arts at Canterbury. The busts of Christ, Peter, Paul, and the Virgin (wearing a *maphorion*) — however cursory and worn — when compared with the busts and figures in the "Great Psalter" painted at Christ Church, Canterbury, about 1180–90, are cases in point.² Similarly, and despite the differences in technique and scale, Canterbury glass painting of the last quarter of the twelfth century comes to mind: the Christ on the reliquary chest, with his roundel cap of hair and garment details, is reminiscent of the clerestory Jonah of about 1180–90, now in the southeast transept.³ The models for these figure types in both the glass and the reliquary could have been original Byzantine or Crusader illustrated manuscripts, perhaps of the type of Queen Melisende's Psalter (cat. no. 259), or pattern drawings, such as one in a Gospel book now in Princeton (cat. no. 50). Motif books by Western artists (possibly similar to the works from Freiburg and Wolfenbüttel; cat. nos. 318, 319) that were directly inspired by Byzantine manuscript illustrations, as



302. Front

well as monumental wall paintings in fresco or mosaic, also could have been sources.⁴ It even has been suggested that a motif book reflecting Byzantine models was in Canterbury by the mid-twelfth century.⁵ A later yet related English example may be seen in a drawing by — or after — a certain Brother William, from the second quarter of the thirteenth century.⁶

During the Middle Ages, when the overall gilding on the chest was still intact, the decoration, originally far sharper, would have been discernible by the varying refractions of light on the bevels of the incised lines and on the crosshatched textures of the backgrounds. The chest, which served as a strongbox to secure and protect the relics it contained, may have been shackled to one of the altar beams at Christ Church by means of the lug at the back.⁷ This work was well designed for the other functions it must have served: to recall in visual terms some of the major saints revered at Canterbury and to aid in their orderly veneration, either on the altar or in the procession of the litany of the saints.

W D W



302. Back

1. For a description and full discussion, see Wixom, "In quinto scrinio," 1992. For a statement about the construction, see Dandridge 1992. Each figure is identifiable from the abbreviated inscriptions, the work of the goldsmith/engraver, who copied the letter forms of a scribe; these are consistent with the epigraphy in other Canterbury works in metal and stained glass.
2. Wixom, "In quinto scrinio," 1992, p. 199, figs. 1c, 11a-c, 16, 17, 35.
3. Caviness 1981, p. 59, pl. 40, figs. 104, 104a.
4. See Wixom, "In quinto scrinio," 1992, p. 199 and n. 18 for bibliographical references.
5. Caviness 1977, pp. 64-65.
6. London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Nero D. I.;

- N. Morgan 1982, pp. 134-36, no. 87b, illus. 297.
7. Wixom, "In quinto scrinio," 1992, pp. 197, 203.

LITERATURE: *Catalogue . . . Whawell* 1927, lot 449; *Catalogue* 1966, lot 57; New York 1970, no. 88, pp. 80-81; P. Newton 1975, p. 263; Wixom, *Notable Acquisitions*, 1981, pp. 23-24 (color); Shiedlausky 1984, p. 50; Frazer 1985-86, pp. 50, 52, 53, fig. 60 (color); Dandridge 1992, pp. 228-33, figs. A, B; Wixom, "In quinto scrinio," 1992, pp. 194-227, figs. 1a-c, 7a,b, 8, 11a-14b; Reinburg 1995, p. 23, fig. 16.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1970, no. 88; Boston 1995, no. 16; Munich, *Heinrich der Löwe*, 1995, no. D-120.

303. Book Cover

Italian, 12th century (on Ms. of ca. 1050)
Ivory plaques set into a repoussé silver frame
24.5 × 17.5 cm (9 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: Peter Damian; Dominic Loricatus;
Church of Santa Anna, Frontale; Rüttschi collection,
Zurich; William S. Glazier collection.

The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N.Y.
(G.21)

The sacramentary for which this cover was made was produced about 1050 for use in the Church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna. It was owned by Peter Damian (1007–1072), a native of Ravenna and saint of the Latin Church. Saint Peter gave the book to one of his most ardent monastic followers, Saint Dominic Loricatus (d. 1060). The manuscript was so closely associated with Loricatus that it was translated to the Church of Santa Anna in

Frontale for deposit there with his remains. The book cover was probably made to convey the status of the sacramentary as one of Saint Dominic's relics. The design, execution, and materials reveal the impact of Byzantine art in Italy. At the center of each cover is a portrait in ivory, of Saint George on the front and of Saint Theodore on the back. The decorative strips surrounding each portrait suggest that the ivories came from a disassembled rosette casket (see cat. nos. 152, 153). The carving style and the full-length presentation of the figures indicate that the presumed casket would have been of Italian, not Constantinopolitan, origin. The ivories are set into wide silver-gilt borders with portraits separated by an abstract pattern of flowers and stems arranged in circles that echo the shapes of the ivory rosettes. On the side with Saint Theodore

the donor is represented kneeling at the feet of the archangel Michael. On the side with Saint George (reading clockwise from top left) are portraits of Matthew, the archangel Michael, John the Theologian, Andrew, Simon, Nicholas, Bartholomew, and James. Throughout the Byzantine world, from Georgia to Italy, similar frames were fashioned for icons as well as for book covers; a particularly close parallel occurs in the frame for an icon of Saint Nicholas in the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian, Patmos.¹

JCA

1. A. Grabar 1975, fig. 17 (Virgin of Choukouli);
Kominis 1988, fig. 1.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt 1926, vol. 4, pp. 39–40,
pl. XLVIII; A. Grabar 1975; Kominis 1988.

EXHIBITIONS: Baltimore 1957, no. 6; New York
1959, no. 8; New York, *Glazier Collection*, 1968, no. 13.





304

304. Book Cover with an Icon of the Crucifixion

Panel

Byzantine (Constantinople), second half of 10th century
Ivory, with traces of gilding
13.7 × 9.1 cm (5 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

Setting

Spanish (Jaca), before 1085
Silver gilt, with pseudofiligree, glass, crystal, and sapphire, on wood
26.7 × 19.1 cm (10 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: In the Monastery of Santa Cruz de la Serós before 1085.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.33, panel; 17.190.34, book cover)

This panel of the Crucifixion, with the Virgin, Saint John, and angels, originally formed a triptych icon. Eastern ivories were highly prized in the West, and its inclusion in

a precious setting reveals the special homage accorded such objects. Like the book cover of the “Precious” Gospels of Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (cat. no. 305) this cover also integrates a Byzantine ivory plaque into the design, which lends it both prestige and value. The book cover comes from the celebrated Benedictine Monastery of Santa Cruz de la Serós, near Jaca, which reputedly was founded by Queen Felicia (d. 1085). She bestowed upon the monastery many important gifts, among them an evangelary that traditionally has been linked to the companion cover to the present work, also in the Metropolitan Museum, which bears an identifying inscription.¹

Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann associated the ivory with a series of Crucifixion plaques produced in the second half of the tenth century known as the Nikephoros Group,² which are connected only loosely to the ivory plaque in Cortona said to con-

tain a fragment of the True Cross and which is inscribed with the name of Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–69).³ The Jaca panel is one of the few Byzantine ivories to have reached Spain in the Middle Ages and clearly was treasured, as its twelfth-century Western setting indicates.

CTL

1. New York 1993, no. 128.
2. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, nos. 101–8.
3. *Ibid.*, no. 77.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 108; New York 1993, pp. 268–69, no. 128 (with bibliography).

305. The “Precious” Gospels of Bishop Bernward

Plaque

Byzantine (Constantinople), late 10th century
Ivory
14.5 × 10.3 cm (5 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 in.)

Setting

Ottonian (Hildesheim), ca. 1015 (repaired ca. 1194)
Silver gilt, with niello, filigree, and semiprecious stones
28 × 20 cm (11 × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the ivory, SIS PIA QVESO TVO BERNVARDO TRINA POTESTAS (I pray that the threefold power is merciful to Bernward); on the back cover, HOC OPV[S] EXIMI[M] BERNVARDI P[RAE]SVLIS ARTE FACTV[M] CERNE D[EV]S MATER ET ALMA TVA (Behold, God and thy gracious Mother, this prominent work, created through the art of Bishop Bernward); near the Virgin, MP ΘΥ (Mother of God)

CONDITION: The binding is modern.

PROVENANCE: Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim, 1015.

Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Hildesheim, Germany (DS 18)



305. Back



305. Front

The practice of setting ivory plaques onto book covers was unknown in Byzantium, but many important Constantinopolitan ivories survive precisely because they were sent to the West, where they frequently were incorporated into the deluxe bindings of precious manuscripts. Until his death in 1022, Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (active 993–1022) was one of the principal patrons of the arts and a pivotal figure of the Ottonian Church and court. His “Precious” Gospels, lavishly illuminated with scenes from the life of

Christ, is decorated with a bejeweled cover whose centerpiece is the sole remaining panel of a Byzantine ivory triptych that depicts the Deesis. Christ, standing on a pedestal between the acclaiming Virgin and Saint John the Baptist, holds a book and gestures in benediction. Bernward had his own appeal for protection carved into the frame.

The Gospels were illuminated about 1015, which thus provides a terminus post quem for the ivory. Once such precious ivories arrived in the Latin West as gifts and diplo-

matic exchanges, they no longer performed their original function as icons but took on a new role as book covers. A related triptych, also with the Deesis, from the same Byzantine workshop, is now in Ts’khinvali, Georgia.¹ Both works, which have in common elongated figures whose drapery falls in narrow folds, must date toward the end of the tenth century.

The decorative filigreed border that frames the ivory on the front cover is set with *spolia* consisting of precious and semiprecious gems and intaglios, and, in the corners, with the

symbols of the evangelists in repoussé; it dates from the end of the twelfth century, when the Gospels were restored. However, the small silver-gilt crucifix below the ivory, enameled on the reverse, is from Bernward's time.

The back cover contains a silver and parcel-gilt engraved image of the Virgin Hodegetria surrounded by Bernward's inscription celebrating his patronage. The figure of the Virgin clearly was inspired by a Middle Byzantine ivory icon like that in Utrecht (cat. no. 86), but displays some specifically Western elements, as, for example, the palm she clasps in her hand and the Eucharistic wafer held by Christ. The bronze doors of the Church of Saint Michael, commissioned by Bernward in 1015, also depict the Virgin of the Annunciation holding a similar palm branch. As one of the greatest patrons of the age, who understood the significance of such images and *spolia*, Bernward must have viewed the ivory as an evocation of the finest work produced in Byzantium.

CTL

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 152; Cutler 1994, fig. 148.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 151; Brandt 1993, pp. 56–63.

EXHIBITION: Hildesheim 1993, no. VIII-30.



306

306. Mosaic Icon with Saint Nicholas

Byzantine (Constantinople), 12th century; German (Aachen), ca. 1220 (frame)

Mosaic with silver frame

22 × 16.5 cm (8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.), mosaic; 33 × 26.5 cm (13 × 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.), frame

INSCRIBED: The fragmentary inscription on the frame has been reconstructed as VIRTU/TUM PLENA NICOLAI SP/LENDET YCONA, PER QUAS/NOSTRA PLACEAT DEVO/CIO SUMMO, /CREDITA TOLUNTUR, SED/CUNCTA DEHINC REFERUNTUR. / . . . SUBLATA REFERRE¹ (The icon of Saint Nicholas shines forth with his virtue, through which our oblation might please the most high Lord. The entrusted is taken away, but from there all is restored . . . to restore that which is taken away)

CONDITION: The mosaic portions were restored several times.

PROVENANCE: In Aachen-Burtscheid since the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

Pfarrre St. Johann-Baptist (Ehemalige Abtei Burtscheid), Aachen-Burtscheid, Germany

This small Byzantine mosaic icon of Saint Nicholas has been in the possession of the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist at Aachen-Burtscheid since the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.² It is one of the few

Byzantine icons for which we can confirm an early presence in the West. Extensively restored over the centuries, the face is difficult to see, but the half-length frontal figure is clearly typical of a kind of mosaic icon (including others of Saint Nicholas) that first appeared in the twelfth century and continued to be made in Constantinople through the Palaiologan period.³ Despite its condition, the icon is of great interest to scholars. Analysis of the history of mosaic icon production in Byzantium as well as of the frame, made in Germany in the early thirteenth century, argues that the icon reached Aachen-Burtscheid not later than 1220 and possibly in the twelfth century.⁴

An early tradition is reflected in the writing of Caesarius of Heisterbach, who in 1223 commented on the presence at the monastery of a miraculous icon that had been brought there by a Byzantine prince known as Gregory. Attempts to identify Gregory have

been inconclusive. The significance of this tradition is that it underscores the reverence for Byzantine images in the medieval West. Admiration for their unusual technique and their authority, based on the purported antiquity and authenticity of their portraits, was heightened by the legends that described the journeys taken by the images to reach Europe. While the presence of such authoritative images enhanced the value of Byzantine art in the West and promoted the use of some iconographic types, it probably had little effect on the stylistic development of European art until the thirteenth century, as Hans Belting has pointed out.⁵

RWC

1. Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, p. 40.
2. Ibid., pp. 48–52.
3. Ibid., pp. 57–111.
4. Ibid., pp. 48–52.
5. Belting 1994, pp. 330–33.



307

LITERATURE: Krickelberg-Pütz 1982, pp. 9–141, figs. 1, 2, 13, 14a–c, 18, 19; Belting 1994, pp. 330, 590 n. 7, fig. 197.

EXHIBITIONS: Athens 1964, no. 161, p. 233; Cologne 1985, no. H62.

307. Panel with a Bust of the Virgin Hodegetria

Byzantine (Constantinople), 10th–11th century
Ivory

14 × 11 cm (5½ × 4¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: PRESULIS IMPERII BERTOLDI CLAUDITUR OMNIS TEXTUS EVANGELII REDIMITUS HONORE DECENTI (By the order of the bishop Bertoldus the entire text of the Gospels is enclosed [in a cover] as a deserving mark of honor)

PROVENANCE: Possenti collection, Fabriano; Sallet collection, Berlin, until 1898.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin, Germany (2394)

This plaque shows one of the most common subjects represented in ivory in the Middle Byzantine period, the half-length image of the Virgin Hodegetria, in which the Virgin holds the Christ Child in her left arm while she gestures toward him with her right hand. She can be shown seated or standing, either full length or, as in this case, bust length. The popularity of the image derives from the Virgin's role as divine protector both of the Byzantine emperor and of the capital city, Constantinople.

The central medallion of the Hodegetria is surrounded here by four smaller medallions that contain bust-length portraits of Saint John the Baptist (upper left), Saint Peter (upper right), Saint Paul (lower left), and Saint Thomas (lower right). The zigzag garland that encloses all five portraits relates the panel to a plaque in Utrecht (cat. no. 86) that shows a standing Hodegetria. Stylistically it has been assigned by Adolph Goldschmidt

and Kurt Weitzmann to the Romanos Group.¹

The plaque originally served as the center panel of a triptych. It was already in the West in the Romanesque period, when it served as the cover to a Gospel book. At that time new pinholes were added in the corners, as was the inscription in hexameter around the border. Except for his name, nothing is known of the bishop Bertoldus mentioned in the inscription.

ST

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 39, no. 46.

LITERATURE: Vöge 1900, pp. 13–14, no. 18; Volbach 1923, pp. 9–10; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 40, no. 50; Effenberger and Severin 1992, p. 220, no. 127; Cutler 1994.

308. Exultet Roll

South Italian (probably Benevento), 981–87

Tempera with brown ink on vellum

33.5 × 27.2 cm (13¼ × 10¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: A list of Lombard princes of Benevento includes “et principe nostro Paldolfo,” which refers to Pandolf II (r. 981–87).

CONDITION: According to Avery, the manuscript was cut apart in the twelfth century and arranged with text and images inverted; it is now in twenty sections; two scenes are probably missing; the pigments are rubbed and for the most part lost.

PROVENANCE: Benevento until the eighteenth century.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Ms. Vat. lat. 9820)

Some thirty-three examples remain today of the so-called Exultet Rolls, South Italian liturgical manuscripts bearing the text of the hymn that opens the Easter vigil, “Exultet iam angelica turba coelorum.”¹ This exhibition includes an example from the Beneventan region, one of the two major centers (along with Bari) that produced them. Of all the Exultet Rolls, which date from the tenth to the fourteenth century, this Vatican example is one of the oldest. Myrtila Avery, who provided the basic catalogue of Exultet Rolls, attributed this manuscript and two others from the same scriptorium to San Vincenzo al Volturno. But Hans Belting has argued more recently that they were actually made in a scriptorium at Benevento itself, between 985 and 987.² Indeed, he has named the painting style for one of these three, the *Benedictio Fontis*.³ Although made in the tenth century, the Vatican Exultet Roll was reworked in the twelfth century, provided with a new



308. The Anastasis, sec. 10

text and a format that inverted the illuminations so that worshipers facing the pulpit could see them right side up as the reader unrolled the text.

In different centuries and in different regions of southern Italy, Exultet illustrations display varying connections to Byzantine art. Vatican 9820 belongs to a period when southern Italy had come once again under the military control of the Byzantine Empire. The Lombard princes of Capua were the vassals of the Byzantine emperor. The great monastery of Monte Cassino, not far from Benevento, was under Byzantine protection and its abbot had traveled to the East.⁴ It is not surprising, then, that Belting among others has found close comparisons between the style and iconography of Vatican 9820, including such images as the Anastasis, and the iconography of Byzantine works.⁵

RWC

1. For extensive discussion of the structure of the Exultet Rolls, see Cavallo 1973. Recent bibliographies can be found in Orofino and Pecere 1994, p. 106, and Speciale 1991, pp. 221–50.
2. Avery 1936, pp. 31–34; Belting 1968, p. 154; on the date and current state of the manuscript, see Orofino and Pecere 1994, pp. 101–6.
3. Belting 1968, pp. 167–83.
4. Bloch 1946, pp. 165–73.
5. Belting 1968, pp. 176, 243–49; Kartsonis 1986, pp. 135–36, 204.

LITERATURE: Avery 1936, pp. 31–34, pls. CXXXV–CXLVI; Belting 1968, pp. 167–83; Kartsonis 1986, pp. 135–36, 204, fig. 20b; Orofino and Pecere 1994, pp. 101–6.

EXHIBITIONS: Cologne 1992, no. 30; Orofino and Pecere 1994.

309. Homiliaries

South Italian (Monte Cassino), 1072

Codex 99

Tempera on vellum
pp. II + 500 + I
35 × 25 cm (13 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Codex 98

Tempera on vellum
pp. II + 600 + I
34.7 × 24.5 cm (13 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: The ode on folio 3 of Codex 99 records the date as 1072, the donor as “Frater Johannes, Marsicanae dudum ecclesiae archpresbyter” (Brother John, once archpresbyter of the Marsic Church), and the scribe as the monk Leo.¹

Archivio della Badia, Monastery of Monte Cassino, Italy (Cods. 98, 99)

In 1071, less than six months after Bari, the last Byzantine stronghold in Italy, fell to the Normans, Pope Alexander II dedicated Abbot Desiderius’s new basilica at Monte Cassino. At this moment, as Desiderius sought Byzantine art and artisans to embellish his church, Monte Cassino became the source of a new wave of Byzantine influence throughout the peninsula.²

That same year saw the initiation of a brilliant period of manuscript illumination at Monte Cassino.³ The two homiliary volumes Monte Cassino Codices 98 and 99 were begun about that time, perhaps to mark the dedication of the church.⁴ Codex 99 includes a dedicatory ode as its colophon that identifies the volume as the gift of “Brother John, once archpresbyter of the Marsic Church,” on the occasion of his affiliation with Monte Cassino in 1072.⁵ Because of this colophon, 98 and 99 have become anchors in an ongoing debate over the chronology of the manuscripts produced in the Monte Cassino scriptorium.⁶ The homiliaries have illuminated initials and ornamental motifs in the Beneventan style. In addition, however, both include scenes from the lives of Christ, the Virgin, and John the Baptist, drawn in ink and based on Byzantine prototypes, that may belong to an unfinished narrative cycle.⁷ Although the Byzantine models are copied with varying degrees of skill, the images typify the renewed interest in and familiarity with Byzantine art that emerged at Monte Cassino. Among the most beautiful and accurate of these images are the Annunciation in 99 and the Presentation in 98, but perhaps the most interesting is the Koimesis in 98.⁸ The artist closely followed a Byzantine example in the outline of the scene and the poses of the figures, such as the saint who crouches near the Virgin.⁹ He has, however, misplaced other figures. Thus Christ



309. The Annunciation, Cod. 99



309. The Presentation, Cod. 98

holding the soul of the Virgin is positioned too far to the right, and the apostles who gesture toward her stand on the wrong side of Christ. Such anomalies may indicate that the artist did not fully understand his model.¹⁰ Yet some variations of this kind typify the products of even the best mosaic workers and manuscript illuminators associated with Monte Cassino, who, as Ernst Kitzinger, H el ene Toubert, Lucinia Speciale, and others have pointed out, added Italian elements, perhaps of Early Christian origin, to their images.¹¹ Most telling here is the depiction of the Virgin's bier as a fluted sarcophagus, which is not an Eastern motif but one found in Italian paintings related to works from Monte Cassino, including frescoes at Sant'Angelo in Formis, near Capua, and at Rongolise.¹² R W C

1. The colophon is transcribed and translated in Bloch 1986, vol. 1, pp. 78–80; F. Newton 1979, pp. 183–89. F. Newton 1979 provides the accepted interpretation. See also Orofino and Adacher 1989, p. 38. A translation of the malediction portion of the colophon appears in F. Newton 1973, pp. 6–7.
2. Bloch 1946, p. 222; Demus, *Byzantine Art*, 1970, pp. 24–28; Kitzinger 1972.
3. Orofino and Adacher 1989; Speciale 1991, pp. 148–49; Speciale 1993, pp. 19–20.



309. The Koimesis, Cod. 98



310. The Baptism of Christ, fol. 123v

4. Bloch 1946, pp. 204–6, 209–10; Loew 1914 (1980), vol. 1, pp. 298–99, vol. 2, pp. 65–66; Inguanez 1915, vol. 1, pp. 98–103. For the most extensive recent bibliographies, see Orofino and Adacher 1989 and Speciale 1993.
5. Bloch 1946, p. 209; F. Newton 1979, pp. 181–205; Speciale 1993, pp. 20–21.
6. Speciale 1991, pp. 146–57; Speciale 1993, pp. 19–20; Zanardi 1993, pp. 37–48.
7. Speciale 1993.
8. Kitzinger 1972, pp. 155–56, fig. 7.
9. H. Maguire 1981, figs. 52, 56, 60, 65, 67.
10. Demus, *Byzantine Art*, 1970, pp. 26–28, figs. 25–28.
11. Kitzinger 1972, pp. 281–84; Toubert 1976, pp. 32–33; Speciale 1993, pp. 19–26.
12. Bloch 1946, p. 201, figs. 229–31; Demus, *Byzantine Art*, 1970, fig. 43; Bloch 1986, vol. 1, p. 60; and Orofino and Adacher 1989, pp. 134–35.

LITERATURE: Inguanez 1915, vol. 1, pp. 98–103; Bloch 1946, pp. 204–6, 209–10; Demus, *Byzantine Art*, 1970, pp. 26–28, figs. 25–27; Kitzinger 1972, pp. 155–60, fig. 7; F. Newton 1973, pp. 6–7; F. Newton 1979, pp. 181–205, pls. 20a, b, 21; Bloch 1986, vol. 1, pp. 58–80, figs. 19, 49; Orofino and Adacher 1989, pp. 36–106, fig. 22, pp. 109–41, figs. 1–4, 13–15; Speciale 1991, pp. 148–57, fig. 49; Speciale 1993, pp. 19–35, figs. 1–8, 19, 20; Zanardi 1993, pp. 37–49.

EXHIBITION: Monte Cassino 1989.

310. Greek Gospel

South Italian, 12th–13th century
 Tempera on vellum; 138 fols.
 29.2 × 20 cm (11½ × 7¾ in.)

CONDITION: The manuscript was restored in 1955 and has a modern binding.

Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, Italy (Ms. D 67 sup.)

Assigned to southern Italy and dated by scholars to the twelfth or thirteenth century, well after Byzantine control of the region had ended, this Greek Gospel is profusely illustrated with depictions of Saints Matthew, Luke, and Mark, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Betrayal, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Baptism of Christ, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Dormition of the Virgin.¹ These scenes, which find close parallels both in works of Middle Byzantine art and in intensely byzantinizing Italian art, underscore the array of Byzantine models available in Italy.² The Baptism, for example, depicts a Christ whose arms are raised, a position seen as early as the mosaics at Hosios Loukas.³ The striding seminude draped figure of John the Baptist finds close parallels in the byzantinizing frescoes at Parma from the middle of the thirteenth century.⁴ The Adoration with Joseph standing behind the Virgin occurs in Early Christian sarcophagi, but otherwise this ver-

sion of the scene is Middle Byzantine, appearing at Hosios Loukas and in Cappadocian wall painting.⁵ The Dormition of the Virgin with Jephonias attempting to turn over her bier has its best parallels in Middle and Late Byzantine painting.⁶ Such use of Byzantine models similar to those proposed for other South Italian Latin manuscripts suggests that this one was made in a Campanian center such as Benevento.⁷ Initials, ornamental motifs, and especially the figure types and the decoration of the thrones of the evangelists, both of which are strikingly like those found in a twelfth-century Exultet Roll (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 724 B 13), support this localization.⁸

RWC

1. Cipriani 1968, p. 28; Gengaro et al. 1957, pp. 176, 195–202, pls. LXXI–LXXXVIII.
2. Brussels 1982, p. 66; Gengaro et al. 1957, p. 201.
3. Schiller 1971, vol. 1, fig. 362.
4. Demus 1968, pl. xxxvii, fig. 79.
5. Schiller 1971, vol. 1, p. 96, figs. 246, 269; Epstein 1986, fig. 64.
6. Weitzmann, *Icon*, 1978, p. 118, pl. 40.
7. Belting 1968, pp. 237, 243.
8. Avery 1936, pp. 29–39, pls. cxix, cxx, cxxiv; A. Grabar 1972, pls. 66, 67, 69, 70.

LITERATURE: Gengaro et al. 1957, pp. 176, 195–202, pls. LXXI–LXXXVIII; Cipriani 1968, p. 28.

EXHIBITIONS: Zurich 1948–49, no. 192; Brussels 1982, no. M14.

311. Portion of a Bible Leaf with Saint Luke

Burgundian (Cluny), ca. 1100
Tempera, with gold and silver, on parchment
17.1 × 16.2 cm (6 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: There are scattered small losses of pigment through abrasion and creasing.

PROVENANCE: Abbey of Cluny, ca. 1100;
L. V. Randall, Montreal.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund (68.190)

This fragment is the lower outside quarter of a large Bible page. The recto contains a portion of two columns of text, one of

which is the end of the Gospel of Saint Mark and the other the beginning of Saint Jerome's preface to the Gospel of Luke. The latter ends just above the miniature of Saint Luke, on the verso of the original full page.

The monumentality of the figure of Saint Luke depends on the linear description of form, the proportional relationship of the large body to the small head, and the strong and dramatic color contrasts with the highly patterned background. The dignity of the evangelist is balanced by the reverse perspective of the lectern, the dashing movement of the wavy scroll, and the twisted head and wings of the evangelist's symbol, the ox, at the lower right. Both the composi-

tional force and the concentrated energy of this Romanesque miniature are unmistakable and would have been particularly foreign to Byzantine sensibilities.

Yet in the delineation of the drapery, in the style of the bearded head, and in a certain statuesque flavor there is a clear dependence on Byzantine painting. This could have occurred directly through contact with Greek monks and their work¹ or indirectly through the interpretations of Byzantine conventions by Crusader artists active in the Holy Land² and by others working at Monte Cassino³ and Rome,⁴ whose paintings may have been familiar to members of the scriptorium at Cluny.





312. The Koimesis, fol. 29r



312. The Virgin in Glory, fol. 30r

The Byzantine system of “damp folds,” exemplified by the Matthew miniature also now in Cleveland (cat. no. 58A), was a method of treating the draped figure that was adapted from classical art by the Byzantines, who developed the practice “into a systematic interplay of plastic folds forming well-marked ridges and drapery surfaces clinging closely to the body.”⁵ These are the elements most clearly seen in the Cluny miniature; they are also a representative stylistic ingredient in the presumed wave of Byzantine influence that affected manuscript production and wall painting in much of Western Europe,⁶ especially in the first half of the twelfth century.⁷

W D W

1. Geanakoplos 1966, p. 45; a psalter from Constantinople, of about 1070, with miniatures probably based on the mosaics at Daphni, appears to have been in Cologne shortly after the consecration of the Gereonskirche there in 1069 (Cologne 1985, no. E 41, illus.).
2. “Crusader manuscripts may have come to the West quite early,” according to Weitzmann, in Weitzmann, “Various Aspects,” 1966, p. 22; see also idem,

- pp. 20–23, figs. 35–37, 39; Buchthal 1957; Kitzinger 1966, p. 35. Most prominent is Queen Melisende’s Psalter (cat. no. 259), made in Jerusalem, dating between 1131 and 1143, which was apparently in France in the late twelfth or thirteenth century; see also London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 180, p. 164.
3. Schapiro 1964, pp. 42, 50, fig. 51; Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, p. 38; Bloch 1986, vol. 3, p. 1168, fig. 48 (especially the drapery surrounding the legs of the seated Saint Benedict).
4. Lower Church of San Clemente: late-eleventh-century frescoes of the Miracle of Saint Clement and the Translation of the Relics of Saint Clement; see Schapiro 1964, p. 42; Demus, *Byzantine Art*, 1970, pp. 107–9, fig. 107; Krautheimer 1980, pp. 180–81, fig. 136.
5. Koehler 1941, pp. 70–79; quotation is from Nordenfalk, in A. Grabar and Nordenfalk 1958, p. 188; see also Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, p. 37.
6. Koehler 1941, p. 79; Schapiro 1964, pp. 42, 50; Garrison 1953–62, vol. 3, p. 200; Kauffmann 1975, p. 25.
7. Weitzmann 1966, p. 20.

LITERATURE: Schapiro 1964, pp. 36n 125, 46nn 184, 185, 47n 195, 48n 196, 50, 61, fig. 50; Wixom, in Cleveland 1967, no. 11-7, pp. 2, 34–35, 349; Wixom 1969, pp. 129–35, 168, cover illus. (color), back cover illus.; Cahn 1982, pp. 104, 105, fig. 61 (color), p. 270, no. 64; Avril et al. 1983, p. 174, fig. 158, p. 176; Cahn 1996, vol. 1, pp. 27, 35 n. 77, fig. 14, vol. 2, p. 68.

312. The Winchester Psalter

English (Winchester), ca. 1150
Tempera on vellum; 142 fols.
32 × 22.5 cm (12½ × 8¾ in.)

The British Library, Department of Manuscripts,
London, England (Cotton Ms. Nero C. IV)

The Winchester Psalter with canticles and prayers to Christ and the Virgin is prefaced by thirty-eight full-page miniatures with scenes from the Old and New Testaments. With its pictorial frontispiece and intercessory prayers, the volume constitutes a private devotional psalter of a kind first seen in twelfth-century England and widespread thereafter. Although many were made for women, the masculine forms in the prayers here indicate a male owner, who is generally thought to have been Henry of Blois, noted art collector and bishop of Winchester from 1129 to his death in 1171.

The frontispiece miniatures seem to have been conceived as facing pairs but were changed into a sequence of rectos during a rebinding, probably in 1842. The pair of miniatures illustrated here is characteristic of the cycle in its emphasis on the Virgin but

exceptional in its Byzantine character, seen in the use of the Koimesis (the Byzantine image of her “dormition”) on folio 29r and the imperial angels on folio 30r.

The location of this pair of leaves between the Gospel cycle and the Last Judgment is significant, for it places the Virgin’s commanding presence and prayerful pose protectively before the grisly scenes of the Judgment. No less significant are the Anglo-Norman inscriptions introduced above the scenes shortly after they were made. Above the Dormition we read *ICI EST LA SUMPTION DE NOSTRE DAME* (Here is the Assumption of Our Lady); above the enthroned Virgin is *ICI EST FAITE REINE DEL CIEL* (Here [she] is made Queen of Heaven). The inscriptions contrast with the iconic concentration of the images, for they imply dramatic action: the Virgin’s recumbent pose is read as her bodily elevation into heaven, and her intercessory posture between angels is read as her coronation as heaven’s queen. These readings express Catholic, not Orthodox, theology and reflect the lively interest in mid-twelfth-century Western Europe and particularly in England in the bodily assumption of the Virgin and her coronation as Christ’s spouse in eternity.

The inscriptions explain the Virgin’s placement in the psalter by elucidating her elevation to her potent position as intimate intercessor before the tribunal of God. They do not, however, explain the scenes’ Byzantine form. Francis Wormald has suggested that it is unlikely that the two pages imitate a Byzantine diptych, for when the Virgin is paired with the Koimesis in Orthodox art, she always has her child. Holger Klein has most recently argued that her enthroned and orans pose on folio 30r derives from a very different Byzantine context — as an intercessor at the Last Judgment. It is so appropriate to the psalter that it must have been adopted knowingly. But because it would not have been paired with the Koimesis in Orthodox art, the “diptych” must be not a Greek but an English creation. The use of the paired Byzantine images demands an explanation more intentional than mere copying.

It may be that the psalter’s owner understood the contemplative power of Byzantine icons and wanted such a pause before confronting the Judgment. But the inscriptions are anything but contemplative. They suggest that the scenes were used to convey an idea that had not yet developed its own visual formula: the Virgin’s bodily assumption to become Christ’s spouse and queen. At the time the psalter was made, this theme was assuming a recognized form in the Coronation



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portals of Early Gothic France. However, the Winchester Psalter seems to have drawn on a different and more distant monumental source — the image of the Koimesis in the church outside Jerusalem that housed the Virgin’s tomb. The sight of Jesus elevating his mother’s soul over a tomb that was empty of her body would have been for Western visitors a most compelling visualization of the doctrine of the Virgin’s bodily assumption. The “diptych’s” Byzantine imagery may have been a way of conveying this pilgrimage vision in England. In addition to justifying the unusual pairing of images and their pronounced Byzantine character, this would also explain a detail that has puzzled scholars: the translation of the footstool by the Virgin’s bed on folio 29r into a sarcophagus. It is her empty tomb. The “diptych” shows clearly that the use of Byzantine images was not a matter of blind copying or indiscriminate influence; it was a matter of conscious message making.

