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Contact between Byzantium and the West from the 9th to the 15th Century: Reflections in Goldsmiths' Works and Enamels

Byzantium and the West, their contact, exchange, mutual influence and inspiration, and thus stimulation in the production of art and artefacts can be seen in all genres of art, and particularly in mobile luxury objects such as goldsmiths' works. They are suitable to study mechanisms of exchange in a different way than static art (such as architecture) and their decoration with their own research questions, or the exchange of coins[1]. Thus goldsmiths' works are significant, yet understudied witnesses of cultural transfer processes in the late Middle Ages. However, it is exactly these luxury items, donated by emperors and their families, by aristocrats and the high clergy, testifying to the legendary splendour of Byzantium that can reveal valuable information on the exchange of fashions and taste between ruling and non-ruling elites and their mutual contact, not only between Byzantium and the West but also for the whole Mediterranean and beyond, such as the Kievan Rus', Moscow and the Golden Horde.

Goldsmiths' works were exchanged as diplomatic gifts and trade goods, were brought home by travellers and pilgrims or changed ownership as war booty and through theft and thus could have an impact on other cultural spheres. Not only the objects themselves but also craftsmen producing goldsmiths' works stimulated exchange and inspired changes in fashion through their work in different areas. Furthermore, there is circumstantial evidence that drawings would have served as means of exchange, especially in the Late Byzantine period[2].

The underestimation of goldsmiths' works as examples for the material culture of imperial and, in general, elite representation is rooted in three main areas: first, the state of research, which leaves a lot to be desired[3]; second, the comparatively small amount of surviving goldsmiths' works due to a high number of losses over the centuries, and also a smaller production in the Late Byzantine period; and third, the fact that the written sources, especially with regard to diplomatic missions, are usually vague, thus only very few objects can be related to literary evidence[4].

Nevertheless, many surviving goldsmiths' works attest to an intensive exchange between Byzantium and its neighbours, in the East and the West, which finds reflections on different levels, such as their form, decoration, technique or function. There are Western objects with Byzantine elements and Byzantine objects with Western elements in their ornamentation or iconography. Byzantine objects were incorporated into Western objects and/or remodelled, and some Byzantine works became prototypes for Western objects, but there are also Western types of reliquaries, decorated with Byzantine ornamentation known from icon frames. However, the definition of »Byzantine« and »Western« elements is not always clear, to say the least.

An object that long eluded a clear attribution for these reasons is a large medieval silver-gilt casket, today in the Cathedral Treasury Trier, Germany[5] (**fig. 1**), decorated with very fine filigree and granulation. Hitherto it has been dated by different authors to various periods between the 12th to 15th centuries and attributed to different areas: Byzantium, Moscow, the Golden Horde on the Volga, Syria, Mamluk Egypt, Sicily and Spain. Comparable spiral filigree, for example, also appears on the 14th-century Byzantine Bessarion Cross, the so-called Crown of Monomakh in the Moscow Kremlin from the same century, attributed to the Golden Horde, and also the 15th-century frame of the Vladimir Icon in Moscow, made by Greek and Russian craftsmen. My research has shown that it was in all probability made in 13th-century Sicily[6], but it remains noteworthy, that such a valuable object

1 Korn, Review, last paragraph (no pagination).

2 See lecture »Mobility and Migration of Late Byzantine Goldsmiths' Works« held by the author during the conference on »Mobility and Migration in Byzantium: The Perspective of Material Culture«, 20-21 January 2017, Vienna. – Especially architectural drawings have been discussed: see the essay by Hadjitryphonos, Presentations, for the employment of drawings in Byzantine architecture. – For medieval architectural drawings in Islamic cultures see: Gharazian/Ousterhout, Muqarnas Drawing, which is valuable also for our topic regarding the use of drawings in general.

3 There is no reference work that treats Middle or Late Byzantine goldsmiths' works in an overview, but a publication by the author on Late Byzantine goldsmiths' works is in preparation. For the most comprehensive overview on Palaiologan goldsmiths' works see the essay by J. Durand, L'orfèvrerie byzantine (forthcoming). For Late Byzantine enamels see Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Late Byzantine Enamels (forthcoming). Only certain areas are hitherto well researched and published, although partly in need of revision: for enamels see Wessel, Emailkunst. – Icon covers and frames: Grabar, Revêtements. – Durand, Icon Revetments. – For Jewellery: Bosselmann-Ruickbie Byzantinischer Schmuck. – Literature on the Early Byzantine period: Bosselmann-Ruickbie/Fourlas/Greiff, Gold- und Silberschmiedearbeiten 800.

4 Schreiner, Diplomatische Geschenke 256. The study is a valuable compilation and analysis of the relevant sources.

5 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Ornamental Decoration, with an overview of research and literature. A study on this casket is in preparation by the author.

6 This had already been suggested by Auld, Exploring Links 140. However, she had assumed that the bottom plate must have been attached somewhat later. A recent autopsy by the author and two goldsmiths (February 2017) has proved that this is not the case and that the casket and the bottom plate belong together.

Fig. 1 Silver-gilt casket, Sicily, 13th century (?), Domschatz, Trier/D. – (© Hohe Domkirche Trier, Domschatz).

of the highest quality and workmanship published long ago[7], has remained understudied for such a long time due to the fact that it eluded a clear classification and attribution.

This is just one example which can enlighten us on exchange and entanglement that also demonstrates how much is left to do for research: »Having elicited much attention in the humanities in recent years, transcultural phenomena will, in all probability, remain a topic of debate in the near future«[8]. Studies will have to focus on the object history, the biography of the object and its function[9] to come to a better understanding of exchange in the Middle Ages in general. The aim of this essay is to provide examples of goldsmiths' works that shed light on the relations between Byzantium and the West before and after 1204, although this cannot be a complete overview. Some new examples of material witnesses of exchange in precious metal enlarge the hitherto known portfolio of objects.

Terminology of Exchange

Medieval studies have for some time focused on the processes of cultural transfer in the Mediterranean and beyond. The nomenclature has been intensively discussed and especially the last two decades have seen a large amount of publications, some as collections of essays from different perspectives and thus accommodating the necessary interdisciplinary approach[10]. Researchers have proposed a variety of terms, such as transcultural entanglement, exchange, interchange, transfer, transmission or hybrid cultures. The result was often labeled »influence«. All these terms try to capture the mobility of ideas, concepts, people, and – most important for art history – objects and their decoration, the traces they have left and the mutual inspiration they have kindled. However, the term »influence« has been dismissed because of its underlying concept of a mathematical vector, ignoring the reciprocal and multi-facetted processes that have actually taken place[11]. U. Koenen suggested[12] that »influence« was not merely stimulated by sheer aesthetics or a vague appeal of the exotic, but often adapted purposefully and dependent on parameters such as the object's function and the commis-

7 Rosenberg, Granulation 101-102 figs 181. 183. – See also Cat. Paris 2010, no. 155 (J. Durand), here attributed to a 15th-century workshop in Moscow.
8 Christ et al., Transkulturelle Verflechtungen 305.
9 See the essay by Koenen, Einfluss und Rezeption (see below).
10 Just to mention some recent examples: Borgholte/Schneidmüller, Hybrid Cultures (2010). – Grossman/Walker, Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture (2013). – Christ et al., Transkulturelle Verflechtungen (2016). – Drews/Scholl, Transkulturelle Verflechtungsprozesse (2016).
11 Koenen, Einfluss und Rezeption. – See also Spieser, Influence.
12 Koenen, Einfluss und Rezeption.

Fig. 2 »Artukid Bowl«, 12th century, probably before 1130 from a Greek workshop in Seljuk Anatolia, Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck/A. – (© Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck).

sioners' wishes[13]. Therefore, studies have first of all to focus on single objects or object groups and their »biographies«.

The elites in the Middle Ages were constantly communicating, and many examples demonstrate that there were similar tastes and fashions all over the medieval world. R. Ousterhout described the common visual expressions in art, understood by the elites in the West, Byzantium and also the East as a »visual language of power«[14], and O. Grabar coined the »shared culture of objects«[15]. An example is the Artukid Bowl (**fig. 2**, see below) and its image of the »Ascension of Alexander the Great« surrounded by dancers. The iconography as such (see below), known in the West, Byzantium and the Arabic world, has not helped attributing this object, the enamel of which was considered Byzantine, but the inscriptions are Arabic and Persian, and thus puzzled researchers for a long time. However, despite not knowing the bowl's exact provenance this image and the iconographic programme of the bowl were »legible« in the whole Eastern Mediterranean, as U. Koenen has pointed out[16]. Although after Koenen's study N. Asutay-Effenberger suggested a more concrete location for the production (Seljuk Anatolia)[17], Koenen's statement remains the same: there were common iconographies and ornaments, found on art from and understood by the elites of the time. L. Brubaker has, however, pointed out that caution with these concepts is due since »culturally conditioned reactions to the same phenomenon could result in diametrically opposed material responses«[18].

Before 1204

An extensive exchange before the Fourth Crusade, not only between Byzantium and the West, but also with the pre-Islamic (e.g., the Sassanids) and the Islamic world, becomes manifest in many medieval goldsmiths' works. With regard to the relations of East and West, Ch. Wickham stated that »there was never a moment in historic times when embassies were not moving from East to West, from West to East«[19]. The sources document at least one embassy per year for the 9th to 11th century with an increase (two to three embassies)

13 Although Koenen's study is very conclusive, one example is not convincing in my opinion: the glass bowl with metal handles in Venice with Kufic inscription around the inner rim and roundels with imitations of Antique gems has been interpreted by A. Walker as a tool for hydromancy (Walker, Meaningful Mingling), in which Koenen follows her. One of the reasons for being critical of this interpretation is that the only Byzantine depiction of a vessel for hydromancy is to my knowledge in the Skylitzes Matritensis (Matrit. gr. 26-2 fol. 58v, 12th c.), and this is much larger, thus serving its purpose better.

14 Ousterhout, Symbole der Macht 92.
15 Grabar, Shared Culture.
16 Koenen, Artukiden-Schale 141.
17 Asutay-Effenberger, Artukiden-Schale.
18 Brubaker, Interchange 177. She referred particularly to the 8th and 9th centuries.
19 Wickham, Mediterranean around 800, 161.

