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Late Byzantine Enamel: A Period of Transition

A magnificent book-cover, which is now held by the Biblioteca degli Intronati in Siena[1] (**fig. 1**), provides a good starting-point for an examination of the development of what has been called »later Byzantine enamel«. While the richest period of production of this uniquely decorative medium is now understood to have been confined to the 11th and 12th centuries, when it reached the highest point of invention and technical brilliance, it could still be produced at a lesser level well into the 14th century. We know that this book-cover, containing a finely produced and illustrated manuscript, was sold to a Venetian dealer by the Byzantine Empress Irene in 1357, when she was in dire need of funds, and that the sale took place in the Venetian quarter of Constantinople known as Pera. As it was handed over, the empress declared, with deep sobs and many tears, that it was the finest object that the imperial palace then contained. It is proof that, by the mid-14th century, a Byzantine empress could declare that such a spectacular object, which to a modern eye obeys none of the supposed iconographic rules beloved by the Byzantine mind, could be regarded as so unique. The fact is that the whole work is a fabrication. A 12th-century manuscript has been re-bound in a 14th-century silver-gilt book-cover, possibly made in Venice and clearly western in origin; this has been made to display a magnificent, but in Byzantine terms completely random, selection of over 50 Byzantine enamel plaques. On examination, we can see that these have been gathered from a variety of different original groups or settings, and so provide no coherent iconographic programme of the type that would have been regarded as standard in the 11th and 12th centuries. Yet to the Empress Irene, the cover and its enamels were apparently the finest object the imperial palace possessed. The truth must be that, by the mid-14th century, Byzantine craftsmen could no longer create a new ensemble of enamels with the expertise and control that had been seen as normal two centuries earlier.

A discussion on »Late Byzantine Enamel« should open by giving a definition of the type of work that will be covered, and why I regard it as a period of transition. This can be important, as it is clear that the medium has usually not developed in comparable ways to other mediums of Byzantine art, such as the painting of icons, manuscript illumination and the monumental arts of fresco and mosaic. Enamelling is a highly specialised skill that does not readily adapt to the translation process that we can easily see happening in the style of other art forms. It involves placing glass of various colours in powdered form usually on prepared gold base plates; these have enclosed areas (*cloisons*) that separate both differing colour areas and other details. These are then heated in a kiln so that the powdered glass enamel melts, and then sets onto its very delicate and fragile prepared gold base; they are then cooled evenly, taking great care that the glass and the base plate on which it has been set do not contract unevenly and so start to flake off. I feel that the first problem here may well have been that of the cost: the one metal that does not oxidise when heated is gold, and when the class of patrons who had sufficient funds may not generally have been rich enough to afford this, silver and other metals were used and the art form began its decline – long before it did in painting and mosaic and sculpture, the revived flourishing of which in the 14th and 15th centuries we know full well. The work that resulted in the book-cover in Siena is still highly impressive, but its silver-gilt form and re-use of enamels that had been originally made for earlier enamel ensembles show that the art form of enamel had already begun to enter a phase of decline.

This is a suitably prominent work, as it illustrates how, even in an empress's possession, the 14th century makers of this cover of a lectionary had to use – or rather, had to re-use – 12th century enamels as its very rich decoration. This mixed assemblage of over 50 plaques had originally been made for at least seven different 12th century ensembles or other contexts, and was brought together to adorn both the front and back covers of this exceptional work.

It can be argued that the Western invasion of Constantinople in 1204 might be seen as marking the point from which the period of finest use of enamel could be said to end and »later Byzantine enamel« seen to start. This beautiful ensemble, using enamels from previously made objects mounted on a finely made, but later, work of silver gilt, was the result. So an illustration can be made showing how this art form developed in its later decades and this will be achieved by examining just two ensembles of enamels that both came from the same later Byzantine world.

1 For a recent well-illustrated survey of the Siena book-cover see Cat. Siena 1996, where full references (including the present writer's comments) can be found.

Fig. 1 Book cover with 52 Byzantine enamels, 2nd half of the 13th or early 14th century, Biblioteca degli Intronati, Siena/I. – (From Cat. Siena 1996, 91).