AWC

LITERATURE: Herbert 1916, p. 6; Wormald 1973; Kauffmann 1975, no. 78; Crown 1976; Witzling 1978, pp. 28–35; Witzling 1984, pp. 17–24; Haney 1986; H. Klein 1994.

313. Canon Page with the Crucifixion, from a Sacramentary

German (Lower Saxony, probably Hildesheim), ca. 1160

Tempera and gold leaf on vellum
30.2 × 20 cm (11 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: Collection of Ernst and Marthe Kofler-Truniger, Lucerne.

The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Tex. Museum purchase with funds provided by the Laurence H. Favrot Bequest Fund (71.8)

This Crucifixion leaf, which originally opened the canon of the mass in a sacramentary, has been attributed convincingly to Hildesheim and dated to about 1160. Remarkable stylistic similarities, including facial types and palette, tie it to the sacramentary written about 1159 for the priest Ratmann of the Church of Saint Michael at Hildesheim and to the Stammheim Missal, also produced at Hildesheim during the same period.¹ The closeness of the figure of the Virgin to the Virgin in the Crucifixion of the Stammheim Missal suggests that both works may well be by the same painter.² Whether our painter was based at Hildesheim or elsewhere is, however, inconclusive, since these three works also show similarities with manuscripts from Helmarshausen.³

All these works belong to the reign of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and indeed, from the middle to the end of the twelfth century, the region was a center of remarkable manuscript illumination and metalwork production.⁴ Scholars have noted an increasing use, in works of this period, of stylistic elements drawn from Byzantine art. The Houston leaf marks an early stage in this process. As Jack Schrader has eloquently written, “[It is a] representative of a Saxon ideal” upon which later works are based. He goes on to note that in the Houston Crucifixion, Byzantine influence “is but mildly and naturally assimilated.”⁵ Indeed, the position of the figure of Christ, the Virgin’s facial type, and in particular her pose and mantle distantly reflect a familiarity with Byzantine art that was present in Europe beginning in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods. Here, however, the Byzantine elements are restrained in the smooth and simple planes of the drapery and in the strong outline. This assimilation contrasts with the more direct copying of such elements found in Saxon manuscript illumination by the turn of the century.⁶

RWC

1. Elbern and Reuther 1969, pp. 50–51; H. Swarzenski 1974, p. 79, figs. 479, 480; Stuttgart 1977, vol. 1, pp. 588–89, vol. 2, fig. 552.
2. Schiller 1972, vol. 2, fig. 433.
3. Jansen 1933, pp. 116–17, fig. 27.
4. De Winter 1985, pp. 55–114.
5. Schrader 1971, p. 147.
6. Belting 1978, pp. 217–57.

LITERATURE: Schrader 1971, pp. 142–49, figs. 1, 2.

EXHIBITIONS: Cologne 1960, no. 106; Zurich 1964, no. 966; Aachen 1965, no. M2; Barcelona 1967, no. 38; Cologne 1968, no. D53.



314. The Virtues and the Corporal Works of Mercy, fol. 3v

314. The Floreffe Bible

Mosan, ca. 1153
 Tempera on vellum; 256 fols.
 47.9 × 32.5 cm (18 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: Written and illustrated for the Premonstratensian canons of Floreffe Abbey, in southeastern Belgium.

The British Library, Department of Manuscripts, London, England (Add. Ms. 17738)

This two-volume Bible of 256 folios was written and illuminated about the year 1153 for the Premonstratensian canons of Floreffe Abbey in southeastern Belgium. Its figural decoration consists of only five miniatures:

a frontispiece for each of the four Gospels and a general frontispiece to the second volume, which is exhibited here.

The frontispiece to volume 2 documents an extraordinary moment in the history of the relationship between the Greek East and the Latin West, a time in the mid-twelfth century when a sudden increase of interest in and access to Byzantine Greek culture swept over Europe. Much of the intellectual content of this work has its origin in Byzantine theology: the notion of treating a scriptural

sequence as an allegory of spiritual ascent, the explanation of the means by which the Christian can approach God, and the interpretation of the Transfiguration as an emblem for the highest form of contemplation.

In words and pictures the two-page frontispiece constructs a complex exegesis of the content of the volume it accompanies (Job through Revelation), interpreting the biblical narrative of humanity’s journey to God as an allegory of the individual’s spiritual ascent. The long inscription written outside



314. The Transfiguration and the Last Supper, fol. 4r

the surrounding frame states that the imagery is a “sign” for the active and the contemplative lives, the means by which the Christian can achieve salvation. The active life, represented by the Virtues and the Corporal Works of Mercy at the left, is the prerequisite for the contemplative life, symbolized by the Last Supper and the Transfiguration at the right.

The Transfiguration scene, at the top of the right-hand page, represents the conclusion of both the historical sequence of the

Bible and the personal narrative that is the subject of the allegory depicted. Early Christian theologians recognized the event that occurred on Mount Tabor not only as a proleptic allusion to the Second Coming but also as a revelation of Christ’s divinity, for on Tabor, God, in his own voice, claimed Christ as his son. Insight into the nature of God and the Trinity was considered to be the highest achievement of spiritual contemplation, and the metamorphosis witnessed by the three disciples on the mountain was thus an emblem for

the pinnacle of contemplative experience, the goal of the spiritual pilgrimage.

The visual symptom of the pervasive Greek influence in the frontispiece is the Transfiguration scene, which is based on a Byzantine pictorial prototype similar to the mosaic icon from the Louvre (cat. no. 77). However, the designer of the Floreffe Transfiguration significantly modified his Byzantine model by placing Peter, rather than the traditional image of John, in the privileged central position. The words in the banderoles representing the voice of God are from the second of the canonical Epistles of Peter, in which the author speaks of the Transfiguration (2 Pet. 1:17–18). The use of God’s words as described by Peter rather than as recorded in the Gospels emphasizes Peter’s centrality in the Floreffe program. The seven rays emanating from Christ’s body, an allusion to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (Isa. 11:1–3), are rather awkwardly disposed so that three rays fall on Peter and only one strikes each of the four other figures surrounding Christ. Peter, alone of all the disciples, had been granted insight into the nature of Christ before the Transfiguration when he called him “the Messiah, the Son of the living God” (Matt. 16:16); thus, the three rays directed at Peter suggest that in making this pronouncement he anticipated the revelation on Tabor. Perhaps this is why the Floreffe artist departed slightly from the Gospel accounts and chose to show Peter gazing confidently upward, chin in hand, rather than stricken with fear like the other apostles.

As the first disciple to acknowledge Christ’s divinity, Peter was declared to be the rock on which the Church was to be built. To medieval Western theologians this moment of recognition represented the birth of the Church on earth and marked the designation of Peter as its first priest. Floreffe was a house of the Premonstratensians, an ascetic order of canons regular, priests living a communal monastic life under a rule. Because he was the prototypical Christian priest, Peter was particularly venerated by canons regular.

In locating Peter in the axial position in the Transfiguration scene, the designer placed him directly above the figure of John in the representation of the Last Supper in the bottom register of the page. Peter and John traditionally were paired in patristic exegesis as exemplars, respectively, of the active and contemplative lives. John, author of the fourth Gospel, was the prototypical contemplative. The prologue to his Gospel, “In the beginning was the Word” (John 1:1–18),

was considered the most sublime expression of Christ's ineffable nature in Scripture, and his gesture of leaning on Christ's breast at the Last Supper was interpreted as evidence of his special knowledge of the innermost secrets of the Divinity.

The Premonstratensians and other reformed orders of canons regular that emerged in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries came into considerable conflict with older and more established orders, especially that of the Benedictines, which argued for the superiority of the contemplative life. The canons responded that both action and contemplation were essential, arguing that their life followed the example of Peter, who, while he was chosen to contemplate the divinity of Christ at the Transfiguration, continued to devote himself to the ministry.

Thus, through its focus on Peter the frontispiece acts as a work of self-definition for the patrons and users of the Bible, the canons of Floreffe Abbey. It reminded them that their way of life — inaugurated by Jesus himself and by Peter, prince of the apostles — was designed to lead them to increased intimacy with God. It provides as well an extraordinarily sophisticated example of the reception of Byzantine art in the West, demonstrating that artists and patrons not only were sensitive to the visual beauty of Byzantine models but in at least this case were also aware of the complex theological issues that lay at their heart.

A-M B

LITERATURE: Chapman 1964; Chapman 1971, pp. 49–62; Köllner 1972, vol. 2, pp. 361–76; Cahn 1982, pp. 198–99, 265, no. 46; Katzenellenbogen 1989, pp. 37–38; Chapman 1991, pp. 96–131.

315. Leaves from a Beatus Manuscript

A. Folio with Christ in Majesty with Angels (above) and God's Angel Commissions Saint John the Theologian to Write the Book of Revelation (below)

B. Bifolium with the Adoration of the Magi

Spanish (near Burgos), ca. 1180
 Tempera, gold, and ink on parchment
 A. 45.2 × 59 cm (17¾ × 23¼ in.)
 B. 30.2 × 44.8 cm (11¾ × 17½ in.)

PROVENANCE: Monastery of San Pedro de Cordeña, Burgos; in the possession of Martin Le Roy, Paris, and J.-J. Marquet de Vasselot, Paris; to the dealer Alain Moatti, Paris.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Purchase, The Cloisters Collection, Rogers and Harris Brisbane Dick Funds, and Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1991 (1991.232.2,3)



315A

Beatus manuscripts are illustrated commentaries on the Apocalypse, the biblical revelation to Saint John. The compilation of visionary texts, made about 776 by an Asturian monk called Beatus of Liébana, consists of passages from the Book of Revelation accompanied by interpretations cast as Christian allegories.¹ The pages shown here, part of a larger group at the Metropolitan Museum, came from a manuscript attributed to the Monastery of San Pedro de Cordeña, a tenth-century foundation a short distance from Burgos.² The major part of this work, which was dispersed in the 1870s, is in Madrid.³

The overall style of the illustrations in the Cordeña Beatus is notable for the vibrant and dramatic color contrasts, the powerfully controlled linear treatment of the figures and their draperies, and the refined yet intricate patterns in the pen work. The configurations and proportions of the monumentally conceived figures, a departure from earlier Mozarabic Beatus illustrations, are

consistent with European stylistic trends of the second half of the twelfth century.

The two selected leaves demonstrate the dual modes of depicting drapery found in the manuscript. Leaf A vividly represents the “damp-fold” style, which was pervasive throughout Western Europe from about 1100 (see cat. no. 311). Because of the intensity of the linear rhythms in the Cordeña miniature, the Byzantine ancestry of the damp folds seems removed, as if seen through the prism of English manuscript painting as practiced in the second quarter of the twelfth century at Bury Saint Edmunds, Canterbury, and Winchester.⁴ The Majesty illustration provides an especially striking echo of the clinging, curvilinear drapery style advanced in the Bible produced about 1135 at the English Abbey of Bury Saint Edmunds.⁵

The figure and drapery style of the Cordeña Adoration of the Magi (B) is more descriptive and less abstract. The draperies are almost always layered in pleats ending in zigzag or stepped edges, the whole suggesting



315B

the low-relief configurations of Middle Byzantine ivory icons, a few of which reached the Iberian peninsula as early as the late eleventh century (see cat. no. 304). Certain other Byzantine conventions appear, such as the Virgin's *maphorion* (see cat. no. 87) as well as her high seat with footstool (see cat. no. 312) and cushion. In contrast, the figure of Christ in the Majesty miniature, while also seated on a cushion, is supported by a Western-style zoomorphic faldstool. Thus Byzantium made a more or less direct impact in a particular way on the Adoration miniature, while the influence is decidedly indirect or second- or third-hand on the Majesty illustration.

W D W

1. Williams 1977, pp. 24–28; Williams, “Purpose and Imagery,” 1992, pp. 217–33.
2. Rada y Delgado and Malibrán 1871, p. 26; Lemoisne 1909, pp. 131–40; Williams, “Imaginaría apocalíptica,” 1992, pp. 371–82; Wixom, “Recent Acquisitions,” 1992, p. 21; Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, 1993, vol. 5 (forthcoming), no. 21.

3. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Other leaves reside in the collection of Francisco de Zabálburu y Basabe, Madrid, and in the Museu d'Art, Girona; Williams, in New York 1993, p. 300, no. 153.
4. For the Bury Bible, see Kauffmann 1975, pp. 88–90, no. 56; for the Canterbury Lambeth Bible, of about 1140–50, see *ibid.*, pp. 99–100, illus. 194, 195, figs. 30, 32, 36; for the Winchester Psalter, see cat. no. 312. The artist of the Lambeth Bible was responsible also for two monumental evangelist portraits datable to 1146 that are preserved in Avesnes-sur-Helpe, France; see London 1984, no. 54, p. 116 (Saint Mark illustration). For a discussion of the damp-fold style in England, see Kauffmann 1975, p. 25.
5. Kauffmann 1975, no. 56, esp. fig. 152: Ezekiel's Vision of God (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 2, fol. 281v).

LITERATURE: Lemoisne 1909, pp. 131–40; Domínguez Bordona 1933, p. 487; P. Klein 1976, p. 414; Madrid 1986, mentioned on p. 115; Williams, “Imaginaría apocalíptica,” 1992, pp. 374–76; Wixom, “Recent Acquisitions,” 1992; Cardona 1993, pp. 64–66 n. 8, 70–71 n. 21, 76–77; Williams, *Illustrated Beatus*, 1993, vol. 5 (forthcoming), no. 21; Williams, in

New York 1993, pp. 300–301, no. 153; Cardona 1995, pp. 86 n. 5, 88, 94–98, 102 n. 30; New York 1993, no. 153.

316. Sacramentary

Sicilian (Messina?), ca. 1180–90; 19th century (binding)
Tempera and gold on vellum, with leather binding;
303 fols.
31.8 × 22 cm (12½ × 8¾ in.)

PROVENANCE: Probably from the Cathedral Treasury, Messina; collection of the duke of Uceda.
Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Spain (Cod. 52)

For the Norman kings of the Hauteville dynasty, who ruled Sicily in the twelfth century, Byzantine art was the ultimate symbol of earthly power. Like the great mosaic programs at Palermo, Monreale, and Cefalù, (see illus. on pp. 436, 439), manuscripts now housed in large part in Madrid and Messina testify to the importance of

Byzantine works to the European rulers of the Kingdom of Sicily.¹

Among these manuscripts Madrid 52 is the most spectacular. This complete Latin sacramentary contains not only illuminated initials but also a decorated calendar and full-page images of the Virgin and Child and the Crucifixion located just after the prefaces and before the canon of the Mass.² In its 303 folios there are, in addition, collects, secrets, postcommunion prayers, a sanctorale, and a litany. First attributed by Hugo Buchthal and Angela Daneu Lattanzi to a scriptorium that worked for Richard Palmer, the English archbishop of Messina, at the end of the twelfth century, Madrid 52 was redated to the first quarter of the thirteenth century and associated with Palermo as well as Messina by Valentino Pace in 1977.³ Recently, however, scholars have returned to the earlier date and the assignment to Messina, based on aspects of the paleography, the provenance of most of the other examples in the manuscript group, and the choice of saints in its calendar and litany, as originally argued by Buchthal.⁴ Yet Pace raises some important issues. Some initials in the manuscripts combine naturalistic foliage with Central Italian, English, and Byzantine details more typical of late-twelfth-century Sicilian illumination. Pace sees this foliage as having been inspired by thirteenth-century German metalwork, but a more likely source would be English manuscript illumination, an influence he himself noted in 1975.⁵

Of great significance to Pace and other scholars has been the relationship between Madrid 52 and the mosaics at Monreale. These works share Byzantine ornamental motifs, and in their lively drapery both represent the Byzantine “dynamic” style of the second half of the twelfth century.⁶ The acanthus-based throne of the Virgin and Child occurs throughout the Monreale program.⁷ The outlines and foliate decoration of their halos also are seen at Monreale.⁸ Such details notwithstanding, the dotted cloth in the lap of the Virgin and the style of the initial reflect the Western origin of the painter.

Correspondences between the Madrid sacramentary and the Monreale mosaics do not, however, justify the manuscripts’ assignment to Palermo. Mosaics were commissioned for Messina during Palmer’s reign.⁹ And aspects of the Virgin and Child indicate that the artist knew other Byzantine works. Images of the Virgin on backless thrones like the one in Madrid 52 occur throughout Middle Byzantine art, as in the Kykkotissa icon at the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai (cat. no. 244).¹⁰ Altarpieces with this type of embracing Virgin, usually



316. Virgin and Child, fol. 80r

called the Eleousa, similarly enthroned, appeared elsewhere in Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹¹ Above all, the tall, thin, intensely emotional Virgin of Madrid 52 finds her closest stylistic counterparts in wall paintings at Nerezi dated 1164 and at Kurbinovo dated 1192; at Kurbinovo we find a similar Virgin and Child on an acanthus-decorated backless throne.¹² The rippled drapery of the Child in Madrid 52 is seen in an icon of the Virgin and Child recently associated with the Palermo mosaics and dated to about 1171.¹³ The striking analogies between the Child in this panel and that in an altarpiece on Sinai testify to the familiarity with Byzantine art shared by the painters who worked in Sicily.¹⁴

RWC

1. Buchthal 1955, pp. 312–13.
2. For extensive bibliography and a description of the manuscript, see Pace 1977; Stuttgart 1977; and Palermo 1995, pp. 365–67.
3. Buchthal 1955, pp. 315–19, 329–39; Lattanzi 1966, pp. 27–30, among other publications; Pace, “Untersuchungen,” 1977, pp. 431–54.
4. Palermo 1995, pp. 357–78.
5. Pace 1977, fig. 329; see, for example, British Library, add. Ms. 33241, in Blackhouse et al. 1985, pp. 144–45.
6. Kitzinger 1970; Pace 1977; Kitzinger 1992–94, figs. 2, 131–34; Palermo 1995, pp. 365–67.
7. Kitzinger 1992–94, figs. 285, 290.
8. *Ibid.*, figs. 15, 23, 59, 70, 94, 95, 290.
9. Buchthal 1955, p. 313.
10. Lazarev 1938, figs. 44, 45; Carr 1993–94, fig. 1.
11. Garrison 1949, p. 132; Maguire 1980–81; Lazarev 1938, fig. 2. For extensive bibliography on this

- type and the possible meanings of such images, see Corrie 1996, pp. 45–53, 60–63.
12. Kitzinger 1970, pp. 49–58; Hadermann-Misguich 1975, vol. 2, fig. 8.
13. Palermo 1995, fig. 117.1, no. 117.
14. *Sinai* 1990, p. 112, figs. 54, 55.

LITERATURE: Buchthal 1955, pp. 312–39, figs. 1–6; Lattanzi 1966, pp. 27–30; Pace 1977, p. 181; Stuttgart 1977, pp. 649–50; Pace, “Untersuchungen,” 1977, pp. 437–76, figs. 339–52; Palermo 1995, pp. 365–67.

EXHIBITIONS: Barcelona 1961, no. 22; Athens 1964, no. 377, p. 352; Stuttgart 1977, vol. 1, no. 813, pp. 649–50; Palermo 1995, no. 100.

317. The New Testament

Italian (probably Sicily), ca. 1200
Tempera on vellum; 283 fols.
24.7 × 155.8 cm (9¾ × 6¼ in.)

PROVENANCE: Probably in the possession of a cloister in the diocese of Bergamo by the end of the fifteenth century; thereafter in the collections of Franz Trau, Vienna; Lord John Jacob Astor of Hever, H. P. Kraus, New York; Peter and Irene Ludwig.

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Calif.
(Ms. Ludwig 15; 83.MA.54)

By virtue of its geographic location and political history, Sicily in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was at the cultural intersection of Byzantium and northern Europe. An attribution to Sicily of about 1200 allows a series of anomalies in the structure and decoration of this New Testament to fall into place.¹ The attribution is based on characteristics shared with a group of manuscripts now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid but originally from Messina; the date has been established in part by analysis of its calendar.² The inclusion of such a calendar in a New Testament is but one of the unusual characteristics of this manuscript. Another is its major illumination, a full-page depiction of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis, themes found more often in missals, sacramentaries, and even psalters. Anton von Euw and Joachim Plotzek note that while these two themes can generally be associated with the Sicilian use of Byzantine art in manuscripts and mosaics, as well as with Italian Romanesque painting, the page format with roundels, the meander pattern, and the foliage find their best correspondences in English illumination from the middle of the twelfth to the early thirteenth century.³ Even the poses and drapery of the small figures indicate that the painter was familiar with English manuscripts.⁴ Valentino Pace joins von Euw and Plotzek, among



317. The Crucifixion and the Anastasis, fol. 191v

others, in pointing out that the connections between Sicilian manuscripts painted about 1200 and English illuminated manuscripts are not unusual and correspond to the presence in Sicily of members of the English aristocracy, including Johanna, queen of Sicily, the daughter of Henry II.⁵ A Sicilian attribution of this work is supported by the persistence into the third quarter of the thirteenth century of similar foliate elements in South Italian manuscripts.⁶

RWC

1. New York 1970, p. 292; Euw and Plotzek 1979, pp. 63–70.
2. On the Sicilian manuscripts, see Pace, “Untersuchungen,” 1977, and Lattanzi 1966, pp. 46–47.

3. New York 1970, p. 241; Euw and Plotzek 1979, pp. 70–71; N. Morgan 1982, figs. 86, 190; London 1984, pp. 59, 116, 120.
4. N. Morgan 1982, fig. 160.
5. Pace 1977; Euw and Plotzek 1979, p. 70.
6. Toubert 1979, figs. 4–12; Corrie 1994, figs. 2–5.

LITERATURE: Euw and Plotzek 1979, pp. 63–71, pl. 15, figs. 7–11.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1970, no. 286; New York 1978, no. 20.



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318. The Freiburg Leaf

Upper Rhenish artist, working in the Mediterranean, ca. 1200 (?)

Silverpoint and sepia with red ink on vellum; single leaf

31 × 20.2 cm (12¼ × 8 in.)

INSCRIBED: The inscriptions, in later hands, include a homily on 1 Cor. 3:8ff by an anonymous author.

CONDITION: There are losses in the vellum along the right fold.

PROVENANCE: Discovered in 1912 by the architect H. Flamm in a municipal account book of 1655.

Augustinermuseum, Freiburg im Breisgau, Germany (G 23/1c)

The upper half of the leaf illustrates the scene of Christ and Zacchaeus from Luke 19:1–6, indicated by a list on a related leaf (G23/1a) as “ubi Zacchaeus in arbore” (where Zacchaeus was in the tree):

He entered Jericho and was passing through it. A man was there named

Zacchaeus; he was a chief tax collector and was rich. He was trying to see who Jesus was, but on account of the crowd he could not, because he was short in stature. So he ran ahead and climbed a sycamore tree to see him, because he was going to pass that way. When Jesus came to the place, he looked up and said to him, “Zacchaeus, hurry and come down; for I must stay at your house today.” So he hurried down and was happy to welcome him.

In the lower half are two military saints: Saint George at the left and Saint Theodore at the right, indicated in the previously mentioned list as “Theodorus equitans cum alio” (Theodore riding with another). Although Saint George is not specified here, he generally appears as Theodore’s companion in Byzantine art.¹

The different techniques—silverpoint for the upper scene, sepia with red ink for the lower—suggest work done by a traveling

artist in different venues and with various models.² The Zacchaeus scene very likely comes from a manuscript illustration, while the two mounted military saints seem to derive from an icon. The pose of Saint George is similar to that on an icon of the saint in the British Museum (cat. no. 261). Although iconographic details—such as the diadem and the armor and clothing—vary between the two works and although the two horses and the companion are shown in different poses, we may conjecture that the drawing is directly related to icon painting. The dating must remain inconclusive, for although the drawing has generally been attributed to the years around 1200, the extant icons date to about the middle of the thirteenth century.

J F

1. Weitzmann, “Icon Painting,” 1966, p. 79.

2. Ibid.

LITERATURE: Demus 1950, pp. 445ff.; Munich 1950, no. 239; Scheller 1963, pp. 73ff., cat. no. 7; Weitzmann, “Byzantium and the West,” 1975, p. 68; Kroos 1977, vol. 1, pp. 542–43, fig. 513 (with earlier bibliography); Schlieter 1985, pp. 316–18, B.89; Alexander 1992, p. 98 n. 15, fig. 160; Scheller 1995, pp. 136–43, no. 8.

EXHIBITIONS: Freiburg 1970, no. 8; New York 1970; no. 268; Stuttgart 1977, no. 722; Cologne 1985, no. B89.

319. The “Model Book” of Wolfenbüttel

North Italian (Venice?), ca. 1240

Ink on vellum; 135 fols.

16.6 × 12 cm (6½ × 4¾ in.)

CONDITION: The surface is partially damaged; the binding is modern.

PROVENANCE: Brought to Helmstedt in 1588 from the nearby Cistercian monastery of Marienthal; brought to Wolfenbüttel in 1637.

Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Germany (Cod. Guelf 61.2. Aug. 8^o)

This modest pocket miscellany of Latin texts conceals in its quires a set of remarkable drawings that offer insight into two little-documented aspects of thirteenth-century artistic practice: the use of “model books” and the exchange among Greek and Latin artists during the Latin Interregnum (1204–61). A bifolium, or conjoint pages (78 and 91), and four folios—89 (originally a bifolium), 90, 92, and 93—are densely covered with drawings by a fluent hand in a Byzantine manner lightly accented with the angularity of Saxon art in 1225–50. The Latin texts are Hugh of Saint Victor’s *Summa sententiae*, two commentaries on Priscian,

excerpts from Gaufred, *Summa de arte dic-tandi*, vitae of desert saints, and, written over the drawings, a copy of William of Saint Thierry's *Epistola ad fratres de Monte Dei*. The drawings reflect images originally done in a variety of media. They include ten evangelists — two sets of four and an additional two enhanced by an accompanying figure; Abraham from the Sacrifice of Isaac; a seated ruler; and figures from five christological scenes — the Transfiguration, the Agony in the Garden, the Lamentation, the Anastasis, and the Holy Women at the Sepulchre.

These drawings illustrate the intricate relationship between Greek and Latin art, as Hugo Buchthal has shown.¹ One set of evangelists, though quite Byzantine in style, is iconographically identical not to Byzantine examples but to those in the Saxon Goslar Gospels of 1230–40, showing how fully Byzantine motifs had been integrated into the German artistic imagination. By contrast the Anastasis — the Byzantine Easter icon showing Christ's descent into hell to release the righteous — depicts Christ pulling Adam and Eve by the wrist from hell. This version of the event is used in the group of manuscripts associated with the Goslar Gospels. It is not found in surviving Byzantine examples before the early fourteenth century and was undoubtedly quite novel when it was adopted in Germany. This demonstrates how current the Byzantine images available in Germany must have been. Another significant group of drawings, though Byzantine in character, was surely copied from cartoons for the mosaics and sculptures at San Marco, Venice. It is, in fact, to the polyglot part-Byzantine, part-Italian, part-German artistic milieu in Venice that Buchthal attributes the leaves. Finally — and most unexpectedly — one set of evangelists replicates a type which, though known only in Byzantium, is characterized by certain Western details, showing that Byzantine art was affected by Western imagery, just as the West was affected by Byzantium. In reflecting this many-faceted interchange, the Wolfenbüttel drawings assume outstanding importance.

No scene appears as a whole in the drawings. The Anastasis, for example, is strewn in segments over folios 90r, 90v, and 92r. The purpose of such a hodgepodge is unclear. Though called a model book, the leaves cannot have served as compositional guides, as did post-Byzantine model books such as the Rus' icon painters' *podlinniki* or the sixteenth-century Armenian model book in Venice (San Lazzaro 1434).² Buchthal believed the Wolfenbüttel drawings must

come from a model book that did have coherent compositions, but the existence of such model books in the thirteenth century is not certain. We know that painters accumulated drawings and passed them on;³ and we know that in special circumstances full compositional drawings of long cycles were made, as in the case of the Vercelli Roll.⁴ But we should not necessarily equate these two bodies of drawings. To date, the drawings associated with artists' everyday work are — like the Wolfenbüttel examples — collections of excerpts.⁵ They suggest that medieval artists may have produced not model books as such but collections of motifs, relying on their memory to reconstitute the compositions. Certainly the usefulness of the Wolfenbüttel drawings seems to have been particular to their maker, for soon after their creation their parchment was reused for the copy of William of Saint Thierry's *Epistola*, and they were buried in the present miscellany.

A W C

1. Buchthal 1979, pp. 62–63, and passim.
2. On model books in the medieval world, see Scheller 1995, pp. 165–75, and Kitzinger 1975; on San Lazzaro 1434, see Der Nersessian 1968.
3. Thus the will of the Cretan painter Andreas Ritzos makes reference to his drawings; see Baltogianni 1992, p. 345.
4. Kitzinger 1975, pp. 110–13; Eleen 1977.
5. Examples include Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 19093 (Barnes 1982, esp. pp. xxii–xxvi); the two leaves in Vatican lat. 1976 (D. Ross 1962); the drawings in the margins of Oxford, Magdalene College, Ms. gr. 3 (presented by Irmgard Hutter at Princeton University, May 15, 1994); the figure of an evangelist glued to fol. 131v in Vatican Ottob. gr. 2 (Nelson 1981); and the leaf in the Augustiner-museum, Freiburg, with the scene of Zacchaeus and two military saints (cat. no. 318). Interestingly, many of these display cross-cultural images, as do the Wolfenbüttel leaves.

LITERATURE: Rucker and Hahnloser 1929; Weitzmann 1961, pp. 223–50; Scheller 1963, p. 78, no. 8, and passim; Cames 1966, pp. 284–89, figs. 307, 310, 313, 317, 318, 320–22, 324, 328, 329; Belting 1970, p. 12; Demus 1970, pp. 36, 38, 202–4, figs. 225, 227; Stuttgart 1977, vol. 1, pp. 596–98, no. 765; Belting 1978, pp. 217–57; Buchthal 1979; Weitzmann 1982, pp. 349–50, fig. 53; Scheller 1995.

EXHIBITION: Stuttgart 1977, vol. 1, no. 765.

320. Icon with Saint Nicholas and Scenes from His Life

South Italian (Bari), 13th century
Tempera on wood
128 × 83 cm (50% × 32% in.)

CONDITION: There are extensive losses, especially in the lower frame; a crack, visible in older

photographs, that runs through the figure and face has been repaired.

PROVENANCE: Church of Santa Margherita at Bisceglie.

Pinacoteca Provinciale, Bari, Italy

More images may remain to us of Saint Nicholas of Myra than of any other Byzantine saint. Nicholas had been popular for his miracle working in the Byzantine world before his cult spread to the West after the translation of his relics in 1087 to Bari, in southern Italy.¹ Among the works at Bari that reflect the intensity of the cult is this thirteenth-century vita icon, an image with the standing figure of a saint surrounded by a frame with scenes from his life. Along with a virtually identical vita icon with Saint Margaret, it was originally in the Church of Santa Margherita at Bisceglie.²

On the Saint Nicholas icon are focused a number of important issues regarding the relationship between Byzantine art and the art of the Latin West. One concerns the development of the vita icon itself, both in the Byzantine world and in thirteenth-century Italy, where it became an important aspect of devotion to the saints. A second is the relationship between Byzantine art, Crusader art, and the art of Italy in the thirteenth century, the so-called *maniera greca*. In recent decades, as scholars have attempted to understand this relationship, the origin of the vita icon has become a matter of increasing discussion. The type makes its appearance in both the East and the West at about the same time, although, with the exception of examples in Cyprus, in Eastern works the scenes circle a half- or full-length saint and in the West they are usually found at the sides of full-length portraits.³ The fact that the type appears in Italy during a period of intense imitation of Byzantine art would argue that its origin was in Byzantium, though the sheer number of these images in Italy — spurred by the nature of the devotion to saints such as Francis of Assisi — and the lack of comparable examples in the East before 1200 have left scholars unable to settle the question.⁴ Nevertheless, recent investigations of the vita type, particularly those by Nancy Ševčenko, leave little doubt that it emerged in the East, becoming popular in the twelfth century as an element of private devotion and donation.⁵

When Kurt Weitzmann inaugurated the discussion of images made during the period of the Crusades and probably in the Crusader kingdom, he sought works that would provide clues both to the origin of an artist and

to the style of his work.⁶ One area in which byzantinizing paintings, mostly frescoes, survive is southern Italy, where Greek culture was maintained by a long political, and subsequently religious, connection to the Byzantine Empire. As a result Weitzmann, among others, proposed that some Crusader icon painters were Apulians recruited to work in the East. Panels such as the Saint Nicholas were cited as evidence of this connection. More recently, Valentino Pace and Lucy-Anne Hunt have pointed out how difficult it is to make such connections on the basis of formal analysis alone.⁷ Indeed, similarities in type between the Bari icon and images in the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai (cat no. 65) and the Menil collection in Houston more likely appear to be evidence of an awareness by Apulian and other Italian artists of Byzantine images, as well as the possible presence of Byzantine painters in the West, rather than the reverse.⁸

R W C

1. N. Ševčenko 1983, pp. 19–24.

2. Pace 1980, pp. 357–66.

3. Hager 1962, figs. 128–38.

4. N. Ševčenko 1992, p. 57.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 61–67.

6. Weitzmann, “Icon Painting,” 1966, pp. 69–74.

7. Pace 1982, pp. 248–49; Hunt 1991, pp. 69–71.

8. N. Ševčenko 1992.

LITERATURE: Pace 1980, pp. 360–66; Pace 1982, p. 248; N. Ševčenko 1992, pp. 57, 68 n. 2, fig. 41.

EXHIBITIONS: Rome 1964, no. 27a; Milan 1988, no. 25.

321. Madonna and Child

Berlinghiero (Italian, Lucchese; active by 1228; died by 1236), ca. 1230
Tempera on wood, with gold ground
80.3 × 53.6 cm (31 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: The Virgin's robe is considerably repainted, and the flesh is retouched.