Fig. 3 Stavelot Triptych, *c.* 1156-1158, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. – (After Cat. New York 2016, 213 no. 110).

in the 12th century, especially due to the Crusades[20]. The sources (mostly Latin) rarely report on the exchange of gifts which would have surely accompanied such diplomatic activities, and if they do, the descriptions are vague (i. e., »particle of the Holy Cross in a golden container«[21]). P. Schreiner assumed that these were listed in separate documents now lost[22].

The exchange between East and West goes back to at least the Merovingian period, but especially in Ottonian times, an increased influx of Byzantine arts-and-crafts objects can be noted, either as trade goods, souvenirs of travellers and pilgrims or as diplomatic gifts[23]. In the 9th century longer-distance traffic was rekindled, especially between the Carolingian Empire and the Abbasid caliphate, considered the most important powers at the time[24]. This »laid the ground plan for a larger-scale trade cycle«[25]. In the 10th century, the Holy Roman Emperor Otto I (from 936 Duke of Saxony and King of the Eastern Franks, from 951 King of Italy and from 962 Emperor) and the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913-959) were in close contact[26]. The relations did not end with the 10th century, an example for which is the abbot Wibald of Stavelot Monastery (present-day Belgium). He was an ambassador in Constantinople for Frederic Barbarossa in 1155 and 1158[27] and probably commissioned the famous Stavelot Triptych (probably 1156-1158) (**fig. 3**). This huge triptych, today in the Pierpont Morgan Library New York, was created by Mosan artists[28]. It houses two small Byzantine cross reliquaries incorporated in what is the first surviving reliquary in the shape of a triptych in the West. This might have been a direct reflection of the incorporated Byzantine triptychs although the shape of the Stavelot Triptych is so different that inspiration through other imported Byzantine objects, such as ivory diptychs, might have played a role[29]. Nevertheless, the adaption of two Byzantine cross reliquaries is probably rather a »pseudo-authentic« composition with the aim of proving the authenticity of the relics from the East. Their new display in the Stavelot Triptych seems to emphasize the »otherness« of the Byzantine relics rather than imitating their shape[30].

Other examples were apparently incorporated in the sense of spolia: two probably late 10th-century enamels with Christ Pantocrator and Mary on the Samuhel Gospels in Quedlinburg[31] and the Byzantine enamels on the Pericopes of Henry II (king of the *regnum Francorum orientalium* 1002-1024, emperor 1014-1024) in Munich (1007 or 1012)[32] must have come to the west in the 10th or early 11th century.

Also the famous silver-gilt Anastasios Reliquary[33] (**fig. 4**) in the shape of a church might have already arrived in Aachen,

20 Schreiner, Diplomatische Geschenke 255.
21 Schreiner, Diplomatische Geschenke 273, source no. 11 (letter of Patriarch Photios to Marinus of Ceri, 880).
22 Schreiner, Diplomatische Geschenke 256-258.
23 Effenberger, Kostbarkeiten 149-150.
24 Wickham, Mediterranean around 800, 172.
25 Wickham, Mediterranean around 800, 173.
26 Effenberger, Kostbarkeiten 149.
27 Literature and sources: Klein, Byzanz 208, note 149.
28 Klein, Byzanz 207-215. – Cat. New York 2016, no. 110 (B. Drake Boehm / M. Holcomb).
29 See discussion in Klein, Byzanz 209-210.
30 Klein, Byzanz 213.
31 Effenberger, Kostbarkeiten 149.
32 Cat. Munich 1998-1999, no. 28 (R. Kahsnitz).
33 Angar, Byzantine Head Reliquaries. – Cat. New York 2016, no. 70 (M. Angar).

Fig. 4 Reliquary of Saint Anastasios the Persian, Holy Land, 969-970, Cathedral Treasury, Aachen/D. – (© Cathedral Treasury, Aachen).

Fig. 5 Fieschi-Morgan Staurotheke, early 9th century, Metropolitan Museum, New York. – (© Metropolitan Museum, New York).

Fig. 6 Theophanu Cross, 1039/1058, Cathedral Treasury, Essen/D. – (Photo J. Nober).

Germany, in the 10th century, as M. Angar has argued[34]. This well-known micro-architecture containing the head of Saint Anastasios the Persian can be dated to 969-997. W. Saunders had identified the donor Eustathios in the inscription as Eustathios Maleïnus, *strategos* of Antioch from 969 to 970[35]. The object was used in Aachen as a reliquary for the *cranium* of Saint Anastasios the Persian, but was thought to have been an *artophorion* originally, a container in the Orthodox Church for the Eucharist. However, it might just as well have been a head reliquary when it was made[36]. Although not a conclusive argument, it is interesting to note that the carbon dating of the brownish hood the skull is wrapped in, points to a date for the textile between 939 and 999[37], coinciding with the date of the micro-architectural silver container.

The relations between the Ottonians and Byzantium have been in the focus of research for a long time. In 972 Emperor Otto II (973-983) married Theophanou (ca. 955-991), one of the rare Byzantine princesses married off to a foreign realm. Although she was not a *porphyrogenneta*, a purple-born princess, the Byzantines finally recognized the Western »Roman« Empire through this marriage. Theophanou's legendary dowry, the exact dimensions of which are not known, has inspired much research on Byzantine influence in the West, even to the degree that basically every Byzantine object in Germany was attributed to this dowry[38]. This has been relativised in the meantime, and we know of other ways of exchange through written sources and objects. H. Westermann-Angerhausen has pointed out that the question whether all objects discussed actually came with Theophanou is not that relevant, and that the direct impact of Byzantine luxury items in Ottonian times is difficult to prove; Byzantine inspirations were also often transmitted through Carolingian and later adaptions[39]. According to Westermann-Angerhausen, Byzantine objects had no overall influence on Ottonian art, and when they were incorporated into Ottonian works of art in rare cases[40] (e. g., the above mentioned Pericopes of Henry II), they often remained spolia[41].

Enamels in East and West

However, there are cases which demonstrate close similarities of Eastern and Western enamels and indicate mutual fertilisation[42]. The earliest and pivotal example is the so-called Fieschi-Morgan Staurotheke in the Metropolitan Museum New York[43] (**fig. 5**), a small rectangular box with a sliding lid that once contained relics of the True Cross. The reliquary's surface is fully enamelled with *cloisonné* enamel except the bottom that is decorated with Byzantine feast scenes executed in niello. It was on the basis of the iconography of one of these feast scenes, the Anastasis, that A. Kartsonis (1986) dated the reliquary to the first quarter of the 9th century[44]. Before this, it had been assumed to be a pre-Iconoclasm piece from Syria or Palestine, amongst other reasons due to the depiction of Christ in a *colobion*, a long, sleeveless tunic. The 9th-century date is now generally accepted, and the Fieschi-Morgan Staurotheke is the first datable Byzantine

34 Angar, Byzantine Head Reliquaries 27. 41. 87-94.
35 Saunders, Aachen Reliquary.
36 Angar, Byzantine Head Reliquaries 23-25. 27. 37. 49-64.
37 Angar, Byzantine Head Reliquaries 48.
38 Wentzel, Brautschatz der Theophanu.
39 Westermann-Angerhausen, Spuren der Theophanu 193. – An example for the indirect Byzantine influence on ornaments in metalwork is the 11th-century Romanesque »Hezilo Radleuchter« (wheel chandelier) in Hildesheim Cathedral: Arenhövel, Hezilo-Radleuchter (see also Noack-Haley, Islamische Elemente, for the topic of inspiration by Islamic architecture).
40 Westermann-Angerhausen, Goldzellenschmelz 322.
41 Westermann-Angerhausen, Spuren der Theophanu 200-201.
42 For examples see: Westermann-Angerhausen, Goldzellenschmelz 322, note 5.
43 Buckton, Fieschi-Morgan Reliquary. – Cat. London 2008-2009, no. 52 (H. C. Evans).
44 Kartsonis, Anastasis 94-125.

enamel that has survived. The relics of the True Cross were in Constantinople and were distributed from there, usually in their containers, and the iconography of the reliquary is Byzantine. However, it is clear that the enamels owe their style to Western enamels from the Carolingian period, such as the Altheus Reliquary (*c.* 800)[45]. This led D. Buckton to argue convincingly that the enameller of the Fieschi-Morgan Staurotheke must have come from the West and fabricated the reliquary in Constantinople[46]. This means that already in the 9th century, an exchange of craftsmen can be assumed.

In Ottonian times (919-1024) there are more enamels that can shed light on the question of East-West relationships. On the one hand, there are Ottonian enamels which were independent of Byzantine enamels[47], but on the other hand there are examples that proof a strong dependence of each other. A particularly revealing example that demonstrates how close the visual appearance of enamels in East and West could be is a group of ten trapezoid enamels that were re-used for early 11th-century goldsmiths' works: the Cross of Theophanou and the Reliquary of the Holy Nail[48] (**figs 6** and **7**). These well-known elaborate goldsmiths' works were donated by the abbess Theophanu of the Essen convent (1039-1056)[49], a granddaughter of the Byzantine Theophanou. Ten trapezoid enamels re-used on these objects (**fig. 8a-b**) had been regarded either as Ottonian or as Byzantine objects, and they were reconstructed as a Byzantine necklace[50] following the example in the 10th-century Preslav Treasure from Bulgaria[51]. However, they are not Byzantine but certainly Ottonian due to their similarities with Ottonian book illumination, particularly the Uta Codex (1st quarter of the 11th c., probably made in Regensburg, southern Germany)[52] (**fig. 9**). They likely formed the first nimbus of the late 10th-century »Golden Madonna« of Essen, the earliest statue of Saint Mary surviving from the Middle Ages, originally crowned with an enamelled nimbus.

The fact that the provenance of the enamels, Ottonian or Byzantine, was not obvious demonstrates how closely related the art of enamel could be in this period. D. Buckton's studies have shown that enamel – *cloisonné* enamel (Zellenschmelz) covering the whole surface (Vollschmelz) (**fig. 10**) – first flourished in the Carolingian West and was soon taken up in Byzantium – and not the other way around as had been assumed before[53]. It seems the Byzantines had created their own »hallmark« enamel soon after in the first half of the 10th century: gold plates in which figures, animals and ornaments were enamelled in a cavity (hence the name Senkschmelz, sunken enamel). The first examples of the Senkschmelz technique are the diadem plates in the Preslav Treasure which probably date from around 927[54] (**fig. 11**).

Fig. 7 Reliquary of the Holy Nail, 1039-1058 und 14th century, Cathedral Treasury, Essen/D. – (Photo J. Nober).