Mitre of Bishop Karlsson, Stockholm Historical Museum

Of these two groups of later Byzantine enamel plaques, each a good example of an art form in transition, the first is now housed in the Historical Museum in Stockholm[2] (**figs 2-3**). It has the form of a mitre for a Western bishop, but bearing enamels of a basically Byzantine style. The argument will be presented that the plaques on the mitre are of the early 13th century (1210-1220) and were made in Constantinople for one of the bishops of the western, Catholic, church appointed by the new rulers[3].

We know that this mitre was given its present form in 1459, when the Swedish bishop Kettil Karlsson Vasa, who had just been made the bishop of Linköping, in Eastern Sweden, had his heraldic arms embroidered on the ends of the lappets. It is probable that it was made by a Bridgittine order of nuns in the nearby convent at Vadstena; these 15th century nuns would have created all the embroidered forms of this mitre, but they also incorporated into their design the plaques of enamels of Byzantine style and character that had by that time evidently reached Scandinavian Europe. The route by which they reached that area has never even been established. Subsequently, in 1868, the mitre was deposited with its numerous enamel plaques in the Historical Museum in Stockholm.

The result of this lack of any clearly stated place or date of origin for the enamels has had the result of a very wide range of guesses being made. Everyone agrees on the separation of the enamel plaques from the Swedish embroidery, but it is the former that have arrived at the widest range of possibilities. We can count that there are 87 individual plaques still in place from an original total of 116. Of these, 38 are figurative portraits on silver-gilt roundels; 18 of these are larger in format and have been given Latin titles.

The two long lappets, which hung down the wearer's back, each originally carried ten smaller portrait roundels (**fig. 2**), of which none has any identity or title. This underlines the fact that the Greek Orthodox clergy did not have any headgear remotely resembling the western Catholic mitre. It therefore must have been for the original artists in enamel a new experience to create such an ensemble and (wherever the enamels were made) they must have been given special instructions. It can be seen in the original that there is a duplication of two of the roundels (Saint Matthew and Saint John) and the simplest explanation of this is that the available plaques were a conflation of two such groups.

The 78 decorative (non-figural) plaques can be seen to be distinctively shaped in order to fulfil the function of occupying the spaces between the roundels. All the roundels really have to be contemporary with these specially shaped decorative plaques; it must have been a unified project, designed from the start as a whole, and involving plaques of varied shapes and sizes. This problem of location and date has intrigued several scholars, and the first to start guessing was Nikodim Kondakov in 1892[4], who saw the plaques as originating from a 13th century context of German enamellers although displaying strong Byzantine influence. This opinion was followed by Dalton in 1911[5], who also saw them as German in workmanship and gave a 12th century date. Montelius in 1912[6] emphasised the presence of Byzantine elements, but regarded the Latin inscriptions as giving them a western origin; Bock suggested an origin in the Rhineland[7], Ugglas in 1933[8] favoured a Venetian origin and Yvonne Hackenbroch in 1938[9] was the first to suggest that the enamels were made in Sicily (this was supported by Lipinsky[10], who favoured Palermo under the Normans). Venice was mentioned again by Josef Deér in 1966[11] and this found favour with the Swedes Nisbeth and Estham in 2001[12]. This rested on the supposition that the Pala d'Oro was a Venetian work, but this is of course contrary to an inscription on the Pala itself. But it is easy to see how this combination of plaques of varied size and shape could become the source of so much uncertainty. The precise origin of the abstract vegetal ornament used many times in the decorative triangular plaques resists a precise location, but they all have to have been designed and made together. What is important to realise is that their eccentric shape means they were made in conjunction with the 20 roundels on the lappets, so that the decorative plaques and the roundels really have to be of the same date.