PROVENANCE: Volpi collection, Florence; Straus collection, New York.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of Irma N. Straus, 1960 (60.173)

By the end of the twelfth century, the recruiting of Byzantine artists and the imitation of Byzantine work in mosaic, wall painting, and manuscript illumination were established in Italian centers such as Venice, Palermo, and Monte Cassino.¹ And by the second quarter of the thirteenth century, such practices must have been even more widespread. Byzantine characteristics appeared to such a degree in images made in the increasingly powerful cities of Tuscany and Umbria that

in later centuries thirteenth-century art from those regions was described as the *maniera greca*.² At the same time, in part as a response to changes in the liturgy, there was an increase in the production of religious images painted on wooden panels.³ Similar to Byzantine icons, such images included the Virgin and Child and saints with scenes from their lives, and eventually historiated crucifixes.⁴ One of the earliest practitioners of the “Greek style” was the painter Berlinghiero of Lucca, whose documented activity begins in 1228.⁵ The style associated with his name also is evident in works signed by or attributed to his sons Marco, Barone, and Bonaventura. Making images not only for Lucca but also for Pisa, Florence, and cities as far away as Bologna,⁶ this group of painters and their followers practiced wall and panel painting as well as manuscript illumination. Neither the distance they traveled to carry out commissions nor the variety of media in which they worked is unusual for the major painters of the period. Giunta Pisano, Coppo di Marcovaldo, and Guido da Siena, for example, had similar careers.⁷ Undoubtedly, such versatility and travel spread the Greek style throughout central Italy, and scholars have observed profound Lucchese influence throughout Tuscany.⁸ The geographic range of these commissions demonstrates the value placed on the work of artists who could provide simulations of Byzantine imagery.

The Metropolitan's *Madonna and Child* is an excellent example of Berlinghiero's work. The intense expression, angular face, and linear highlighting are found in other works attributed to him and his followers. The half-length figure of the Virgin, holding the Child in her left arm and gesturing to him with her right, a venerable Byzantine type known as the Hodegetria, is often identified as an image originally painted by Saint Luke. Hans Belting and other scholars have argued that associations of this kind attracted Italian artists and their clients to Byzantine images, and that familiarity with twelfth-century Byzantine works similar to the half-length mosaic icon now in the collection of the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai led to the production of images such as this one.⁹ But Belting has also pointed out that other works may equally have been used as models. Berlinghiero's image, for example, is remarkably close in style as well as in format and emotional content to other Byzantine images, including a panel in Kastoria that shows her with a similarly furrowed brow, reflecting her foreknowledge of the Crucifixion (cat. no. 72).¹⁰

Like the *maniera greca* itself, Berlinghiero's image invites speculation. Its function is not clear, although a survey of the holdings of the Museo Nazionale in Pisa reveals that the type was common in Tuscany in the thirteenth century.¹¹ Such rectangular half-length Virgins may have been intended for side altars or even private chapels, their popularity resulting not only from the efficacy of the prototype but also from the emotional immediacy of the Byzantine style.¹² Both Anne Derbes and Belting have noted that while Italian painters and their clients favored certain Byzantine types, such as the Virgin and Child and saints with scenes from their lives, as well as Byzantine Passion iconography, the elements they chose suited the religious needs of thirteenth-century Italy.¹³ The expanding devotion to saints such as Francis of Assisi and the search for emotional immediacy were central developments in Italian religion of the period,¹⁴ and changes that had already taken place in Byzantine art provided images that addressed these very concerns.¹⁵ Certainly, interest in Byzantine art was not restricted to Italy in the thirteenth century but was shared with other European centers, particularly Central Europe.¹⁶ Aspects of the political history of the time, such as the Fourth Crusade, the continued existence of Crusader states, and the extensive economic and cultural interaction between Italy and the eastern Mediterranean, meant that Italy was in constant contact with the culture of Byzantium and its successor states.¹⁷ Such interaction would have both encouraged and facilitated familiarity with Byzantine art, conferring prestige on those Italians who painted and commissioned works in the Greek style.¹⁸ Yet exactly how painters like Berlinghiero came by their knowledge of Byzantine painting remains unclear, since very little Byzantine art remains in central Italy. Undoubtedly, they consulted works imported from Byzantium or from centers such as Cyprus, though another factor must surely have been the presence in Italy of Eastern artists whose work we no longer recognize.¹⁹

R W C

1. Demus, *Byzantine Art*, 1970, pp. 121–61, figs. 25–27, 37, 45.

2. Weitzmann, “Crusader Icons,” 1984, pp. 143–44.

3. Van Os 1988, pp. 12–15.

4. Belting 1994, pp. 349–50; Garrison 1949; Sandberg-Vavalà 1929.

5. Garrison 1949, p. 12.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 18, 21, 22, 24; see also Angiola 1980; Garrison 1946, pp. 211–12; Garrison 1951, pp. 11–18; Boskovits 1993, pp. 54, 73–76, fig. 32.

7. Garrison 1949, pp. 15–16, 19, 20; Campini 1966; Belting 1994, pp. 358–62; Corrie 1990, pp. 62, 69; Stubblebine 1964; Carli 1977.



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8. Garrison 1949, pp. 21–22; Stubblebine 1964, p. 5; Sandberg-Vavalá 1929, pp. 538–730.
 9. Belting 1994, pp. 47–77, 342–48; Weitzmann 1982, p. 64. Boskovits's reattribution of the image to an Italian painter active about 1200 (in Boskovits 1993) would not affect this interpretation of its source.
 10. Belting 1994, pp. 364–65, figs. 163, 221.

11. Garrison 1949, pp. 24–25, 61–62; Hager 1962, figs. 101, 103–5.
 12. Belting 1994, pp. 349–76.
 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 377–84; see also Derbes 1980, pp. 376–78.
 14. Holmes 1986, pp. 45–69.
 15. Belting 1994, pp. 261–96.
 16. Demus, *Byzantine Art*, 1970, pp. 196–204.

17. Derbes 1989, pp. 195–200.
 18. On this issue, see Corrie 1990, p. 68.
 19. Pace 1985, p. 260; Belting 1982.

LITERATURE: Garrison 1946, pp. 213–14; Garrison 1949, p. 59; Hager 1962; Angiola 1980, pp. 82–84; Boskovits 1993, pp. 54, 73–76, fig. 32; Belting 1994.

EXHIBITION: Florence 1937, no. 3.

322. Three Panels from an Altarpiece with Scenes from the Passion

Italian (Tuscany), ca. 1250

Egg tempera on panel, linen reinforcement with gesso

A. The Crucifixion: 42.2 × 35.5 cm (16 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 14 in.)

B. The Deposition: 43.7 × 36 cm (17 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

C. The Lamentation: 37.2 × 36 cm (14 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: The panels were removed from an altarpiece and separated from one another; the *Crucifixion* and the *Deposition* display some paint losses, which are greater in the *Lamentation*; modern gilding was removed during restorations in the 1950s and 1960s.

PROVENANCE: James Jackson Jarves collection, Florence.

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.
University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves (1871.1a,b,c)

Once the right side of a tabernacle or altarpiece, these scenes from the Passion stand squarely at the intersection of Byzantine and Italian art.¹ They can be dated to about 1250 and attributed to Tuscany on the basis of their connection with the later activity of the byzantinizing Lucchese school, associated with the painter Berlinghiero (see cat. no. 321). The poses of figures such as the Christ in the *Deposition*, and particularly the use of the Y-shaped cross, suggest that the panels were painted by the Oblate Cross Master, an artist named for a crucifix in the Convent of the Oblate in Florence and connected by some scholars to Bonaventura Berlinghieri, one of the sons of Berlinghiero.² To this same painter is attributed a diptych now in the



322A. The Crucifixion

322B. The Deposition



322C. The Lamentation



Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence but originally from the Church of the Clarisses in Lucca, also with a Y-shaped cross.³ This type of cross appears at about the same time in Nicola Pisano's *Crucifixion* of 1265 on the pulpit of the Cathedral of Siena. There, as in other sculpted and painted versions, it seems to be associated with tree of life imagery.⁴ Although the Y shape is Central European in origin, many examples appear in Tuscany and, like an example in Umbria, often seem to have been made for the Franciscans.⁵ Indeed, as Anne Derbes has shown, panels like these frequently combine Byzantine Passion iconography and style with European motifs, such as the Y-shaped cross and the swooning Virgin.⁶ Derbes argues that European motifs may well have been passed to Byzantine and byzantinizing centers through the travels of Franciscans and of Siense traders, while Byzantine motifs were carefully selected to suit Italian requirements, in particular, Franciscan doctrine.

R W C

1. Seymour 1970, p. 22.
2. Garrison 1949, pp. 12–13; Marcucci 1958, pp. 19–21; Sandberg-Vavalà 1929, pp. 709–16; Boskovits 1993, pp. 74–76, fig. 45.
3. Marcucci 1958, pp. 19–21, fig. 4.
4. Schiller 1972, vol. 2, figs. 388, 410, 477, 483, 484, 506, 507.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 134; Sandberg-Vavalà 1929, p. 147.
6. Derbes 1980, pp. 342–46; Derbes 1989, pp. 195–99.

LITERATURE: Sandberg-Vavalà 1929, p. 714; Garrison 1949, p. 239; Marcucci 1958, p. 21; Seymour 1970; Derbes 1980, pp. 342–46, fig. 127; Boskovits 1993, pp. 74, 76, fig. 45.

EXHIBITIONS: New York, Institute of Fine Arts, 1860; New York, New-York Historical Society, 1863.



323

323. Center Panel of an Icon with the Crucifixion

Byzantine, second half of 10th century
Ivory
23.2 × 12.3 × 1.2 cm (9 1/8 × 4 7/8 × 1/2 in.)

INSCRIBED: In runic characters, on the suppedaneum, "Jesus."

The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, Denmark (D12123)

The ivory, which originally served as the center panel of a folding triptych, shows the crucified Christ between the Virgin and Saint John, set below a pierced baldachin and adoring angels. On the back of the panel is an engraved sketch of the Virgin, which is probably North German or Danish and dates from about 1100. Despite some attempts to view this ivory as a Scandinavian work,

it is purely Byzantine. In both composition and technique — raised relief carving and full undercutting — the panel conforms to many other Middle Byzantine ivories with the Crucifixion. However, the elongated, doll-like figures of the Virgin and John have few parallels, although they may be compared with those of a smaller contemporary version of the panel in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.¹

The fact that the ivory has a runic inscription as well as an Early Romanesque sketch confirms its existence in the West at an early date. Viking trade routes between Byzantium and the North facilitated the movement of many Byzantine luxury works, which, in the case of this triptych, may be evidence of the

christianization of Scandinavia. In Denmark, King Harald Bluetooth (died ca. 985) proclaimed the new faith and was baptized about the year 965, an event visually memorialized on the celebrated Jelling Stone, which contains an image of Christ amid a serpentine interlace decoration.²

C T L

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 26.
2. Paris, *Vikings*, 1992, no. 193, p. 153, illus.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 28; Nørlund 1934, pp. 182–94; Liebgott 1985, p. 17; Cutler 1994, pp. 171–73.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, *Vikings*, 1992, no. 481; Copenhagen 1996, no. 92.



324

324. Central Panel from a Gospel Book Cover with Christ's Mission to the Apostles (Matt. 28:18–20)

German (Milan? or Reichenau?), ca. 970

Ivory

18.3 × 10 cm (7¼ × 4 in.)

CONDITION: There are several vertical hairline cracks in the background and upper border, and another fine crack between the tip of Christ's beard and the upper corner of the book.

PROVENANCE: Albin Chalandon, Lyons; Georges Chalandon, Paris; Mme Georges Chalandon, Rome, 1949; the dealer Otto Wertheimer, Paris; private collection, Switzerland, 1954–67; Otto Wertheimer.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio. Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust (67.65)

An imposing frontal figure of a bearded Christ is the dominant and central image of this relief. He stands on a low mound and raises his right hand in blessing. On either side of Christ is a vertical series of busts representing the Twelve Apostles, who turn toward him as if to listen to his spoken word. Acanthus and beaded borders frame the composition. Both the subject and the vertical format suggest that this ivory once may have adorned a Gospel book cover.¹ In format and decoration, this book cover resembles the one that Christ holds in his left hand.

The ivory was carved by one of the principal creators of a series of ivory plaques illustrating the life, Passion, and glorification of

Christ. These panels are thought to have once formed part of an altar frontal in Magdeburg Cathedral,² an imperial foundation of Otto I (the Great), who reigned from 962 until his death in 973. Adolph Goldschmidt's localization of the workshop in either Milan or Reichenau reflects the multiple stylistic and historical currents that prevailed, which, while engaging, nonetheless have defied a clearly acceptable solution even by subsequent scholars.³ The present relief exhibits Late Carolingian elements in the heads of the apostles and in the acanthus frame, yet at the same time it reveals a partial Byzantine inspiration in its composition and subject (see cat. no. 96).⁴ Christ's fixed stare, simply draped and massive figure, and emphatic gesture seem to announce the expressive elements in subsequent Ottonian manuscripts, beginning with the Codex Egberti.⁵

The aesthetic importance of the present work lies in its awesome monumentality, the intensity of the figure's gaze, and the power of his disproportionately large hand raised in blessing. The formal realization of this concept is a worthy yet fully Germanic adaptation of a Byzantine representation. However, because of its expressive distortions, this ivory probably would have been completely abhorrent to the Byzantine sensibility.

W D W

1. Goldschmidt 1914–18, vol. 2, p. 20; Wixom 1968, p. 287.
2. Goldschmidt 1914–18, vol. 2, p. 20.
3. Francovich 1942–44, pp. 115–57; Fillitz 1958, pp. 66–72; Wixom 1968; Grodecki et al. 1973, pp. 353–54; Little 1977; Gaborit-Chopin 1978, pp. 83–84; Little 1986, pp. 447–51; Hildesheim 1993, p. 41.
4. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 55, in which the first comparison with the Byzantine ivory in the Louvre was made. A related, slightly later version of this subject, brought to my attention by Florentine Mütterich (letter, April 2, 1969), may be seen in a Bavarian Gospel book from Niederaltaich of about 1030–40, in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 9476; see Bange 1923, pl. 9, fig. 20. See also Little 1977, p. 209.
5. Wixom 1968, pp. 286–88. Certainly the imperial workshop responsible for the present work and the Magdeburg series must have been made up of members of different backgrounds, from both northern Italy and the Rhine-Moselle region of Lotharingia.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt 1914–18, vol. 2, pp. 20–21, no. 18 (for bibliography), pl. VIII; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, p. 55; Paris 1954, no. 226, pl. 120; Wixom 1968, pp. 273–89, cover illus. and fig. 1; Lasko 1972, p. 90; Grodecki et al. 1973, pp. 308, 353–54, fig. 378; Little 1977, p. 209; Gaborit-Chopin 1978, pp. 83, 193, fig. 104; Little 1986, p. 445; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 246, fig. 1.



325

325. Panel with a Standing Figure of Christ

South Italian, late 11th–early 12th century
Ivory

16.8 × 10.2 cm (6 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 4 in.)

INSCRIBED: On either side of the head of Christ, IC/XC (Jesus Christ); on the open book, EIMI H ΘΥΠΑ (I am the door. [John 10:9])

PROVENANCE: Museo Kircheriano, Rome.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.131)

The figure of Christ stands on a socle against a plain ground, framed by a broad but flat beveled border. He holds an open book inscribed in Greek in his left hand and with his right hand gestures in benediction. The ivory does not relate easily to other accepted Byzantine ivories. According to Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann, the ivory's unusual elements—the flat frame, the wedge-shaped pattern of the nimbus, the figure's small hands and feet and erratic drapery—suggest that it is a Western work that reflects a knowledge of Greek images. This attribution may be supported by the type of nimbus depicted, whose bead-and-reel decoration and wedgelike rays are not found in any pure Byzantine works; rather, similar features are seen on an ivory plaque in the cycle from the Cathedral of Salerno,¹ on an ivory plaque with the Dormition of the Virgin in the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Paris,² and on the stucco relief of the Dormition in the Monastery of San Pietro al Monte at

Civate,³ all of which date to about 1100. At the same time, the linear quality of Christ on the present plaque, which is executed in low relief, recalls the figure of Christ on the Byzantine bronze doors of the Cathedral of Salerno.⁴ Moreover, a South Italian attribution for the Metropolitan's panel can be confirmed by a bone casket—now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London⁵—which contains depictions of saints venerated specifically in Apulia. The casket includes an image of Christ of an analogous physiognomic type, with long hair pulled back behind the ears, as well as similar nimbi and schematic drapery forms.

The allegorical representation of Christ as the door rarely was depicted explicitly, and apparently never in Byzantium proper. The Church Fathers, from Origen to Saint Augustine, elaborate upon the significance of such an image, but only this ivory concisely alludes to the simple and powerful message of Christ as the door to salvation. Whether the ivory was, in fact, conceived as an icon or adapted to a book cover (for the Gospel of Saint John?), it nevertheless suggests that an Eastern prototype was available to craftsmen in the Latin West, especially in South Italy.

CTL

1. Bergman 1980, fig. 31; Goldschmidt 1914–26, vol. 4, no. 37, pl. 47.
2. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 166; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 174.
3. Toesca 1966, fig. 84.
4. Matthiae 1971, fig. 80.
5. Longhurst 1927, vol. 1, pp. 91–92, pl. LXXV.

LITERATURE: Westwood 1876, p. 356; *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 13 (1918), p. 4, illus.; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 64, pl. 24.

326. Center Panel of a Triptych with the Crucifixion and the Entombment

South Italian (Amalfi), late 11th century
Ivory

23 × 10.4 cm (9 × 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

PROVENANCE: Amadeo Canessa, 1911; J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.43)

In 972 a merchant from Baghdad visited Amalfi and declared it “the most prosperous city in Langobardia [Lombardy], the noblest, the most illustriously situated, the most commodious, and the richest.”¹ By the mid-eleventh century Amalfi was a major artistic center and the source of ivory objects,

such as oliphants, writing boxes, and an ambitious narrative cycle of scenes from the Old and New Testaments for the nearby Cathedral of Salerno, which was consecrated in 1084. Among the series of ivories emanating from Amalfi is the present plaque, which served as the center panel of a triptych. It represents the crucified Christ between the Virgin and Saint John, with Longinus and Stephaton in the background. Below, in the secondary scene of the Entombment, the bier upon which the body of Christ rests contains a deep recess that almost certainly was intended to contain a relic, perhaps of the True Cross. A larger version of this panel, also with a receptacle for a relic, is in the Musée du Louvre.² Both the New York and Paris panels are directly dependent on the Salerno ivory panel's Crucifixion scene, although they are also stylistically more simplified and schematized than the Salerno image, as they are more remote from their byzantinizing sources. Two further Crucifixion panels of similar style are in private collections in France (formerly in the collections of Paul Garnier and Charles Ratton, respectively).

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1. Cited by Bergman 1980, p. 110.
2. *Ibid.*, no. 18, fig. 173.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt 1926, vol. 4, no. 143; Bergman 1975, pp. 163–86; Bergman 1980, no. 20.

327. Panel with the Journey to Bethlehem (Luke 2:4–5)

South Italian (Amalfi), ca. 1100–1120

Ivory

16.4 × 11.2 cm (6½ × 4¾ in.)

CONDITION: There are varied losses in the left, right, and lower borders; the lower right corner is missing; two drill holes are visible in the center of the upper border; there are numerous vertical hair-line cracks; and the back shows nearly horizontal saw marks and scorings, including several concentric circles and a large horizontal V.

PROVENANCE: Fürst von Hohenzollern, Sigmaringen, until 1928; Baron Robert von Hirsch, Frankfurt am Main, until 1933, and Basel; sold, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, June 22, 1978, lot 277.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio. Purchase Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Bequest (78.40)

The Virgin is shown frontally, sitting precariously on an ass that is walking slowly toward Joseph's son.¹ The youth looks back over his shoulder beyond the water vessel suspended from his long stick. Joseph follows the group. He holds a stick in one hand while restraining the uneasy gait of the

ass with the other—a gesture echoed by the Virgin, whose left hand rests on the neck of the beast. Her head, covered by a veil, is bent downward as she gazes at the boy leading the ass by its reins. This intimate scene, which takes place before the birth of Christ, is offset by a very grand architectural double gateway with two hovering rosettes set within horseshoe arches supported by double columns. Yet the Virgin's importance is emphasized by her size and by her central position.

The plaque belongs to a series of ivory reliefs that share the same dimensions and style, although each has a different New Testament subject.² They may have served as portions of an altar frontal, episcopal chair, or some other church furnishing in the region of Amalfi, where they were carved. Representing the third and final phase of Amalfitan ivory carving,³ the group continues to evidence the amalgam of stylistic and iconographic influences from art of Syro-Palestinian, Islamic, and Middle Byzantine origin. The fall and pleating of the folds of the Virgin's veil and draperies, the clothing of Joseph and his son, the details of their hair and of Joseph's beard, and the rosettes seem to derive from Middle Byzantine ivory and steatite carvings (cat. nos. 78, 91, 98, 102, 157, 158B). These similarities are only natural, since Amalfi was part of the Byzantine Empire in the eleventh century. The subject and significant elements of the composition of the Cleveland ivory, as well as of its model among the Amalfitan second-phase ivories of about 1084 in Salerno,⁴ recur in a mid-twelfth-century mosaic of the Flight into Egypt in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo.⁵ Curiously, some of these features were recorded in Abbess Herrad of Landsberg's

virtus deliciarum, a manuscript of about 6–96 (now lost), probably written at Hohenbourg in Alsace,⁶ which contained many other references to Middle Byzantine, South Italian, and Sicilo-Norman art.

W D W

The source of this identification, provided by Rosalie Green of the Index of Christian Art in Princeton, is the Protoevangelion of James; see James 1924, p. 45. Goldschmidt 1914–26, p. 40, nos. 129–37, pl. XLIX; Bergman 1980, pp. 133–42, nos. 6–17, figs. 161–72. Bergman 1980, p. 133. *Ibid.*, pp. 124–25, 136–37, no. 2, fig. 22. Kitzinger 1949, pp. 245, 276, 280, 283, figs. 7, 18. Herrad of Hohenbourg 1979, vol. 2, no. 106.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt 1914–26, p. 40, no. 130, XLIX; Sprinz and Lossen 1926, p. 3, no. 1 (inv. 1511); Longhurst 1927, p. 92; Toesca 1927, p. 1097, fig. 788 (erroneously located in the Museo Civico

in Bologna); Swarzenski 1962, p. 44, fig. 27; Fillitz 1967, p. 14, fig. 7; Bergman 1972, pp. 299–300, no. 9, fig. 59; Wixom 1979, pp. 85–89, cover illus. (color), and fig. 1; Bergman 1980, pp. 135–36 (no. 9), 137, fig. 164.

328. Panel with Christological Scenes

North Italian (Venice?), 12th century

Ivory

25 × 12 cm (9¾ × 4¾ in.)

CONDITION: The left and right borders are cut down.

PROVENANCE: Webb, London.

The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England (295-1867)

The panel is divided into three densely filled narrative registers, each of which is devoted to a phase of Christ's life. The upper part contains the Annunciation with the Nativity and the Washing of the Christ Child, the center shows the Transfiguration and the Raising of Lazarus, and the lower section depicts the Marys at the Holy Sepulchre and the *Noli me tangere*.

Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann thought the panel might be one half of a diptych devoted to the life of Christ. Whether it functioned as an icon or a book cover is uncertain. There are other ivories related in style (see cat. no. 329) that are probably from the same atelier, which, according to the widely accepted hypothesis of Andrew Keck, was located in Venice. That city does seem to be the likely source of these ivories, which clearly are based on Byzantine models yet are not purely Byzantine—nor purely Western—in character. An Italo-Byzantine production can be supported by a related panel in the Liverpool Museum that depicts a Nativity and a Crucifixion carved on the back of an earlier panel with acanthus decoration; such recycling of materials is not known to have occurred in Byzantium proper.¹ Moreover, other plaques from the same atelier, which are now in the Museo Nazionale, Ravenna, originated in the Camaldolese Monastery of San Michele Arcangelo in Murano.²

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1. See Gibson 1994, no. 16, pl. xvTa,b.
2. See Ravenna 1991, nos. 5, 8, pls. 4, 5.

LITERATURE: Longhurst 1927, vol. 1, p. 45, pl. XXI; Keck 1930, pp. 147–62, esp. p. 151, fig. 6; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 198; Williamson 1986, p. 165, illus.

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329. Panel from an Icon with the Deposition

North Italian (Venice?), 12th century
Ivory, with traces of polychromy
12.9 × 10.2 cm (5 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 4 in.)

INSCRIBED: On the front and side edges of the frame, BERNWARDUS HILDENESEMENSIS / EPISCOPUS. ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO VI. / PONTIFICIS ORDINATIONIS ANNO / XXII. EXPLICUI AD DIEM SANCTI MICHAELIS / ARCHANGELI. IN NOMINE DOMINI (I, Bernard, bishop of Hildesheim, have executed this in the year 1006, in the twenty-second year of my ordination, on the day of Saint Michael, archangel, in the name of the Lord)

CONDITION: The vertical strip at the right and the inscription are later additions.

Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Hildesheim, Germany (DS 11)

This representation of the Deposition departs from the customary Byzantine portrayal of the subject, in which Joseph of Arimathea is depicted standing and supporting Christ's body (see cat. no. 100). Here, Joseph precariously straddles the ladder and the suppedaneum. Nicodemus, at the foot of the cross, removes a nail from Christ's foot with pliers. The inclusion of the ladder created a discordant composition which necessitated that the Virgin be shown standing on a stool and John on a mound of rocks in order to effect a balance. The ad hoc nature of the design—in which Joseph of Arimathea is situated off-center and the Virgin does not hold the arm of Christ—suggests that this panel was an attempt by the artist to copy a more successful version of the relief.

The drill holes in the frame may have been made in order to mount the panel in

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the center of a triptych icon, although it is more likely that they served a secondary and subsequent function. This might imply that the scene formed part of a feast cycle set into an armature and that the holes were added later when the plaque was set onto a book cover. The curious postmedieval inscription erroneously gives the year 1006 as the twenty-second anniversary of Bernward's ordination, when in actuality it took place in 1014/15. According to a 1438 cathedral treasury inventory, an ivory similar in description to this one was incorporated into a plenary — a lectionary and/or a book reliquary.

The composition, with its deeply undercut figures, some of which are positioned in profile, closely corresponds to that of a nearly identical panel now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,¹ but formerly in the Trivulzio collection, Milan. Both panels can be linked to a series of Italo-Byzantine ivories, probably produced in Venice during the latter part of the twelfth or the early thirteenth century (see also cat. no. 328), as hypothesized by Andrew Keck.² In support of this localization is the recent discovery that a Nativity panel in the same style, mounted on an icon reliquary,³ reincorporated an older piece of ivory whose decoration on the reverse was planed down — a phenomenon known only in the West and not in Byzantium. The composition, draperies, and ornamentation clearly were based on Byzantine prototypes, but the forms are more geometric and the fleshy faces and imprecise handling — as in the spatial relationships and the additive quality of the composition — are indicative of a non-Byzantine center of production. With regard to the iconography, such details as Joseph of Arimathea's standing on the suppedaneum do exist in Byzantine art, as on the bronze doors of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome, dated 1070,⁴ which suggests the availability of Byzantine models in the West.

Two other contemporary Venetian(?) ivories, possibly from the same feast cycle, a Koimesis and an Anastasis, were in Hildesheim by the late eighteenth century and probably came from the Treasury of the Church of Saint Michael.⁵

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 219.

EXHIBITION: Hildesheim 1993, vol. 2, no. VIII-21 (with earlier literature).

330. Icon with Scenes from the Life of Saint Panteleimon and the Deesis

Plaques: Byzantine (Constantinople), 12th century; icon: Italian (South?), 13th century or later
Steatite set into wood

Large steatite: 14 × 11.5 cm (5½ × 4½ in.); small steatite scenes: 3 × 3 cm (1¼ × 1¼ in.); Saint Nicholas: 7.1 × 4.2 cm (2¾ × 1⅝ in.)

CONDITION: The large steatite exhibits several cracks; holes at the upper left of the frame, the saint's left shoulder, and the lower-left corner have been filled in; the area of the saint's medicinal box was hollowed out and replaced with wood and plaster; three of the small plaques — Saint Panteleimon Healing, Christ, and Saint John — are also cracked; the original gilding is visible on the saint's sleeve and halo, but the rest of the figure was later painted pink and the garment red; paint is also visible on the small plaques; the wooden framing panel has a large hole at the top

and a crack descending to the large steatite plaque and exhibits traces of a painting of the Crucifixion, overpainted with red when the steatites were added; the background of the panel was later repainted light blue.

Musco Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican City (1099)

Recognizable by his scalpel and by the casket for surgical instruments that he holds, as well as by his youthful countenance and curly hair, Saint Panteleimon, a physician who was martyred under the Roman emperor Maximian in the early fourth century, is here depicted in the large steatite plaque set in the center of a wooden panel. In the lower half of the panel four small plaques, arranged in incorrect narrative order, represent events from the saint's life: his conversion to Christianity, his healing of the blind man, his trial before the emperor, and his death by decapitation. The Deesis arrangement of the five small plaques in the upper half of the panel is out of order, with Christ flanked by two archangels rather than by the Virgin and John the Baptist. At the bottom



1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 220.
2. Keck 1930, pp. 147–62.
3. Musée du Louvre, OA 11399. See Durand 1995, no. 6.
4. Matthiae 1971, fig. 24.
5. Brandt, "Schatz Kunst," 1988, pp. 11–38, nos. 12–14.

of the panel a plaque representing a bishop, perhaps Saint Nicholas, has been inserted.¹

It is likely that the large central steatite was originally rectangular and framed by the smaller plaques, creating a historiated icon of Saint Panteleimon² similar in format to a painted icon of the same saint (cat. no. 249). If so, the present work would be the only surviving example of this icon type executed in steatite.

The attention to detail and pattern evident in the portrait of Saint Panteleimon—the carefully depicted curls, the elaborately ornamented halo and costume, and the interest in supple curvilinearism, as seen in the right arm and sleeve—suggests a twelfth-century date for the original icon.³ The same characteristics are also apparent in the small plaques, that depicting the saint before the emperor, for example, where the swing of the emperor's drapery and even the patterns of the costumes are indicated. By contrast, the plaque with Saint Nicholas, although it is carved in higher relief, seems heavy and unarticulated, more consistent with a thirteenth-century date.⁴

The wooden panel was originally the center of a triptych, as holes previously used for the attachment of the two side wings indicate. It was probably when the steatite plaques were inserted into the panel and a red background was painted over the Crucifixion that the steatites were colored as well. Black frames and pearling were painted around the small plaques, as if they were pictures hanging on a wall surrounding the larger portrait.

When the steatites were inserted, an Annunciation was painted at the top and two female half-figures, often thought to be Mary Magdalen and Saint Mary of Egypt, were added at the bottom of the panel.⁵ It has been suggested that Saint Panteleimon's casket was hollowed out at this time as well, possibly to allow for the insertion of a small icon of the Virgin, now lost, thus transforming the plaque into a portrait of Saint Luke, also a physician, who, according to legend, painted a portrait of the Virgin.⁶ Only Luke's Gospel includes the Annunciation and the Meeting of the Virgin and Saint Elizabeth (the Visitation). It is probable, therefore, that the two female figures below are in fact the Virgin and Saint Elizabeth, especially as the distinctive iconography of Saint Mary of Egypt is not present here. The gestures of the two women, hands raised before their chests, are known from twelfth- and thirteenth-century Western medieval depictions of the Visitation;⁷ very likely this reworking of the icon was carried out for a Western patron,

probably in southern Italy.⁸ Thus a treasured twelfth-century Orthodox Byzantine icon depicting the life of Saint Panteleimon, who was believed to be the patron saint of doctors, midwives, and wet nurses,⁹ was reemployed in the making of this icon honoring the Virgin. The icon was probably fashioned for the private devotional use of a woman of the Catholic faith.

M L C

1. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, vol. 1, nos. 35, 120.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 127–28.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 195–96.
5. Rome 1906, p. 121.
6. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, vol. 1, p. 129.
7. Réau 1955–59, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 198.
8. Rome 1906, p. 121.
9. Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 3, p. 1025.

LITERATURE: Rome 1906, fig. 85, pp. 120–23; Volbach 1935, p. 17; Righetti 1955, pp. 32–33, pl. XII, 1; Matt 1969, p. 178; Bank, "Stéatites," 1970, p. 367; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, fig. 1, p. 274.

EXHIBITION: Rome 1906, fig. 85.

331. Plaque with the Virgin Hodegetria

Byzantine (Constantinople), 12th century
Copper-gilt repoussé
21.5 × 14.5 cm (8½ × 5¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: Flanking the Virgin's head, ΜΗΡ ΘΥ (Mother of God); at the base, ΘΕΚΕ ΒΟ/ΗΘΗ ΤΟ/ΣΟ ΔΟΥ/ΛΟ ΦΗΛΙ/ΠΟ ΕΠΙΣ/ΚΟΠΟ (Mother of God, help thy servant Philip the Bishop)

CONDITION: The plaque is a fragment of a larger work and has been regilt.

PROVENANCE: Formerly in the collections of Robert Curzon and Lord Zouche.

The Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England (818-1891)

If its traditional association with Torcello is accurate, this small plaque is an indication of the sort of Byzantine object that found its way to the Veneto about the time of the Fourth Crusade and earlier and that had a powerful impact on the production of metalwork in that region. The iconography of this superb and elegant depiction of the Virgin Hodegetria with the Christ Child



standing on a suppedaneum finds parallels in metalwork, manuscripts, ivories, and even in the apse mosaic of the Cathedral of Torcello itself.¹ According to David Talbot Rice and others, its repoussé technique and its material, gilt copper, are consistent with Constantinopolitan work of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.² Its original use is not clear, but similar relief images, including some of the Virgin and Child, can be found in Byzantine and even more commonly Georgian works, as icon revetments, book covers, and icons.³ However, the plaque has a dedication to the Virgin that indicates its commission by a Bishop Philip, which seems authentic, despite some grammatical anomalies. Indeed, both the form of the dedication and its paleography support the attribution to Constantinople.⁴ Thus this piece has an interesting relationship to works found in the region around Venice. A number of repoussé altarpieces, or *pale*, found near Venice, including one in Torcello, are similar in scale and may have been inspired by imported Byzantine icons or icon covers.⁵ The presence of such pieces in Italy — as inspiration for or even as portions of Italian altarpieces — demonstrates the manner in which Byzantine works, highly valued for their beauty and iconic authenticity, were reformulated to suit Italian religious practices, as Hans Belting has shown.⁶

RWC

1. Miiatev 1932, fig. 2; New York 1970, p. 130; Venice 1974, p. 34.
2. D. Rice 1935, p. 209.
3. Bank, *Byzantine Art*, 1978, figs. 179, 259; Weitzmann 1982, pp. 98, 99, 103, 126; Brussels 1982, pp. 180–83.
4. Hunger, “Minuskel,” 1977, p. 207, fig. 13. Similar inscriptions can be found on a number of objects; see, e.g., Venice 1974, no. 14, and New York and Milan 1984, pp. 190–91, nos. 23, 24.
5. Venice 1974, nos. 54, 64.
6. Belting 1994, pp. 330–48.