45 Jörg, Inschriften Kanton Wallis 96-99 no. 31.
46 Buckton, Fieschi-Morgan Reliquary. – Buckton, Byzantine Enamel 242-244. – Buckton, Byzantine Enamel and the West.
47 Westermann-Angerhausen, Goldzellenschmelz 323.
48 Bosselmann-Ruickbie/Stolz, Ottonischer Nimbus.
49 On Theophanou see Beuckers, Ezzonen 37-38. 86.
50 Schulze-Dörrlamm, Juwelen 417 fig. 3.
51 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck no. 1.
52 Bosselmann-Ruickbie/Stolz, Ottonischer Nimbus 87 and fig. 29.
53 Buckton, Chinese Whispers. – Buckton, Byzantine Enamel and the West.
54 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 22-24. 88; on the Preslav Treasure and its dating 36-39.

Fig. 8 Two enamels from the Theophanu Cross (**fig. 6**) and the Reliquary of the Holy Nail (**fig. 7**). – (Photo A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie).

Fig. 9 Uta Codex, detail of the dedication page, donated by Uta, abess of the Abbey of Niedermünster, first quarter of 11th century, Regensburg, southern Germany, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. – (© Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich).

Fig. 10 Byzantine chalice with inscription mentioning an emperor named Romanos, probably Romanos II (co-emperor 945-959, emperor 959-963), Venice, Treasury of San Marco. – (After Cat. New York 1984, 136 no. 11).

Fig. 11 Enamel in the Senkschmelz technique (sunken enamel), showing the »Ascension of Alexander the Great«, from the Preslav Treasure, Constantinople, 10th century, 927 (?), Museum Veliki Preslav, Preslav/BG. – (© Museum Veliki Preslav).

Exchange of Goldsmithing Techniques

Not only the objects themselves and their types, shapes, styles, iconographies and ornaments are of interest when it comes to studying the exchange between East and West and the reflections in goldsmiths' works. Also technological aspects should be considered: in general, goldsmithing techniques were similar in the East and the West (and also in the Islamic world), such as enamel, niello (black inlays made from metal sulphide), wire drawing and gilding.

The most important medieval treatise for the arts and crafts is the *Schedula diversarum artium* by Theophilus Presbyter (12th century)[55]. His chapters on goldsmithing and enamelling have often been quoted by researchers, also with regard to Byzantium. However, there were also Greek treatises: the anonymous treatise »On the Highly Appreciated and Famous Art of the Goldsmith«[56] was copied in the 15th century but probably goes back to older traditions (11th century?) which would predate Theophilus' work[57].

A comparison between the *Schedula* and the Byzantine treatise shows that Theophilus' treatise had no direct impact in Byzantium and was not copied or adopted. Despite similarities, not all techniques described by Theophilus can be found in Byzantium: the decorative technique for varnishing copper surfaces, *vernis brun* (Braunfirnis), for example, does not appear in Byzantium although it was a current technique in Europe in the Romanesque period[58]. Although drawing from a similar tradition, the texts were independent of each other, and there was no need for a copy of Theophilus' works because the Byzantines had their own »manuals« for goldsmithing.

After 1204

1204 was a historical turning point: the capital Constantinople was taken and looted during the Fourth Crusade and parts of Byzantine territory were taken by »Latins«. This led to a strong(er) impact of the sea republics Genoa and Venice and, for example, the French in areas such as Mystra and Cyprus. The Crusades kindled an increased exchange between East and West: either objects were taken from Constantinople or Jerusalem to the West, or Byzantine objects incorporated Western elements, sometimes more or less subtle. They were either remodelled or their form, style or décor adopted.

An important and well-studied group of Byzantine goldsmiths' works is the reliquary. For example, at least 20 Byzantine head relics, some together with their containers, have been transferred to the West in or shortly after 1204, some also during the 13th century, the time of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople[59]. The famous Limburg Staurotheke[60] (**fig. 12**), a large cross reliquary donated according to its inscriptions in the 10th century by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and his son and co-emperor Romanos II (and later by Basileios Parakoimomenos), was brought to the Rhineland by the crusader Heinrich von Ulmen in 1207[61]. It »served as a highly influential model for local goldsmiths for several decades«[62].

An object that adopted Byzantine models and was probably made by artists who had knowledge of the Limburg Staurotheke, is a cross reliquary that was brought to the West from Jerusalem: the style and overall design of a small reliquary cross incorporated into a staurotheke today in Cleveland (**fig. 13**) indicate a provenance from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem[63]. The lengthy inscription in niello on the actual staurotheke that was made in the Rhine-Meuse region in 1214 reports the theft of the cross relic (and apparently its small cross-shaped container) and the adventurous fate of the unknown person who had wanted to bring it to Europe but died on the way, his body thrown overboard.

H. Klein's study on Byzantine cross relics and reliquaries and their impact in the West, their reception and adoption or adaption has revealed how differently they were received in the West[64]. Although cross relics and cross reliquaries arrived in the West before 1204, the crusades and the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 and of Constantinople in 1204 were pivotal: the sheer amount of such objects (mostly small) brought to the West from the Kingdom of Jerusalem and from Constantinople increased, and they had a decisive impact on the artistic development the West. Before the early 12th century, Byzantine cross reliquaries only rarely inspired Western goldsmiths' works, but this changed immensely in the first half of the 13th century due to the Crusades. However, Western goldsmiths were inspired by formal aspects when they created their own cross reliquaries while they did not seem to aim at imitating style, iconography and techniques of the Byzantine prototypes – the provenance of the relic and the supposed proof of authenticity going along with the provenance, was apparently more important than the direct artistic inspiration[65]. Thus the increased influx of objects contributed

55 See the collection of essays by Speer, Schedula.
56 Paris, Bibl. nat., Codex Parisinus graecus 2327.
57 Wolters, Traktat. – A new edition with an interdisciplinary commentary is in preparation: http://www.byzanz-mainz.de/forschung/a/article/der-griechische-traktat-ueber-die-hochgeschaetzte-und-beruehmte-goldschmiedekunst-edition-und-inter/ (14.2.2018).
58 On this technique see Wolters, Braunfirnis. See, for example, a Mosan triptych reliquary of the True Cross, dated to *c.* 1160-1170: Cat. Cleveland 2010, no. 89 (H. A. Klein). – On a comparison of Theophilus' and the Greek treatise see Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Grenzüberschreitende Wissensverbreitung.
59 Angar, Byzantine Head Reliquaries 121-155.
60 Cat. Limburg 2009-2010, with an overview of the literature.
61 Kuhn, Heinrich von Ulmen.
62 Cat. Cleveland 2010, no. 49 (H. A. Klein).
63 Cat. Cleveland 2010, no. 49 (H. A. Klein). – Cat. New York 2016, no. 25f (B. Drake Boehm).
64 Klein, Byzanz.
65 Klein, Byzanz 287.

Fig. 12 Limburg Staurotheke, Constantinople, 10th century, Diocese Museum, Limburg an der Lahn/D. – (© Diocese Museum, Limburg, photo M. Benecke, Nentershausen/Ww.).

to the development of innovative reliquary types in the West such as triptychs or figural monstrances[66].

Klein has shed light on the manner in which Byzantine objects were »processed« in the West: they could be incorporated into new reliquaries, as is demonstrated by the reliquary triptych from Saint Maria ad Gradus that probably found its way to Cologne after the sack of Constantinople[67]. In this case, the goldsmith (probably in Cologne, 1230-1240) incorporated a 12th-century Byzantine cross reliquary into a new triptych, and also included the cut-out figures of Constantine and Helena to accompany the reliquary, which were originally a part of the Byzantine staurotheke[68]. They served as the »warrantors« for the Eastern provenance of the relic and its authenticity. Other Western reliquaries, such as the cross reliquaries in Trier and Mettlach, imitated formal aspects of Byzantine prototypes[69], and even a mere image of a Byzantine staurotheke was incorporated into a Western reliquary[70].

66 Klein, Byzanz 287.
67 Klein, Byzanz 266-269. – Cat. Cleveland 2010, no. 90 (H. A. Klein).
68 Klein, Byzanz 267.
69 Klein, Byzanz 254-266. 287.
70 Klein, Byzanz 272-275. 287.

Jerusalem and other cities in the Holy Land played an important role in the transmission of goldsmiths' works and their designs, a topic in need of more research[71]. The geographical areas add to the complex patterns of exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean, between East and West, especially after the Crusades. The label »Crusader Art«, however, encountered so often does not describe all aspects of these phenomena because the focus on the Crusaders and their influence reinforces »the problematic assertion that the arrival of Western warriors was the single driving force in the region, historically and aesthetically«[72]. That it is often difficult to classify objects which can comprise Western, Eastern and Byzantine elements, becomes clear, for example, from artworks that once belonged to the bishop of Acre, Jacques de Vitry (1214-1227)[73]. His valuable possessions, especially a reliquary cross, »offers key evidence that, among the myriad treasures and works of art available in Acre, European patrons and their goldsmiths had direct access to Byzantine material«[74]. The reliquary cross is close to another example from France, but incorporates a set of eight 12th-century Byzantine enamel medallions. These were re-used and even cut to fit the slim arms of the cross. After Jacques de Vitry's return to Oignies, France, he had five new altars in the priory adorned with objects he had sent from the East earlier[75], thus delivering one of the concrete cases of migration of goldsmiths' and other works of art from East to West.

Venice had already played a pivotal role in the trade of luxury items for a long time and was by 800 becoming the focal point of exchange. It has also been in the focus of researchers for medieval economic history[76]. Venice thrived especially through the increased import of sacred relics, mainly from Constantinople. The Venetian Doge Enrico Dandalo (1195-1205) allegedly brought relics to Venice in the aftermath of 1204: the arm of Saint George, relics of the blood of Christ, a part of the cross and the *cranium* of Saint John the Baptist[77]. The arm reliquary of Saint George was not left as it was but placed into an unusual new container before 1325[78].

Many of the Byzantine luxury objects in the treasury of San Marco in Venice[79] came to the city following the events of 1204, for example six large enamels showing scenes from the Byzantine Dodekaorton. They had allegedly come from the Pantocrator Monastery in Constantinople and were incorporated into the Gothic Pala d'Oro in San Marco that has been

Fig. 13 Reliquary of the Cross, Rhine or Meuse Valley, c. 1214, Cleveland Museum of Art. – (© Cleveland Museum of Art).

well studied[80] and cannot be treated here with the depth it deserves[81]. However, it should not be forgotten that regular commerce and diplomatic activity played a constant role[82], and many Byzantine objects arrived in the West afterwards. Unfortunately, for most objects in Venice it is not entirely clear when they actually entered the treasury of San Marco, which seems to have already existed before 1204[83].