One problem concerns the question raised by the duplication of two of the larger roundels mentioned above; the other is that all the smaller male portraits (those on the lappets) have no names at all – a very un-Byzantine characteristic. The former can be explained by there being originally two sets of similar plaques and so we perhaps have here a combination of two united bishops' regalia. That again is not difficult to explain. The second suggested to me that they resulted from the intervention of a western patron, who did not think that such a large group of male portraits – in fact, 20 in number – as we have on the lappets needed names at all. This could have been a view adopted by a western patron unaccustomed to traditional Greek usage and certainly suggests an un-Byzantine mind being applied to imagery, where

2 Hetherington, Mitre from Linköping.
3 The manuscript was finished and submitted in 2016. Please not that since then a different proposal has been made after a first autopsy of the enamels outside the case. Cf. Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinische Emails (forthcoming).
4 Kondakov, Emaux byzantins 241-243 figs 85-86.
5 Dalton, Byzantine Art 528.
6 Montelius, Mästerstycken 21.
7 Bock, Byzantinische Zellenschmelze 346-349.
8 Ugglas, Silversmide 43.
9 Hackenbroch, Italienisches Email 63-64.
10 Lipinsky, Sizilianische Goldschmiedekunst 170-172.
11 Deér, Zellenschmelze der Linköping-Mitra 49-64.
12 Nisbeth/Estham, Linköpings Domkyrka 111-113.

Fig. 2 15th-century Mitre from Linköping Domkyrka, frontal view, Stockholm, Historiske Museet. – (Photo A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie).

a portrait that is without a name or identity is simply »not present« to the viewer. It has not been generally understood that we have here a mitre that could only be for a Catholic bishop on account of the overall shape and the lappets, but with a large number of enamels in an unmistakably Byzantine style. Above all, this is the result of a style that is *in transition.*

After 1204, a major ecclesiastical power of the western church was quickly developed in Constantinople. The Latin church created archbishoprics, each with several suffragans, for many areas that had been under Greek Orthodox control. The Constantinopolitan patriarchate can be seen to be modified with the appointment of six Latin metropolitan bishops; this was confirmed in a letter of Pope Innocent III written in April 1212[13]. This indicates that in just one area, that of the city of Constantinople, no less than six new mitres would have had to be created for them. We even know the names and identities of these appointees. Mitres of Greek metropolitans have of course never been given the same form as those of western bishops, with lappets and further decoration. The importance for us is that if they were made in Constantinople, the newly appointed western bishops must have instructed local Greek craftsmen to make their mitres in conformity with the accepted western design. They were surely the only individuals with the required skills now left in the city who would have been available to make the regalia for these newly formed bishoprics. There were also numerous other bishoprics established (for example, those under the metropolitans of Thessalonica and Corinth). The new rulers would hardly have been able to bring and install new teams of craftsmen from western ateliers so soon, and the situation opens up a much larger question about what artists might have remained under the new Latin rulers. This is a subject that has received surprisingly little attention, compared to other periods of artistic life in the Great City; relative to the pre-conquest and post-conquest periods, very few artistic products have been identified as emerging from the city during the 57 years between 1204 and 1261. Did all those workshops, with their occupants, making objects in metal, the craftsmen such as carpenters making objects in wood, the weavers of cloth, the leather workers, all the manifold activities of life in a major city, did they all move *en masse* in 1204 to Nicaea? To show that the entire population did not immediately evacuate the city, we have a letter written in 1214[14] (and so some ten years after the Latin occupation had begun) which gives us a limited account about what was happening. While this letter concerns workers in the agricultural life of the city after the Latin conquest, it could just as easily be speaking for the skilled artists and manual workers of all kinds. It was sent to Pope Innocent III via his unpopular Cardinal legate, Pelagius, and it came from a group of Greeks writing with surprising eloquence: »Were it not for our labour, working in the fields and fishing in the sea, (they wrote to the

Fig. 3 15th-century Mitre from Linköping Domkyrka, medallion with Saint Peter on the mitre's front, Stockholm, Historiske Museet. – (Photo A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie).

Pope) […] grain would not fill the threshing floor, nor [grapes] the wine-press. There would be no bread to eat, nor meat, nor fish, nor vegetables; so human life and society would be unable to survive«. This complaining missive was initially brought about by the religious intolerance of the Latins, but it concerned the basic necessities of life, and it demonstrates clearly that the presence of some of the remaining Greek population, not only existed, but was completely essential at the most basic level for the survival of the foreigners now living in and ruling the city. If *those* workers had remained in the city and surrounding areas, plying their basic trades, so also might the workers in the more luxury trades of working in precious metal, and, indeed, in enamel.