LITERATURE: Miiatev 1932, pp. 39–45, fig. 1; D. Rice 1935, p. 209.

EXHIBITIONS: Edinburgh 1958, no. 189; Athens 1964, no. 560; New York 1970, no. 134; Venice 1974; Brussels 1982, no. Br. 25.

332. Reliquary of Saint Marina

Byzantine (Constantinople), before 1213
Silver and silver gilt
10 × 6 × 2.8 cm (3 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

INSCRIBED: On the side, ΖΗΤΕΙΘΕ ΑΥΤΑ ΤΙΝΟC Η ΧΕΙΡ ΤΥΝΧΑΝΕΙ/ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟC ΗΕ ΜΑΡΙΝΗC ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC/ΗC ΤΟ ΚΡΑΤΟC ΕΘΛΑCΕ ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟ ΚΑΡΑC/ΑΥΤΗΝ ΜΕ ΠΡΟC ΖΗΤΗCΙΝ ΩΤΡΥΝΕ CΧΙCΙC, / ΖΗΤΟΥCΑ Τ ΟΥΝ ΕΤΥΧΟΝ ΑΥΤΗC ΕΚ ΠΟΘΟΥ/ΠΡΟC ΚΟCΜΙ ΟΥΝ ΕCΠΕΝΑ ΤΟΝ ΤΗC ΚΟCΜΙΑC (Do you inquire about these things, [asking] to whom the hand belongs? This is [the hand] of the holy martyr Marina, whose power crushed the head of the dragon. Its having been cut off stirred me to seek it, and seeking it I found it, in accordance with my desire, and I made an offering for the seemly adornment of the honored one); on the back, ΜΙΚΡΟC ΜΕΝ ΟΥΤΟC ΤΗ ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΤΥΝΧΑΝΕΙ/ΟΜΩC Δ ΑΠΕΙΡΟC CΥΝ ΠΡΟCΑΙΡΕCΕΙ ΠΟΘΟC/ΤΟΙΝΥΝ ΑΜΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΟΝ ΑΝΘΟC ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ/ΖΑΛΗC ΡΥΟΝ ΜΕ ΤΩΝ ΝΟΗΤΩΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ/ΝΙΚΗΝ ΚΑΤ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΟ ΚΡΑΤΟC ΤΕ ΠΑΡΕΧΟΙC/ΑΝΑΛΟΓΟΝ ΝΕΜΟΥCΑ ΤΗ CΧΕCΕΙ ΔΟCΙΝ (While this [reliquary] is a small thing in comparison with the great [martyr], nevertheless there is unbounded devotion with my gift. Now, imperishable flower of the martyrs, save me from the storm of the evil spirits of my mind and give me victory over them, and power, dispensing a gift comparable to your nature);¹ on the medallion portrait (back), Η ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΝΑ (Saint Marina)

CONDITION: The original crystal or glass cover is now missing, as is the relic itself.

PROVENANCE: Church of Santa Marina, Venice, as reported by F. Cornaro in the eighteenth century.

Museo Correr e Quadreria Correr, Venice, Italy

Marina, the Early Christian virgin saint known in the West as Saint Margaret, endured many painful ordeals before her martyrdom by decapitation at Antioch during the reign of Emperor Diocletian (284–305).² Her relics appear to have been translated to Constantinople in the eighth century and were housed in a monastery outside the city in 1213. In the same year one Joannes de Borea was permitted to take the hand relic in a silver reliquary to Venice, where, in the time of Doge Pietro Ziani (r. 1205–29), it was placed in the parish church of San Liberale, whose name was thereupon changed to Santa Marina.³

The right hand of Saint Marina was significant because when using it in blessing, she had vanquished a dragon. The inscription states that the hand was cut off, though the event is not recorded. Despite the implication of the inscription, the reliquary, which is 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. long, must have held only a small section of her hand.

The interesting shape of the reliquary was presumably meant to suggest the form of the relic it enclosed.⁴ In addition to the inscriptions, the reliquary is decorated with



332. Back



332. Interior

a repoussé medallion depicting a bust-length image of the saint. Marina is portrayed with the standard Byzantine iconography for female saints: she appears frontally with a nimbus, wears a *maphorion*, and gestures with her left hand while holding a small cross in her right.

J F

1. Downey, in M. Ross and Downey 1962, p. 42.
2. On Saint Marina (feast day celebrated on July 20 in the West), see Sauget 1967, cols. 1150–60.
3. M. Ross and Downey 1962, pp. 42–43.
4. For unusual shapes in Byzantine reliquaries, see Rückert 1957, pp. 7–36.

LITERATURE: Cornaro 1749, pp. 251–60; Cornaro 1758, pp. 45–46; Venice 1950; M. Ross and Downey 1962, pp. 41–44; Folda 1992, pp. 107–9, 126.

EXHIBITIONS: Venice 1950; Venice 1974, no. 52; Brussels 1982, no. 0.22.



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333. Enkolpion

Byzantine, 12th century
Silver and cloisonné enamel on gold
6.7 × 6.2 × .5 cm (2 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ × $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

CONDITION: Only four enameled plaques are preserved from a probable original total of ten, distributed on both sides; the pearls that may have been attached to the frame are missing.

PROVENANCE: Grave of King Béla III (r. 1172–96), Székesfehérvár Cathedral; excavated, 1848.

Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, Hungary

Byzantine enkolpia, small breast pendants with Christian imagery and/or inscriptions and a compartment containing a relic,¹ assumed a variety of formats: crosses, medallions, ovals, quatrefoils, and rectangles (cat. nos. 108, 109, 111, 113, 116, 117, 226, 230). The present example, a quatrefoil with lunate enameled plaques on the lobes, probably was intended to hold a relic at its center. The work belonged to King Béla III (d. 1196). Educated at the Byzantine court in Constantinople, Béla may have acquired the pendant there or perhaps received it later as a gift. Béla assumed the Hungarian crown in 1172 with the armed support of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–80). At the end of his life, Béla assisted Emperor Isaac II Angelos (r. 1185–95; 1203–4) against the Bulgarians.

The intricate enameled patterns of symmetrically arranged foliated tendrils, while rare, appear on several scattered counterparts thought to have been produced in Byzantine workshops, probably in the capital. Enamels

from eleventh-century Constantinople include a quatrefoil panel with Saint Michael, on the Pala d'Oro in Venice;² lunate enamels mounted on the cross from Vyšší Brod (see illus. on p. 441);³ and the small rectangular plaques on a cross in the Treasury of the Basilica of Santa Barbara in Mantua.⁴ Also related are the Constantinopolitan enamels on the *loros* pendant from Dumbarton Oaks and those on the Metropolitan Museum's check pendant (cat. nos. 146, 170). Similar motifs may be seen on the enameled quatrefoils on the crown of Frederick II in Palermo,⁵ which probably were made in the later twelfth century at a Byzantine-trained workshop in Sicily.

The enkolpion of Béla III is one of a number of Byzantine enamels to have traveled outside the confines of the empire in the twelfth century. Beyond its intrinsic and artistic value, it symbolizes Byzantium's hegemony over the artistic production of some of the lands in Central Europe.

W D W

1. *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 700.
2. Kovács 1969, p. 16; *Pala d'Oro* 1965, p. 50, no. 103, pl. LI (color).
3. Wessel 1967, p. 164.
4. Gauthier 1983, p. 29, no. 9 (illus.).
5. Schramm and Mütherich 1981, pp. 189, 190, no. 198, illus.; Rome 1995, colorpl. VII.

LITERATURE: Czobor 1900; Kovács 1969, pp. 18–24, fig. 8; Fodor et al. 1992, p. 90, fig. 73.

334. Reliquary Cross of Gundslevmagle, with Chain

Byzantine(?), 1050–1100
Silver
Cross: H. 9.1 cm (3 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)
Chain: L. 78.5 cm (30 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

CONDITION: The back of the cross is missing.

PROVENANCE: Found at Gundslevmagle, Falster, Denmark.

The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, Denmark (11465, 11690)

This silver-cast front of a reliquary cross shows Christ standing, holding a book in his left hand and blessing with his right. On either side are the busts of saints. The arms of the cross terminate in roundels, which may originally have been inlaid with precious stones. Although the cross was found in Gundslevmagle, Denmark, we know that it is not of Scandinavian manufacture, since such crosses generally show Christ with arms outstretched. Its depiction of a standing Christ would support an origin in Georgia,¹ but because representations of the standing Christ were quite common in the Middle Byzantine period, this criterion alone cannot be used to establish provenance.

The execution of the cross in cast silver distinguishes it from the more typical techniques of silversmithing in use during the Middle Byzantine period, since most silver objects, following practices established from the fourth to the seventh century, were



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shaped by hammering rather than casting. This cross indicates that the practice of silver casting was not unknown in the Middle Byzantine period and that silver was not excluded as a material for mass production. A cross mold in this exhibition, found in Kiev (cat. no. 207), illustrates the kinds of molds that would have been used in the manufacture of crosses such as this one.

The cross was found in a hoard that also contained fragments of an Urnes-style brooch, a silver finger ring, a crystal mounted in silver, and various beads.² The discovery of a Byzantine-manufactured cross among objects of local manufacture points to the close relationship during the Middle Byzantine period between the Byzantine Empire and Scandinavian countries, a relationship already established by the eleventh century, as confirmed by runic inscriptions found in Denmark that mention pilgrimage and trade.³ Scandinavians also served as members of the Varangian Guard, an elite force of the

Byzantine army charged with the protection both of the emperor and of the imperial palace in Constantinople.⁴ The cross may have been transported from Byzantium to Scandinavia via one of these sources.

ST

1. New York, *From Viking*, 1992, p. 355, no. 488.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 354–55, no. 485. See also Melnikova 1987.
4. See Blöndal 1978.

LITERATURE: Skovmand 1942, pp. 151, 153; Blöndal 1978; Melnikova 1987; Steen Jensen et al. 1991; New York 1992, p. 355, no. 488; Copenhagen 1996, no. 98.

335. The Dagmar Cross

Byzantine(?) or Kievan Rus'(?), early 13th century (?)
Gold and cloisonné enamel
3.4 × 2.8 cm (1⅜ × 1⅛ in.)

INSCRIBED: Front: in Greek, at the center, Jesus Christ; on the sidearms, Mother of God (to the left), John the Precursor (to the right); on the medallions, above Christ, Saint Basil [the Great], below Christ, Saint John Chrysostom. Back: Jesus Christ

CONDITION: Some enamel is lost on both sides.

PROVENANCE: Probably from the grave of Richiza, sister-in-law of Dagmar, queen of Denmark (d. 1212), at the Church of Saint Bendt in Ringsted, Denmark; in the Royal Kunstkammer in 1695.

The National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, Denmark (9088)

The cross—long argued to be from the grave of the Danish queen Dagmar, wife of King Valdemar—is decorated on the front with a typical Byzantine Great Deesis. At the center of the cross is a bust of Christ flanked by images of the Virgin and John the Precursor (the Baptist), who turn toward him with their hands raised in the Byzantine gesture of prayer or supplication. The medallions above and below Christ portray two of the authors of the liturgy of the Orthodox Church, Saint Basil the Great and Saint John Chrysostom.¹ The Great Deesis was a standard theme on large processional crosses of the Middle Byzantine period (cat. nos. 24, 25, 27). The back of the cross, also worked in cloisonné enamel, bears an image of the crucified Christ. Below the crossarms and beside Christ's legs are scroll patterns reminiscent of dragons. Near the end of each crossarm are pairs of small circular protrusions. The background of the cross on both sides is filled with a stepped-lozenge pattern often found as a decorative border motif in Byzantine art (cat. nos. 77, 110, 146, 175).



335. Front



335. Back

The Scandinavians had come into contact with Byzantium by the ninth century. To the north of the empire they helped to establish what would become Kievan Rus', and in Constantinople they dominated the Varangian Guard, the palace guard of the imperial household.² The cross, however, is of a much later date, as the pose of Christ and the curving lines in the background indicate. Klaus Wessel dates the cross to the early thirteenth century, arguing that it was a product of Thessalonike when the city was part of the short-lived kingdom of the Crusader Boniface of Montferrat. He further postulates the existence of an enamel workshop in the city that also would have produced the Saint Demetrios enkolpion in London (cat. no. 116) and the Dumbarton Oaks cross (cat. no. 125), a theory recognized by David Buckton and Susan Boyd.³

Fritze Lindahl questions the traditional identification of the Dagmar cross, attributing

it to Constantinople and arguing that the cross is from the grave of Richiza, sister of King Valdemar. Richiza's grave was not far from that of Queen Dagmar, and the contents of the two women's graves were combined when they were deposited at the Royal Kunstskammer in the seventeenth century. Because Sophia, the mother of Valdemar and Richiza, was from Rus', Lindahl believes that the cross came through Rus' to Denmark. Reconstructing the cross as originally having been of the reliquary type popular in Byzantium (cat. nos. 119–25), she dates it to between 1000 and the early 1200s.⁴

While there is no archaeological evidence for an enamel workshop in Thessalonike, enamel jewelry and remains of enamel-producing workshops are known from Kiev, where the cross might have been produced (see cat. nos. 209–14). A group of pectoral crosses with similar protrusions at the ends of the crossarms is attributed by Zsuzsa Lovag to Kiev.⁵ The presence on the Dagmar cross of two of the major theologians of the Orthodox Church suggests that it was made for an Orthodox believer. If it were a product of the Crusader occupation of Thessalonike, it is unlikely that these two Eastern saints would have been chosen for the face of the cross. However, the two works most closely related in style to the Dagmar cross have connections to Thessalonike. The pectoral cross at Dumbarton Oaks (cat. no. 125) came from the Russian community on Mount Athos, near Thessalonike,⁶ and the London enkolpion depicts Saint Demetrios, who was buried in Thessalonike.⁷ The protrusions on the crossarms of the Dagmar cross are, moreover, also found on cast crosses from Thessalonike. Thus for the present, the origin of the cross remains open to discussion. Stylistically, it is associated with the years around 1200. Its presence in a Danish royal grave of the early thirteenth century reflects the importance given to Byzantine-style enamels far beyond the borders of the Orthodox world even as the power of the empire waned.

H C E

1. *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 1240–41.
2. *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 2152; Subtelny 1988, pp. 2–27.
3. Wessel 1967, p. 185; London, *Byzantium*, 1994, pp. 185–86; cat. no. 125.
4. Lindahl 1980, pp. 4–7.
5. Lovag 1971, pp. 158–63.
6. Wessel 1967, p. 186.
7. London, *Byzantium*, 1994, pp. 185–86.

LITERATURE: Wessel 1967, p. 185; Lovag 1971; Lindahl 1980, pp. 4–7; Copenhagen 1996, no. 96.



336. Medallion with Saint Nicholas

North Italian (Venice) or Byzantine (?), 11th–13th century
Glass paste
2.5 × 2 cm (1 × ¾ in.)

INSCRIBED: Ο ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ (Saint Nicholas)

PROVENANCE: Purchased through J. Marshall in 1918.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y. Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.145.9)

This moss-green oval medallion has a half-length figure of Saint Nicholas shown frontally, wearing the scarf of a bishop, the *omophorion*, and blessing with his right hand. This standard iconographic type is seen in both portable and monumental art. Saint Nicholas, bishop of Myra in the sixth century, was, as the protector of travelers, one of the most popular Byzantine saints. The small size of the medallion may indicate its use as an amulet for protection against perils at sea. Many examples of this type confirm the popularity of the saint and his cult throughout the Byzantine world.¹

More than 180 medallions of glass or glass paste with inscriptions in Greek or Latin are known. All but two have specifically Christian iconography, mostly depicting individual saints but in some cases with narrative scenes from the New Testament. The entire body of medallions seems to have come from sixty molds. Although originally it was thought that they were made to imitate more expensive cameos, individually carved from precious or semiprecious stones, the mass-produced glass-paste medallions of the Byzantine world seem to form a category of their own. Their iconography does not slavishly follow that of the cameos, and they are related to Byzantine seals.

Another debated question is the medallions' place of manufacture. Hans Wentzel attributed this example (along with a large series of what he calls byzantinizing medallions) to a workshop in thirteenth-century Venice, but in fact glass objects were made both in Byzantium and in Venice, and tech-

nical analyses do not produce sufficiently conclusive results to confirm a place of origin for works made before 1300. These medallions, however, are too closely related to Byzantine seals not to be labeled Byzantine.

M G

1. British Museum, no. 696; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 40.728; collection of Talbot Rice, Edinburgh; Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, no. 6400; Museo Correr, Venice, no. 541; Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, no. 4960; the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; collection of John P. Lambros, Athens.

LITERATURE: Wentzel, "Medallion," 1959, p. 67, no. 43; H. Swarzenski and Netzer 1986, p. 136.

337. Christ Blessing Emperor Otto II and Empress Theophano

South(?) Italian, 982/83
Ivory, with traces of red polychromy
18.6 × 10.8 cm (7½ × 4¼ in.)

INSCRIBED: In Greek, on either side of the head of Christ, IC XC (Jesus Christ); in Latin and Greek, above the emperor, OTTO IMP[ERATOR] R[O]M[AN]ORUM Δ[Υ]ΓΟΥCΤΟ]C (Otto, Emperor of the Romans, Augustus); in Greek and Latin, above the head of the empress, ΘΕΟΦΑΝΩ IMP[ERATRIX] Δ[Υ]ΓΟΥCΤΟ]C (Theophano, Empress, Augusta); in Greek, next to the body of Christ, Κ[Υ]Π[Ι]Ε ΒΟΗΘ[Ε]Ι Τ[Ω] C[Ω] ΔΟΥΛ[Ω] ΙΩ[Α]ΝΝΗ [ΜΟΝΑ?]ΧΩ ΑΜΕΜ (Lord, help [protect] your servant, the monk[?] Johannes. Amen)

Musée National du Moyen Âge et des Thermes de l'Hôtel de Cluny, Paris, France (Cl. 392)

As one of the most celebrated, but still enigmatic, images of an imperial couple, this relief depicts Christ conferring divine benediction upon the German emperor Otto II (r. 973–83) and his wife, Theophano. Christ's gesture of blessing both figures simultaneously is appropriated from portrayals of coronation and wedding ceremonies. Based on the inscription, the panel must date to 982/83, since the title *imperator romanorum* was first used in 982 and Otto died the following year. Otto's marriage to the Byzantine princess Theophano, a niece of Emperor John I Tzimiskes, took place in Rome in 972. Consequently, the ivory appears to represent both Eastern and Western imperial claims (as suggested by the title *Augusta*) by utilizing Christ's blessing for political objectives. The figure below Otto, in a pose of *proskynesis*, is believed to be John Philagathos of Calabria, who, by 980, was Otto's chancellor in Italy, the tutor of Otto III, and a confidant of Theophano; named bishop of

Piacenza by 988, he would later become antipope John XVI (997–98). He is also the likely donor of the plaque.

A Byzantine ivory (see below) — possibly the one recently reidentified as depicting Romanos II, co-emperor from 945, and Empress Bertha-Eudokia, who was the daughter of Hugh of Provence and who died in 949 — served as the iconographic model for the present work.¹ The historical signi-

ficance of the plaque, its possible function, and a confirmation of its date may be determined from a related scene in the prayer book (formerly in Saint-Remi, Reims, but now lost) of Queen Emma, the stepsister of Otto II and wife of the French king Lothair (r. 954–86). Known only from an engraving recorded in J. Mabillon's *Annales ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (1707), the image includes a royal family shown receiving Christ's bene-

diction.² According to information provided to Mabillon, the image was the frontispiece to Psalm 66 (65), whose subject is homage to God and rule by power. The occasion for such a symbolic image was possibly the coronation of Lothair at Compiègne on Pentecost sometime between 979 and his death in 986, thus making it contemporary with the ivory. The lost scene from the psalter is iconographically related to the present ivory, as well as to the "Otto Emperor" ivory of Christ blessing the imperial family,³ in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan. These thematic associations suggest that the purpose of the panel may have been to adorn the cover of a royal psalter, possibly one belonging to Theophano. Indeed, the figure of Theophano in the ivory clutches a book to her breast — a detail that does not occur in other explicit depictions of royal coronation or wedding ceremonies, whether Eastern or Western. Equally unusual is that Otto holds a heart(?) shaped object. Thus, the pictorial message of the ivory may be linked to the themes evoked in the psalter for which it served as a cover.

The desire to emulate Byzantine imagery in this ivory — its propagandizing theme presented under a baldachin, the imperial attire, and the presence of crowns with hanging ornaments, or *prependoulia* — is subverted by the inclusion of westernizing stylistic elements such as the parted curtain that reveals the scene; the illogical relationship of figures and frame; the choice of a mantle as the emperor's garment rather than



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Romanos II and Empress Bertha-Eudokia.
Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des
Medailles, Paris

the Byzantine *loros*; and the presence of a donor figure. In addition, this panel certainly was intended as a book cover—a function unknown for ivories in Byzantium. The overall effect of the image, whose inscription co-opts a Byzantine title (*Imperator Romanorum*) for Western political purposes, and its composite appearance make this manifestly a Latin work, yet one whose existence would be unthinkable without its Byzantine precedents. Together, these qualities support the hypothesis that the ivory was created in Italy, probably at the instigation of John Philagathos.

Otto wears a crown surmounted by an arc. This feature, also found on the imperial crown in the Vienna Schatzkammer, provides visual confirmation that the acclaimed coronation crown of the Holy Roman emperors, whose date has been disputed, is, indeed, that made for Otto.⁴

CTL

1. See Cutler 1995, pp. 605–10.
2. See Cahn 1985, fig. 1.
3. See Schramm 1983, fig. 93.
4. Summarized in Fillitz, “Bemerkungen,” 1993, pp. 313–34.

LITERATURE: Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1977, pp. 307–20, esp. n. 53; Cahn 1985, pp. 73–85; Gussone 1991, pp. 161–73, esp. p. 172; Gaborit-Chopin 1992, no. 160 (with earlier literature); Caillet 1993, pp. 31–48; Eggebrecht, in Hildesheim 1993, no. 11–24; Cutler 1995 pp. 215ff.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 160; Hildesheim 1993, no. 11–24.

338. The Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes

South Italian (Palermo), ca. 1150–75
Tempera on vellum; 235 fols.
35.5 × 27 cm (14 × 10⁵/₈ in.)

PROVENANCE: Attested to in the fifteenth century as at the Monastery of San Salvatore, Messina (Sicily); in 1712 entered the Biblioteca Real (later Nacional), Madrid.

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Spain (Vitr. 26-2)

About 1070 the Byzantine official John Skylitzes wrote a history of the period from Michael I Rangabe (r. 811–13) to the accession of Isaac I Komnenos (r. 1057–59). Attesting to the chronicle’s popularity and wide dissemination is the heavily illustrated example in Madrid. The manuscript has lost pages at the end as well as a gathering in the middle; in addition, the scribes left spaces that the illuminators never got around to painting (fols. 88–95, 187–94). The manuscript still contains 574 miniatures. The number sug-



338. Theophilos Orders Leo V’s Assassins Punished; Theophilos Arrives at the Blachernai Church, fol. 43r (see also illus. on pp. 6–19)

gests a large, well-organized effort carried out at an important center of power and learning. The miniatures and handwriting support both inferences. The illumination divides into two categories: the purely Byzantine miniatures (fols. 1–87, 230–32) and those in a range of Western styles that use non-Byzantine compositions and formulas to illustrate events in Eastern history (fols. 96–186, 195–229). The two types further break down into a number of styles attributable to individual artists. The team must have been uniquely polyglot, for

among the Western miniatures are some that seem to betray a familiarity with Muslim customs and perhaps even painting styles. The combination of Latin, Byzantine, and Muslim elements suggests the land of the trilingual populace, Norman Sicily.

The connection between the Norman court and the illustration of the Madrid Skylitzes has been supported by a number of comparisons. Parallels for the distinctive handwriting are seen in a Greek translation of an Arabic medical treatise copied in a South Italian center (Vat. gr. 300) as well

as in a bilingual document of 1142 issued by Roger II at the royal chancery in Palermo (Patti, Archivio Capitolare, fond. 1.164). The illustrations point to the same milieu. Among the parallels are a collection of Greek legal writings in Venice (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 172) and an illustrated copy of a poem written by Peter of Eboli and produced, presumably at Palermo, for Henry VI, king of Naples from 1190 to 1197 (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, lat. 120).

The patronage of the Norman kings Roger II (r. 1130–54) and his son William I (r. 1154–66) produced one of the most brilliant visual cultures of the Middle Ages. Roger II's Cappella Palatina, for example, combined a Latin building with Byzantine mosaics and a painted ceiling of Islamic design. A history of the Byzantine emperors and their dealings with Church and state, the Madrid Skylitzes similarly embodies the imperial aspirations of the Norman court and underscores the significant role Byzantine art and ceremonial played in their expression. The illustrations, which may have been devised ad hoc, rarely direct attention away from the emperor. Those shown here depict events from the reign of the last Iconoclast emperor, Theophilus (r. 829–42). In the scene illustrated above, Theophilus, at the right, orders the eparch of Constantinople to see to the punishment of the assassins of Leo V (r. 813–20); the eparch then travels on horseback to ensure that the emperor's orders are carried out; at the left, the conspirators are executed. In the scene below, Theophilus arrives at the Blachernai Church, where the clergy await him. The miniatures fall among those executed in a Byzantine style.

J C A

LITERATURE: Pomor 1964, pp. 15–44; Cirac Estopañan 1965; A. Grabar, "Illustrations," 1971, pp. 191–211; Wilson 1978, pp. 209–19; A. Grabar and Manoussacas 1979; Furlan 1980, pp. 37–41; Cavallo 1982, pp. 35–36; I. Ševčenko 1984, pp. 117–30.

EXHIBITIONS: Athens 1964, no. 367; Brussels 1982, no. M.15.

339. Silver Ducale of Roger II of Sicily

South Italian (Brindisi?), 1140–54
Silver

Obverse

DIAM. 24.5 mm (1 in.); 2.66 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, IC XC RG IN AETERN (Jesus Christ regnat in aeternum [Jesus Christ reigns forever])

Bust of Christ facing, bearded, nimbate, wearing a tunic and himation; he raises his right hand in benediction and in his left hand holds a Gospel book.



339. Obverse



339. Reverse

Reverse

DIAM. 24 mm (1 in.); 2.55 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, R DX AP AN R X; in center, vertically, R R SLS (Rogerius dux Apuliae, Rogerius rex Siciliae, anno regni x [Roger duke of Apulia, Roger king of Sicily, regnal year 10])

King Roger, on the right, with his son Roger, on the left, holding between them a long patriarchal cross on three steps. The king wears a crown and jeweled loros and holds a *globus cruciger* in his left hand, its cross forming the *x* of *Rex*; his son wears a short military tunic and holds a sword in his right hand.

CONDITION: There are minor areas of fracture in both coins.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (obverse: 1915.58.2; reverse: 1947.2.351)

The Byzantine element is extremely prominent in the coinage of Roger II, as it is in Sicilian art generally. The concave fabric of the coin is exactly that of contemporary Byzantine issues, and the images themselves derive from a prereform coin of Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118) struck at Thessalonike. Only the Latin legend makes

this coin easily distinguishable from other derivative coins of the period.

The allusion in the reverse legend is to the recognition of Roger II as duke of Apulia in 1139, the tenth year of his reign.

W E M

340. Silver Grosso of Ranieri Zeno

North Italian (Venice), 1253–68
Silver

Obverse

DIAM. 21 mm (¾ in.); 2.15 gm

INSCRIBED: Around, •RA•CENO• •S•M•VENETI (Ranieri Zeno[, duke of] San Marco, Venice)

The doge and Saint Mark hold between them a banner on which is inscribed DVX. The doge, bearded, wears a long robe with a jeweled border. Saint Mark, nimbate, holds a Gospel book in his left hand. Border of dots.

Reverse

DIAM. 21 mm (¾ in.); 2.13 gm

INSCRIBED: Left and right, in field, IC-XC (Jesus Christ)

Christ nimbate, wearing a tunic and colobium, is seated on a high-backed throne; he raises his right hand in benediction and holds a Gospel book in his left. Border of dots.

CONDITION: There are slight areas of wear on both coins.

The American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. (obverse: 1903.64.8; reverse: 1984.131.64)

The Venetian grosso was introduced in the last decade of the twelfth century and came to be struck in abundance. The Byzantine



340. Obverse



340. Reverse

influence is clear: the seated figure of Christ is a staple Byzantine type (see cat. nos. 147H, J, K, and, among the derivative coinages, cat. nos. 265, 266), and the symmetrical pairing of doge and saint parallels later Byzantine usage. But there is no exact prototype, and by the end of the thirteenth century silver coins of Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328) were slavish imitations of grossi. The grosso is a symbolic epitaph for the dominance of Byzantine coinage and commercial power in the Mediterranean.

W E M

341. Jewelry from the “Gisela” Treasure

A. Pair of Crescent-Shaped Earrings

Ottonian (western Germany, Mainz?), last quarter of 10th century

Gold filigree, with almandine, semiprecious stones, and pearls

5.4–5.5 × 4.6 cm (2¼ × 1¾ in.)

CONDITION: A) One loop and several gold beads are missing above the empty central mounting; there are cracks and splits around the central mounting. B) One loop and several gold beads are missing above the central mounting; a hole in the middle is visible only from the back.

PROVENANCE: Excavated at Mainz, 1880.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, Germany (61.47a,b)



341A

B. Pair of Crescent-Shaped Earrings

Ottonian (western Germany, Mainz), last quarter of 10th century

Gold filigree and granulation, with almandine, semiprecious stones, pearls, and cloisonné enamel
w. 3.8 cm (1½ in.)

CONDITION: A) Two pearls in the mounting are extremely damaged; the red stone on the front is split; there are cracks, splits, and holes on all the enamel surfaces and in the metal mounting. B) A large piece of the enamel is missing.

PROVENANCE: Excavated at Mainz, 1880.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, Germany (61.56a,b)



341B

C. Finger Ring

Ottonian (western Germany, Mainz), 10th century

Gold, with a sapphire and cloisonné enamel

3.3 cm × 2.6 cm (1¼ × 1 in.)

CONDITION: In an earlier restoration of the interior of the ring, the sapphire was drilled and affixed by a pin; the lower portion of the rim exterior was later restored; there are cracks, deep splits, and holes throughout the enamel; some holes penetrate the metal of the base; the wires are warped.

PROVENANCE: Excavated at Mainz, 1880.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, Germany (Lg.124.4)



341C

A wealth of gold ornaments, consisting of fibulae, brooches, pins, necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, was discovered in Mainz in 1880. Clearly aristocratic in character, the hoard contains two items, a *maniakion* and a *loros*, that are based on Byzantine imperial ceremonial jewelry. The crescent-shaped earrings likewise emulate Eastern works. Both pairs of lunar-shaped earrings are decorated with semiprecious stones and pearls mounted in gold worked in a rich variety of techniques, including filigree, granulation, and ribbonlike bands. In form and technique these earrings can be related to another, nearly identical, example from a second find in Mainz, in 1904, which included a gold coin of the Byzantine emperor Romanos III Argyros (r. 1028–34).¹ What is significant is that the Eastern form of the earring discovered in 1904 became the basis for an inventive Western type, which can be distinguished from its prototype. The second pair of earrings also echoes the shape, enamel-work design, and technique of con-

temporary Byzantine works (see cat nos. 166, 167). A Byzantine temple pendant (cat. no. 170) also provides comparable features in the enamel work, such as the red florets against a white ground.

The finger ring, which has a sapphire mounted in a raised bezel, contains symmetrical floral forms in red and blue enamel that can be compared to a Middle Byzantine example formerly in the Adolphe Stoclet collection (cat. no. 175). Again, the migration and paraphrasing of Byzantine mod-

els are evident, but without precise prototypes the byzantinizing character of Ottonian goldsmiths' work is elusive at best.

The dates of the Mainz objects appear to span several generations, although the lack of other objects comparable in date and place of origin hinders a precise chronology. However, the late date proposed by Mechthild Schulze-Dörrlamm, after linking the objects to Agnes of Poitou, the wife of Holy Roman Emperor Henry III (r. 1046–56), cannot be sustained. The jewelry is usually associated with Empress Gisela, the wife of Conrad II (r. 1027–39); both Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen and Hermann Fillitz have reaffirmed the tenth-century date, relating the Mainz objects to the imperial crown in Vienna (962 and later) and to the Carolingian, Frankish, and Ottonian tradition of sophisticated goldsmiths' work. Although Empress Theophano, the Byzantine wife of Otto II (r. 973–83), was criticized by her contemporaries for her affection for precious jewels and elaborate dress,² the impact of her presence on Ottonian court art is perhaps evident in the "Gisela" Treasure. What is interesting is that while the Mainz objects are not Byzantine, their existence would be unthinkable without Byzantium. They clearly were made to imitate the appearance of the splendor of Byzantine jewelry, possibly echoing the jewelry and ornaments brought to the West by Theophano in her dowry in 972.

1. Hildesheim 1993, IV-26.
2. Othloh of Saint Emmeram, as cited by Westermann-Angerhausen 1991, p. 216.

LITERATURE: Falke, *Mainer Goldschmuck*, 1913; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1991–92; Westermann-Angerhausen 1991, pp. 193–218, esp. 205ff.; Lightbown 1992, p. 104, figs. 16, 17; Fillitz, "Bemerkungen," 1993, pp. 313–34, esp. n. 6.

EXHIBITION: Speyer 1992, nos. 6/1, 6/2, 6/14.

342. Casket with Erotes and Animals

Northern Adriatic(?), 12th(?) century
Bone plaques and ornamental strips over wooden casket with silk lining; copper handle, clasps, lock plate, and nails
11.5 × 39.5 × 19 cm (4¾ × 15½ × 7¾ in.)

CONDITION: Many of the plaques, rosette strips, and bands of twisted ribbon and acanthus ornament have been damaged by the later insertion of the hardware.

PROVENANCE: Hoentschel collection, Paris; gift of J. Pierpont Morgan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1917.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.235)

Although the naked figures fighting or playing musical instruments on the lid

subscribe to the tradition of erotes acting out adult activities (as on the Veroli Casket, cat. no. 153) and the hunting animals on the sides observe norms reverting to Late Antiquity, it remains far from certain that this box is of Byzantine manufacture.