Some of the Byzantine objects in Venice remained untouched, such as the famous Romanos chalice (**fig. 10**) dating from the 10th century[84] that was made of a sardonyx cup, embellished with gold and *cloisonné* enamel. Other pieces were remounted, remodelled and combined with other objects – a fate shared earlier by some Byzantine cross reliquaries[85]. The so-called »Grotto of the Virgin«[86] (**fig. 14**) was made from

71 See for Jerusalem the recent exhibition catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum New York (2016): Drake Boehm/Holcomb, Art and Medieval Jerusalem.
72 Drake Boehm/Holcomb, Art and Medieval Jerusalem 4.
73 Drake Boehm, Jacques de Vitry 235-236.
74 Cat. New York 2016, no. 126 (B. Drake Boehm).
75 Drake Boehm, Jacques de Vitry 236.
76 Wickham, Mediterranean around 800, 170.
77 Cat. Cleveland 2010, no. 51 (M. Da Villa Urbani). – Klein, Refashioning Byzantium 217-218. – Klein, Staurothek Kardinal Bessarions 270-271, and note 45.
78 Klein, Refashioning Byzantium 218.
79 See Cat. New York 1984. – Hahnloser, Tesoro.
80 Hahnloser, Pala d'Oro. – Bettini, Pala d'Oro. – Klein, Refashioning Byzantium 196-209. Other parts had come to Venice already before 1204.
81 The relations between Byzantium and Venice and their artistic exchanged have produced much research that cannot be quoted here, but see for example the rather aged exhibition catalogue: Cat. Venice 1974, including many goldsmiths' works. For a more recent overview and examples see Georgopoulou, Venice 489-494, and nos. 298-513 (with only a few goldsmiths' works). – Klein, Refashioning Byzantium (see below).
82 Gerevini, Grotto of the Virgin 205.
83 Gerevini, Grotto of the Virgin 205-206.
84 Cat. New York 1984, no. 11 (D. Alcouffe / M. E. Frazer).
85 See above, Klein, Byzanz.
86 Whether the band with the Byzantine enamels was actually brought to Venice in the aftermath of 1204 is not entirely sure. It was first mentioned in a 1325 inventory, and Gerevini makes the case that it might have already been brought to Venice at the time of its making: Gerevini, Grotto of the Virgin 206-207.

Fig. 14 »Grotto of the Virgin« with the enamelled Byzantine »Crown of Leo VI«, Constantinople, 886-912, Venice, Treasury of San Marco. – (After Cat. New York 1984, 118 no. 8).

Fig. 15 Reliqary of the Cross, 12th century, Santa Maria della Scala, Siena/I. – (After Cat. Siena 1996, 109).

Fig. 16 Enamel medallion with Christ Pantocrator, 13th century, Santa Maria della Scala, Siena/I. – (After Cat. Siena 1996, 105).

three different objects to form a new eclectic liturgical fitting. A recent study by S. Gerevini demonstrates that objects from Byzantium were not merely admired and left in their original state but adapted to current needs. The oldest part of the »Grotto« is a Byzantine piece: a small band (diameter of c. 13 cm) with originally fourteen enamel medallions (of which seven have survived[87]) showing the Twelve Apostles, an emperor called Leon in the accompanying inscription, another one would have shown Christ or Mary. The emperor was convincingly identified with Leon VI the Wise (886-912), thus a date in the late 9th or early 10th century is likely for what might have been a small votive crown[88]. S. Gerevini reconstructed the Grotto, fabricated from the Byzantine enamel band, a large rock crystal of unknown provenance and a late 13th-early 14th century statue of the Virgin Mary as a candle holder that probably hung over the main altar in San Marco. She suggested that it was related to the feast of the Purification of the Virgin (Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, 2 February). The outstretched hands of Mary would have reached out to

87 Two more enamels must have been preserved until the 19th century, one of which was probably re-used for the framing of a modern lapis lazuli icon in the same treasury. See Gerevini, Grotto of the Virgin 210-212 and the reconstruction with the two additional enamels showing Saint Paul and Saint Matthew.

88 Similar to the Visigothic examples from Guarrazar, Spain. See Gerevini, Grotto of the Virgin 207, and esp. note 29. The interpretation of the band with Byzantine enamels as having originally been the rim of a chalice, comparable to the Romanos chalice, should not be entirely ruled out but is not discussed by Gerevini. I still consider this a possibility which, however, would not argue against Gerevini's reconstruction since it did not seem to be of interest where the parts of the »Grotto« actually came from when the assemblage was created in the 14th century.

Fig. 17 Book cover with 52 Byzantine enamels, second half of the 13th or early 14th century, Santa Maria della Scala, Siena/I. – (After Cat. Siena 1996, 91).

Jesus symbolised by a candle[89]. Gerevini's analysis delivers strong arguments for this interpretation that would contradict the hitherto assumed »implicit interpretation of the grotto (and other works) as a token of victory over Byzantium«[90], instead the provenance of the Byzantine enamels and the rock crystal does not seem to have been the underlying motivation for this pastiche – the objects were rather regarded as »raw materials«[91]. This corroborates U. Koenen's thoughts mentioned before on the function-related incorporation of alien elements into objects – either single elements or as in the case of the Grotto objects which were re-used.

As mentioned before, Byzantine goldsmiths' works have not only come to the West in the direct aftermath of the crusades, but also later. Their impact was, however, decreased as opposed to the 13th century. The Byzantine State was in financial dire straits in Palaiologan times and skimmed of many objects due to the Crusades, but the inventory of the Hagia Sophia still mentioned many goldsmiths' works[92], some of which went to the West in the 14th century: in 1357 the Byzantine Empress Helena, wife of John V Palaiologos, was compelled to sell a group of small reliquaries with relics of Christ and Saints to a Florentine merchant via whom they passed into the possession of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena, where they are still kept today[93] (**fig. 15** and **16**). However, they do not seem to have stimulated Sienesan art: »[…] by the 1360's interest on the part of Sienese artists in Byzantine art had largely disappeared«. It seems to reflect a general picture that Byzantine art and relics were still appreciated and valued but have not had a huge impact on Western art.

Part of the transaction of relics from Constantinople was also a magnificent Greek lectionary with a silver-gilt book cover in Siena that incorporated 52 Byzantine enamels[94] (**fig. 17**) –

89 Gerevini, Grotto of the Virgin 215.
90 Gerevini, Grotto of the Virgin 205.
91 Gerevini, Grotto of the Virgin 218.
92 Durand, Innovations gothiques 335.
93 Hetherington, Purchase of Byzantine Relics. – Cat. Siena 1996, no. 2-9.
94 Hetherington, Venetian Book Cover. – Cat. New York 2004, no. 312 (J. Durand). – Cat. Siena 1996, no. 1, esp. 90-103, nos. 2-8.

Fig. 18 Steatite icon of Virgin and Child, Byzantium, 12th century, frame: Aachen (?), 3rd quarter of 14th century, Cleveland Museum of Art. – (Photo Cleveland Museum of Art).

the largest collection of Byzantine enamels assembled in one object. The enamels differ in shape and style and do not accomplish a coherent iconography. They are dated to different periods (late 10th-early 11th c. to 12th-early 13th c.) and must have at least partly been re-used. The book cover's date in the second half of the 13th or the early 14th century is uncontroversial, but not its provenance: both Constantinople[95] and Venice[96] have been suggested, demonstrating that these cultural spheres offered similar traditions at this time, making it difficult to clearly attribute the object.

Another example for an object that probably came to the West long after the Fourth Crusade is a small steatite relief with Virgin and Child today in Cleveland (12th c., **fig. 18**)[97]. Although specific sources are lacking, it is likely that the icon received its Gothic frame with a pointed arch and a Latin inscription as well as a chain in the 3rd quarter of the 14th century, perhaps in 1349, when the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV (1355-1378) visited Aachen in Germany, where he was seven times in total[98]. The bull on the back of the setting and the inscription attribute the steatite icon to the Evangelist Luke, questioning a modern understanding of authenticity: the steatite relief cannot have been made by the hand of Saint Luke himself, who was not known to have fabricated sculpture. Especially the fact that the Virgin Mary is depicted as a Dexiokratousa, carrying the child on her right arm and thus being an almost mirror-inverted version of the more common Hodegetria type, suggested to the beholder the idea of an »imprint«, thus it would originally not have been understood as an authentic icon by Saint Luke by his own hand.

Another icon supposedly painted by Saint Luke is the famous icon today in Freising, Germany, with its silver-gilt revetment and frame with enamel medallions[99] (**fig. 19**). It was brought to the West by the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos on his perennial voyage to Europe (1399-1402) with sojourns in Milan, Paris and London amongst others, which he undertook with the aim of seeking help against the Ottoman threat[100]. Manuel gave the icon to Count Gian Galeazzo Visconti, and through his heirs the icon found its final home in Freising. The icon itself, supposedly painted by Saint Luke, with the meaningful inscription »Hope of the hopeless« was repainted over a probably 10th-century icon. Also the elaborate Byzantine frame with originally twelve enamel medallions was an older piece from the 13th or earlier 14th century. It is interesting to note that an impact of the goldsmiths' works on Western art cannot be detected. At this time their impact was in general rather non-existent as opposed to the time of the crusades and immediately after.

Byzantine Goldsmiths' Works with Gothic Elements

Looking at Byzantine objects and how they reflect Western »influence«, there are many examples for religious and profane goldsmiths' works after the Crusades. J. Durand in his

95 Cat. New York 2004, no. 312 (J. Durand), 551 (»The hypothesis of its having been made in Constantinople […] during the first century of the Palaiologan Dynasty is also open to questions«).
96 Hetherington, Venetian Book Cover.
97 Cat. New York 2004, no. 303 (B. Ratcliff). – See also Cat. Cleveland 2010, no. 114 (H. A. Klein). Recently exhibited in the exhibition on Charles IV: Cat. Prague 2016-2017, no. 6.4 (C. Forster).
98 However, it cannot be excluded that the steatite icon might have arrived in Aachen earlier. The Aachen tradition has it that the steatite icon was found in the grave of Charlemagne but this possibility can be eliminated due to the stylistic 12th-century date of the steatite relief. See Cat. Prague 2016-2017, no. 6.4 (C. Forster).
99 Cat. Munich 1998-1999, no. 84 (M. Restle). See the proceedings of the conference devoted to this icon (20-21 April 2016, Freising): Blänsdorf et al., Freisinger Lukasbild (forthcoming).
100 On Manuel and his voyage see Berger, Kaiser Manuel (forthcoming).