So the enamel plaques on this mitre, which was eventually re-made to be worn by Bishop Karlsson in the Swedish cathedral at Linköping, can here be presented as the product of Greek enamellers who had remained in Constantinople. These plaques had survived by some chances and with major changes, and had been re-used in a new context, but the conclusion which is offered here is that they are the product of Byzantine artists in enamel who had stayed on in Constantinople, and not left with the court followers to Nicaea. They were commissioned, probably between 1210 and 1220, by

13 Wolff, Latin Patriarchate 33-60.

14 Cotelerius, Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta 516-517. The implications of this letter are discussed by Setton, Europe and the Levant 33.

Fig. 4 Cross on altar in the Chapel of the Burning Bush, frontal view, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai. – (Photo P. Hetherington).

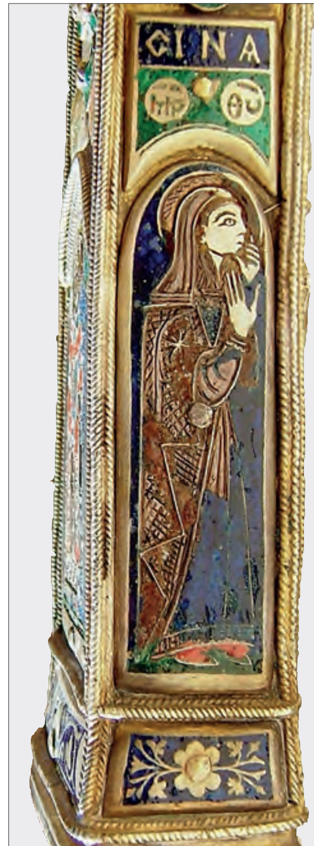

Fig. 5 Sinai cross, details of side figures: Mary. – (Photo P. Hetherington).

Fig. 6 Sinai cross, details of side figures: John. – (Photo P. Hetherington).

western clerical patrons to produce the necessary accoutrements for the bishops who had only then been created by the new western rulers of the city. Some of these mitres, originally made by Byzantine artists working for western patrons, with their series of enamels, could well have been brought back later in the 13th century to western Europe and eventually have had their enamel ornament taken to be applied later in the 15th century to such mitres as that of Bishop Karlsson. If this proposal is even partially correct, in due course other works may emerge whose characteristics also share this possibility of their place of origin.

While the main sequence of roundels is of predictable form and type, we have seen already that the 20 small roundels of the lappets were given no name or title, and that these dictated the size and scope of their supporting decorative plaques. These many uniform decorative plaques must have been made at the same time as the small anonymous roundels which they support, or else (with their unique shapes) what would they have been made for? It seems that they must all have been made as one ensemble, and so it is quite possible that all the 116 plaques were made at the same time and place – namely, the occupied city of Constantinople.

Altar Cross in the Chapel of the Burning Bush, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai

The second use of enamel in transition in the later Byzantine period that we shall look at has been in a far more prominent position (fig. 4). It can be found supported behind the altar in the chapel of the Burning Bush, which is now to the east of the main catholicon in the monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai. The chapel used to be free-standing, as it was mentioned by the 4th century nun Egeria in the record of her travels, and must have been enclosed and incorporated into the ensemble that we see today by the 6th century builders of the Justinianic monastery.

Its form shows at once that it was intended by its makers to be carried as a processional cross, not as an altar cross standing on or behind an altar.

Fig. 7 Sinai cross, plaque with the Pentecoste scene. – (Photo P. Hetherington).

It has only been discussed once, and very briefly, in 1990, in a short description by Y. Ikonomaki-Papdopoulos[15]. Here the writer describes how she had found a brief, but important, unpublished inventory of the monastery's holdings, written in Greek and dated 1673, in which is mentioned a »cross in the holy bush, silver *Fragoudoulia*«. This is clearly the cross that we can now find still sited in the Chapel of the Burning Bush and it should be said that this is the earliest mention of the cross that has survived; when it arrived in its current position is not known. It will be seen that, even at the 17th century date of the inventory, the comments made that it was not of purely Byzantine workmanship, but »Frankish work«, was perceptive; also that the metal was of silver that had been gilded – the core of the cross is, of course, made of wood.