Attempts to see in the figure clutching his head on the left plaque of the lid the Constantinopolitan statue of Herakles as he rests after cleaning the Augean stables do not explain his presence in this context.¹ He would appear more likely an eros figure wounded in the mock battle. Similarly, the manner in which muscles and ribs are incised on the body surfaces finds no counterpart in the tradition of Byzantine ivory carving. Quadrupeds, pursuing or leaping on their prey, and other heraldically disposed animals are at least as much at home in the medieval West as in the East. Moreover, Byzantine carvers rarely bisected their animals with the frame, as on two plaques on the rear of the casket. The enclosing "rosettes"—of two different types, one with rounded leaves, the other composed as a star cluster—are much less plastic than those on tenth- and eleventh-century examples, and the combination of these different forms is found only on boxes of the same order as the present example.² While the provenance of such portable objects is no compelling indicator of their place of origin, so many caskets of this type come from sites in the northern Adriatic that a source in the Veneto or the region of Istria seems more likely than



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Constantinople.³ In Venice and elsewhere in Italy in the twelfth century, they would have appealed to a clientele still under the spell of things Byzantine.

A C

1. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, no. 547; New York 1970, no. 76.
2. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1934, vol. 2, nos. 58–63.
3. Schneider 1896, pp. 279–92.

LITERATURE: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, no. 57 (for the older literature); Connor, "New Perspectives," 1991, p. 100, fig. 4.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1970, no. 76; Providence 1987, no. 5.

343. Casket

Sicilian or South Italian, ca. 1200–1225

Ivory, brass, and tempera

10 × 27.5 × 13 cm (4 × 10⁷/₁₆ × 5¹/₈ in.)

Tesoro della Cattedrale di San Andrea a Veroli, Veroli, Italy

This rectangular casket with a flat lid belongs to a large group of ivory boxes most probably produced in Sicily or southern Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is one of five such works in the Cathedral Treasury in Veroli. These objects are composed of ivory sheets (in some cases with wood supports), nailed together with ivory pegs and decorated with tempera colors. Brass hinges and clasps, which were sometimes prominent, secured the lid to the casket. Scholars believe that such boxes were produced in southern Italy because all are found today in collections

outside the Middle East and none is reported to have come from an Islamic country. In addition, the figures drawn on them betray Fatimid influences, which were assimilated during the Muslim occupation of the region and integrated into the decorative repertoire of Norman Sicily. These caskets, which were secular objects, often found their way into Italian and European church treasuries as reliquaries.

The whole group of ivories painted in the "South Italian" style has been studied by Cott, Ferrandis, Pinder-Wilson, and Brooke.¹ Most are square caskets with flat or truncated pyramidal lids; there are also a few oval caskets with domed lids and a small number of pyxides, combs, and crosier heads. Pinder-Wilson and Brooke subdivided the approximately two hundred objects into seven groups according to their painted decoration. The present casket belongs to the fourth group along with three other square boxes in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo; the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence; and the Archaeological Museum, Laval (France).² It is decorated symmetrically with figures placed against the off-white background or enclosed in roundels. On the front two falconers face each other on either side of the lock hinge (now missing); on the back two affronted peacocks looking backward are separated by a pseudovegetal medallion; each of the two sides shows a single bird, perhaps a parrot, in its center. On the lid are two symmetrically decorated medallions, each enclosing a haloed bust of a saint holding a book; between the medallions are two predatory birds, and below are two peacocks as well as two cheetahs seizing a hare. It has been remarked that the falconers' braids may suggest a comparison with contemporary Persian pottery;³ however,

there is no doubt that the composition and style of the painted decoration belong to a South Italian milieu. The presence of Christian figures is not unusual on these caskets, which were produced in an area that, although recently restored to Catholicism, was still permeated by Islamic imagery.

S C

1. Cott 1939; Ferrandis 1935–40; Pinder-Wilson and Brooke 1973.
2. Pinder-Wilson and Brooke 1973, pp. 280–83, pls. LXXII–LXXV.
3. Monneret de Villard (1950, pp. 29–30) made such a comparison, but he never published his promised work on the painted ivories.

LITERATURE: Cott 1939, no. 44, pls. 23, 24; Ferrandis 1935–40, no. 19, pl. XVI; Pinder-Wilson and Brooke 1973, pl. LXXVa; Gabrieli and Scerrato 1979, figs. 485–88 (color).

EXHIBITIONS: Milan 1993, no. 88 (color, entry by G. Ventrone Vassallo); Venice 1995, no. 8.6.

344. Textile Fragment from the Reliquary of Saint Potentianus

Byzantine or Siculo-Byzantine(?), 12th century
Silk

145 × 97 cm (57 × 38³/₈ in.)

PROVENANCE: Reliquary of Saint Potentianus (Potentien).

Trésor de la Cathédrale de Saint-Étienne, Sens, France (B7)

This textile fragment from the reliquary of Saint Potentianus (Potentien), martyred third-century bishop of Sens, may be the fabric that was placed around his remains in



344 (detail)

the early thirteenth century.¹ The bluish purple silk has a design in red and blue of large circles with frames composed of pseudo-Kufic inscriptions. Connected axially by small disks, the circles enclose stylized trees with pairs of griffins and birds, one above the other. The interstices are filled with a tree motif containing two pairs of birds, and yellow beading trims the edge.²

Medieval decorative arts, especially textiles, share an important characteristic: the designs that embellish them simultaneously adhere to tradition while incorporating new motifs, which contributes to the difficulty of establishing the origin of individual pieces. The present silk exemplifies this problem. Here the arrangements of trees with birds and animals recall seventh- and eighth-century silks from Byzantine and Early Islamic Egypt as well as examples from the eastern Mediterranean.³ The beading and the exaggerated elements of heavy paws and legs, originally Sassanian, appear widely in medieval Byzantine silks.⁴ The elaborate plumage occurs on a Byzantine ivory casket⁵ and on some Islamic pottery.⁶ The frames composed of pseudo-Kufic inscriptions, visually convincing but illegible, derive from Islamic art, in which calligraphic inscriptions figure prominently.

Although this textile is now generally considered to be Byzantine, it could have been made in any region with a developed silk industry and strong Byzantine and Islamic presences, such as twelfth-century Sicily, where an already important silk industry⁷ was further expanded by the Norman kings.⁸ Moreover, in Sicily under the Norman royal

patronage Byzantine, Islamic, and Western artistic traditions existed side by side.⁹ While pseudo-Kufic ornamentation appears elsewhere in Byzantine art,¹⁰ its use in Sicily along with true Kufic inscriptions most closely and consistently parallels Islamic art.¹¹ The Saint Potentianus silk demonstrates a comparable employment of pseudo-Kufic inscription, strengthening the Siculo-Byzantine attribution proposed early in this century.¹²

A G

1. Chartraire 1897, pp. 19–20; Chartraire 1911, p. 452; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 380.
2. Technical information — compound weft-faced twill; warp: yellow silk; weft: bluish purple, blue, red, and yellow silk. This textile was also used in other reliquaries at Sens. Additional fragments are in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence; the Musée Historique des Tissus, Lyons; and the Musée de Cluny, Paris. See Auxerre 1990, p. 190.
3. See especially the silks of the so-called Akhmim group (Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, 1913, vol. 1, figs. 59–63; Martiniani-Reber 1986, pp. 80–97). These motifs also occur in several medieval silks found near Rayy in Iran, which have been variously identified as Byzantine, Levantine, and Persian (Shepherd 1974, p. 13; King 1987, pp. 41–45, figs. 1, 2; Otavsky and ‘Abbas Muhammad Salim 1995, pp. 132–34, 137–38, nos. 79, 81).
4. Also present in cat. nos. 148–150.
5. An eleventh-century casket in the Troyes Cathedral Treasury; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 168, pp. 258–59.
6. See especially the Lakabi ware made in either Syria or Egypt; London, *Arts*, 1976, nos. 340, 341, pp. 242–43.
7. The extent and quality of Sicilian silk production has until recently been undervalued (Monneret de Villard 1946 and 1953; Shepherd 1974, p. 13). For the new evidence, see Goitein 1967–83, vol. 1, pp. 101–3, 222; Goitein 1967–83, vol. 4, pp. 114, 157, 168–69; Guillou 1975; Jacoby 1991–92, p. 465.

8. In 1147 Roger II even carried away silk weavers from Corinth and Thebes, centers of medieval Byzantine silk production. Choniates 1984, pp. 43–45, 57; Lopez 1945, p. 24; Jacoby 1991–92, p. 462.
9. Specifically in the Cappella Palatina in the royal palace in Palermo, about 1140s and later (Demus 1949, pls. 8–13; Gabrieli and Scerrato 1979, figs. 40–42); in general, see Demus 1949 and Gabrieli and Scerrato 1979, pp. 35–105.
10. One such example is a tenth- to eleventh-century glass cup in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice. Cutler 1974, pp. 238–39, figs. 1, 2; Rodley 1994, fig. 138.
11. See, for example, the work of Islamic artists on the wooden ceiling of the Cappella Palatina (Gabrieli and Scerrato 1979, pp. 303–4) and along the base of the dome of Santa Maria dell’Amiraglio in Palermo (ca. 1140s; Gabrieli and Scerrato 1979, figs. 117, 118). On a smaller scale, a pseudo-Kufic band, similar in style to that of the Saint Potentianus silk, decorates the second illustration of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes in Madrid, a twelfth-century Byzantine manuscript written in Sicily (A. Grabar and Manoussacas 1979, pl. 1; I. Ševčenko 1984).
12. Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, 1913, vol. 1, pp. 126–27, figs. 211, 212. The existence of a related silk (comparable in pattern, details, and colors) reported to be from Sicily is given by Dupont-Auberville 1877, pl. 6; reproduced in Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, 1913, vol. 1, p. 126, fig. 210; Auxerre 1990, p. 192.

LITERATURE: Chartraire 1897, pp. 19–20, no. 33; Chartraire 1911, pp. 452–53, no. 42; Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, 1913, vol. 1, pp. 126–27, figs. 211, 212; Podreider 1928, p. 26, fig. 31; Monneret de Villard 1953, pp. 163–64; Shepherd 1974, pp. 13, 101, fig. 7; Martiniani-Reber, “Deuxième suaire,” 1990, no. 123, pp. 190–91 (with extensive bibliography); Otavsky and ‘Abbas Muhammad Salim 1995, p. 138.

EXHIBITIONS: Auxerre 1990, no. 123; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 288.



† ΤΥΧΗΝ ΑΓΟΙΣ ΠΡΕΣΗΜΩΝ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΩΣ ΘΕΟΛΟ
 ΛΟΓΟΙΣ ΟΤΙ ΟΝΤΕΣ ΧΚΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΒΡΑΥΤΗΝ



μαρτυρῶσ
 ἰμῶρα· καὶ ἡ
 ἀρχὴ, ἑξῆς αὐ.

καὶ λαμπρῶσ
 θεῶμαρτυρῶσ
 μηγύρει· καὶ ἄλ

NOTES TO THE ESSAYS

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GLOSSARY

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NOTES TO THE ESSAYS

"Byzantine Society and Civilization," by Speros P. Vryonis, Jr., pp. 5-19

1. Zepos and Zepos 1931, vol. 1, p. 269.
2. Basic to what follows is the remarkable study of Anastos 1978; Basilica, 2.6.2.
3. Wassiliewsky and Jernstedt 1965, p. 93; Vryonis 1982, p. 155.
4. Vryonis 1977, pp. 123-28.
5. Wal and Lokin 1985.
6. Anastos 1978, p. 28.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
8. G. Weiss 1973; Vryonis 1977, pp. 123-25; Bréhier 1949; Carney 1974.
9. Bury 1911.
10. Marrou 1982; Jaeger 1969; Vryonis 1990.
11. Browning 1977; Lemerle 1986; Marrou 1982; Moffat 1979; Constantinides 1982.
12. Hunger 1978.
13. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 372-89, 429-41, vol. 2, p. 465; Gadolin 1987; Ljubarski 1978; Kazhdan and Franklin 1984, pp. 28-86, 256-86; Lemerle 1986, pp. 205-35.
14. Ho 1962.
15. Psellos 1876, vol. 5, p. 508.
16. *Nicetas Magistros* 1973, p. 57.
17. Tzetzes 1972, p. 10.
18. Ostrogorsky 1971; Kazhdan 1974; Angold, *Byzantine Aristocracy*, 1984; Vryonis 1977, pp. 127-32; Vryonis 1956, pp. 172-287.
19. Wassiliewsky and Jernstedt 1965, pp. 49-50.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
21. Ahrweiler 1966; Eickhoff 1966; Eric McGeer and Alexander Kazhdan, "Army," *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 183-85.
22. Wassiliewsky and Jernstedt 1965, p. 95.
23. Ostrogorsky 1966.
24. Attaleiates 1853, pp. 76-77, 93-96; Vryonis, *Decline*, 1971, pp. 88-96.
25. Angold, *Byzantine Empire*, 1984; Chalandon 1900-1912; Brand 1968; Magdalino 1993.
26. Vryonis, "Byzantine Constantinople," 1991, pp. 23-26; Treitinger 1938; Fenster 1968.
27. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De Caerimoniis*, in Barker 1961, p. 103.
28. Liutprand of Cremona 1930, p. 208.
29. Ostrogorsky 1959; Brandes 1989.
30. Vryonis, *Decline*, 1971, pp. 6-30.
31. Rhalles and Potles 1852-59, vol. 3, p. 246; Vryonis, *Decline*, 1971, p. 209.
32. Vryonis 1969, pp. 218-21.
33. Charanis 1972; Jacoby 1975.
34. Jacobson 1961, pp. 154-65, for Cherson.
35. Ahrweiler 1965, pp. 1-104.
36. Vryonis, *Decline*, 1971, pp. 6-30.
37. *Geoponica* 1895; Teall 1971, pp. 33-60.
38. Teall 1959, pp. 87-139.
39. The cultivation of rice on Mediterranean shores is mentioned in the Mishnah.
40. A notable exception is Fikhman 1965.
41. Mickwitz 1936.
42. Book of Eparch 1970.
43. Vryonis, "Byzantine *Demokratia*," 1963, pp. 289-314.
44. On state arms factories, see Vryonis, "E chersonesos tou Aimou," 1978.
45. Vryonis, *Decline*, 1971, p. 219.
46. Vryonis, "Panegyris," 1981.
47. Pseudo-Luciano 1974, p. 53.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
49. Lilie 1984; Vryonis, *Decline*, 1971.
50. Hussey 1986.
51. Beck 1959.
52. Aristeides Papadakis and Alexander Kazhdan, "Caesaropapism," *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 364-65; Timothy E. Gregory, "Church," *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 456-57.
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55. Vryonis, *Decline*, 1971, p. 63; Vryonis 1959; Vryonis, "Byzantine Images," 1981.
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59. See generally the severe legislation of the Theodosian Code.
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62. Rhalles and Potles 1852-59, vol. 2, p. 449.
63. *Ibid.*
64. Wassiliewsky and Jernstedt 1965, pp. 80-81.
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66. Diez and Demus 1931; Connor, *Art and Miracles*, 1991; Diehl 1968; Stikas 1970; Stikas 1974.
67. C. Bouras 1982; Mouriki 1985.
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70. Vryonis 1977.
71. Constantine Porphyrogenitus 1967, pp. 228-47.
72. Vryonis 1977, pp. 142-44.
73. Kautschschischvili 1963, p. 122.
74. Vryonis, "Nomadization," 1975; Vryonis, *Decline*, 1971.
75. Ostrogorsky 1969, pp. 403-17.
76. Wolff 1948; Wolff 1954.
77. Vryonis, "Byzantine . . . Self-Consciousness," 1991; Vryonis 1977, pp. 140-44.
78. Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, 1971; Obolensky, *Byzantium*, 1971.
79. A. Vogt 1908.
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103. Soulis 1965, pp. 9-44; Obolensky 1965, pp. 45-66.
104. *Istorija na Bylgarija* 1981, vol. 2, pp. 213-77.
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111. *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 116-17.

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2. Herrin 1987.
3. On the Christianization of the city of Rome, see Krautheimer 1980.
4. Herman 1967; Hussey 1986, p. 300; Timothy E. Gregory, "Church," *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 456-57.
5. Mango, *Développement*, 1985.
6. This is nicely expressed in the legislation of Leo VI (r. 886-912): "As the body politic, like the human body, is composed of parts and members, so the most important and the most vital parts are the emperor and the patriarch. In the same way that peace and happiness in the human body depends on the harmony of soul and body, so in the polity there must be perfect agreement between the Emperor and the priesthood." *Jus canonicum*, *Officium et definitio patriarchae ex libro de jure Basilii*, tit. II, cap. 1, *PG*, vol. 119, col. 909; Hussey 1937, p. 120.
7. Hussey 1986, pp. 299-303.
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10. Symeon the New Theologian, *Divinorum amorum liber*, chap. 4, *PG*, vol. 120, col. 516B; Hussey 1937, p. 215.
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 30. Quotation from Hymn 15, Maloney 1979, p. 63.
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 34. Rubensohn 1905.
 35. The earliest description of Christian icon use is found in the late-second-century apocryphal "Acts of John," Hennecke and Schneemelcher 1963–64, vol. 2, pp. 220–21. See also Kitzinger 1954.
 36. Mango 1972, p. 117.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
 38. The most important collection of early icons is that of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai; Weitzmann 1976.
 39. A. Grabar 1984; Mango 1977; Paul A. Hollingsworth and Anthony Cutler, "Iconoclasm," *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 975–77.
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 46. Mango 1976, p. 196.
 47. The best representatives of Byzantine domestic architecture are the mansions of Cappadocia. Mathews and Daskalakis 1995.
 48. On this building type, see Krautheimer 1986, pp. 285–300.
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 54. Demus 1948; Mouriki 1985; Lazarev 1960; Kitzinger 1990.
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 56. Weitzmann 1976; New York and Milan 1984.
 57. For the classic definition of the system of Byzantine church decoration, see Demus 1948; see also Mathews 1988.
 58. Demus 1948, p. 13.
 59. Kitzinger 1990.
 60. Mansi 1960–61, vol. 13, p. 12.
 61. Mutsopoulos 1962; Striker 1995.
 62. Gerstel 1993.
 63. Weitzmann 1984.
- "Manuscripts," by Jeffrey C. Anderson, pp. 83–87
1. For the book as an object of devotion, see Anderson 1992, pp. 5–7, and the fifth-century exhortation by Philoxenos of Mabboug that when studying the Gospels the monk should periodically prostrate himself before the text (Rapp 1991, pp. 139, 145–47).
 2. Anderson 1992 (cat. nos. 60, 61).
 3. Mullett 1984.
 4. For a discussion of images as information, see Geyer 1989, pp. 32–41.
 5. These decorated editions include both technical and literary texts: for instance, the veterinary science treatise, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Cod. Phillipps 1538 (Weitzmann 1935, pp. 15–16, figs. 107–15), the collection of anacreontic verse in Vat. Barb. gr. 310 (Agati 1992, p. 202, pl. 139), and the Vatican *Organon* of Aristotle, Vat. Urb. gr. 35 (Follieri 1969, pp. 28–32, pl. 18).
 6. Sinai Cod. 339, fol. 437v (cat. no. 63).
 7. The inscription reads: "This book was dedicated to the monastery of the Holy Theotokos Pantanassa on the island of Hagia Glykeria by the abbot of the imperial monastery of the Pantokrator, the monk Joseph Hagiogykerites."
 8. Hausherr 1928, pp. 12–13.
 9. Litavrin 1972, p. 154.
 10. On such scripts, see Hunger, "Epigraphische," 1977, and Hunger, "Minuskel," 1977.
 11. For examples of handsomely framed text, see the Rossano Gospels, fols. 5, 6v (Rossano, Museo Diocesano; Cavallo et al. 1987) and Vienna Dioscurides, fol. 7v (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, med. gr. 1:0; Mazal 1981).
 12. The most likely candidate for such a work is a copy of the Gospels, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek Cod. A.N.3.12 (Nordenfalk 1970, pp. 189–93, figs. 52–56A). For Iconoclast decoration, see Lafontaine-Dosogne 1987.
 13. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 510, the collected work of Gregory of Nazianzos (Omont 1929, pp. 10–31, pls. 15–60).
 14. These include the manuscripts of Kurt Weitzmann's "blue-gold" and "jigsaw" groups (Weitzmann 1935, pp. 7–8, 18–22), more of which are available in Agati 1992.
 15. Earrings (cat. no. 166), bracelets (cat. no. 165), icons (cat. nos. 107, 112, 115), and icon frames (Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 50.1 [M. Ross 1965, pp. 105–6, pl. LXX]) (cat. no. 236).
 16. For an early author portrait, see Saint Mark in the Rossano Gospels, fol. 121 (Cavallo et al. 1987), and the physicians depicted in the series at the start of the Vienna Dioscurides, fols. 2v, 3v, 4v, 5v (Mazal 1981).
 17. Author portraits are known in a variety of types: standing (Getty New Testament, cat. no. 47); pairs in discussion; the writer with his secretary (Lectionary, cat. no. 60). The com-
- mon seated type is represented by Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Cod. 530e (cat. no. 48).
18. Moses in Eden, the Leo Bible, fol. 11v, and the Crucifixion in the Khudov Psalter, fol. 67.
 19. The Byzantine Octateuchs (Lowden, *Octateuchs*, 1992) and Book of Kings (Lassus 1973) and the two densely illustrated Gospel books, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 74 (Omont n.d.) and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana 6.23 (Velmans 1971).
- "Popular Imagery," by Annemarie Weyl Carr, pp. 113–17
1. Stylianou and Stylianou 1985, p. 223.
 2. These paintings, found in the apse, are of 1178. See Cyprus. Tmema Archaioeteton 1988, p. 23.
 3. Stylianou and Stylianou 1985, p. 231.
 4. Kollias 1992, vol. 1, p. 261. See also Stylianou and Stylianou 1992, vol. 1, pp. 570–81.
 5. Mannino 1980. For a colorplate of the Madonna delle Vittorie in full dress, with her golden cover and pilgrim gifts, see Accascina 1974, pl. 161.
 6. Sotiriou 1939, pp. 3–6.
 7. On the cost of icons, see Oikonomides 1991, p. 38, regarding the inventory drawn up by the well-to-do Thessalonian widow Maria Deblitzenou in 1384. It lists seven icons ranging in value from two hyperpyra — the price of a towel or kettle — to seven hyperpyra, the value of a used bedspread; her good silk bedspread was valued at thirty-two. Or see Richard 1983–87, p. 14, where panel paintings are given values comparable to kitchen utensils.
 8. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1913, p. 66, newly reprinted as Ohnefalsch-Richter 1994, p. 55.
 9. On the Hodegetria, see most recently Babić 1994, pp. 189–222 with earlier bibliography.
 10. In the present volume, see cat. nos. 84–86; in Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, the Virgin is set apart as the central figure in thirty-nine ivories; she exhibits the posture of the Hodegetria in thirty-five of these.
 11. Carr 1996.
 12. Corrie 1996.
 13. Oikonomides 1991, p. 42 (Fogg Art Museum, no. 1257).
 14. Kreidl-Papadopoulou 1966 gives a résumé of the image's iconographic history.
 15. The classic study on the Byzantine theology of Mary's death is Jugie 1944. See also Wenger 1955. A very elegant study of the emergence of Mary's mortality as a theme in Byzantine thought and imagery is Kalavrezou 1990.
 16. In the present volume, see cat. nos. 95, 101; see also Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, figs. 1, 109–13, 116e, 174–80, 195, 201, 206, 226, 234.
 17. See Andrew of Crete, quoted in Jugie 1944, p. 237: "And one sees a spectacle truly novel and beyond all human thought: a woman superior in purity to the heavens at the threshold of the celestial sanctuary."
 18. Alexiou 1974, pp. 5–6, 10, 27–29, on the role of women in the fourth-century funeral of Saint Makrina. In disparaging the dramatic behavior of mourners, Byzantine ecclesiastics assigned it to women; see H. Maguire 1991. Spyridakis in his fundamental study, Spyridakis 1950, pp. 74–171, speaks little of the gender of participants but describes women mourners on p. 120 and cites on p. 105 the deaths of Saints Makrina and Mary Junior, whose lament by women is specified. The laments of Saints Evaristos the Stoudite and Peter of Argos, both cited in

- Abrahamse 1984, p. 127, included both men and women. On the imagery of grief in Byzantine art, see H. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow," 1977, pp. 125–74. On the continuity into recent times, see Danforth 1982.
19. On Paul, see in particular Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople, in his sermon on the Dormition, *PG*, vol. 98, col. 368, in which Paul, arriving late, throws himself at Mary's feet and praises her: "Hail, fulfillment of my salvation. For if I did not see Christ in the body, I see you in the body [and] I am encouraged to see Christ, the body hailed by the bodiless [angel] in the garden. In your presence I fulfill the yearning to Christ."
 20. Alexiou 1974, p. 28; H. Maguire 1991, who quotes, for example, Theophylaktos of Ohrid on the Raising of Lazarus: "To have no feeling and no weeping is bestial; but to weep too much and to be fond of lamenting is womanly"
 21. Alexiou 1974, p. 27.
 22. Inventoried in Kreidl-Papadopoulos 1966, p. 145, these include Bede's description of the mural at the Virgin's tomb showing the Virgin's mummy and the angel bearing the palm; three scenes of the ninth century at the so-called Temple of Fortuna Virilis in Rome showing Christ announcing Mary's death to her, John greeting the apostles at his house, and the apostles borne on clouds; and two scenes at Agac alti Kilise in Ihlara showing Christ first receiving and then holding Mary's soul.
 23. On the silence during the struggle of the soul and the lament thereafter, see Alexiou 1974, p. 27.
 24. Rosenqvist 1986, pp. 108–9, of Saint Irene: "and suddenly her face shone as the sun. Then she closed her eyes, as if expecting to sleep for a short while, and she rendered up her holy soul to God." Talbot (forthcoming), of Saint Theodora: "and after reclining on the bed on which she lay with her limbs arranged in an orderly manner, and placing her hands on her chest and suitably closing her eyes and her lips as if in the natural sleep that comes over us, she was transported to the eternal and everlasting life." I thank Dr. Talbot for showing me her translation. The Greek texts regarding Saint Theodora are published in Paschalides 1991, with the death on pp. 152–57.
 25. Rosenqvist 1986, pp. 108–11: "At once there rose a clamor, and crying and lamentation and wailing echoed loud among her spiritual daughters. . . . Her death became known everywhere, and in a moment almost the whole city was gathered before the convent. . . . Not even wives and daughters of senators failed." Vorst 1923, p. 321: "The majority of the city—men and women, old and young, every age of monks and laypeople, private citizens and everybody, priests and those outside the bema—hurried together around him, lamenting and bewailing the tyranny of death."
 26. Alexiou 1974, p. 29, on Makrina's death.
 27. Rosenqvist 1986, pp. 110–11: "Not even wives and daughters of senators failed. . . . they, too, ran to the saint's corpse, eager to win sanctification, some through contact, others whom the pressure of the multitude did not allow to touch her, through mere sight."
 28. Vorst 1923, p. 321: "And like beams, light-bearing angels, driving out the dark demons that were before them, carried [his soul] to heaven and placed it at the royal throne." Rosenqvist 1986, pp. 108–9: "she sat down and began to smile as if she had . . . seen and rejoiced at the light-bearing angels who would carry her away."
 29. Talbot (forthcoming), of Saint Theodora: "Then the nuns performed their hymnody mingled with their lamentations, and there was discussion as to where they should lay to rest her holy body. . . . And so they all bestowed a final kiss on her holy body with psalmody and reverence."
 30. Thus the sermon is illustrated in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 510, fol. 104r, with Basil's bier carried by four men (Omont 1929, pl. XLIV). In the eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts of Gregory's Homilies, however, the sermon is illustrated with a composition very like the Koimesis, with Basil on a bier flanked by crowds of clerics and Gregory standing behind him (see Galavaris 1969, figs. 11, 44, 114, 363, 461). The saint's Koimesis eventually becomes extremely elaborate; see Baltogianni 1992.
 31. The segment of John Geometres's sermon on the Virgin that treats the Koimesis is published with French translation in Wenger 1955, pp. 364–99. On the cloth of gold, see pp. 364–65, sec. 1; on the symmetrical placement of the apostles and the women, pp. 382–83, sec. 25; and on the kissing and gazing, pp. 382–83, sec. 26.
 32. H. Maguire 1991, citing Sopocani and subsequent Serbian examples.
 33. See the reference to an image of the lament for the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (died 1118) in Magdalino and Nelson 1982, pp. 126–30, and the later Koimeses of the Serbian royalty, beginning with Saint Sava at Sopocani. The report of the image of the lament for Alexios is interesting since we have in Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* a vivid description of the mourners who lamented him; Comnena 1969, p. 513.
 34. Rosenqvist 1986, pp. 102–5.
 35. On Charos in Byzantium, see Alexiou 1974, p. 26, and pp. 197, 201 for Charos as reaper.
 36. Iakobson 1950, no. 105, p. 196, pl. 27; Megaw 1989, fig. 1.
- "Images of the Court," by Henry Maguire, pp. 183–91
1. Darrouzes and Westerink 1978, p. 217.
 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 229–31.
 3. The classic discussion of the art of the imperial court is A. Grabar 1936. For more recent treatments, see H. Maguire, "Heavenly Court" (forthcoming).
 4. Mango 1959; Guillard 1969, vol. 1, pp. 3–367.
 5. Papadopoulos 1928, pp. 127–76; Runciman 1975.
 6. Magdalino 1993, pp. 115–19.
 7. McCormick 1985; McCormick 1986; Cameron 1987.
 8. Guillard 1969, vol. 1, pp. 369–595.
 9. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals*, 1966, pp. 56–57, 236–40, pls. 40–41, fig. 28; Logvin, *Kiev*, 1971, pp. 38–40, pls. 251–56.
 10. Oikonomides 1972.
 11. Liutprand of Cremona 1915, p. 181; Liutprand of Cremona 1930, p. 241.
 12. Liutprand of Cremona 1915, pp. 157–58; Liutprand of Cremona 1930, pp. 211–12.
 13. Liutprand of Cremona 1915, p. 204; Liutprand of Cremona 1930, p. 268.
 14. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Coislin gr. 79, fol. 2.
 15. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 107–18; Dumitrescu 1987. See also, however, Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, pp. 360–61.
 16. Moscow, State Historical Museum, Ms. 129 (Khludov Psalter), fol. 23v.
 17. Corrigan 1992, pp. 32–33.
 18. Lampros 1908, p. 16.
 19. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. gr. 17, fol. 3r; Cutler 1984, pp. 115–19.
 20. Koder and Weber 1980, p. 60.
 21. Liutprand of Cremona 1915, p. 177; Liutprand of Cremona 1930, p. 236.
 22. Kurtz 1936–41, vol. 1, pp. 46–47.
 23. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Coislin gr. 79, fol. 2 bis v.
 24. Migne 1857–66, vol. 109, cols. 216, 268; see also Cutler 1984–85, p. 45.
 25. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1913, p. 163; Magdalino 1993, p. 463.
 26. Lampros 1908, p. 17.
 27. Liutprand of Cremona 1915, pp. 177, 181; Liutprand of Cremona 1930, pp. 237, 240.
 28. Drexel 1925, p. 202; Oberhelman 1991, p. 219.
 29. Gautier 1972, p. 294; Magdalino 1993, p. 437.
 30. Gautier 1986, p. 157.
 31. Deér 1966; Wessel 1967, pp. 111–15; Kovács and Lovag 1980.
 32. Lampros 1879–80, vol. 1, p. 215.
 33. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana Ms. gr. 17, fol. 4v.
 34. H. Maguire 1988, pp. 93–94.
 35. *Ibid.*, pp. 89–93.
 36. Lampros 1879–80, vol. 1, p. 229.
 37. *Ibid.*; A. Vogt and Hausherr 1932, p. 58.
 38. Magdalino 1988, pp. 104–7; H. Maguire 1989, p. 219.
 39. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. gr. 139, fol. 1v; Cutler 1984, pp. 70–71.
 40. H. Maguire 1989, pp. 217–20.
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 228; H. Maguire, "Imperial Gardens," 1994, p. 190; Magdalino 1993, pp. 417–18, 436, 467.
 42. Vikan 1995, pp. 104–8.
 43. Liutprand of Cremona 1915, p. 181; Liutprand of Cremona 1930, p. 241.
 44. Darrouzes and Westerink 1978, pp. 227–31.
 45. *Ibid.*, pp. 215–25.
 46. Van Dieten 1975, vol. 1, pp. 59, 111–13; Magoulias 1984, pp. 34, 63–64.
 47. Hörandner 1989, pp. 150–51; H. Maguire, "Epigrams," 1994, pp. 112–14.
 48. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection Ms. 3; Der Nersessian 1965, pp. 156, 164; Nelson 1989, pp. 145–46.
 49. The predictions are on fols. 2r–3r. I am grateful to Ihor Ševčenko for bringing these texts to my attention and to Alice-Mary Talbot for help in deciphering them.
 50. Herrin 1995, pp. 72–76; Kazhdan and McCormick (forthcoming).
 51. Migne 1857–66, vol. 112, cols. 1149–52.
 52. Verpeaux 1966, pp. 286–87.
 53. Spatharakis 1976, pp. 210–30, pls. 158–73.
 54. Gautier 1972, p. 147 (Michael Italikos on Irene Doukaina).
 55. Leib 1937, vol. 1, p. 111 (Anna Komnene on her mother, Irene Doukaina).
 56. Regel 1892, vol. 1, p. 84 (Eustathios of Thessalonike on Agnes of France); Gautier 1972, p. 149 (Michael Italikos on Irene Doukaina).
 57. Van Dieten 1975, vol. 1, pp. 116, 332–33; Magoulias 1984, pp. 66, 183; Eastmond 1994, pp. 508–9.
- "Secular Architecture," by Robert G. Ousterhout, pp. 193–99
1. Mango 1980, pp. 60–87; Saradi-Mendelovici 1988; Kazhdan 1954; Kirsten 1958, pp. 1–35; Foss 1977, pp. 469–86.