Fig. 19 Icon supposedly painted by Saint Luke, Byzantium, 14th century, Cathedral, Freising/D. – (Photo Walter Beyer, Diocese Museum, Freising).

Fig. 20 Bessarion Cross, Byzantium, 1347-1354, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. – (© Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice).

Fig. 23 Esztergom Staurotheke, central enamel plaque with crucifixion around 1190, frame: mid-14th century, Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption and Saint Adalbert, Treasury. – (After Prinzing, Esztergom Reliquary 247 fig. 1).

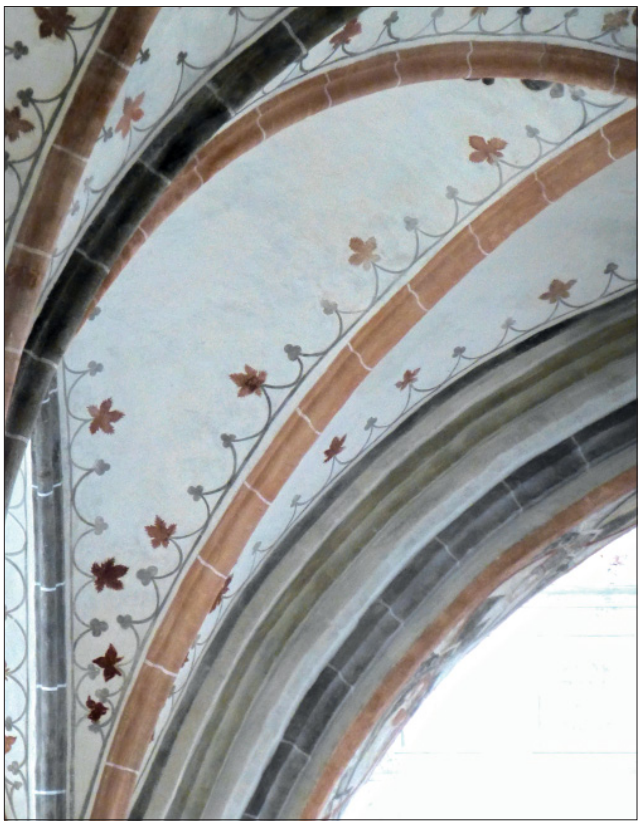

Fig. 21 Church of Saint Nicolas, Stralsund/D, reconstructed vault paintings in the southern side aisle, *c.* 1330-1350. – (Photo A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie).

Fig. 22 Detail of monumental reliquary cross, 1330-1340, church of Saint Nicolas, Bad Kreuznach/D. – (Photo A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie).

seminal study on »Innovations gothiques dans l'orfèvrerie byzantine sous les Paléologues« (2004)[101] has presented a large corpus of material, to which new examples can be added. Durand stressed that the »influence« was not an overall phenomenon, but rather sporadic in Late Byzantine

101 Durand, Innovations gothiques. – See also the recent essay by H. Kempkens, Westliche sakrale Goldschmiedekunst (forthcoming).

Fig. 24 Chalice of Manuel Kantakouzenos Palaiologos, 1349-1380, Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos/GR. – (After Cat. Thessaloniki 1997, no.9.14).

goldsmiths' works: only a limited amount takes up Western design features, while others are traditionally Byzantine. The most innovative social group comprises princes and aristocrats, whilst cheap everyday jewellery and imperial objects remained more traditional[102].

An example for a typical Gothic development is the incorporation of architectural elements in goldsmiths' works of Central Europe, such as on the reliquary of Saint Ursula in Cologne (*c.* 1320-1340)[103]. However, they were hardly adopted in Byzantine goldsmiths' works, surely due to the fact that Byzantine architecture did not offer a reference point. An exception in the Byzantine realm is a censer on Patmos which displays Gothic vocabulary with flamboyant features and should thus not be dated before *c.* 1400[104].

A traditional Byzantine object that took up Gothic architectural elements as decoration in a more subtle way is the Cross in the famous Staurotheke of Cardinal Bessarion in Venice (**fig. 20**). It is decorated with a figure of Christ on the cross in repoussé surrounded by ornaments executed in filigree[105]. The sides of the cross contain the inscription of the donor, an in-between a band of u-shapes crowned by trilobes and palmettes, both executed in repoussé.

P. Schreiner has dated the cross on the basis of its inscription to the years between 1347 and 1354[106]. He has identified Eirena mentioned in the inscription with a granddaughter of Emperor Michael IX, co-regent from 1294/95-1320 and eldest son of Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328). P. Schreiner concluded that the spiritual father Gregorios, who is mentioned in the inscription and probably received this cross as a gift, is to be identified with Gregorios Palamas, the Byzantine theologian and archbishop of Thessaloniki who was sanctified in 1368.

The ornament is of Western origin and derives from Gothic tracery windows. Some of the earliest examples of Gothic tracery windows where the tip of the tracery is adorned with trilobes reminiscent of this ornament are found in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris (1241/45-48) and the cathedral of Amiens (1240s-1250s), and it was taken up more widely by the end of the 13th and during the 14th century[107]. Architectural forms in general and tracery in particular were then employed by Gothic goldsmiths as, for example, in the above mentioned Ursula Reliquary[108]. Tracery soon became increasingly detached from a mere static function and more of an ornament, and the designs were transferred into other genres. In the form in which it appears on the Bessarion Cross it is separated from any architectural context and has turned into an arbitrarily extendable row of u-shapes that frame the cross and fill the space in-between the inscription. This development can be seen in all genres of Western art: the (reconstructed) roof decoration of Cologne Cathedral from the early 14th century or the vault paintings in Saint Nicholas in Stralsund, Germany (*c.* 1350) (**fig. 21**). A magnificent reliquary cross in

102 Durand, Innovations gothiques 353-354.
103 Cat. Münster 2012, no. 13 (K. K. Petzel).
104 Durand, Innovations gothiques 335 and fig. 2.
105 For the Staurotheke and the Cross see Klein, Staurothek Kardinal Bessarions, and the forthcoming conference volume Klein/Schreiner, La Stauroteca di Bessarione.
106 Schreiner, La croce (forthcoming). – Klein, Staurothek Kardinal Bessarions 268.
107 See for the following Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Ornamental Decoration.
108 See also a chalice of Osnabrück Cathedral (*c.* 1320): Cat. Münster 2012, no. 95a (R. Karrenbrock).

Fig. 25 Chalice of Zacharios, around 1500, Benaki Museum, Athens. – (© Benaki Museum, Athens).

Bad Kreuznach, Germany, dated to 1330-1340 (**fig. 22**)[110] demonstrates its use in Gothic goldsmiths' works. The motif established itself as one of the most widespread ornaments in the 14th and 15th centuries, and it can also be found in Byzantine art: on the Palaiologan frame of the 12th-century Esztergom Staurotheke in Hungary (**fig. 23a-b**). The similarity of the ornamental band on the Esztergom Staurotheke and the Bessarion Cross suggests that the frame of the Esztergom Staurotheke was probably made at a time comparable to the Bessarion Cross (between 1347 and 1354), but not much earlier because of the genesis of the motif[111].

An often quoted example for »Gothic influence« on Byzantine goldsmiths' work is the chalice of Manuel in the Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos[111] (**fig. 24**): a magnificent jasper chalice made from one piece of stone, set on a metal foot with Byzantine monograms and decoration and with handles in the shape of dragons. It belonged to Manuel Kantakouzenos Palaiologos (1349-1380), Despot of Mystra and son of emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (1347-1354). J. Durand has pointed out that the design with the winged dragon-handles is based on Venetian prototypes, and there is actually a comparable, although slightly later Venetian chalice made from rock crystal and silver-gilt metal (*c.* 1400) in the same Monastery[112]. Another chalice, today in the Benaki Museum, Athens (**fig. 25**), typical for France and Italy around 1500, comes from a church in Asia Minor and bears a Greek inscription mentioning the name of Zacharios. Without knowing the objects biography, it remains unclear whether this witness of cultural exchange was imported or the work of a craftsman working in an area under Latin domination, such as Crete, Rhodes or Cyprus[113], but it is nevertheless an interesting example for this paper.

Fig. 26 Palaiologan gold ring with lion rampant found in Monemvasia/GR, probably 14th century, Archaeological Museum, Mistra/GR. – (© Archaeological Museum, Mistra).

One important indicator for Western »influence« is the increased use of heraldic signs and symbols that have inspired Palaiologan goldsmiths[114] (**fig. 26**). Heraldry has developed in Europe in the 12th century, and the oldest surviving arms in colour known were actually depicted on a Limoges enamel: the funerary plaque of Geoffrey Plantagenet (1113-1151) in Le Mans, France, commissioned by his widow[115]. It is not surprising that the word *émaux* (enamels) became a generic

109 Fritz, Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik 200 no. 114-115.

110 See Prinzing, Esztergom Reliquary (with references to older literature). The frame is stylistically different and must have replaced an older closing mechanism (Klein, Byzanz 136-137; Hetherington, Staurothèque at Esztergom 91-93; Prinzing, Esztergom Reliquary 254, and note 33). Hetherington had arrived at a date of around 1300 for historical reasons (Hetherington, Staurothèque at Esztergom 16-18) but it must have been later.

111 Cat Thessaloniki 1997, no. 9.14 (K. Loverdou-Tsigaridou). – Durand, Innovations gothiques 338-339. – See also Durand, L'orfèvrerie byzantine (forthcoming).

112 Cat. Thessaloniki 1997, no. 9.33 (A. Ballian), with more comparisons. – Durand, Innovations gothiques fig. 1.

113 Durand, Innovations gothiques 338 and fig. 4.

114 Durand, Innovations gothiques 345-346.

115 Pastoureau, Heraldry 339 and Cat. New York 1996, no. 15 (E. Taburet-Delahaye). This enamel shows arms in colour »a generation before they appear in illumination and mural painting, two generations before they appear in stained glass, and three generations before they appear in textiles« (Pastoureau, Heraldry 339).