It is, of course, the plaques in enamel that can be seen most extensively throughout. It is worth mentioning that the figures on the sides, which are identified by inscriptions as the Virgin and Saint John, maintain the connection with western art (figs 5-6). In his study of Romanesque painting on panel[16], Garrison assembled over thirty surviving examples of 12th century Italian painted wooden crucifixes in which extra side panels are attached displaying figures with these identities. Here they are different mainly in their colouring and of course their technique, but also Western are the decorative forms of the many rosettes and the small balls at the ends of the cross forms. There are, of course, also the multiple deco-

Fig. 8 Sinai cross, plaque with depiction of the Pelican in her piety. – (Photo P. Hetherington).

15 Ikonomaki-Papdopoulos, Church Metalwork 267-268. A full analysis of all aspects of this cross is forthcoming; see Hetherington, Cross.

16 Garrison, Panel Painting 183-196.

Fig. 9 Cross on altar in the Chapel of the Burning Bush, rear view, Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai. – (Photo P. Hetherington).

Fig. 10 Sinai cross, central plaque with the Ascension. – (Photo P. Hetherington).

rative rosettes that are a prominent feature of the ornament on both sides (**fig. 7**).

A striking feature is provided by a strange aberration that exists in the plaque depicting the Pelican in her piety (**fig. 8**). We are accustomed to seeing this image on crucifixes where it has iconographic significance in making the connection between the bird that nourishes her young in the nest and Christ who shed his blood to redeem us; however, here in place of the pelican's young birds there are two tiny angels who hold up what seem to be reeds with sponges attached to their ends. This is, of course, a complete misunderstanding of the image's meaning and must suggest that the subject was unknown or incompletely comprehended by the artist.

The reverse of the cross (**fig. 9**) carries most of the enamel decoration and in a greater variety of forms. The four feast scenes are perhaps the most revealing here, of what I am calling later Byzantine enamellers' skill, as reflected in their style and handling. The technique here is an example of *basse-taille,* which is fully Western in origin.

If we examine the central plaques on the upper arm of the reverse of the cross, the Ascension (**fig. 10**), it seems that the enameller was unable to differentiate the individual faces and so has laid what we might call a wash of one colour of enamel over the faces of the two groups of apostles on either side – there is no separation or individualisation of heads or features. I feel that no enameller of the 12th century could ever have been satisfied with treatment of this kind. The same comments would have to be applied to the scenes of Entry into Jerusalem on the left and partly in that of Pentecost on the right.

The same comments could be made about the plaque of the Anastasis in the centre. On the whole, this group of four subjects gives us a good chance to assess the overall *style*, but does not help in any individual or specific way.

With the figure of Saint Catherine at the foot on the reverse of the cross (**fig. 11**) we come nearest to what might be seen as the later 12th century treatment of an individual figure, but you will see that the figure in this plaque is the least well preserved in the entire ensemble. The use of the *basse-taille* technique means that the robes of the saint are not »held« by the strips soldered on edge to the base-plate, so forming the wires of any conventional *cloisons*; with this figure the layer of enamel is laid over a schematic network of engraved lines. The viewer sees through the enamel to the engraved silver base, but it has largely flaked off without this added security. The colour of the enamel here is different from elsewhere in the overall scheme and the fact that they

Fig. 11 Sinai cross, plaque at the foot of the cross with depiction of Saint Catherine. – (Photo P. Hetherington).

Fig. 12 Sinai cross, detail of knop showing Greek signature. – (Photo P. Hetherington).

are in this position at all is a clear reference to the Medieval western tradition. This might even be what the writer of the inventory was implying when he referred to the cross as »Fragoudoulia«.

The knop at the base of the cross (fig. 12) shows the most virtuoso enamelling of the ensemble. The form is such that it cannot compare with any similar example surviving from the Byzantine world. Its form is almost spherical with spiral striations and this, with the vivid green enamel, suggests that we should look more to western examples to find parallels. Nevertheless, there are two inscriptions here that attach this work to a basically Greek background, albeit one that is in transition between east and west. One is nothing less than the 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«. The first response here has to be to try and find any connection with the author of the famous work »The Memoirs of Silvester Syropoulos«, written 1438/1439. Was the Alexios, with the same patronymic, is inscribed on the cross, related to Silvester, and so bringing both together as members of the Syropoulos family? If this could be established, then perhaps a date could be suggested for this work, as well as a place where the work would have been created. In any case, this is (so far as I know) the only signature of a Medieval Greek artist in enamel. However, the fact that Laurent, in his 1971 publication of the *Mémoires* of the Council of Florence[17], was unable to suggest with any certainty either a precise date or locality for this patronymic, means that we have to rely on other factors to locate the origins of this cross, now the altar cross of the chapel of the Burning Bush.