2. Theophanes 1982, pp. 118–19 (Annus Mundi 6247).
 3. Bakirtzis, “Western Thrace,” 1989, pp. 41–58 (for Abdera, pp. 44–46, with additional bibliography); C. Bouras 1981, pp. 611–53 (for Sparta, pp. 621–22, with additional bibliography).
 4. Those at Ephesus are a good example; see Foss 1979, pp. 111–13, and fig. 35.
 5. Timothy Gregory and Nancy P. Ševčenko, “Monemvasia,” *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 1394–95; Gregory and Ševčenko, “Mistra,” *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 1382–85; both have additional bibliography.
 6. C. Bouras 1981, pp. 641–42.
 7. Rodley 1985, especially pp. 148–51, 240–54, accepts the traditional identification of the settlements as monastic; see the recent critique by Robert Ousterhout, “Byzantine Settlement,” 1995, p. 23, and Ousterhout 1996, pp. 21–33, especially 29–32.
 8. Foss 1979, pp. 103–37.
 9. C. Bouras 1981, pp. 621–23.
 10. Schneider and Karnapp 1938, especially pl. 2.
 11. C. Bouras 1981, pp. 637–42.
 12. Scranton 1957, pp. 34–87, plans 6–7; Frantz 1961.
 13. C. Bouras 1981, p. 644.
 14. For the panegyris at Ephesus, see Foss 1979, pp. 126–27; Angeliki Laiou, “Fair,” *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 775–76.
 15. Koder 1995, pp. 49–56.
 16. Nora Laos, Alexander Kazhdan, Anthony Cutler, and Timothy Gregory, “Cemetery,” *ODB*, vol. 1, pp. 396–97.
 17. Radt 1978, pp. 100–223; Rheidt 1991.
 18. Festa 1898, p. 107ff. (letter 32, in Mango 1972, p. 245).
 19. See Müller-Wiener 1977, pp. 273–77, for the checked history of the aqueduct of Valens in Constantinople. See Tafali 1913, pp. 114–19, for the aqueduct and water source at Chortiatis above Thessalonike.
 20. For the twelfth-century aqueduct of Ionnes Kaloktenes, see Keramopoulos 1917, p. 123. For the ongoing investigations of water systems in Cappadocia, see Castellani 1993, pp. 207–16.
 21. Berger 1982.
 22. *Thessaloniki* 1985, pp. 92–94; Xyngopoulos 1940, pp. 83–97.
 23. C. Bouras 1981, pp. 645–46.
 24. *Corpus juris civilis*, in Scott 1932, no. 118, chap. 15.
 25. Both Villehardouin 1938–39, vol. 2, p. 51, and Jacoby 1961, pp. 81–109, give this figure.
 26. Hagenmeyer 1913; English quoted from Vin 1980, vol. 2, pp. 503–4.
 27. Mango, *Développement*, 1985; Mango 1986, pp. 117–36.
 28. McCormick 1986, pp. 189–230.
 29. See Müller-Wiener 1977 for extensive bibliography on individual monuments.
 30. Magdalino 1993, pp. 109–23, presents a vivid picture of the capital in the twelfth century.
 31. Berry 1948; English quoted from Vin 1980, vol. 2, p. 519. The laws of Leo VI required a distance of ten feet between properties, including projecting balconies and sunrooms, but this may not have been observed; see Noailles and Dain 1944, p. 373, no. 113. See also Velenis 1978, pp. 197–236.
 32. Svetlana Mojsilović-Popović, Apostolos Karpozilos, and Alexander Kazhdan, “Houses,” *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 953–54.
 33. Coleman 1969, pp. 155–61, especially pp. 156–58; also C. Bouras 1983, pp. 3–26, especially p. 13.
 34. Rheidt 1990, pp. 195–204.
 35. Robinson 1964, p. 100; also Scranton 1957; Frantz 1961; C. Bouras 1983, pp. 6–10.
 36. Tzetzis 1972, pp. 31–34.
 37. Striker 1981, pp. 13–16.
 38. For an argument that these are residences and not monasteries, see Mathews and Daskalakis 1995, p. 24, and Ousterhout, “Byzantine Settlement,” 1995.
 39. Magdalino 1984.
 40. Gautier 1981, pp. 27.159–29.181.
 41. Angold, “Inventory,” 1984, pp. 254–66.
 42. E.g., House of the King of Moab in the twelfth-century Vatican Octateuch (Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 746, fol. 473v), illustrated in *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 953.
 43. Commena 1969, p. 492, on the Orphanage of Saint Paul; Zonaras 1841–97, vol. 3, p. 767, on the palaces of the Komnenian nobility; Magdalino 1984, pp. 92–95.
 44. Mavrogordato 1956.
 45. The twelfth-century house of Leo Sikountenos in Thessalonike was decorated with Old Testament narratives, personifications of Virtues, and a portrait of the emperor, according to Eustathios of Thessalonike, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana Cod. gr. 524, fol. 22v, Mango 1972, pp. 225–26. In the same period Theodore Balsamon inveighs against the representations of “cupids and other abominable things” in interior decoration; *Scholion on Canon 100 of the Quinisext Council*, Mango 1972, p. 234.
 46. Hunt 1984, pp. 138–56.
 47. All of the above information is from Oikonomides 1990, pp. 205–14, with extensive bibliography; see also Koukoules 1948–57, especially vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 61–116.
 48. Sathas 1972, vol. 1, p. 145; Geanakoplos 1984, p. 316.
- “Luxury Objects,” by Ioli Kalavrezou, pp. 219–23
1. Bank 1985, p. 282, pl. 70.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 286, pls. 88–90.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 285, pl. 84.
 4. New York and Milan 1984, no. 26, pp. 195–97; A. Grabar, “Calici bizantini,” 1971, p. 73, has suggested that it may not have been used as a paten.
 5. New York and Milan 1984, no. 25, pp. 194–95.
 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 195–96.
 7. *Ibid.*, no. 21, pp. 180–83, with bibliography; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, “Cup of San Marco,” 1985.
 8. Beckwith, *Veroli*, 1962; Simon 1964; for the example in the Musée de Cluny, see Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, no. 41, pp. 39–40, pl. XXIII.
 9. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, nos. 1–3, p. 23.
 10. Weitzmann 1972, no. 30, pp. 73–77, pls. XLIV–XLIX.
 11. Bank 1985, p. 313, pls. 218, 219.
 12. *Ibid.*, p. 313, pls. 220–24.
- “Ceramic Arts of Everyday Life,” by Eunice Dauterman Maguire, pp. 255–57
1. Compare the pottery in Campbell 1985 and Armstrong 1996.
 2. Armstrong 1991 and (forthcoming); Bass 1979; Athens 1984; Amsterdam 1987, nos. 173–76; Ioannidi-Dostoglu 1989; Kritzas 1971; Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989; and Randall 1968 all refer to glazed vessels found in shipwrecks. See cat. nos. 181, 182, 186, 187, 188, 191.
 3. Déroche and Spieser 1989 present new material; H. Maguire, *Materials Analysis* (forthcoming), will refer to more recent work.
 4. See C. Morgan 1942; for glazed wares in relation to unglazed, see MacKay 1967, G. Sanders 1993, and Williams and Zervos 1995. For new Corinth finds, see G. Sanders 1987 and Williams and Zervos 1995.
 5. For “champlevé,” see “incised wares” in C. Morgan 1942, pp. 162–66. The Innsbruck Alexander bowl is a rare Near Eastern example of champlevé enamel. See R. Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987, p. 362, fig. 384.
 6. Cutler 1984–85, pp. 45–46.
 7. Seljuk steel mirror engraved with an equestrian hero hunting a serpent borrowed from Christian iconography (cat. no. 282; Topkapi mirror).
 8. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 155; Gentili n.d., pl. 33; for a collared cheetah fighting back, see note 17 and cat. no. 186. In the West illustrations of the mirror-trap are highly varied, compare McCulloch 1962, pp. 176–77; the story goes back as far as the *Hexameron* of Ambrose (vi.4.21), but neither the tiger nor the mirror appear in the Greek Physiologos texts. For a shard with a possible “Perseus and Medusa,” see C. Morgan 1942, no. 1221, pp. 133–34 and pl. XLIIIm, a warrior in armor holding a disembodied head, its hair less like snakes than like the wig of tight curls on a large Roman dramatic mask; for a tradition of defensive mirrors and mirrorlike patterns, see E. Maguire et al. 1989, pp. 5–7, 21, 29. For a shield with a ring of dots on a Corinth shard, see Notopoulos 1964, pl. 22, 4. The relationship between shields and protective mirrors is implicit in more than one scene illustrating the *Kymergetika* of Pseudo-Oppian, a hunting manual, in Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. 479, dated to the 1060s. See Anderson 1978, pp. 178, 195–96, fol. 23, fig. 15, for shields with concentric rings or a ring of dots, and compare fig. 12, from a related manuscript. In this manual Perseus, looking in a mirror identified as Athena’s shield, is a hunter-warrior who stabs Medusa, a half-serpent woman, fol. 19v (Weitzmann 1951 [and 1984], pp. 113–14, figs. 124, 127); compare figs. 102, 134, 135 for the shield patterns; and the coronation scene in the Madrid Skylitzes, fol. 10v (Cirac Estopañan 1965, no. 8, pl. 226).
 9. These two have been found at church sites with domestic pottery: Hayes 1992, p. 21, fig. 10.11; p. 216, no. 11, and pl. 5c.
 10. The animal, looking away from the mourner, seems to be a leogriff with a feline head; C. Morgan 1942 identifies the figure as Adam, p. 146, fig. 120, no. 1429. This piece, with its unusual die-stamped relief combined with tooling, and its notched lip, suggests a silver model; for related images in ivory and bone, see cat. nos. 158A, 151, Side A, and Cutler 1984–85, figs. 2 (especially close, being like the pottery derivative from the more expensive material) and 3a. For preying leogriffs, see Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 1, the lid of no. 20, pls. 7a and 8c; in the more courtly context of precious manuscripts, see Anderson 1991, p. 79 and figs. 3, 4, Paris gr. 1208, fol. 49v, and Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1162, fol. 35v.
 11. For hunting scenes and fauna on some of the earliest Byzantine engraved but unglazed slipware in Constantinople (post-550), see

- Hayes 1992, p. 7, pl. 1, g-1; New York 1979, nos. 73, 74.
12. Arabic inscriptions of several varieties are found on secular vessels; see Lane 1947 (1948), pp. 6, 12; R. Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987, pp. 113, 230. Byzantine pottery provides no parallels.
 13. On the rider saints, see E. Maguire et al. 1989, pp. 25–28; and Mercurius, *Sinai* 1990, p. 97 and fig. 11; the Kiev pair, carved in slate (cat. no. 196), A. Grabar 1976, no. 77, pl. 62b. The standing military saint as a serpent slayer also fed into the secular tradition; see Frantz 1941, and Notopoulos 1964, pp. 113, 120, 125–29.
 14. Brilliant, in New York 1979, p. 61, fig. 8. A wall painting at Nishapur is an early Iranian example of the princely rider with a falcon; see R. Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987, p. 250, fig. 267.
 15. Usually misidentified as a centaur; see a bowl found in Constantinople, formerly in Berlin, Wallis 1907, pl. 2, fig. 3 and pl. 7, fig. 33; in Corinth, C. Morgan 1942, no. 1539, fig. 132, and possibly no. 672, fig. 69d; for one with wings and princely attributes, see N. Ševčenko 1974, pp. 359–60, figs. 1, 5. Pseudo-Oppian credits centaurs with the invention of the hunt, Weitzmann 1951 (and 1984), pp. 112–13. Frantz 1938, p. 435, fig. 30, Ez, illustrates a warrior with his falcon and the serpent he has slain.
 16. See p. 189 for a jeweled vessel as an imperial gift.
 17. C. Morgan 1942, no. 1271, p. 134, pl. XLIII; the irony is compounded if, as Morgan suggests, the animal is a leopard or a cheetah. The most numerous parallels are eschatological and funerary, not heraldic, even in a later period: a marble funerary plaque of about 1275 repeats this motif of the arm or hand in a beast's mouth, as in A. Grabar 1976, pl. 131b. In Patmos Codex 29 the motif forms an initial: a seated captive lion wearing a spiked collar turns its head back with the arm in its mouth, Weitzmann 1935, p. 10 and fig. 52.
 18. See cat. no. 299. The grasping hand as a finial appears in silver in the Esquiline treasure, Shelton 1981, nos. 34, 35, 60. For Early Byzantine examples of the beast head as a fixture, see Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 20; for Anastasius and Magnus, Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, nos. 13, 15, 16. For Middle Byzantine examples, see Frazer 1973, figs. 1, 11, 14, 23; Kiev 1979, pls. 49, 50; the (same?) arcades in the Madrid Skylitzes, at the acclamation of Nikephoros II Phokas, fol. 145b, Cirac Estopañan 1965, no. 375, pl. 349.
 19. The Byzantine mind easily transferred sacred images to secular use, as when Alexios I Komnenos receiving his scepter from God is compared with Moses receiving the Law, in the verse fragment *Muses*, 1.35–53, Mullett 1994, pp. 265–66. For parodic secular reversals of sacred themes, see Cutler 1984–85, p. 45. The single limb in the beast's mouth is an abbreviation of the Jonah formula as developed in Last Judgment iconography.
 20. For the chafing dish as a vessel possibly originating in Constantinople, see Hayes 1992, p. 17; for figural “plastic” forms, C. Morgan 1942, pp. 42, 50–51; Frantz 1938, p. 434 and fig. 24. Festive entertainers, like these musicians in pointed hats, are a frequent motif, see G. Sanders 1993, p. 264, no. 21, pl. 24; Kiev 1979, pls. 45, 46; A. Grabar 1976, no. 146, 148, pls. cxviii and cxixa; again the secular frame of reference is close to that of the bone and ivory boxes, Cutler 1984–85, pp. 42–46.
- “Christian Neighbors,” by Helen C. Evans, pp. 273–79
1. Ostrogorsky 1969, pp. 217–400; Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985, pp. 11–23, 167–96.
 2. Ostrogorsky 1969, pp. 401–50.
 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 92–94; Pevny essay, pp. 281–87.
 4. Billington 1970, p. 4.
 5. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–15; Ostrogorsky 1969, pp. 283, 304.
 6. Ostrogorsky 1969, pp. 304, 332; Simon Franklin and Anthony Cutler, “Varangians,” *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 2152; Blöndal 1978.
 7. Ostrogorsky 1969, pp. 230–31; Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, 1975, pp. 45–50, 146; Alchermes essay, pp. 320–25.
 8. Paul A. Hollingsworth, “Constantine the Philosopher,” *ODB*, vol. 1, p. 507, and “Methodios,” vol. 2, pp. 1354–55; Ostrogorsky 1969, p. 229.
 9. Mango 1976, pp. 170–71; Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, 1975, pp. 176–81.
 10. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 2, p. 28, pls. 4, 12.
 11. Ostrogorsky 1969, pp. 403–6.
 12. *Ibid.*, pp. 236, 266, 391, 398–99; Jeliasveta Stanojevich Allen and Alexander Kazhdan, “Serbia,” *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 1871–72.
 13. Krautheimer 1986, pp. 377–78; Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 1985, pp. 176–77.
 14. Ostrogorsky 1969, pp. 431, 505–6, 533–34; Jeliasveta Stanojevich Allen and Alexander Kazhdan, “Serbia,” *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1872.
 15. Ostrogorsky 1969, pp. 383, 387–89, 398–99, 403; Brand 1968, pp. 79–80, 88–89.
 16. Cowe essay, pp. 337–41; Evans essay, pp. 351–55; also for the Georgians, Mepisashvili and Tsintsadze 1979, pp. 7–180; New York 1994, pp. 3–83.
 17. Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985, pp. 85–86, 134–38, 152, 169.
 18. *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 177.
 19. Lang 1966, pp. 111–14; Robert W. Thomson, “Georgia,” *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 841.
 20. New York 1994, pp. 24–29.
 21. Charanis 1963, pp. 23–40.
 22. Ostrogorsky 1969, pp. 313–14, 333, 343; New York 1994, pp. 14–15, 86–87.
 23. H. Evans 1990 and 1992, pp. 16–48, 147–54; New York 1994, pp. 15–18, 66–83.
 24. Soucek essay, pp. 403–11.
 25. *Sinai* 1990, pp. 311–14; Leslie S. B. MacCoull, “Great Lavra of Sabas,” *ODB*, vol. 3, pp. 1823–24.
 26. Alexander Kazhdan, “John of Damascus,” *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 1064; Noble 1987, pp. 95–116.
 27. *Sinai* 1990, pp. 12–14, 19, 22–23.
 28. *Ibid.*, pp. 102–6.
 29. Thomas essay, pp. 365–69.
 30. Kartsonis 1986, pp. 228–36.
 31. Weitzmann 1982, pp. 189–90, 429.
 32. Rostkowska 1982, pp. 113–16.
 33. Robert of Clari 1969, pp. 79–80.
 34. Ostrogorsky 1969, pp. 226, 237, 238, 291, 314, 342, 345–46; Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985, pp. 1, 167–68.
 35. Wixom essay, pp. 435–49.
 36. Folda essay, pp. 389–91; Folda, *Art*, 1995, pp. 21–33, 137–63, 337–47, 472–73; Buchthal 1957, pp. xxvii–xxxiv, 1–48.
 37. *Sinai* 1990, pp. 117–20; Weitzmann 1982, pp. 245–70, 291–387, 431–34; Carr and Morrocco 1991, pp. 83–98; Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 9–77.
 38. Ostrogorsky 1969, pp. 413–17; Brand 1968, pp. 232–69.
 39. See Thomas essay for the southern aspect of this axis, p. 365.
- “Kievan Rus’,” by Olenka Z. Pevny, pp. 281–87
1. The Slavic population expanded from its original homeland in three general directions: west, south, and northeast. The three resulting branches of Slavs—the West Slavs, the South Slavs, and the East Slavs—were subdivided further into tribes, and by the sixth century the common language of the Slavs was distinctly evolving among these three branches. Eventually West Slavic developed into Polish, Czech, and Slovak; South Slavic gave rise to Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbo-Croatian; and East Slavic generated Ukrainian, Belorusian, and Russian.
 2. Vasiliev 1946.
 3. For additional information on Prince Oleh's campaign, see Hrushevs'kyi 1991–93, pp. 430–33; Vernadsky 1949; Vasiliev 1951; Sakharov 1980, pp. 83–180; Nikolaev 1981; Karpozilos 1988.
 4. For the identification of the fresco subject as the ceremonies in the Constantinopolitan court during Princess Ol'ha's visit to the Byzantine capital, see Vysotskii 1989, pp. 113–204.
 5. *PSRL*, vol. 1, pp. 60–62. The literature concerned with Princess Ol'ha's baptism is extensive. See, for example, Ostrogorsky 1967; Arrington 1979; Litavrin 1981, pp. 35–48; Obolensky 1983, pp. 157–71; Pritsak 1985, pp. 5–24; Litavrin 1986; Muller 1988; Obolensky 1988–89; Nazarenko 1989; Poppe 1992.
 6. *Adalberti* 1977, pp. 214–15. For an analysis of the information in the *Continuation of the Chronicle of Regino of Prum*, see Poppe 1992, pp. 273–74.
 7. Kazhdan 1988–89, p. 429. For a genealogical survey of Rus' marriages, see Baumgarten 1927.
 8. For the religious practices of the East Slavs prior to their acceptance of Christianity, see Rybakov 1987. For Sviatoslav's campaign against the Bulgarians, see Karyshkovskii 1955 and Stokes 1962.
 9. For information on Prince Volodymyr and the baptism of Rus', see Sobolevskii 1888; Levitskii 1890; Golubinskii 1901, pp. 105–87; Hrushevs'kyi 1913, 1991, vol. 1, pp. 498–538; Poppe 1976; Vodoff 1988; Tolochko 1988–89; and Pritsak 1989.
 10. The *Pověst vremennykh lét* is “a hypothetical prototype extrapolated by modern scholars primarily from the Laurentian, Hypatian, and first Novgorod Chronicle.” It is believed to have been compiled in Kiev in the early twelfth century and is the main source for the history of Kievan Rus'. See Simon Franklin, “Pověst' Vremennykh Let,” *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 1708.
 11. *PSRL* 1:46; 2: sub anno 987.
 12. For an introduction to Byzantine-Rus' ecclesiastical relations and further bibliography, see Obolensky 1957, pp. 23–78.
 13. *PSRL* 1:52; Abramovych 1991, pp. 5–12.
 14. See *PSRL* 1:52. For information on the excavations conducted on the site of the Desiatynna Church and for a discussion of the various proposed reconstructions of the church, see Karger 1951, pp. 45–141; Karger 1961, vol. 2, pp. 9–59.
 15. Thiethmar of Merseburg referred to Kiev as a rival of Constantinople and emphasized the proximity of Kiev and Greece. Adam of Bremen regarded Kiev as one of Greece's leading cities. See I. Ševčenko, “Cultural

- Influences," 1991, p. 140; Billington 1966, p. 7. The literature on the relationship between Rus' and Byzantium during the Kievan period is extensive, and ranges from considerations of Kievan Rus' as virtually a part of the Byzantine Empire to the minimizing of the impact of Byzantium on Rus'.
16. The literature on the Cathedral of Sviata Sofia is extensive. See, for example, Prakhov 1886; Tolstoi and Kondakov 1891; Ainalov and Redin 1899; Zakrevskii 1929; Powstenko 1954; Lazarev 1956; Lazarev 1960; Karger 1958–61, vol. 2, pp. 98–140; Lazarev 1966; Lohvyn, *Sofiia*, 1971; Kresal'nyi 1972, pp. 65–79; Lohvyn 1974; Lohvyn 1977; Tots'ka and Erko 1976; Lazarev 1978; Asieiev 1979; Poppe 1981, pp. 37–55; Rappoport 1982, pp. 11–12; Salko 1982; Vysotskii 1989.
 17. For a recent discussion on the place of Greek in Rus', see Franklin 1992.
 18. Translated texts answered immediate ecclesiastical requirements and were primarily works of a practical, didactic, moral, and ascetic nature. Few translations of such genres as history, philosophy, theology, scientific treatises, secular writings, and classical works circulated in Rus'. See Thomson 1978, pp. 107–39; Thomson 1983, pp. 65–102; and I. Sevcenko, "Remarks," 1991.
 19. A florilegium is a collection of excerpts from the works of various authors. The term is most frequently applied to theological anthologies. For a fuller definition, see Elizabeth M. Jeffreys and Alexander Kazhdan, "Florilegium," *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 793–94. For a brief summary of the contents of the *Izbornik Sviatoslava* of 1073 and for further bibliography, see Simon Franklin, "Izborniki," *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 1027–28.
 20. The arrival of Greek masters, and the foundation and construction of the Uspens'kyi Cathedral is described in the *Kyievo-Pechers'kyi pateryk*. See Heppell 1989, pp. 1–14; Abramovych 1991, pp. 5–12. The Uspens'kyi Cathedral of the Kyievo-Pechers'ka Lavra was founded by the prior Theodosios, the bishop Michael, and the reigning prince, Sviatoslav Iziaslavych. Although extensively restored and altered, the church, survived until 1941. For additional information on the church, see Lebedintsev 1886; Kholostenko 1975; Asieiev 1982, pp. 78–93; Rappoport 1982, pp. 23–25.
 21. According to the *Kyievo-Pechers'kyi pateryk*, a church in Rostov and one in Suzdal' reproduced the architecture and decoration of Kiev's Uspens'kyi Cathedral. See Abramovych 1991, p. 12; Heppell 1989, p. 13.
 22. This structure survived until 1936. For the architecture of the church, see Asieiev 1961, pp. 291–96; Karger 1958–61, vol. 2, pp. 273–82; Asieiev 1982, pp. 93–102; Rappoport 1982, pp. 16–17. For a bibliography on the history and decoration of the church, consult the entries on the extant mosaics borrowed for the exhibition (cat. no. 195).
 23. For the story of the Rus' icon painter Alimpij, who was trained by the Byzantine masters working on the Uspens'kyi Cathedral at the Kyievo-Pechers'ka Lavra, see Abramovych, 1991, pp. 171–79; Heppell 1989, pp. 190–99.
 24. See the *Kyievo-Pechers'kyi pateryk*. Abramovych 1991, p. 12; Heppell 1989, p. 13.
 25. It is possible that the Ostromir and Mstislav lectionaries have a common prototype.
 26. Borys and Hlib, the sons of Grand Prince Volodymyr I, were murdered by Prince Sviatopolk and were venerated as martyrs. Borys died on July 24, 1015, and Hlib on September 5, 1015. Much literature exists on the cult of Borys and Hlib. For the most recent works and for further bibliography, see Lenhoff 1989; Sciacca 1990, pp. 253–60; Hollingsworth 1992. On the churches and the cult of the relics of Borys and Hlib, see Karger 1952, pp. 77–99.
 27. This is clearly expressed in the *enkomion* to Volodymyr by the eleventh-century Kievan metropolitan Ilarion. For an English translation of the text, see Franklin 1991, pp. 17–29.
 28. For a recent discussion of the problem of succession in Kievan Rus', see Kollmann 1990, pp. 377–87.
 29. The structure is described in the First Novgorod Chronicle. The Novgorodian chronicles, compiled between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century, record historical events in Rus' with the focus on Novgorod. See Nasonov 1950, p. 181. For conjectural reconstructions of the wooden church, see Conant 1944, p. 79, fig. 2.
 30. For further information and bibliography on the architecture of the Cathedral of Sviataia Sofia in Novgorod, see Shtender 1968; Shtender 1974; Komech 1976; Shtender 1977; Rappoport 1982, pp. 65–66.
 31. For the history of Halych and the Halych-Volyn' principality, see Hrushevs'kyi 1991–93, vol. 3. For a brief overview in English, see Subtelyny 1988, pp. 55–65. For a discussion of relations between Byzantium and Halych, see Frances 1959; Jurewicz 1964.
 32. See Pasternak 1944; Honcharov 1955, pp. 29–30; Pasternak 1961, pp. 617–27; Bazhan et al. 1966, pp. 387–90; Malevskaia and Rappoport 1978, pp. 91–96; Ioannisian 1983, p. 236; Koshovyi 1988; Koshovyi 1995, pp. 155–59.
 33. Simon Franklin, "Galitza," *ODB*, vol. 2, p. 818.
 34. For additional information and bibliography, see Faensen and Ivanov 1975, pp. 348–50; Novakovskaia 1981, pp. 47–51; Rappoport 1982, pp. 53–54.
 35. The extensive sculptural embellishment and the architecture of Vladimir-Suzdalian churches have been variously attributed to Romanesque and/or Caucasian influences that may have been introduced by craftsmen from Halych. See Mango, *Byzantine*, 1978, p. 187; G. Hamilton 1983, pp. 53, 58. For a survey of the monuments of Vladimir-Suzdal', see Voronin 1961; Voronin 1965; Faensen and Ivanov 1975, pp. 25–26, 343–59; Rappoport 1982, pp. 51–65; Brumfield 1983, pp. 85–112; G. Hamilton 1983, pp. 51–64.
 36. For an assessment of Andrei Bogoliubskii's ambitions, see Hurwitz 1980 and Pelenski 1988–89, pp. 761–80.
 37. For a discussion of twelfth-century Kievan architecture and its connections with Byzantine developments, see Pevny 1995, pp. 80–168.
 38. Among those that survive in various states of preservation, renovation, and restoration are: the church dedicated to Saint George in Kaniv, built in 1144; the Boryso-Hlibsk'kyi (Saints Borys and Hlib) Cathedral in Chernihiv, founded in 1123; the Uspens'kyi (Dormition) Cathedral of the Ielets'kyi Monastery in Chernihiv, dated to the mid-twelfth century; the Uspens'kyi Cathedral in Volodymyr-Volyns'kyi, founded in the late 1150s; the Petropavlovskaia (Saints Peter and Paul) Church in Smolensk, dated about 1150; and the church dedicated to Saint John the Baptist in Smolensk, dated between 1160 and 1180.
 39. For information on the Kyryliv'ska Church, see Pevny 1995.
- "The Bulgarians," by Joseph D. Alchermes, pp. 321–25
1. For surveys of the formation of the Bulgarian state, see Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, 1975 and Fine 1983; see Fine 1987 for an overview of Bulgaria's later medieval history.
 2. For brief descriptions of key early Bulgarian buildings and the essential bibliography, see Miiatev 1974, pp. 27–118, and Krautheimer and Čurčić 1986, pp. 315–21.
 3. For the Nagyszentmiklós Treasure, see Mavrodinov 1943, especially pp. 210–11.
 4. Beshevliev 1963, no. 1.1–III, pp. 95–124; Beshevliev 1954; Beshevliev 1971, pp. 40–41.
 5. John the Deacon 1958–75, vol. 6, pp. 1–5.
 6. Controversy surrounds the matters of date and patronage; see the descriptions of the remains in Miiatev 1974, pp. 89–96, and Chilingirov 1979, p. 319, and the summary of the debate in Krautheimer and Čurčić 1986, pp. 318–20, 409, n. 43.
 7. For the cup of Sivin, see Beshevliev 1965, with earlier bibliography.
 8. Totev 1993.
 9. For examples discovered in and near Preslav, see Miiatev 1936, Akrabova-Zhandova 1968, Schwartz 1982, and Totev, "L'Atelier de céramique peint," 1987, with references to the many earlier studies.
 10. For painted ceramic production in the environs of Constantinople, see Mason and Mango 1995.
 11. For the Bačkovo ossuary, see Bakalova 1977.
 12. For Saints Nicholas and Panteleimon at Bojana, see the fundamental study of Miiatev 1961 and the analysis by Chilingirov 1979, p. 340, with ample bibliographic references.
- "The Georgians," by S. Peter Cowe, pp. 337–41
1. For bibliographical assistance with Georgian culture during this era, see Assfalg et al. 1975 and Outtier 1993 and for a general historical overview, Toumanoff 1966.
 2. For the linguistic history, see Tschenkeli 1958, pp. xv, xix–xxiii.
 3. Transliterations from the Georgian generally follow a modified version of that employed in the *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes*.
 4. See further Braund 1994, pp. 73–121.
 5. See Toumanoff 1963, pp. 33–144, and Charachidze 1971, pp. 9–25; for the parallel phenomenon in Armenia, Adonts 1970.
 6. For the subsequent development of the Georgian church, see Esbroeck 1982 and Martin-Hisard 1993 and for its theology, Cowe 1996.
 7. For an early, relatively unembellished account of the initial conversion, see Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, bk. 1, chap. 10, and its English translation in *Lives and Legends* 1976, pp. 15–19.
 8. For a study of the pre-Christian religious situation in Georgia, see Charachidze 1968.
 9. For further information, see Metzger 1977, pp. 190–94, and Cowe 1992, pp. 229–300.
 10. This is traditionally associated with the arrival of the Thirteen Syrian Fathers in the mid-sixth century. For a translation of the vita of one of them, see *Lives and Legends* 1976, pp. 83–93.
 11. For an overview of this poetic and musical genre, see Boyce 1957.
 12. For the general influence of the Holy Land, see Cowe 1984 and for its liturgical aspect, Tarchnishvili 1959–60 and Garitte 1958. The

monastic communities at Saint Sabas's monastery in the Judean desert were also important in the transmission of texts from Greek and Arabic into Georgian.

13. For a recent consideration of the evidence concerning this, see Mahé 1996.
14. See Constantine Porphyrogenetos 1949, pp. 214–23.
15. For an abbreviated form of his vita, see *Lives and Legends* 1976, pp. 134–53. For the precise location of his foundations, see Martin-Hisard 1993, p. 552, and *Rewriting Caucasian History* 1996, p. liv, and for their artistic significance, Winfield 1968.
16. These early typika have not survived, but a later one prepared by Gregory Pakourianos for his monastery at Bačkovo gives a general impression of the daily round. For the Greek text, see Gregorius Pacurianus 1904, and for the Georgian, Gregorius Pacurianus 1971. Unfortunately the Armenian version has not survived.
17. The Šatberdi Miscellany has been highly valued for its redaction of the “Conversion of Georgia,” of which an interesting earlier variant has recently come to light in Sinai. For a preliminary report on this, see Aleksidze 1996.
18. Previously Abkhazia had formed the northern portion of the region of Lazika.
19. For the regnal numeration, see Toumanoff 1966, pp. 623, n. 1, 783.
20. The name Svetiskhoveli refers to the “life-giving pillar” which, according to the foundation legend, formed the centerpiece of the original building and was of such prodigious dimensions that it was believed to have been divinely installed. For the churches’ architectural significance, see Beridze and Neubauer 1981.
21. For a photographic reproduction, see *The Georgian Chronicle* 1991, p. 166.
22. For a brief treatment of this by J. D. Frierman, see Lang 1966, pp. 143–49.
23. See Djavashvili-Abramishvili 1986.
24. For the output of these figures, see Tarchnishvili and Assfalg 1955, pp. 126–73, 182–98, 201–10; Khintibidze 1978; Rayfield 1994, pp. 46–48, 58–62.
25. Tarchnishvili and Assfalg 1955, pp. 211–24; Rayfield 1994, pp. 87–91.
26. For an English translation of the epic, see Shota Rustaveli 1977 and for a literary analysis, Rayfield 1994, pp. 73–86. For the work’s main Georgian antecedent, see *Amiran-Darejaniani* 1958, and for its affinities with Persian romance, *Visramiani* 1914.
27. Pride in national achievements during the twelfth century is also evident in the historical collection known as the “Life of Kartli.” For a recent discussion of early redactions of this important work, see *Rewriting Caucasian History* 1996, pp. xix–li, and for its coverage of the period from the reign of Davit III to that of Tamar, *Georgian Chronicle* 1991.

“The Armenians,” by Helen C. Evans, pp. 351–55

1. Maksoudian 1994, pp. 24–29.
2. Charanis 1963, pp. 27–28, 34–40; Kazhdan 1983.
3. Garsoïan 1994, pp. 9–15.
4. L. Jones 1994; H. Evans, “Kings and Power Bases” (forthcoming), p. 563.
5. H. Evans, “Kings and Power Bases” (forthcoming), pp. 561–65.
6. Garsoïan 1994, pp. 10–11; *Ani* 1984, pp. 5, 6, 11, 75.

7. Garsoïan 1994, pp. 10, 14; Charanis 1963, pp. 48–53.
8. H. Evans 1994, pp. 60–62; Narkiss 1979, pp. 32–33.
9. H. Evans 1994, pp. 63–65; Taylor 1994, pp. 91–103.
10. H. Evans 1990 and 1992, pp. 16–21.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 25–26.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
13. Mathews 1991, pp. 166–73.
14. Der Nersessian 1963, pp. 1–72; Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts*, 1973, pp. 1–30; Mathews 1982; H. Evans 1990 and 1992, pp. 49–154; Mathews 1991, pp. 76–163; H. Evans 1994; Mathews, “Armenian Manuscript,” 1994; Mathews, “Classic Phase,” 1994.
15. H. Evans 1990 and 1992, pp. 22–25, 49–74.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 84–88.
17. H. Evans, “Kings and Power Bases” (forthcoming), pp. 565–72.