Fig. 27 Nine Palaiologan silver-gilt medaillons, Byzantium 14th or first half of the 15th century, Benaki Museum, Athens. – (© Benaki Museum, Athens).

term in French blazonry for the seven tinctures or heraldic colours (at least since the 15th c.)[116]. Many examples of heraldic elements can be seen in the Late Byzantine art, such as on garments and in stone sculpture, but also in the art of the goldsmith. Palaiologan rings published by J. Spier in 2013, and also rings from the Second Bulgarian Kingdom (1185-1396) published by K. Totev in 2010 demonstrate that arms or heraldic shields, the lion rampant, fleurs-de-lys and single- or double-headed eagles were common motifs[117].

Their use in Byzantium especially in Palaiologan times was, however, different, without a systematic use, without a codification and expression of individual identity and status as it was known in the West. This was achieved in Byzantium through the well-attested use of monograms[118]. Nevertheless, heraldry, clearly developed in the West, has to be seen as a part of a development of a »visual language of power« used by a more and more mobile and »international« Elite in Europe as well as the Mediterranean, which employed a visual language to communicate over borders created by language, ethnicity or nationality, as R. Ousterhout has pointed out[119]: »[…] the development of vocabularies of insignia connoting power and status seems to have had its origins in the special conditions of cultural interaction in the medieval Mediterranean during the twelfth century, when Westerners, Byzantines, and Muslims came together in the cultural, military, and diplomatic encounters we know as the Crusades«[120].

Sometimes we are only informed about objects clearly demonstrating Western »influence« through written sources. One example – a rare profane object – is a belt labeled »φραγγικόν« (»Frankish«): it was apparently worth 50 *hyperpyra*, as is known from the documents concerning a lawsuit in Constantinople around 1400. Archaeological evidence is scarce, but this term must refer to valuable belts of a Western type made with silver-gilt buckles and applications such as a belt in the Chalcis Treasure[121]. »That the object in question in this particular case is of western manufacture or extraction is interesting in that it indicates the availability and mobility of western-style jewellery and dress accessories in the Late Byzantine capital. Such items could have been imported directly from the West or the Latin-occupied territories in the East or manufactured locally for the socially and ethnically mixed clientele of Late Byzantine Constantinople, by Western artisans installed there or by Greeks imitating western types and techniques«[122]. In this context, a group of nine round silver-gilt appliques from the Palaiologan period, today in the Benaki Museum, Athens (**fig. 27**), is of interest: they are decorated with imperial symbols and monograms and have holes that would have allowed for the appliques to be sown on a garment, a fashion that can also be found in the Gothic West and might have inspired these objects[123].

The most known and well-studied hoard of precious metal objects with regard to the topic of this paper is the Chalcis Treasure[124] (**fig. 28**). This large assembly of 14th-15th-century jewellery was found in the fortress of Chalcis on Euboea, a Venetian post at the time, known as Negroponte. The treasure was buried for safe-keeping before the city was captured by the Ottomans in 1470. A total of circa 630 objects comprise jewellery, dress accessories and tableware, »reflecting the rich material culture of the Aegean during the Late Byzantine period«[125]. Amongst the mostly Venetian jewellery, some Byzantine objects were found, such as two finger rings, one of them with a double-headed eagle, and both bearing the same Greek epigram by Manuel Philes[126]. While one of the rings has a typical Byzantine shape – cast, massive shank and round bezel –, the other one is similar to elegant Gothic rings found in the same treasure.

A similar mélange of Western and Byzantine objects in one hoard, and also in one and the same object, can be found in 13th-century jewellery hoard from Thessaloniki comprising a pair of bracelets, a pair of earrings and four-

116 Pastoureau, Heraldry 339.
117 Spier, Late Byzantine Rings nos. 8-10. 16. 40-41. – Totev, Signet-Rings 1-7. 17-19. 22-23. 29. 31-32. – For heraldic emblems see Spier, Late Byzantine Rings 44-48. – For the double-headed eagle see Asutay-Effenberger/Daim, Doppeladler. – For a discussion of the motifs see Ousterhout, Heraldry, esp. 157-165. – Ousterhout, Mittelalterliche Heraldik, esp. 94-106.
118 Ousterhout, Heraldry 165. 169. – Ousterhout, Mittelalterliche Heraldik 104. 108.
119 Ousterhout, Heraldry 156. – Ousterhout, Mittelalterliche Heraldik 92.
120 Ousterhout, Heraldry 169.
121 Parani, Intercultural Exchange 364-365. – Spier, Late Byzantine Rings 10. – For the example in the Chalcis Treasure see Kontogiannis, Chalcis Treasure (forthcoming) fig. 4 (on the Chalcis Treasure see also below). – See also the Syrian belt fittings in: Parani, Reconstructing fig. 75, and also the unidentified donor depicted in Saints Anargyroi, Kastoria: Parani, Reconstructing fig. 70.
122 Parani, Intercultural Exchange 365.
123 Durand, Innovations gothiques 343-344.
124 Kontogiannis, Chalcis Treasure (forthcoming), with bibliography.
125 Kontogiannis, Chalcis Treasure (forthcoming).
126 Spier, Late Byzantine Rings 9-10. 19, and no. 13 (double-headed eagle). – Kontogiannis, Chalcis Treasure (forthcoming) fig. 1c.

Fig. 28 Rings from the Chalcis Treasure, probably Constantinople, 14th century, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. – (After Spier, Late Byzantine Rings pl. 5 cat. no. 5a-c, pl. 7 cat. no. 19a-c).

teen rings[127] (**fig. 29**). It had been assumed that the objects were from different periods (5th-14th c.[128]), but instead all pieces of jewellery date from the 12th or early 13th century[129], thus corresponding with the coins supposedly found with the jewellery, dating from the reign of the Byzantine Emperors Isaac Angelos (1185-1195) and Alexios III Komnenos (1195-1204), thus providing a *terminus post quem* for the burial of the hoard. In 1204 Thessaloniki was taken by Boniface of Montferrat during the Fourth Crusade and stayed under changing Frankish rule until 1224[130]. Since the hoard combines Byzantine and Western elements – Gothic and Byzantine ring shapes, Greek monograms and Latin inscriptions – it is very likely that the jewellery once belonged to a member of the Frankish Crusaders who ruled over Thessaloniki from 1204 to 1224. The jewellery was probably hidden in 1224 when Thessaloniki was taken by Theodore Komnenos Doukas[131].

One example for the different traditions even in one object of the hoard is a ring with a Byzantine shape that is decorated with the »Ascension of Alexander the Great«[132], the legendary flight to heaven of the King of the Macedonians who was regarded an »ideal ruler« in the Christian sense in Byzantium[133]. This effortlessly blends into the Byzantine world of images, but was also a common motif in the Middle Ages in the West and also the Islamic world[134]. A closer look reveals that this particular depiction of Alexander the Great's Ascension differs from other Byzantine images by using a chair – the *sella curulis* of the Roman magistrates indicated by two crossed lines – instead of a carriage, and also the star over his head, both based on Western literary sources.

The literary basis for the story was the *Alexander Romance* which set out the myths and legends around Alexander in writing between the 3rd century BC and the 3rd century AD, with a first Latin translation in 330 AD[135]. This

127 Stathatos Collection, Archaeological Museum Athens. For an in-depth analysis of this treasure with older literature and reference for the next paragraphs see: Bosselmann-Ruickbie, 13th-Century Jewellery Hoard. – Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 48-58 and the following cat. nos.: bracelet no. 116; earring no. 73; rings nos. 138. 192-196. 199-200. 202. 235. 237. 239-240. 250.

128 Coche de la Ferté, Collection Stathatos 29.

129 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, 13th-Century Jewellery Hoard.

130 Vacalopoulos, History of Thessaloniki 47-48.

131 The date of 1246, when it was re-incorporated into the Byzantine Empire by John III Doukas Vatatzes, cannot be entirely excluded. Afterwards there is no suitable historical occasion for burying such a valuable treasure because Thessaloniki remained under Byzantine control.

132 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, 13th-Century Jewellery Hoard no. 8.

133 See Gleixner, Alexander der Große. – Trahoulia, Greek Alexander Romance 29. – Noll, Alexander 14. – For a detailed analysis on the diverse positive and negative attitudes (*hybris*/*superbia*) towards Alexander see: Schnell, Alexander.

134 Gleixner, Alexander der Große 96-99. Byzantine examples mentioned in: Cat. Athens 1985-1986, no. 15 (A. Bakourou). – For the topic in post-antique art in general see: Noll, Alexander. – For an overview on Western depictions of Alexander's Ascension see: Schmidt, Aerial Flight of Alexander, with 94 catalogue entries up to the early 16th century.

135 Trahoulia, Greek Alexander Romance 29. – Merkelbach, Alexanderroman 98 (»nach 300«). – On the different textual traditions see: Noll, Alexander 10-12.

Fig. 29 Byzantine gold ring with the »Ascension of Alexander the Great«, 12th-early 13th century, National Museum, Stathatos Collection, Athens. – (Photo A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie).

text and its variations became so popular that it became the most widespread text in the Middle Ages after the bible[136]. In the 10th century, Leo of Naples turned the Alexander story into a chronicle-like text[137]. With many accretions, the *Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni*, it became the basis for many revisions[138]. In the 11th or early 12th century[139], the story was picked up in a French epic by Alberich of Besançon, which is the oldest French version and very influential in spreading the story[140].

Most images show Alexander in a carriage, a *currus* as described the *Historia de preliis*, while the chair appears in Western texts from the 12th century onwards, in the oldest Alexander literature in (middle high) German, Lambrecht's *Alexander Song* (around 1155)[141]. In the Basle revision (around 1275) it is mentioned in verses 4288-4293 that Alexander travelled in a chair[142].

The unusual star over Alexander's head on the ring discussed here can be related to an Italian Alexander depiction: three stars appear in the famous floor mosaic of Otranto Cathedral (1163-1165)[143]. According to Noll, they suppos-

136 Thiel, Leben und Taten XXXII. Translations were available in, for example, Armenian, Syriac, Coptic, Serbian etc.; see Trahoulia, Greek Alexander Romance 29. It was translated into many languages and preserved in 18 manuscripts from the 11th to 16th centuries, such as Armenian, Syrian, Coptic, Serbian, etc; see Trahoulia, Greek Alexander Romance 19. 29.

137 Merkelbach, Alexanderroman 99. Today over 100 manuscripts are preserved.

138 French, German, Italian, Spanish, English, Swedish, Danish, Czech, Polish and Hungarian. See Thiel, Leben und Taten XXXIII. – For the rich tradition of the topic in the Arabic world see: Doufikar-Aerts, Alexander Magnus Arabicus.