It is only in the second and less spectacular of the inscriptions on the knop that I found that we are closer to a real and helpful piece of information. Not hitherto noticed, this monogram can be seen to read: »Ο ΟCΙΟC ΓΕRΑSΙΜΩ«, »[To] the Holy man Gerasimos«. This provides the first evidence for a location where the cross could have been produced. Firstly, the name is recorded as being that of one of the Thirteen Martyrs of Cyprus; they were burnt by the Latins at their monastery in Kantara on May 19th, 1231. Secondly (and possible more significantly), Gerasimos was the name of the Cypriot bishop of Arsinoe, who died in 1320[18]. This provides good evidence that the cross would have been made in Cyprus and could well have been intended as a gift to the Sinai monastery, either in his memory, or by him and in memory of his namesake, martyred in the previous century. 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 and so of this Cypriot bishop. The two further inscriptions that appear on either side of the cross in what seems to be rather uncertain Greek: CINA / TOPς, shows that the cross was intended and destined for »THE MOUNT [OF] SINAI« from the start. The prominent presence of the

17 Laurent, Mémoires.

18 Constantinides / Browning, Greek Manuscripts 79-80.

Fig. 13 Icon of Virgin Kykotissa, Praitori, Cyprus. – (Photo P. Hetherington).

Fig. 14 Revetment of the icon of Virgin Kykotissa in **fig. 13**, Praitori, Cyprus. – (Photo P. Hetherington).

Fig. 15 Detail of the icon revetment in **fig. 14**. – (Photo P. Hetherington).

figure of Saint Catherine confirms this strong association with the Sinai monastery.

As it happens, we have good evidence that there was a tradition of enamelling being practised in Cyprus in this period. An icon of the Virgin, that is now in the village church of Praitori in the mountainous Troodos area, was initially made probably in the 13th century, and incorporated a decorative background of patterned gesso (**figs 13-15**). The icon was of the type known as the Virgin Kykotissa, due to its origin in the context of the Kykkos Monastery, the premier monastic foundation in Cyprus. The original icon of the Virgin Kykotissa is guarded in the apse of the monastic katholikon, and provides further proof that the icon now in Praitori is indeed Cypriot in origin. Later (probably early in the 14th century) the decorative gesso of the icon was covered with a spectacular revetment of silver-gilt and enamel (**fig. 14**). This revetment incorporated four silver discs, which originally displayed enamel scenes of conventional feast subjects associated with the Virgin. Because of the oxidisation of the silver, most of the enamel has flaked off, with only fragments being left. There were also figural areas of enamel, which depicted the archangels Michael and Gabriel.

The extraordinary and completely unique element of this icon is provided by parts of another icon revetment that have also been attached to it. It can be assumed that these further fragments were added after some pieces of the original revetment were lost and the later additions were to fill the resulting gaps.

The additional fragments show figures standing in niches of gothic design that must have formed part of the frame of a second, separate, icon. Although the style of their drapery could be said to belong to the Byzantine tradition, the niches in which they stand are completely western and must derive from a basically northern gothic tradition[19]. Only their names are inscribed in Greek capitals and are seen against an enamelled blue background (**fig. 15**). Their names appear as (on the right) ΠΑΥΛΟΣ and ΛΟΥΚΑΣ, and (on the left) as ΠΕΤΡΟΣ and ΒΑΣΗΛΕΙΟΣ, and so we must assume that they are just the survivors from a larger sequence of names that must have contained the three other evangelists, as well as some saints, which would probably have included the bishops John Chrysostom or Gregory of Nyssa.