“Christians in the Islamic East,” by Thelma K. Thomas, pp. 365–71

1. The process of christianization began in Egypt and Syria during the apostolic period, in Ethiopia (from Syria) by the fourth century and in Nubia by the sixth century. The thirteenth century brought the loss of political autonomy for Christian communities throughout the Near East. See Fowden 1993, pp. 100–120; for Nubia in particular, see Adams 1977, especially chap. 13, and O’Connor 1993, pp. 108–12; for Ethiopia, see Baltimore 1993, pp. 33–42.
2. See especially Fowden 1993, p. 80ff.
3. Some polytheistic cults survived in the Near East and retained their own sacred places, notably at Harran. See Segal 1970.
4. O. Grabar 1987, especially pp. 43–71, is interesting on deliberate appropriations of Byzantine and Persian traditions in the Dome of the Rock and in Umayyad adaptations of the grandiose secular architecture of Yemen.
5. Weitzmann 1970, pp. 325, 331–35, posits the continuation of icon painting in Greek monasteries, as well as a Palestinian school centered in Jerusalem (which, although apparently influential in Egypt, has a distinctly different style).
6. For general discussions of Syrian architecture, see Bell 1982, Monneret de Villard 1940, and Wiessner 1982.
7. J. Leroy 1964 provides the first and most thorough overview of Syrian Christian manuscript illumination. R. Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987, pp. 375–81, see Syrian and Mesopotamian (Islamic) trends in manuscript illumination as so close as to warrant combined discussion. Erhart 1995, p. 95, points out increasingly negative Syrian Christian perspectives on imperial Byzantium.
8. See Du Bourguet 1971 and Zurich 1963 for views of a progressively unidirectional development of Coptic art which gradually abandons Greek traditions. For other explanations, see Providence 1989, pp. 51–88; Hunt, “Christian-Muslim Relations,” 1985; and Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, pp. 354–57. Persian influence is perhaps most noticeable in textiles; see, for example, Geijer 1963 and Stauffer et al. 1995. The continuation of Christian figural art in Egypt during the Iconoclastic controversy may be seen in such works as the seventh-to-eighth-century painted book cover from Akhmim (Coptic Museum, Cairo, 3852) and in

the late-eighth-century wall paintings at Wadi es-Sebua, Lower Nubia.

9. The inspiration from Samarra, especially style C (R. Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987, pp. 102–5), was not unique to Deir Suriani or to Christian Egyptian reliefs, but is also found in numerous Islamic monuments in Cairo from the ninth through the thirteenth centuries; see R. Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987, pp. 182–201. Weitzmann 1970, especially p. 324, describes ninth- and tenth-century Syrian and Palestinian arts as revitalizing agents for Coptic and Nubian art.
10. Examples of imported Indian cottons have been found at Fustat, along the Red Sea coast at Mons Claudianus and Quseir al-Qadim, in Upper Egypt along the Nile at Antinoë and Akhmim, and still farther south along the Nile at Qasr Ibrim and Gebel Adda in Nubia. Surveys are provided by Vogelsang-Eastwood 1990 and Barnes 1993. This Indian trade network extended south along the east coast of Africa and east as far as China; see Horton and Blurton 1988, pp. 11–23, and Whitcomb 1995, pp. 25–27. See Gervers 1990, pp. 13–30, for the cotton trade in Nubia and Ethiopia and Pankhurst 1974 for Ethiopia’s relationship with India.
11. In Egypt, as in Syria, administrative power was concentrated in cities while most of the population lived in rural areas. Not until the eighth and ninth centuries did Egypt receive its first Arab settlers, mainly Yemenites, and these were nomadic Bedouin. As a consequence, Arabic only gradually came to replace the Greek and Coptic (i.e., Egyptian) languages. Coptic was retained for liturgical purposes. The adoption of Islam also proceeded gradually, reaching half the population only in the ninth century.
12. J. Leroy, *Manuscripts coptes*, 1974, p. 113, identifies the second figure as Nubian despite the inscription and garments, which appear to be more typical of Ethiopia at this time. The monophysitism of the Coptic Church allied it with Jacobites of Western Syria, and with Armenians, Nubians, and Ethiopians.
13. Weitzmann 1970, especially p. 331.
14. Compare, for example, the Nativity wall paintings at Faras in Nubia with those of Abu Sargah and Deir Suriani in Egypt and with the eighth-to-ninth-century Nativity icon at Mount Sinai (Weitzmann 1970, fig. 329).
15. Godlewski 1991, especially pp. 239–40, and Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, pp. 361–62.
16. Adams 1991, pp. 257–63.
17. Much of this trade involved exotic items from central Africa and highly prized Nubian pottery. On Nubian pottery production in general, see Adams 1986 and O’Connor 1993. Medieval Nubia’s prosperity can be inferred from examination of human remains; see, for example, Gerven, Sheridan, and Adams 1995, pp. 468–80.
18. Vantini 1976, especially pp. 20–23; Jakobielski 1978, and Monneret de Villard 1938.
19. Godlewski 1991, especially pp. 239–40; Michalowski 1967; Michalowski 1979; and Weitzmann 1970.
20. Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe, 234036MN.
21. The inclusive program of this church is difficult to identify and surely does not follow the ideal of Middle Byzantine church decoration set forth generally by Diez and Demus 1931 and Demus 1948. One striking difference here is the lack of framing to separate themes

- into liturgically significant units. Weitzmann 1970, especially p. 338, is unclear on the possible liturgical associations of the decorations at Faras.
22. Only small fragments of Christ and the anchorite survive; see Michalowski 1974, pp. 208–22.
 23. It recalls the Early Christian emphasis on local church authority in such provincial capitals as fifth-century Rome and Milan and sixth-century Ravenna. See Jacobielski 1978, pp. 127–41, on bishops' portraits at Faras. J. Leroy and Leclant 1968, pp. 361–62, note a lack of New Testament (and, generally, biblical) scenes, distinguishing Nubian from other medieval traditions of church decoration.
 24. Among such prototypes are the pre-Iconoclastic panel icons representing the holy person's enveloping embrace (for example, the panel of Christ with Saint Menas from Bawit [Musée du Louvre, Paris, E11565]). The multiplicity of such iconic images of protection—used for royalty, governors, and bishops in the Faras frescoes—in church decoration may be a particularly Nubian development.
 25. Martens-Czarnecka 1982, especially pp. 71–74, discusses the continued use of crowns derived from pre-Christian Meroitic Nubian tradition. The extraordinary range of textile patterns in the Faras frescoes may reflect the influence of imports from India as well as from Byzantium.
 26. Godlewski 1995, pp. 236–44, provides the clearest discussion of these phases, and also associates them with developments elsewhere in the greater Byzantine world. Agreeing with Weitzmann 1970, Godlewski sees more Coptic influence during the eighth century and more Syro-Palestinian influence during the middle phase (the ninth to the eleventh century).
 27. The face of Saint Stephen was apparently first painted white and later repaired with brownish gray mortar. Saint Kaau, an Egyptian martyr from the Faiyūm, is represented with light skin.
 28. Unfortunately, little is known of early Christian Ethiopian art. See especially Baltimore 1993, pp. 117–32.
 29. See Baltimore 1993, p. 139, fig. 63, for the reliefs carved on the altar at Lalibela.
 30. Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, pp. 348–72, discuss all four architectural traditions. For general surveys of Ethiopian architecture, see Gerster 1970; for Nubian church architecture, see Institut Français 1935 and 1957, Deichmann and Grossmann 1988, and Monneret de Villard 1938; for Egyptian church architecture, see Grossmann 1991, pp. 194–226. For Syrian church architecture, see Bell 1982 and Wiessner 1982. In contrast to Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia, Nubia seems to have had very few monasteries, and the majority of its monks appear to have been Egyptian.
 31. Gerster 1970, especially p. 51ff.
 32. Gerster 1970 includes aerial photographs and a catalogue of the best-known churches. See J. Leroy 1963 for photographs and for architectural renderings with discussions of connections to Armenian, Syrian, Egyptian Coptic, and Indian artistic traditions.
 33. Baltimore 1993, pp. 33–42, and Munro-Hay 1991, pp. 196–213. Ethiopian Christianity was deeply influenced by Judaism. Other Semitic traditions were influenced as well; Ge'ez, for example, is a Semitic language.
 34. After about the middle of the seventh century, however, Ethiopia lost control over the Red Sea trade, which had been a major source of economic and international strength, to the growing empire of the Arab dynasties; see Munro-Hay 1991, especially pp. 94–103 and 172–75.
- “Crusader Art,” by Jaroslav Folda, pp. 389–91
1. For a basic introduction to the Crusading movement, see Riley-Smith 1995, pp. 1–65; Riley-Smith 1987, pp. 1–178; H. Mayer 1988, pp. 1–274. On the Crusaders in the twelfth century, see Setton 1969–89, vol. 1; Runciman 1951, vols. 1, 2. On the Crusaders in the thirteenth century, see Setton 1969–89, vol. 2; Runciman 1951, vol. 3. On Crusader art in the twelfth century, see Folda, *Art*, 1995.
 2. Lillie 1993, pp. 8–28.
 3. Smail 1977, pp. 24–25.
 4. On the Eastern Christian presence in the Crusader states, see B. Hamilton 1980, pp. 159–211, 310–60.
 5. Folda, *Art*, 1995, pp. 40–42, 50–54, 87–90, 97–100; see illustration on p. 390 and cat. no. 264 for an example of the type of Crusader reliquary of the True Cross.
 6. Folda, *Art*, 1995, pp. 91–97, 163–66, 315–18.
 7. On the Franks in Cyprus, see Edbury 1991, pp. 1–140. On the Fourth Crusade and the Latin Empire, see Queller 1977; Brand 1968, pp. 222–69; and Longnon 1949, Wolff 1976, and Hendrickx 1988. On Frankish Greece, see Lock 1995, pp. 1–104, and Arbel et al. 1989.
 8. Kennedy 1994, pp. 98–185; Folda 1982, pp. 106–10.
 9. Buchthal 1957, pp. 39–46.
 10. Crusader frescoes found in a chapel dedicated to Saint Francis in the Kalendarhane Djami probably date from about 1250. See Striker 1982.
 11. Buchthal 1957, pp. 48–51, 54–68; D. Weiss 1992.
 12. Buchthal 1957, pp. 68–93; Weitzmann, “Icon Painting,” 1966, pp. 51–83; Mouriki 1990, pp. 117–20; Mouriki 1985–86; Folda 1976, pp. 42–116.
 13. The classic work is Enlart 1899, published in a new translation in 1987. See also Folda, “Crusader Art,” 1995.
 14. A basic introduction is given in Wallace and Boase 1977, pp. 208–28.
- “Byzantium and the Islamic East,” by Priscilla Soucek, pp. 403–11
1. Frye 1983, pp. 173–74; Garsoïan 1983, pp. 568–79.
 2. Garsoïan 1983, pp. 569–73; O’Leary 1949, pp. 14–15, 48–72; Goodman 1990, pp. 477–85.
 3. Gibb 1958, pp. 224–29; O. Grabar 1964, pp. 82–83; Mango 1972, p. 132.
 4. Canard 1926, pp. 63–70, 77–94.
 5. Canard 1949–50, pp. 52–54; Canard 1964, pp. 35–41.
 6. Lopez 1942, pp. 2–10; Lombard 1978, p. 209; Serjeant 1972, pp. 7–27; Martiniani-Reber 1992, pp. 148–51.
 7. Mağoudi 1861–77, vol. 8, pp. 75–87.
 8. Lassner 1970, pp. 75–76.
 9. *Ibid.*, pp. 57–58.
 10. Goodman 1990, pp. 482–85.
 11. Vasiliev 1935, pp. 272–73, 280–81, 289–91; al-Tabari 1987, pp. 187–88, 194–97.
 12. Goodman 1990, pp. 482–85.
 13. Al-Hassan and Hill 1986, pp. 10, 12, 53–54, 60–64; Mango 1972, pp. 209–10.
 14. A. Grabar 1951, pp. 56–57; Mango 1972, p. 160.
 15. Qaddumi 1990, pp. 145–46; Lassner 1970, pp. 88–90.
 16. Lassner 1970, p. 88; Qaddumi 1990, pp. 140–41.
 17. Martiniani-Reber 1992, p. 371.
 18. Qaddumi 1990, pp. 72–73.
 19. Ierusalimskaia 1972, pp. 11–24, figs. 11–12, 21; Martiniani-Reber 1992, p. 371; Goitein 1967 and 1983, vol. 4, pp. 109, 113.
 20. Martiniani-Reber 1992, nos. 130, 132, pp. 195, 197.
 21. Canard 1942–47, pp. 185–92; Canard 1966, pp. 730–31; S. Stern 1950, p. 244; Bloom 1985, p. 31.
 22. Qaddumi 1990, pp. 90–91.
 23. P. Sanders 1994, pp. 15–23.
 24. P. Sanders 1994, pp. 87–98; Canard, “Cérémonial,” 1951, pp. 396–408.
 25. Qaddumi 1990, pp. 90–91.
 26. Hetherington 1988, pp. 32–33; A. Vogt 1935–40, vol. 1, chap. 17, p. 92.
 27. New York, *Al-Andalus*, 1992, nos. 67, 68, 72, pp. 297–98, 302–3.
 28. Qaddumi 1990, p. 84.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
 30. Jenkins 1993, pp. 79, 81; Jenkins and Keene 1983, pp. 80, 87; New York, *Al-Andalus*, 1992, no. 73, pp. 302–3; New York 1993, no. 55, pp. 104–5.
 31. Qaddumi 1990, pp. 73–74.
 32. *Ibid.*, pp. 83–84.
 33. New York 1993, no. 47, pp. 99–100; see illustrations, p. 409.
 34. Canard 1966, pp. 730–31; Makki 1992, p. 27.
 35. Ibn ‘Idhari 1948–51, vol. 2, pp. 231–32; Ibn ‘Idhari 1901–4, vol. 2, pp. 381–82; al-Maqqari 1855–61, vol. 1, pp. 372–74; R. Hillenbrand 1992, p. 124.
 36. Ibn ‘Idhari 1948–51, vol. 2, pp. 237–38; Ibn ‘Idhari 1901–4, vol. 2, pp. 392–93.
 37. Vernet 1992, p. 939.
 38. Vasiliev 1950, pp. 218–19, 276–81; Ibn ‘Idhari 1948–51, vol. 2, p. 215; Ibn ‘Idhari 1901–4, vol. 2, p. 357; al-Maqqari 1855–61, vol. 1, pp. 235–37.
 39. Frazer 1984, p. 151, fig. 13b.
 40. New York, *Al-Andalus*, 1992, no. 3, pp. 192–97; New York 1993, no. 39, pp. 94–95.
 41. Beckwith 1960, fig. 17, pl. 14.
 42. New York, *Al-Andalus*, 1992, no. 9, pp. 208–9; New York 1993, no. 38a, p. 94.
 43. Baer 1989, pp. 41–49.
 44. Cahen 1988, pp. 79–80, 85, 88–89.
 45. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
 46. Öney 1988, pp. 40–42, 188, figs. 34–35; Yetkin 1972, pp. 160–61, color illus. on cover.
 47. Gierlichs 1993, p. 60, pl. 9.
 48. C. Hillenbrand 1985, pp. 9–19.
 49. Al-Hassan and Hill 1986, pp. 10, 12, 15–17, 42–49, 54–56.
- “Byzantine Art and the Latin West,” by William D. Wixom, pp. 435–49
1. Dodwell 1993, pp. 8–10, with important references to the *Liber pontificalis*, Duchesne 1892 and 1957; Schlosser 1892; Lehmann-Brockhaus 1938; Lehmann-Brockhaus 1955–60.
 2. Dodwell 1993, p. 9, n. 53.
 3. Riant 1875; Setton 1975, pp. 40–51.
 4. See Baker 1973; Leyser 1973, pp. 26–63; Bryer 1973; Howard-Johnston 1988; M. Martin 1988, pp. 201–14; and Loud 1988, pp. 215–33. For a discussion of Byzantine silks as diplomatic gifts, see Mathesius 1992, pp. 237–48.

5. The Rus' achieved a more prestigious marriage when Vladimir I, grand prince of Kiev, persuaded John I Tzimiskes to let him marry the emperor's sister, the porphyrogenita Anna; Norwich 1992, pp. 240–41. For a recent assessment of the role of Theophano, see *Kaiserin Theophanu* 1991 and Davids 1995. For an overview of the marriages of a number of members of the Byzantine imperial family to Latin monarchs and nobles, see Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985, pp. 177–78, 257–58.
6. Dodwell 1993, p. 8, citing the *Liber pontificalis*, Duchesne 1892 and 1957, vol. 1, p. 147.
7. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 282 (illus.), p. 375.
8. D. Rice 1966, p. 3.
9. Dodwell 1993, p. 8, citing Schlosser 1892, p. 217.
10. The Gospels of Otto III, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek CIM. 4453, and the Gospel Lectionary, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek Cod. 84.5 Aug., see Weitzmann, "Various Aspects," 1966, pp. 15–16, figs. 28–29. These ivory reliefs are iconographically and stylistically similar to the Metropolitan Museum's ivory in the exhibition (cat. no. 101).
11. The cover of the Gospels of Otto III. See Lasko 1994, p. 109 (color), p. 110.
12. Schramm and Mutherich 1981, no. 104 (illus.), pp. 43, 154, 316. See also Muthesius 1992, p. 247, fig. 1.
13. This work is now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (51.445). See Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, vol. 1, no. 32, pp. 124–25 (bibl.), vol. 2, pl. 19, where a twelfth-century date is proposed. A similarity with a steatite fragment in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, suggests an earlier dating. See Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons*, 1985, vol. 1, no. 20, p. 110, vol. 2, pl. 12. The iconographic type of the Cleveland steatite, identified as a Dexiokratousa by Kalavrezou, also may be seen in the mosaic of about 1020 in the north transept of Hosios Loukas, shown in Demus 1991, fig. 28.
14. Hildesheim 1993, vol. 2, no. II-19, pp. 56–57 (color).
15. Dodwell 1993, p. 161. A Greek inscription on one of the paintings states that an image of Christ was painted in 959 by Theophylaktos for a Greek priest named Leo.
16. For example, four late-tenth-century Byzantine ivory icons with bust-length depictions of the Virgin Hodegetria were mounted on Western covers preserved in Bamberg, Aachen, and Paris (respectively, Lasko 1994, figs. 178, 181; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 161 [color]); Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 2, no. 125. Another late-tenth-century Byzantine ivory, with the Crucifixion, was incorporated into a Spanish book cover from Jaca before 1085 (cat. no. 304). A fine Byzantine cameo with a bust of Saint Paul was mounted in the frame of the Reliquary of the True Cross of Henry II (973–1024), which dates to 1014–24. See Wentzel 1972, pp. 39–40, fig. 42a; Schramm and Mutherich 1981, no. 134 (illus.), pp. 164, 353.
17. Hildesheim 1993, vol. 2, no. II-17 (color), pp. 52–54 (bibl.).
18. Dodwell 1993, pp. 8–9, citing Lehmann-Brockhaus 1938, nos. 2096, 2723, 2857, 2865, 6015.
19. Comnena 1969, pp. 127, 128.
20. Madrid, Escorial, Cod. Aureus, fol. 2v; see Weitzmann, "Various Aspects," 1966, p. 4, figs. 1–3.
21. Cologne 1985, vol. 2, no. E41 (illus.); Lowden, "Luxury Book," 1992, pp. 253, 255–56, fig. 3.
- The manuscript contains a contemporary Latin inscription: "Scs Gereon Christi." The miniatures have been compared with the slightly later mosaics at Daphni.
22. London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 166 (illus.), pp. 151–53.
23. A. Grabar 1956, pp. 7–26, figs. 1–8; Muthesius 1992, pp. 240, 242.
24. Doors were ordered before 1066 for the Cathedral of Sant'Andrea in Amalfi as well as for the abbey church at Monte Cassino; Bloch 1986, vol. 3, figs. 58–61, and figs. 126–27, 147–56 respectively. The doors for San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome were ordered in 1070; Bloch 1986, vol. 3, figs. 65–66, and Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 238. The doors for the Porta di San Clemente at the Basilica of San Marco date to about 1080; Bloch 1986, vol. 3, fig. 114. The doors for the Church of San Sebastiano in Atrani were donated in 1087; Frazer 1973, p. 149, fig. 4. The doors ordered for the Cathedral of Salerno may date to 1099; Bloch 1986, vol. 3, figs. 96–105. See also Kleinbauer 1976, pp. 16–29.
25. Bihalji-Merin 1958, p. 7, pls. 1 (color), 3–9, 10 (color), 11, 12.
26. Mercati 1956, p. 3ff.; Kitzinger, "Byzantine Contribution," 1966, p. 35.
27. Dodwell 1993, p. 9, citing Lehmann-Brockhaus 1938, no. 2853. None of these gifts are identifiable today.
28. Hyslop 1934, pp. 333–40, especially p. 339, figs. 1–3.
29. Demus 1950, pp. 3–18.
30. Kitzinger 1949, pp. 269–92; Kitzinger, "Byzantine Contribution," 1966, p. 39, fig. 14; Demus 1950, pp. 25–58.
31. Kitzinger 1990.
32. Demus 1950, pp. 91–148.
33. Demus 1984, vol. 1 (text), pp. 31–39, 196–218, figs. 5–7; vol. 1 (plates), pls. 5, 15–17 (all color).
34. H. Maguire 1981, pp. 102, 108, figs. 95, 96.
35. Buchthal 1957, pp. 1–14, pls. 1–19; London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 180, p. 164.
36. I. Sevcenko 1984, pp. 117–30.
37. Migne 1844–64, vol. 149, cols. 896 and 1267, translation from Boase 1953, p. 97.
38. Two Byzantine twelfth-century objects in the treasury, the Icon of Saint Demetrios (Kötzsche 1973, no. 2 [bibl.], p. 65, fig. 3) and the portable altar with an agate slab (Kötzsche 1973, no. 3 [bibl.], pp. 65–66, fig. 4) could have been part of this gift. The alternative is that these objects might have entered the treasury during the reign of Otto IV (Holy Roman Emperor 1198–1208; d. 1218).
39. The earlier date has been proposed because of a putative connection with the Ottonian empress Theophano, the second date, because of the suggested replication of the pumpkin-like dome on the Cupola Reliquary, a Cologne work of about 1175–80 in the Welfenschatz, Berlin. See Wentzel 1972, p. 80, fig. 84, and A. Grabar 1957, pp. 296–97.
40. Perocco 1984, p. 6, and Bettini 1984, pp. 39, 46. See also Dodwell 1993, p. 9, citing Lehmann-Brockhaus 1938, no. 2866.
41. Geanakoplos 1966, p. 45.
42. See Dufour 1972, p. 79, who refers to an exchange of goods between Moissac and Euthymios II, the Greek patriarch of the Holy Sepulchre, in 1088. This reference was provided by Barbara Drake Boehm.
43. The abbey at Grandmont had been given a triptych with a relic of the True Cross in 1174 (see cat. no. 295).
44. Dodwell 1993, p. 8, citing Lehmann-Brockhaus 1938, nos. 2687, 2724.
45. London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 197 (illus.), pp. 183–84.
46. The icon has a metalwork and enameled frame, which bears an anonymous epigram that mentions Manuel Disypatos, probably the bishop of Salonika (Thessalonike) from 1235 to 1261 and the person who provided the frame shortly before 1235; see Belting 1994, p. 333, fig. 201 (X-ray photograph). A Latin inscription on the reverse states that a certain John Galeacius of Milan received the icon "from the Emperor of the East." See Athens 1964, no. 214 (illus.), pp. 260–61; Wessel 1967, pp. 194–96 (illus.); Cologne 1985, vol. 3, no. H-69, pp. 169–72 (color illus. p. 169).
47. Especially the Deesis relief in the south aisle, the relief with two standing male saints in the Cappella della Nicopeia, the Madonna della Grazia in the north aisle, and the seated Saint Demetrios, on the west facade. See Demus 1960, pp. 122–24, figs. 32, 34, 36; pp. 124–28, fig. 40, and Wolters 1979, no. 71 (illus.), pp. 30–32.
48. The two coats of arms with three eagles are found in the arms of Norman/French, English, and German families that date from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. Without the tinctures, which are missing, an exact identification remains elusive. I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Helmut Nickel and Theo Margelony in this search.
49. Riant 1875, p. 192; Bischoff 1967, pp. 150, 152.
50. Riant 1875, pp. 208–9.
51. Ibid., pp. 202–3; Frolow, *Relique*, 1961, no. 427; Frolow 1965, fig. 13; Volbach, *Staurrotheca*, 1969, p. 8, fig. 11.
52. Riant 1875, pp. 32, 206. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 168 (illus.), p. 258.
53. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 236 (illus.), p. 321. This object once had a cover with a representation of Christ on the cross flanked by the mourning Virgin and Saint John and with busts of angels above. The borders of the missing lid as well as of the interior cross were worked with foliated rinceaux.
54. Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 248 (illus.), pp. 333–35.
55. As suggested by Jannic Durand in Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, p. 335, the style of the draperies recalls that seen on a monumental scale in the frescoes in the mid-eleventh-century Cathedral of Saint Sophia at Ohrid. This drapery style as well as the technique also is apparent in the impressive mid-eleventh-century Byzantine repoussé silver-gilt rinceaux for the large icon of Peter and Paul in Novgorod; A. Grabar 1975, p. 23, pl. III.
56. Compare, for example, the frescoes in the mid-twelfth-century church of Saint Panteleimon at Nerezi; H. Maguire 1981, pp. 102, 108, figs. 95–96.
57. The staurotheke was given to the Cathedral of Limburg an der Lahn in 1827; Wessel 1967, pp. 75–78 (color illus.).
58. This reliquary is now in the Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican City, Inv. no. 586; Matt et al. 1970, illus. nos. 82, 84–88, 83 (color), p. 173; Cavallo et al. 1982, no. 246, pp. 418–19.
59. The Nativity, Baptism of Christ, Crucifixion, and Deposition. Effenberg 1977, no. 17, pp. 37–38, pl. 10; Gauthier 1983, no. 68 (color), pp. 120–21.
60. There are yet other examples. Even so small a work as a Byzantine cameo could have received its own Western mount, as did the blood-red jasper cameo of Christ Pantokrator, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 191 (illus.), pp. 281–82.

61. The Cologne gold reliquary of the True Cross, of about 1200 (Frolow, *Relique*, 1961, no. 157; Frolow 1965, fig. 67), utilizes repoussé figures of Constantine and Helena cut from a Byzantine staurotheke of the type partially preserved in Urbino (Frolow, *Relique*, 1961, no. 411; Frolow 1965, fig. 52; Gauthier 1983, no. 27 [color], pp. 54–55).
62. Cologne 1985, vol. 3, no. H-34 (illus.), p. 117.
63. Frolow, *Relique*, 1961, no. 522; Frolow 1965, fig. 82; Wessel 1967, no. 50 (illus.), pp. 163–64; Kovács 1974, pp. 44–46, 61; Wixom 1995, p. 661.
64. Hahnloser and Polacco 1994, pls. XLII–XLVIII (color).
65. Demus 1984, vol. 2.
66. See the account of the Hohenstauffen king Conrad III (r. 1138–52) summarized by Cutler 1981, p. 48.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
68. Weitzmann 1934, pp. 89–91, figs. 1–4.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 92–104, figs. 5–20.
70. Mende 1983, pp. 37–39, 137, pls. 28–29.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 94–101, 164–67, pls. 152, 153.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 94–101, 169–70, pls. 162, 163.
73. Battiscombe 1956, pp. 409–32; Dodwell 1993, pp. 26–27, fig. 24 (color).
74. Dodwell 1993, p. 9.
75. For example, in Rome, the frescoes in the Lower Church of San Clemente (eighth century), the apse mosaic in Santa Maria in Cosmedin (ca. 818), the apse mosaic in Santa Prassede (817–824), the mosaic in the vault of the Chapel of San Zeno, also in Santa Prassede, and Santa Cecilia in Trastevere. Oakeshott 1967, pls. 114, 124, 127, 129.
76. Weitzmann, “Various Aspects,” 1966, pp. 14–15, fig. 25. Compare with the earlier ivory of the future Otto II and Theophano (cat. no. 337).
77. Wolfenbüttel 1989, pp. 79–86 (bibl.), fig. 31. For other comparisons of Byzantine sources and Reichenau manuscript illustrations, see Buchthal 1966, pp. 45–60, and Kahsnitz 1987, pp. 91–103, figs. 4, 5, 7–12.
78. Weitzmann, “Various Aspects,” 1966, pp. 15–17, figs. 27–30.
79. Fol. 134v of the so-called Phocas Lectionary, Constantinople, early eleventh century, Library of the Great Lavra, Mount Athos; Weitzmann, “Various Aspects,” 1966, fig. 30.
80. Schrader 1972, fig. 3.
81. *Pala d’Oro* 1965, no. 85, p. 43, pl. XLVII (color).
82. While the central part of the mosaic is missing, the subject and composition are clear; see Lazarides n.d., p. 34, illus. 15 (color).
83. H. Maguire 1981, p. 66, fig. 65; Kitzinger 1990, figs. 109, 115–18, 160; pls. XIX, XXI (color).
84. Weitzmann et al. 1966, illus. 35 (color).
85. Bloch 1986, vol. 1, pp. 59–61, 68, vol. 3, fig. 18.
86. Garrison 1953–62, vol. 4, p. 265, fig. 215A.
87. Mende 1983, p. 173, pl. 165 (color).
88. G. Swarzenski 1901, no. 90: “Meister Bertolt.”
89. G. Swarzenski 1969, vol. 1, fig. 340; Mazal 1981, no. 394, p. 379, fig. 30: the Antiphonary of Saint Peter, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. Ser. n. 27090.
90. Weitzmann, “Byzantium and the West,” 1975, p. 91, fig. 33, Berthold Missal, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 710, fol. 107r.
91. Sauerländer 1972, pp. 441–43, pl. II (color), p. 35, pls. 130, 131. Stuttgart 1977, vol. 1, no. 445 (bibl.), pp. 323–24, vol. 2, fig. 244.
92. Four Gospels, Cyprus or Palestine, late twelfth century, London, British Library, Harley Ms. 1810; London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 194 (color), pp. 179–80.
93. For example, a triptych produced in Acre by a French painter, mid-thirteenth century; Weitzmann 1963, pp. 187–88, fig. 11; Weitzmann, “Icon Painting,” 1966, pp. 59, 69, fig. 17.
94. Diez and Demus 1931, pl. XIV.
95. *Ibid.*, fig. 100.
96. Mende 1983, pp. 97–98, fig. 89.
97. *Pala d’Oro* 1965, no. 58, pp. 28–29, pl. XXXI (color), and no. 82, p. 42, pl. XLV (color).
98. Queen Melisende’s Psalter (cat. no. 259) and a double-sided icon from a workshop in Acre, active in the mid- to the second half of the thirteenth century; Weitzmann 1963, fig. 6.
99. Weitzmann, “Various Aspects,” 1966, p. 18, fig. 33.
100. Archives, Cathedral of Bari; Barracane 1994, pl. 5.
101. Mende 1983, pp. 94–101, 164–67, pl. 145.
102. Cavallo et al. 1982, illus. 255 (color).
103. Demus 1984, vol. 1, fig. 7, and frontispiece (color); Dodwell 1993, pp. 186–87, illus. 174 (color).
104. Mende 1983, pp. 111–20, 179–84, pl. 209.
105. Chapter Library, Cathedral of Salerno; Salmi 1954, p. 13, pl. II (color).
106. *Pala d’Oro* 1965, pp. 28–29, pl. XXIX (color). For other examples in the exhibition see cat. nos. 49, 91, 248.
107. The Baptism of Christ and the Transfiguration, ivory, South Italian, Amalfi, ca. 1080, Salerno, Museo del Duomo; Bergman 1980, pp. 63–64, fig. 26.
108. Swabia (now Alsace)—a. Hortus deliciarum (destroyed), Swabia (now Alsace). Hohenbourg, before 1176–ca. 1196, formerly Strasbourg, Bibliothèque de la Ville, fol. 100r; Green et al. 1979, vol. 2, pl. 56; b. Flabellum, Hohenbourg, late twelfth century, London, British Library; Green 1951, p. 154, figs. 1, 3; c. Psalter, Diocese of Constance, ca. 1240, Private collection, Germany; Bober 1963, pp. 42–43, pl. XXIVa; Plotzek 1987, no. 5, pp. 77–80.
109. Panel from the early-thirteenth-century bronze doors of the Cathedral of Benevento, Campania; Mende 1983, p. 180, pl. 209.
110. Gospels, Saxony-Thuringia, ca. 1230s, Goslar, Rathaus; Buchthal 1979, pl. XVIII, fig. 27.
111. **Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles**
a. *Byzantine examples*: Ivory panel, eleventh century, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol. 2, no. 13. Atrium mosaic, Hosios Loukos, ca. 1020; Demus 1948, illus. 23.
b. *Examples from the Latin West*: Feeding the Multitude, the Last Supper, and Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles, ivory, South Italian, Amalfi, ca. 1080, Salerno, Museo del Duomo; Bergman 1980, p. 69, fig. 30. Pericope Book of Saint Erentrud, Salzburg, twelfth century, Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm. 15903; G. Swarzenski 1908–13, pl. LV, fig. 173. Gospels, Upper Rhine or Speyer, 1197, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Cod. Bruchsal 1, fol. 28r; Engelhart 1987, illus. 240. Crucifix terminal panel, from the Priory of Santo Sepolcro, Pisa, late twelfth century, Museo Nazionale, Pisa; Weitzmann, “Crusader Icons,” 1984, pp. 166–67, fig. 30. Panel from the bronze doors of the Cathedral of Benevento, Campania, early thirteenth century; Mende 1983, pp. 181–82. Manuscript leaf, Würzburg, ca. 1246–50, London, British Library Ms. Add. 17687-h.
112. **The Last Supper**
a. *Byzantine examples*: Stoclet Paten (cat. no. 28). Square panel, cloisonné enamel on gold, early twelfth century, Pala d’Oro, San Marco, Venice. Four Gospels, ca. 1170, Athens, National Library Cod. 93, fol. 135v; Athens 1964, no. 317 (illus.), p. 320. Mosaic, south transept, Cathedral of Monreale.
b. *Examples from the Latin West*: Feeding the Multitude, the Last Supper, and Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles, ivory, South Italian, Amalfi, ca. 1080, Salerno, Museo del Duomo; Bergman 1980, pp. 68–69, fig. 30. Ivory, North Italian, ca. 1100; Randall 1985, no. 251, fig. 30. Gospels, Emilian, twelfth century, Nonantola, Archives of the Badia Ms. SS. fol. 73v; Salmi 1954, p. 15, pl. IV (color). Panel by Bonanus of Pisa from the bronze doors, 1185, west portal of the Cathedral of Monreale; Mende 1983, p. 177, pl. 204. Crucifix terminal panel from the Priory of Santo Sepolcro, Pisa, late twelfth century, Pisa, Museo Nazionale; Weitzmann, “Crusader Icons,” 1984, pp. 166–67, fig. 30. Panel from the bronze doors of the west portal, Cathedral of Benevento, Campania, early thirteenth century; Mende 1983, p. 181, pl. 209. Hortus deliciarum (destroyed), Swabia (now Alsace), Hohenbourg, before 1176–ca. 1196, (formerly) Strasbourg, Bibliothèque de la Ville, fol. 167r; Green et al. 1979, vol. 1, illus. 251, vol. 2, illus. 229. Ingeborg Psalter, Northern French, ca. 1195–1200, Chantilly, Musée Condé Ms. 1695, fol. 23; Deuchler 1967, pp. 46–48, 113, fig. 27.
113. **Christ’s Agony in the Garden**
a. *Byzantine examples*: Gospels, eleventh century, Parma, Biblioteca Palatina Cod. 5, fol. 90r; Weitzmann 1961, pp. 236–37, fig. 11; Lectionary, eleventh century, Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery Cod. 587, fol. 66r; Weitzmann 1961, pp. 238–39, fig. 13. Mosaic, ca. 1182, Cathedral of Monreale; Demus, *Byzantine Art*, 1970, pp. 40–41, fig. 45, and Cutler 1981, p. 42, fig. 3.
b. *Examples from the Latin West*: Hortus deliciarum (destroyed), Swabia (now Alsace), Hohenbourg, before 1176–ca. 1196, (formerly) Strasbourg, Bibliothèque de la Ville, fol. 138r; Green et al. 1979, vol. 2, illus. 85; Panel from the bronze doors of the west portal, Cathedral of Benevento, Campania, early thirteenth century; Mende 1983, p. 182, pl. 208. Wolfenbüttel Model Book (cat. no. 319), fols. 89v, 92r, 93v. Fragment of a Psalter, Würzburg, ca. 1246–50, London, British Library Ms. Add. 17687 (i); Engelhart 1987, vol. 1, p. 123, vol. 2, fig. 80.
114. **Christ’s Descent from the Cross**
1. *Christ bent over with back in uppermost position*:
a. *Byzantine examples*: Central plaque from an ivory triptych (cat. no. 100); Panel from the bronze doors, San Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome, ordered from Constantinople, 1070. Ivory icon, cover of the Gospels of Abbess Adelaide, Constantinople, ca. 970, Treasury of Saint Servatius, Quedlinburg; Gauthier 1983, no. 68 (color), pp. 120–21. Diptych, steatite, early thirteenth century, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz; Vienna 1977, no. 30, pp. 111–12, fig. 6. Gospels (cat. no. 252).
b. *Examples from the Latin West*: Panel by Barisanus of Trani from the bronze doors of the west portal, 1179, Cathedral of Ravenna; Mende 1983, pp. 164–65, pl. 144. Tabernacle of Cherves, Limoges, ca. 1220–30, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (17.190.735); New York 1996, pp. 299–302.
2. *Christ bent over backward with torso up*:
a. *Byzantine examples*: Ivory panel from the wing of a triptych (cat. no. 92). Fresco, ca. 1164, church of Saint Panteleimon, Nerezi; Beckwith 1970, pl. 235. Enameled reliquary of the True Cross or staurotheke (cat. no. 34).