139 According to H. Buntz around 1120: Buntz, Deutsche Alexanderdichtung 16.

140 This was based on the *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* by Julius Valerius as well as the *Historia de preliis* (and partly from Orosius): Buntz, Deutsche Alexanderdichtung 16. – Overview of the many editions: Buntz, Deutsche Alexanderdichtung 20.

141 Noll, Alexander 12. – Buntz, Deutsche Alexanderdichtung 16.

142 »er hies ein sessel zwisent die griffen | binden und zwo stangen | zwie as man an die stangen band | er sas uff eim morgen frẘ | die stangen er gen dem himel ragt | er fůr gen des himels tron« (http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/germ/mhd/a_basler/a_bas.htm).

143 Gleixner, Alexander der Große 96-99.

Fig. 30 Silver-gilt arm reliquary of Saint Anna, Constantinople, 2nd quarter of 14th century, Cathedral Treasury, Genoa/I. – (After Ameri, Reliquario del Braccio di Sant'Anna 170 fig. 1).

Fig. 31 Chalice and paten donated by the Serbian Despote Thomas Preljubović (1367-1384), Venice or Dalmatia, 14th century. – (After Iera Monē tou Batopediou [Athos 1994] 39).

edly show that the king of the Macedonians aspired towards placing this throne over the stars of God or to reach for the stars of the sky[144].

It is noteworthy that the ring itself and similar rings in this hoard can be regarded as characteristic Byzantine types. It demonstrates that the cultural exchange can happen on a very subtle level demanding thorough object studies with regard to style, techniques and iconography. In this case, the iconographical motif was indeed well-known in Byzantium and the West, and it is only small details that hint to the textual tradition developed in the West.

The manifold inspirations that Western presence in the Eastern Mediterranean and Constantinople in particular entailed, led to the creation of other »hybrid« objects, such as a silver-gilt arm reliquary of Saint Anna (**fig. 30**) in Treasury of Genoa Cathedral. It belonged to a group of precious objects that had decorated the churches in the Genovese colony Pera in Constantinople. In 1461, after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, these were brought by ship to Genoa to take them to safety[145]. The reliquary represents a typical Western type of reliquary, a »speaking« reliquary that reflects the nature of the relic kept in it with its shape, a part of an arm bone of Saint Anna. However, the decoration is purely Byzantine and can be compared with 14th-century Byzantine goldsmiths' works, especially icon frames and their repoussé decoration[146]. This western-type reliquary was very likely made for Jeanne de Savoy (1307-1365), daughter of Amadeus V, Count of Savoy, and his second wife Maria of Brabant. Jeanne was the second wife of the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos III and thus Empress consort with the name of Anna Palaiologina (1326-1341). She probably contributed to the Western shape of the reliquary, and it was very likely made in a Constantinopolitan workshop. Whether this workshop was in the special cultural sphere of Pera, the Latin quarter, in which the goldsmith(s) could work in the Byzantine and Western style, as G. Ameri assumed, or whether it was a workshop close to the court in the centre of Constantinople remains unclear.

Late Byzantine Enamel and Western »Influence«

Again, technical observations can contribute to our knowledge of exchange. J. Durand pointed out that translucent enamel (*basse taille*) was clearly developed in the West in the 13th century[147] and then taken up in Byzantine art: for example on a Byzantine encolpion in Vatopedi Monastery with a Greek inscription that combines the Anastasis with a Western motif, Christophoros carrying Christ as a child on this shoul-

144 Noll Alexander 13.
145 Ameri, Reliquiaro del Braccio di Sant'Anna.
146 Ameri, Reliquiaro del Braccio di Sant'Anna 169-196.
147 See Gauthier, Emaux du moyen âge 206-215, and no. 166. – Guth-Dreyfus, Transluzides Email.

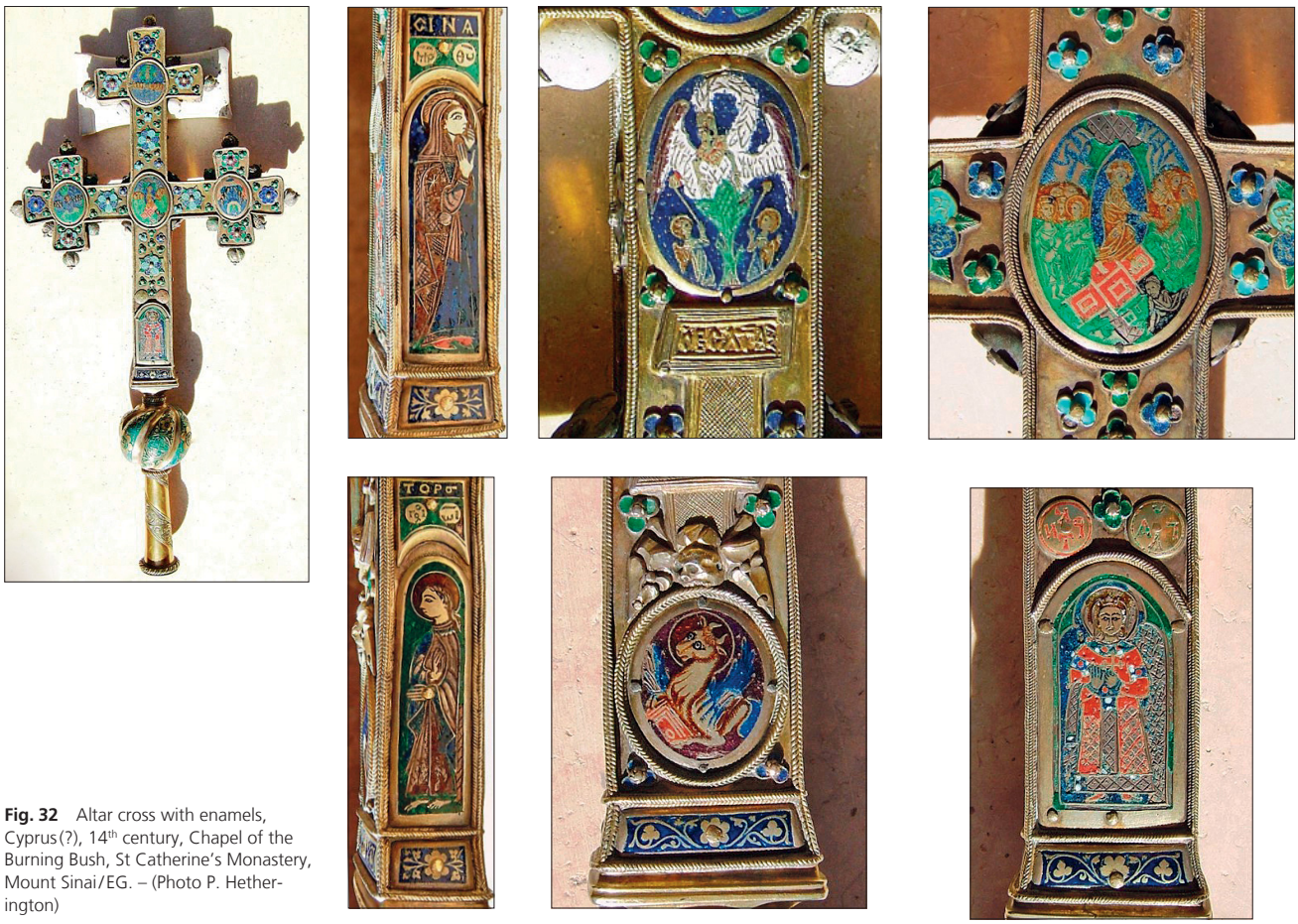

Fig. 32 Altar cross with enamels, Cyprus (?), 14th century, Chapel of the Burning Bush, St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai/EG. – (Photo P. Hetherington)

ders (first half of the 15th c.)[148], or a 14th-century book cover in Sofia, combining traditional Byzantine elements with four translucent enamels, completing the feast scenes otherwise executed in repoussé[149].

A chalice and a paten in the Vatopedi Monastery with *basse taille* enamels (**fig. 31**) – translucent enamel over a low-relief pattern in silver or gold – were donated by Thomas Preljubović according to their inscriptions[150]. He was the Serbian Despote of Ioannina from 1367 to 1384 and well-known for several donations. The chalice displays many features of Gothic models of the 14th century from Italy and Venice in particular, such as the shape of the chalice or the ornamentation, while the polylobed paten with its inscription appears prevailingly Byzantine, however using Gothic translucent enamel, untypical for Byzantium. Their familiarity with Venetian and also Dalmatian art raises the question of the objects' provenance: they were either made in Venice or Dalmatia, or craftsmen from these areas produced them at Preljubović's court in Ioannina, or in a larger artistic centre close by: Thessaloniki[151]. The fact that the objects are unique and that so few goldsmiths' works from the Palaiologan period have survived makes it difficult to decide this question.

P. Hetherington has added other examples of translucent enamel works in Byzantium: he recently published a processional cross in Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai that is a good example for the topic of our paper (**fig. 32** and **33**)[152]. The cross shows a mixed iconography drawing from Byzantine and Western traditions. On the front, the repoussé figure of Christ on the Cross is accompanied by four medallions with the symbols of the Evangelists. On top of Christ an enamel plaque depicts a Western iconography: the Pelican feeding its young with blood from its own breast (**fig. 32**, top row, third picture from the left), symbolising Christ's sacrifice on the cross, however, an iconographic misunderstanding led to the young pelicans turning into tiny angles. On the back, enamels show scenes from the Byzantine feast cycle: Entry into Jerusalem, Anastasis, Ascension and Pentecoste, and Saint Catherine at the bottom. Two more enamels are found left and right of Saint Catherine on the bottom of the cross: the Virgin and Saint John, accompanied by the

148 Durand, Innovations gotiques 348-349, with discussion of the date.
149 Durand, Innovations gotiques 349 and fig. 30.
150 Durand, Innovations gothiques 339-341, with further literature.
151 Durand, Innovations gothiques 341, with discussion of the different hypotheses.
152 Hetherington, Late Byzantine Enamel (forthcoming). – Hetherington, Sinai Cross (forthcoming). – See for a first reference: Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, Church Metalwork 267-268.