- b. *Examples from the Latin West*: Ivory plaque from a reliquary, Léon, ca. 1115–20, Masaven Collection, Oviedo; New York 1993, no. 115a (illus.). Antiphony, Salzburg, mid-twelfth century, Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter, Salzburg; G. Swarzenski 1969, vol. 2, fig. 351. Psalter of Queen Ingeborg, Northern French, ca. 1195–1200, Chantilly, Musée Condé, fol. 27a; Deuchler 1967, pp. 52–55, figs. 31, 199. Fresco, North Italian, Aquileia, ca. 1200, crypt, Cathedral of Aquileia; Dodwell 1993, p. 188, fig. 175. Evangelistary, Lower Saxony, early thirteenth century, Domarchive, Brandenburg O. sign, fol. 53. Psalter and Hours of the Virgin, Oxford, ca. 1200–1210, London, British Library, Arundel 157, fol. 10v. Fresco, ca. 1220, Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, Cathedral of Winchester; Saxl and Wittkower 1948, no. 4. Psalter, Diocese of Constance, ca. 1240, Private collection, Germany, fol. 93v; Bober 1963, p. 51 and color frontispiece; Plotzek 1987. Panel from a crucifix, Tuscan, Pisa, 1230–40, Cleveland Museum of Art, illus. on p. 448; Chong and Steele 1996, illus. Panel from an icon (cat. no. 322B).
115. **Lamentation (Threnos)**
 a. *Byzantine examples*: There are two frescoes in addition to the Byzantine examples cited in Weitzmann 1961 and Spatharakis 1995: Fresco, 1164, Church of Saint Panteleimon, Nerezi; Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, p. 30, fig. 4. Fresco, late twelfth century, Church of Saint George, Kurbinovo; H. Maguire 1981, pp. 104, 107, figs. 99, 101, 104.
 b. *Examples from the Latin West*: Ivory panel with Passion scenes, Venice, eleventh century, Wernher Collection, Luton Hoo Foundation, Luton, England; London, *Byzantium*, 1994, no. 157 (illus.), p. 146. Ivory panel, Venice, early thirteenth century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (17.190.65). Fragment of an icon frieze, Sicily, thirteenth century, Museo Nazionale, Palermo; Belting 1994, p. 249, illus. 151. Panel from a crucifix, Tuscan, Pisa, 1230–1240, Cleveland Museum of Art, illus. on p. 448; Chong and Steele 1996, illus. Panel from an icon (cat. no. 322C); Hortus deliciarum (destroyed), Swabia (now Alsace), Hohenbourg, before 1176–ca. 1196, (formerly) Strasbourg, Bibliothèque de la Ville, fol. 150v; Green et al. 1979, vol. 1, illus. 239, vol. 2, illus. 215. Wolfenbüttel, Model Book (cat. no. 319). Wing of a triptych, Acre, Master of the Knights Templar, mid-thirteenth century; Weitzmann 1963, p. 187, fig. 12.
116. **The Ascension of Christ**
 a. *Byzantine examples*: Mosaic, cupola, late ninth century, Hagia Sophia, Thessalonike; Beckwith 1970, fig. 162. Ivory triptych (cat. no. 98). Fresco, vault, mid-eleventh century, Hagia Sophia, Ohrid; Beckwith 1970, pl. 204. Panel from the bronze doors, San Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome, ordered from Constantinople, 1070. Tempon with feast scenes, ca. 1100, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai; Belting 1994, fig. 138. Homilies of James Kokkinobaphos (cat. no. 62). Mosaic, central dome, ca. 1180–90, San Marco, Venice; Demus 1984, vol. 1, pl. 5 (color). Two enameled plaques, eleventh and early twelfth century, Pala d’Oro, San Marco, Venice; *Pala d’Oro* 1965, no. 61, p. 31, pl. XXXIII (color), and no. 83, p. 42, pl. XLVI (color). Fragmentary cross with scenes from the Life of Christ, late twelfth century, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai; Weitzmann, “Crusader Icons,” 1984, p. 166, fig. 31a. Iconostasis beam with the *dodekaorton*, late twelfth century, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai; Weitzmann, “Crusader Icons,” 1984, pp. 163, 166, fig. 27b. Bema fresco by Theodore Apsoudes, 1183, Church of Saint Neophytos, Cyprus; Deuchler 1970, illus. 245–46. Panel from an iconostasis beam, late twelfth century, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai; Weitzmann et al. 1966, illus. 32.
 b. *Examples from the Latin West*: (Enthroned Christ Rising): Ivory plaque, South Italian, Amalfi, ca. 1080, Museo del Duomo, Salerno; Bergman 1980, no. 37, pp. 48, 63, 98, 127, fig. 38. Exultet Roll, South Italian, Bari, ca. 1000, Cathedral Archives, Bari, Exultet I; Barracane 1994, pl. 1. Ivory triptych, Amalfi, ca. 1100, Musée du Louvre, Paris; Bergman 1980, pp. 145–46, fig. 176. Panel by Bonanus of Pisa from the bronze doors, east portal, south side, Cathedral of Pisa, ca. 1180; Mende 1983, p. 73, pl. 165. Panel by Bonanus of Pisa, from the bronze doors, west portal, Cathedral on Monreale, 1185; Mende 1983, p. 178, pl. 205. Ivory diptych, Venice(?), late twelfth–early thirteenth century, Cathedral Treasury, Chambéry; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 174 (illus.), pp. 266–67. Panel from the bronze doors, west portal, early thirteenth century, Cathedral of Benevento, Campania; Mende 1983, p. 183, pl. 208. Displaced leaf, Hildesheim, ca. 1250, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek Cod. Guelf 13 Aug. 20, fol. 6r; Wolfenbüttel 1989, pp. 167–72, p. 171 (illus.), fig. 80.
117. **The Transfiguration**
 a. *Byzantine examples*: Homilies of Saint Gregory Nazianos, Constantinople, 880–886, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Cod. gr. 510, fol. 75; H. Maguire 1974, p. 123, fig. 8. Ivory diptych (cat. no. 91). Lectionary, eleventh century, Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery Cod. 587, fol. 161v; Bergman 1980, p. 67, fig. 113. Icon for private devotion with an abbreviated iconostasis, eleventh century, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai; Belting 1994, p. 248, illus. 152. Panel from the bronze doors, San Paolo fuori le mura, Rome, ordered from Constantinople, 1070. Mosaic, ca. 1100, Church of the Dormition, Daphni; Beckwith 1970, p. 120, pl. 218. Panel (cat. no. 67). Mosaic, ca. 1140–50, Cappella Palatina, Palermo; Kitzinger 1970, p. 53, fig. 10. Fresco, mid-twelfth century, Church of Saint Nicholas tou Kasnitze, Kastoria; Kitzinger 1970, p. 53, fig. 9. Fresco, ca. 1164, Church of Saint Panteleimon, Nerezi; Kitzinger 1970, p. 53, fig. 11. Panel from an iconostasis beam, twelfth century, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai; Weitzmann et al. 1966, illus. 29. Lectionary, twelfth century, Mount Athos, Iveron Ms. 1, fol. 305v; H. Maguire 1974, p. 124, fig. 10 (cat. no. 59). Iconostasis beam, last quarter of twelfth century, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai; Weitzmann, “Byzantium and the West,” 1975, p. 62, fig. 24. Mosaic, ca. 1182, Cathedral of Monreale; H. Maguire 1974, p. 124, fig. 9. Iconostasis beam (cat. no. 248). Iconostasis beam with the *Dodekaorton*, late twelfth century, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai; Weitzmann, “Crusader Icons,” 1984, pp. 163, 164, fig. 27a. Miniature mosaic icon (cat. no. 77). Steatite diptych, early thirteenth century, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Sk. S. 2721); Vienna 1977, pp. 111–12, no. 30, fig. 6.
 b. *Examples from the Latin West*: Ivory plaque, South Italian, Amalfi, ca. 1080, Museo del Duomo, Salerno; Bergman 1980, pp. 66–67, fig. 26. Exultet Roll, South Italian, eleventh century, Cathedral Archives, Bari, Exultet, II; Barracane 1994, pl. 13. Ivory book cover plaque by Renier of Huy(?), Liège, ca. 1100–1120, Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal Cod. lat. 1184; Cologne 1972, no. 1–14 (illus.), p. 288. Ivory icon (cat. no. 328). Floreffé Bible, Mosan, ca. 1150–60, London, British Library Ms. Add. 17737–8, vol. 2, fol. 4; Cahn 1982, fig. 155. Panel by Bonanus of Pisa from the bronze doors, east portal, south side, ca. 1180, Cathedral of Pisa; Mende 1983, p. 172, pl. 177. Panel by Bonanus of Pisa, bronze doors, Cathedral of Monreale, 1185; Mende 1983, p. 177, pl. 203. Ivory diptych, Venice(?), late twelfth–early thirteenth century, Cathedral Treasury, Chambéry; Paris, *Byzance*, 1992, no. 174 (illus.), pp. 266–67. Wolfenbüttel “Model Book” (cat. no. 319). Psalter, Diocese of Constance, ca. 1240, Private collection, Germany, fol. 9v; Bober 1963, p. 44, pl. XIIIIF; Plotzek 1987.
 118. Weitzmann, “Various Aspects,” 1966, p. 19.
 119. Ibid.
 120. Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, pp. 34–37.
 121. Goldschmidt 1914–26, vol. 2, nos. 18–20, pp. 20–21, pl. 7.
 122. Regardless of the date of the ivory relief with the coronation of Romanos and Eudokia (Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), these facts alone assure a tenth-century dating for the relevant Byzantine ivories. See Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1977, pp. 307–25, fig. 1, and Cutler 1995, pp. 605–10, fig. 1.
 123. Wixom 1964, p. 457; for Byzantine stylistic influence on Italian manuscript illustrations, see Ayres 1993, pp. 3–12.
 124. Köhler 1941, p. 70.
 125. Ibid., pp. 69–76.
 126. Ibid., pp. 79–84.
 127. Ibid., pp. 76–79.
 128. Weitzmann, “Various Aspects,” 1966, pp. 20–23; Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, pp. 37–38; Weitzmann, “Byzantium and the West,” 1975, pp. 55–56.
 129. Weitzmann, “Various Aspects,” 1966, p. 23, fig. 39.
 130. See notes 21 and 45, above.
 131. Scheller 1995, especially nos. 8, 13, pp. 136–43, 165–75. See also the sketch in the Gospel Book lent by Princeton (Cod. Garrett 7, fol. 178r), (cat. no. 50).
 132. G. Swarzenski 1969, pp. 48–55, 91–95, 108–22, 144–48, figs. 171, 182, 202, 204, 339, 340, 345, 347, 350, 398, 399, 404, 438; Boeckler 1924, pp. 29–33, 46–49, figs. 22–28, 45, 46; Fuhrmann and Mütterich 1986.
 133. Bloch 1986, vol. 3, fig. 118.
 134. Weitzmann, “Various Aspects,” 1966, p. 24. The possibility of a reverse influence—of European art on that of Byzantium—needs to be explored beyond the suggestions of Wixom 1964, pp. 458–59.
 135. Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, p. 29. See also Kitzinger, “Norman Sicily,” 1966, pp. 124–47. For a discussion of an earlier adaptation of the classical inheritance in Byzantine art, see Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985, pp. 141–45.
 136. Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, fig. 4.
 137. Ibid., figs. 10, 16, 19.
 138. Ibid., fig. 5; Weitzmann, “Byzantium and the West,” 1975, p. 57.
 139. Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, p. 32.

140. *Ibid.*, p. 32, fig. 6.
 141. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
 142. Oakeshott 1981, pp. 42–47, figs. 32–35, 42.
 143. Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, fig. 9; Dodwell 1993, pp. 344, 347 (illus.), 348 (color illus.).
 144. Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, p. 38, n. 51, fig. 11; Vienna, *Byzanz*, 1981, no. 397, pp. 494–95, fig. 31.
 145. Röhrig 1950.
 146. See also the following assessments of Nicholas’s contribution: Wixom 1970, p. 96; Frazer, “Byzantine Art,” 1970, pp. 188–89; Weitzmann, “Byzantium and the West,” 1975, pp. 65–66; Lasko 1994, chap. 22.
 147. Cologne 1972, no. K-1 (illus., detail), pp. 316–17 (bibl.).
 148. *Ibid.*, pp. 323–24 (bibl.), (illus. incl. color detail).
 149. Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, p. 41.
 150. N. Morgan 1982, pp. 49–51, illus. 8–9, 13.
 151. Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, fig. 26; Deuchler 1967. Also, this stylistic trend may be seen in a drawing by an English monk named William that depicts a monumental standing figure of Christ and which was added to a manuscript produced in Saint Albans, ca. 1250–59; see N. Morgan 1982, pp. 135–36, illus. 297.
 152. Oakeshott 1981, pls. 104, 106.
 153. Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, p. 42.
 154. Stubblebine 1966, pp. 87–101, p. 89 and fig. 3 for the Berlinghiero at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. no. 321).
 155. For example, the Crucifix with Scenes of the Passion, Pisa, ca. 1230–40, tempera and gold on panel. Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard Hanna, Jr., Fund (95.5), see illus. on p. 448; Chong and Steele 1996 (color illus.).
 156. See Derbes 1996.
 157. Belting 1974, pp. 3–29.
 158. For example, Garrison 1955, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 5–20.
 159. Kitzinger, “Byzantine Contribution,” 1966, p. 42, figs. 29–32.
 160. See n. 91, above, and references to the feast scene of the Dormition of the Virgin on pp. 444–45, above.

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- DOP** *Dumbarton Oak Papers*
- EI** *Encyclopaedia of Islam*
- ODB** *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Kazhdan 1991)
- PG** *Patrologia Graeca* (Migne 1857–66)
- PSRL** *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopsei*
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GLOSSARY

COMPILED BY JOSEPH D. ALCHERMES

adventus (Lat., “arrival”): ceremonial arrival and reception of the emperor, imperial fiancée, bishops, and officials, or saints’ relics

Agnus Dei (Lat., “Lamb of God” [John 1:29]): concept and representation of Christ as the lamb whose sacrifice redeemed humankind

akakia: purple silk purse carried by the emperor on ceremonial occasions

Akra Tapeinosis (Gr., “utmost humiliation”): depiction of Christ after the Crucifixion, known in the West as the Man of Sorrows

amnos (Gr., “lamb”): central, consecrated portion of the Eucharistic bread

analogion, analogia (Gr., “reading desk,” “bookstand”): lectern or stand on which scriptural or other books were placed

anargyroi (Gr., “without money”): epithet of the healing saints, such as Kosmas and Damianos, who performed cures without taking payment

Anastasis (Gr., “resurrection”): representation of Christ bursting the gates of hell and releasing Old Testament figures said to have believed in him before the Incarnation; the Easter image of the Orthodox Church

anthemion (from Gr. *anthos*, “flower”): ornament of symmetrically arranged floral forms

anthypata, anthypatai: wife or widow of an *anthypatos*

anthypatos, anthypatoi: provincial governor; from the ninth century on, a rank in the official state hierarchy

aspasmos (Gr., “kiss,” “embrace”): veneration of an icon by kissing or touching it, a practice officially sanctioned at the Second Council of Nicaea (787); see also **proskynesis**

ataxia: see **taxis**

augusta: empress, a title conferred on certain imperial wives

Augustaion: main square of Constantinople, on which stood the Church of Hagia Sophia and the principal entrance to the imperial palace

autokrator (Gr., “absolute ruler”): imperial title, used alongside designations such as *basileus*

basileia (Gr., “kingdom”): kingdom, empire; also imperial power and majesty

basileus, basileis (Gr., “king”): principal title of the Byzantine emperor

bema: sanctuary of the Byzantine church, accessible only to the clergy

bifolium: a sheet of parchment or paper folded to form two leaves or four pages in a codex

Book of the Eparch: tenth-century compilation of rules governing the guilds of Constantinople

boyar: member of the military aristocracy in Bulgaria and Rus’

Cappadocian Church Fathers: the fourth-century bishops (later saints) Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzos, whose authority persisted in medieval Byzantium

catena, catenae (Lat., “chain”): compilation of quotations from theologians on particular verses of the Bible

Chairete (Gr., “Greetings!”): scene of Christ Meeting the Marys in the Garden (Matt. 28:9–10), named for the word of salutation spoken by Christ

Chalke: vestibule of the main entrance to the Great Palace, Constantinople

chiton, chitones (Gr., “tunic”): tunic, the basic element of Byzantine dress, worn by both men and women; chitones varied in material and length

chlamys (Gr., “mantle”): cloak worn fastened at the right shoulder or in the front; a standard element of Byzantine court costume

Chrysotriklinos (Gr., “golden hall”): ceremonial chamber in the Great Palace, Constantinople

ciborium: canopy with a domed or pyramidal roof resting on four or six columns; also a vessel for holding the Eucharistic bread

clavus, clavi: vertical stripe, often purple or gold, decorating a tunic

codex (Lat., “tablet,” “book”): typical form of both the Byzantine and the modern book, with folded bifolia grouped to form gatherings that were then stitched together and bound

colobium: tunic, usually sleeveless or short-sleeved, longer than the chiton

communion: the eating and drinking of the consecrated bread and wine; culmination of the Eucharistic rite

czar: Slavic equivalent of Greek *basileus*, (emperor); when used to indicate a Slavic

ruler, it implies the claim on his part to the imperial title

Deesis (Gr., “entreaty”): word used in medieval Byzantium for a representation of Christ flanked by the intercessory figures of the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist; since the nineteenth century, the conventional designation of this image; see also **Great Deesis**

despotes, despotai (Gr., “lord,” “master”): epithet of the Byzantine emperor; also title of the official at the top of the state hierarchy, subordinate only to the emperor and co-emperor

Digenes Akritas: eponymous protagonist of an epic-romance, composed probably in the twelfth century from earlier material

divetesion: long silk tunic worn by the emperor and certain court dignitaries on the highest state occasions

dodekaorton (Gr., “twelve feasts”): liturgical cycle of the Twelve Great Feasts

eidolon (Gr., “image”): in representations of the Koimesis, soul of the dead Virgin, depicted as a small figure, swaddled and nimbed, who is carried to heaven by Christ

ekphrasis (Gr., “description”): formal description, often delivered orally, of works of art or other subjects, such as hunts, festivals, cities, and gardens

enkolpion, enkolpia (Gr., “on the breast”): reliquary with a sacred image, worn at the breast

epistyle: beam of the Byzantine templon

eros, erotes: in Greek mythology, god of love, frequently represented in Byzantine art as a chubby, winged child

eulogia, eulogiai (Gr., “blessing”): the consecrated bread of the Eucharist as well as blessed bread carried away by churchgoers; pilgrim tokens thought to have amuletic and curative powers

Exultet Roll: South Italian illuminated liturgical roll bearing the Exultet, the prayer sung by a deacon at the blessing of the Paschal Candle on Holy Saturday

globus cruciger: globe surmounted by a cross, symbol of imperial power

Great Deesis: representation of Christ, the Virgin, and Saint John the Baptist flanked by apostles and saints; see also **Deesis**

hagiasma (Gr., “holy place”): often designates

a miraculous spring, which was at times elaborated architecturally and housed in a shrine church

hagios: see **hosios**

hegoumenos, fem. **hegoumenissa** (Gr., “leader”): head of a monastic community

heliakos (Gr., “exposed to the sun”): balcony or upper floor of a house

himation (Gr., “outer garment”): long mantle common in antiquity and in medieval representations of Christ, the apostles, and the prophets; the dark cotton mantle worn by monks and nuns

homiliary: collection of sermons arranged according to the ecclesiastical calendar

hosios (Gr., “holy man”): saint, the equivalent of *hagios*

icon (Gr., “image”): any image of a sacred personage; the term is used today most often to indicate a representation on a portable panel

Iconoclasm: movement in the Eastern Empire that denied the holiness of religious images; in the eighth and ninth centuries the use of such images was prohibited

Iconoclast (Gr., “image-destroyer”): supporter of Iconoclasm

Iconophile (Gr., “image-lover”): opponent of Iconoclasm; one who venerated icons and defended their devotional use

iconostasis (Gr., “stand for image”): partition with doors and tiers of icons that now separates the bema from the nave in Eastern churches

incipit (Lat., “here begins”): formula that introduces a scriptural text; the page on which it appears is often given special decoration

ivory classification: system devised in the 1930s by Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann to classify medieval Byzantine ivories; the five categories, named for perceived stylistic features or for specific works within the categories, are the Painterly Group, the Romanos Group, the Triptych Group, the Nikephoros Group, and the Frame Group

kanikleios (from Gr. *kanikleion*, “ink-stand”): keeper of the imperial inkstand, a position often held by an influential official

katholikon, **katholikai** (Gr., “general”): modern term denoting the principal church in a monastic complex, usually dedicated to the monastery’s patron

katholikos, **katholikai** (Gr., “universal”): title associated with a bishop or archbishop, it designates the head of an Eastern Church, including a Georgian, Caucasian Albanian, or Armenian prelate, as well as the Nestorian patriarch

khan: (Turkic, “supreme leader”): title used conventionally to denote a pre-Christian ruler of Bulgaria

knez: Slavic ruler, prince

Koimesis (Gr., “falling asleep”): death of the Virgin, the Orthodox equivalent of the Western Dormition; eventually one of the Twelve Great Feasts of the liturgical cycle

Kokkinobaphos Group: designation used to identify manuscripts illustrated by the leading workshop active in mid-twelfth-century Constantinople

Kommenos (fem. Komnene, pl. Komnenoi): aristocratic Byzantine family which established the dynasty that ruled the empire from 1081 until 1185

koutrouvion, **koutrouvia**: small ampulla or flask

lectionary: liturgical book containing texts read at services, arranged according to the ecclesiastical calendar

lite, **litai** (Gr., “prayer”): liturgical procession held in connection with the celebration of ecclesiastical feasts in Constantinople and other Byzantine cities; also a procession held in the annex of a Middle Byzantine church, hence the annex itself

Liturgy: in Byzantium, referred specifically to the Eucharistic rite, often called the Divine Liturgy, of which there were two Constantinopolitan formulas — one ascribed to John Chrysostom, the other to Basil the Great

locus sanctus, **loca sancta** (Lat., “holy place”): pilgrimage site, sanctified by association with a sacred event or a saint’s remains

Logos (Gr., “word,” “reason”): pre-Christian philosophical principle accepted by Early Christian theologians who identified Christ with the Logos of John 1:1–8 and thus linked the term with revelation and redemption as well as with reason

logothetes, **logothetai** (Gr., “keeper of records,” “administrator”): class of high officials, usually having fiscal duties

loros, **loroi**: long scarf, especially the jeweled stole worn on festive occasions by the emperor or empress and, rarely, by certain dignitaries; archangels attending Christ are often shown wearing *loroi*

Macedonian renaissance: now-debated term used to describe the period from the late ninth through the early eleventh century characterized by an extensive revival of classical culture

Mandyliion: the Holy Towel, a miraculous image of Christ brought from Edessa to Constantinople in 944

maniakon (Gr., “necklace,” “torque”): metal

neck ring or collar, probably of Scandinavian origin

maniera greca (Ital., “Greek manner”): term originating in sixteenth-century Italy to characterize the Byzantine-influenced current in thirteenth-century Italian panel painting that had profoundly influenced the development of later Italian and northern European painting

maphorion, **maphoria** (Gr., “shawl,” “veil”): long shawl worn over the head and shoulders; typical costume of the Virgin, whose *maphorion* was a prized relic enshrined at the Blachernai Monastery in Constantinople

martyrion: see **Passion**

martyrium: Early Christian shrine associated either with an event from the life of Christ or with the death or burial of a martyr

Mass: see **Liturgy**

menologion, **menologia**: collection of saints’ lives arranged according to their feast days

military saint: saint characterized and depicted as an armed soldier

narthex (Gr., “stalk”): transverse vestibule of a church

nearai (Gr., “new [decrees]”): term for imperial decrees, used with some frequency in the tenth century but less often thereafter; equivalent of Lat. *novellae*

novellae (Lat., “new [decrees]”): see **nearai**

oikos, **oikoi** (Gr.): house, household

omophorion (Gr., “cape,” “scarf”): long white scarf worn by a bishop

opus sectile (Lat., “cut work”): technique of floor and wall decoration typically employing marble plaques and inlays

orans (Lat., “praying”): Early Christian posture of prayer, standing and with arms outstretched, used rarely in the Middle Byzantine period except for certain images of the Virgin

orarion: narrow white silk stole worn by a deacon while officiating

pallium (Lat., “outer garment”): stole-like garment worn by the Roman pope and bishops; equivalent of Greek *omophorion* and *himation*

Panagia (Gr., “all-holy”): epithet of the Virgin

panegyris (Gr., “festival”): periodic local or international religious and commercial fair

Pantokrator (Gr., “all-sovereign”): epithet of God as well as of the individual persons of the Trinity; designates the best-known type of image of Christ, bearded and represented frontally, blessing with his right hand while he holds the Gospel book in his left; a bust of Christ Pantokrator often formed the center of Byzantine dome decoration

parekklesion: in medieval Byzantium,

standard designation for a chapel, typically joined to the side of a church or installed in a chamber on the upper story

Passion (from Lat. *passio*): account of a martyr's death and the events that immediately precede it; the equivalent of the Greek *martyrion*

Paterik, Pateriki: (from Gr. *paterika*, "[books about] the fathers"): Slavonic adaptation of Greek term designating collections of hagiographic texts and of sayings attributed to monastic figures

patrikia, patrikiai: wife or widow of a *patrikios*

patrikios, patrikioi (Gr., from Lat. *patricius*, "of patrician rank"): title of high rank conferred on most of the important governors and generals in the ninth and tenth centuries; its frequency diminished thereafter

pendoulia: see **prependoulia**

phelonion: capelike garment worn by a priest or bishop, the Eastern counterpart of the Latin chasuble

podlinnik (Russ., "true," "authentic"): painter's book

prependoulia, pendoulia: jeweled ornaments hanging from the side of a crown

Prodromos (Gr., "precursor"): Saint John the Baptist, precursor of Christ

proedros, proedroi (Gr., "leading person," "chief"): term designating a person of high rank, either civilian or ecclesiastical; in the latter case, a synonym for *bishop*

proskynesis (Gr., "prostration"): gesture of supplication or reverence; prostration before, and more generally veneration of, icons; see also **aspasmos**

proskynetarion, proskynetaria: conventional designation for a monumental mural icon; display stand of an especially venerated processional icon

prothesis (Gr., "offering"): the preparation, accompanied by prayer, of the bread and wine during the offertory of the Mass; table used during the rite

protospatharia, protospathariai: wife or widow of a *protospatharios*

protospatharios, protospatharioi (Gr., "first *spatharios*"): rank in the imperial hierarchy initially reserved for a high military commander; used less frequently in the eleventh century

protovestiaros, protovestiaroi (Gr., "first keeper of the wardrobe"): originally a high post for a palace eunuch; the title later lost its association with the emperor's wardrobe and was conferred on many nobles and high-ranking dignitaries

pyxis, pyxides (Gr., "box"): in medieval Greek, generic term for a small box; conventional designation for a cylindrical ivory box made from elephant tusk

rotulus, rotuli (Lat., "roll," "scroll"): the scroll, the standard form of book before the adoption of the codex in Late Antiquity; in the Middle Ages, an archaic format used for chancery documents, liturgical texts (such as Exultet Rolls), and, in one case, a richly illustrated biblical manuscript, the Joshua Roll

sagion: often refers to a cloak or mantle of a soldier or hermit; garment worn by the emperor and members of several ranks of courtiers

sakellarios (Gr., "treasurer"): title given to civic and ecclesiastical administrators whose functions were primarily, but not exclusively, financial

schema (Gr., "form," "appearance"): clothing, particularly the habit of monks and nuns; also the monastic life

sebastokrator: Byzantine title typically bestowed on the emperor's sons and other relatives; awarded by rulers of Byzantium's neighbors in imitation of Byzantine usage

senmurv: Sassanian mythological beast, often represented as the combination of a bird and either a dog or a lion

soros (Gr., "tomb," "relic chest"): reliquary chest (or chapel), especially the two containing the Marian relics enshrined in two Constantinopolitan churches, the Blachernai and the Chalkoprateia

spatharios, spatharioi (Gr., "swordsman"): originally a designation for a bodyguard; later an honorific title of apparently little significance; see also **protospatharios**

staurotheke, staurothekai (Gr., "cross chest"): reliquary made to contain a fragment of the True Cross

sticharion: long tunic with sleeves worn by a deacon and high-ranking Orthodox clergy

strategos (Gr., "general"): in the Middle Ages, designated a military governor with financial and judicial authority

suppedaneum (Lat., "footstool"): footstool placed before a seated figure, such as a ruler or sacred personage, or a platform on which such a figure stands

suq (Arabic, "market"): marketplace in the Muslim East

synaxarion: Church calendar with readings indicated for fixed feast days, but no other text; also a collection of brief hagiographical texts

tablion: rectangular or trapezoidal decorated panel attached to the edge of a chlamys

taxis (Gr., "order"): hierarchy of ranks and institutions according to which the Byzantine state was ordered; the Church was arranged in an analogous hierarchy, and both mirrored the harmonious organization of the universe, with its celestial powers ranged in a divine *taxis*; *ataxia* is the absence or opposite of *taxis*

templon: in a Byzantine church, the screen separating the nave from the sanctuary; see also **epistyle**

theosis (Gr., "deification"): in Byzantine theology, the goal of humankind to become as much as possible like God

Theotokos (Gr., "God-bearing"): Mother of God, epithet of the Virgin

toupha (Gr., "crest," "tuft"): originally a crest or tuft decorating a ceremonial helmet or crown; later the headgear itself

Trisagion (Gr., "thrice-holy"): Byzantine term for the biblical Sanctus (Isa. 6:3; Rev. 4:8), sung during the Eucharistic prayer

typikon, typika: liturgical calendar of the Eastern Church, with instructions for each day's services; document prescribing the organization and rules governing a monastery

Virgin Blachernitissa: miraculous icon of the Virgin with hands outstretched in a posture of prayer; housed in the Blachernai Monastery in Constantinople

Virgin Eleousa (Gr., "compassionate"): icon of the Virgin in which she tenderly touches her cheek to the Christ child

Virgin Hagiosoritissa: icon of the Virgin shown nearly in profile with hands outstretched in prayer, often toward an image or emblem of Christ; the name alludes to the holy chest (*hagia soros*) that housed a relic of the Virgin in Constantinople

Virgin Hodegetria: icon of the Virgin and the Christ Child in the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople with the Virgin holding the blessing Christ, usually in her left arm, while she points to him with her right hand

Virgin Kykkotissa: Cypriot variant of the Virgin Eleousa in which the Christ Child also twists in the Virgin's arms

Virgin Nikopoios (Gr., "bringer of victory"): images of this type feature a frontal bust of Mary holding a medallion with a frontal figure of Christ

vita icon: icon having a frame decorated with scenes from the life of a saint

zoste patrikia (Gr., "girded [or girding] lady patrician"): lady-in-waiting attached to the empress, the sole specifically female rank in the Byzantine hierarchy

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