Fig. 33 Detail of cross in **fig. 32**: knob. – (Photo P. Hetherington)

inscriptions »CINA | TOPOC«, referring to the place of Sinai, as does Saint Catherine, the patron saint of Saint Catherine's Monastery. The *basse taille* enamel was apparently the reason why the cross was called »Fragoudoulia« (»Frankish Work«) in a 17th-century inventory[153].

This seems to be further supported by the enamel at the knob on the base of the cross: this is not only unique regarding its style but also its inscription, since it is the only signature of a Greek enameller: Εργο Χ[ε]ιρο Αλεχιου του σιροπουλ[ου], which can be read as »Work by the hand of Alexios Syropoulos«, but his identity remains obscure[154]. A clue as to its provenance might be a monogram that was read as »Ο ΟCΙΟC ΓЄRASIMѠC « (»[to] the Holy man Gerasimos«). This might be one of the thirteen martyrs of Cyprus called Gerasimos, and there was also a Cypriot bishop of Arsinoe with this name († 1320). Hetherington came to the conclusion that although the epigraphical evidence points at Sinai and Saint Catherine's Monastery, the cross might have been made on Cyprus, but was intended as a gift to the Sinai Monastery. In any case, »the amalgam of elements from two distinct traditions that can be seen in the cross would in this way be seen as reflecting the artistic background of Cyprus […]«[155]. Another example demonstrates the tradition of similar enamels on Cyprus: an icon of the Virgin in the village church of Praitori (Troodos Mountains) that had received a silver-gilt revetment, probably in the early 14th century, with four silver medallions showing feasts of the Virgin and the Archangels Michael and Gabriel. Whether the cross in Saint Catherine's Monastery was actually made on Cyprus or not, it does indeed combine Byzantine and Western iconography with an enamel technique developed in the West in the 13th century.

Translucent enamel has, however, not been used throughout in Byzantium after the Crusades: there are also examples of traditional Byzantine enamels, see for example the icon in Freising, Germany (13th c.)[156] (**fig. 19**) or a book cover in the Marciana in Venice, usually dated to the 14th century[157]. The famous 14th-century Mandylion icon in Genoa (*terminus ante quem* 1388), on the other hand, is a unique example for the innovative use of enamel in the Late Byzantine period: the repoussé figures in the narrative cycle on the frame are highlighted with enamel in the folds of the garments and other recesses in red, green, blue, and in some areas also white enamel[158] (**fig. 34**). There was more innovation in Late Byzantine enamels: fake or pseudo enamel. Although traditional *cloisonné* enamelling was probably not extinct after the 13th century, new methods of producing pseudo enamel were introduced in Byzantium: the green enamel-like substance on the Bessarion Cross (see above, **fig. 20**) has turned out to be a resin-based paste[159], and it seems likely that a similar material was used on the probably mid-14th-century frame of the Esztergom Staurotheke[160] which shares some features with the Bessarion Cross. In the 14th century enamel-like effects were achieved in painting under glass[161].

A Byzantine censer (*katzion*) in the Benaki Museum[162] (**fig. 35**), dated to the second half of the 13th century, used yet another type of enamel: this conventional Byzantine object is decorated with two military Saints on the handle, Saint Theodore and Saint Demetrios, but the enamel is *champlevé* enamel (pseudo-*champlevé* enamel, in fact) on copper (originally gilded) with vitreous material filled into cavities. The colours of the *katzion* enamel appear almost black on some pictures, but are actually dark green and blue without separating *cloisons*. Close comparisons can be found in medieval *champlevé* enamels of Limoges[163], especially from after the 1220s. »It is probably no coincidence that Byzantine enamelled copper artefacts began to appear in the thirteenth

153 Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, Church Metalwork 267.
154 Hetherington, Late Byzantine Enamel (forthcoming), mentions an author with the same surname who wrote in 1438/39.
155 Hetherington, Late Byzantine Enamel (forthcoming).
156 Shashina, Enamels of the Freising Icon (forthcoming). – Sterligova, Enamels of the Freising Icon (forthcoming).
157 Cat. New York, no. 20 (M. E. Frazer). – See also Dell'Acqua, Genoa Mandylion 235 fig. 6.
158 Dell'Acqua, Genoa Mandylion 236-237, with overview of literature. She mentions that in some case also Niello was supposedly used, but it does not seem to have been tested.
159 Yanagishita, Restauro 58.
160 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Ornamental Decoration 188, note 32. – See also Prinzing, Esztergom Reliquary. A scientific analysis of this Staurotheke and its frame is a desideratum.
161 Woodfin, Ersatz Enamel, esp. 74.
162 Cat. New York 2004, no. 65 (A. Ballian).
163 See for example Cat. New York 1996, no. 98 (B. Drake Boehm, c. 1220-1230); no. 124 (B. Drake Boehm, ca. 1240-1260). – For the techniques and materials see: Biron/Dandridge/Wypyski, Limoges Enamels.

century at the same time as Limoges enamels spread to the Crusader East«[164].

An interesting example for cultural transfer between the Latin West and the Greek East is a group of enamels on a 15th-century mitre that belonged to the bishop of Linköping Cathedral, today in Stockholm (**fig. 36** and **37**). The mitre was commissioned by the bishop of Linköping, Kettil Karlsson Vasa (1433-1465), as is indicated by the heraldic shield on the lappets of the mitre[165]. Of the 35 enamel medallions with busts, 18 with a diameter of *c.* 5 cm are sown onto the mitre itself, smaller medallions are fixed on the mitre's lappets. The mitre enamels bear inscriptions in Latin majuscules indicating the Apostles plus Christ and two Seraphim, while the enamels on the lappets bear no inscriptions at all, which is unusual for Byzantium. The spandrels between the round medallions are filled with roughly triangular enamels showing scrolls with yellow trilobes on a blue background.

P. Hetherington has argued that the unusual combination of Byzantine Senkschmelz and Latin inscriptions is a clue for the attribution of the enamels to 13th-century Constantinople, where they were supposedly made from different series of enamels for a mitre of one of the new Latin bishops of the city[166]. However, new observations based on a recent autopsy[167] of the enamels speak against this scenario. First, all enamels on the later mitre share identical enamel colours and are technically conforming in their »un-Byzantine« execution: the enamel medallions and the ones in the spandrels are fitted with small flat wires soldered onto the underside with a *c.* 1 mm distance to the edge. Furthermore, little wire eyes are attached to the bottom to sew the enamels on a fabric. Second, the inscriptions – or to be more precise, the models for the inscriptions – could not have been made before the late 13th century and rather date from around 1300[168]. Thus the enamel series must have come from another, older mitre, dated to around 1300, and were re-used on the Linköping Mitre in the 15th century. However, this older mitre would have had a similar appearance with pearls surrounding the enamels.

As to the attribution of the Linköping enamels, Sicily (which had already been suggested by Y. Hackenbroch in 1938 and A. Lipinsky in 1957[169]) would deliver the answer to all peculiarities of the enamels: the same technical features with eyes to sow the enamels onto fabrics are found on high-ranking objects from Sicily, such as the crown of

Fig. 34 Mandylion icon, Constantinople, 14th century (before 1388), San Bartolomeo degli Armeni. – (After G. Wolf / C. Dufour Bozzo / A. R. Calderoni Masetti [eds], Mandylion: intorno al Sacro Volto, da Bisanzio a Genova [Milano 2004] 33).

Fig. 35 Byzantine censer (*katzion*), second half of the 13th century, Benaki Museum, Athens, *champlevé* enamel on copper. – (© Benaki Museum Athens).

164 Cat. New York 2004, no. 65 (A. Ballian). – See also Buckton, Enamel on Copper.
165 Hetherington, Enamels 1.
166 Hetherington, Enamels 14.
167 December 2016 by the author. A new publication is in preparation.
168 I would like to express my gratitude to Clemens Bayer M.A., Bonn/Liège, who has kindly offered his unrivalled expertise in Latin inscriptions on medieval goldsmiths' works.
169 Hackenbroch, Italienisches Email 63-64. – Lipinsky, Sizilianische Goldschmiedekunst 170-172. – Déer, Zellenschmelze der Linköping-Mitra 49-64, had suggested Venice as place of production. – For an overview of research see: Hetherington, Enamels 4.

Fig. 36 15th-century mitre of the Bishop of Linköping, Kettil Karlsson Vasa (1433/1465), adorned with Byzantine-style *Senkschmelz* enamels with Latin inscriptions, probably Sicily, around 1300, Historiska Museum, Stockholm. – (Photo A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie).

Constance of Aragon (royal workshops of Palermo, around 1220-1230)[170] or the coronation sword of the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Sicily, Frederic II (Palermo, before 1220)[171]. Comparable is also a mitre in Scala with four-lobed enamel medallions and spandrel plaques in-between (here without enamels)[172]. The enamels on the Linköping Mitre can therefore demonstrate that around 1300 art in a Byzantine style was still a major element desirable to incorporate into high-ranking objects produced on the island.

Conclusion

Goldsmiths' works of the Middle and Late Byzantine period are – despite great losses – valuable and understudied witnesses of an intensive exchange between Byzantium and other cultural spheres, such as Latin Europe and the Islamic states. The aim of this paper was to present objects reflecting exchange between Byzantium and the West, and the period studied (9th to 15th c.) was divided into the time before and after 1204, since the Crusades, and the Fourth Crusade in particular with the looting of Constantinople and the transport of many objects to the West, changed the quality and quantity of exchange drastically. However, there are many objects which have reached the West before 1204, especially reliquaries, which were either admired as they were, remodelled or imitated, often depending on the commissioners' wishes or a new purpose.

The selection of objects presented here demonstrates an exchange in different ways and on different levels: either through the objects or their iconography and ornamentation, but surely also through travelling goldsmiths and probably through drawings. After 1204 many Western elements were taken up by Byzantine goldsmiths, such as heraldic and lion rampants. However, »influence«, a term that has to be used with care, happened not consistently, but sporadically and depending on the function, purpose or the status of the commissioner. Many goldsmiths' works were, in fact, traditional, some of which however, included specific Western elements, such as a Gothic-inspired ornament on the Bessarion Cross.

Although this paper presents hitherto unpublished research with new examples, this overview is far from being complete since it would exceed the frame of this paper. The relations between Byzantium and Venice, for example, would have deserved more space, and also the relations of Latin-ruled islands such as Cyprus and Crete with Byzantium as well as the West, and furthermore Jerusalem. Hopefully, this paper will serve as an incentive for more research into the subject.

Fig. 37 Enamel medaillon of the mitre in **fig. 36**. – (Photo A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie).

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