Judging by the technically inferior, almost crude, handling of the archangels' plaques and even the *tituli* of the Virgin, these are clearly artistically of a lower order of skill than the plaques depicting saints in niches that are adjacent. Shortage of space prevents us from addressing fully the questions raised by this unique work, but the present writer will in due course deal with it at appropriate length.

For now, this surely shows the art of enamelling in a period of transition, so I should close this chapter on the theme of »late Byzantine enamel« with a summary of the main points that emerge from an examination of these two works. Firstly, I think they confirm and underline how relatively brief was the period of the highest artistic production of this beautiful medium anywhere in the Byzantine world, but especially in Constantinople. Already by the later 12th century, it would seem that the conditions of patronage, expense and skill were starting to become increasingly scarce. They were all interdependent, so that when one factor began to diminish it affected the others. We are looking at an art form really *in transition* and this can be argued to start taking on this development with the invasion of the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

Secondly, and if the interpretation of the enamels on the mitre from Linköping is accepted, enamelling could have developed in a way that was influenced, *or even directed*, by foreign patrons. Thus the enamellers working for the newly elevated Latin bishops in Constantinople had to conform to some of the new idiosyncrasies, such as the multiple unnamed portraits that were part of the design that was needed for the western, Catholic, mitre.

Thirdly, the art form reached its height in the 11th and 12th centuries in quite a centralised form. In a later period of further transition, it developed over wider areas and so absorbed other techniques such as the *basse-taille,* and was used by artists working in a more mixed tradition, with a more varied type of patronage. This must also appear as an aspect of an art form in transition.

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19 J. Richard has discussed this theme for slightly later in Cypriot history; see Richard, Culture Franque 331-352.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Late Byzantine Enamel: A Period of Transition

This chapter focuses on Late Byzantine enamels and their particularities, especially Western influence. The first example is a large group of *cloisonné* enamels on a 15th-century mitre from Linköping Cathedral, today in the Historical Museum, Stockholm. The enamel medallions with figures are in the Byzantine style, but as opposed to the expected Greek inscriptions, the main pieces bear Latin inscriptions. The argument is presented here, that the plaques on the mitre were re-used enamels of the early 13th century (1210-1220) and that they were made in Latin-ruled Constantinople for one of the bishops of the Western, Catholic Church appointed by the new rulers. The second group of enamels is found on an altar cross in the Chapel of the Burning Bush in Saint Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai. The *basse-taillle* enamels clearly show Western influence in iconography, style and technique, and this is probably why the cross was referred to in a 17th-century document as »Fragodoulia«, »Frankish work«. However, the enamelled knop bears a Greek monogram and can be read as the enameller's signature, being the only signature of an enameller in Byzantine art. The other inscription on the knop, the »Holy man Gerasimos« as well as stylistic comparisons hint at Cyprus as the place of manufacture of this Western-inspired cross.

Spätbyzantinische Emails: eine Phase des Übergangs

Das Kapitel behandelt spätbyzantinische Emails und ihre Ausprägungen, insbesondere den westlichen Einfluss. Das erste Beispiel ist eine große Gruppe von *Cloisonné*-Emails auf einer Mitra des 15. Jahrhundert aus der Kathedrale von Linköping, heute im Historischen Museum, Stockholm. Die figürlichen Emailmedaillons zeigen byzantinischen Stil, tragen jedoch lateinische und nicht, wie zu erwarten, griechische Inschriften. Hier wird argumentiert, dass die Emails wiederverwendet wurden und in das 13. Jahrhundert datieren (1210-1220), und dass sie im lateinisch regierten Konstantinopel für einen der neu eingesetzten Bischöfe der westlichen katholischen Kirche angefertigt worden waren. Die zweite Gruppe von Emails findet sich am Altarkreuz in der Kapelle des Brennenden Dornbuschs im Katharinen-Kloster auf dem Sinai. Die *basse-tailles*-Emails zeigen deutlich westlichen Einfluss bezüglich der Ikonographie, des Stils und der Technik. Dies ist wohl der Grund, dass das Kreuz in einem Dokument des 17. Jahrhunderts als »Fragodoulia«, »Fränkische Arbeit«, bezeichnet wurde. Dagegen ist der emaillierte Kreuzknauf mit einem griechischen Monogramm versehen, das als Signatur des Emailleurs gelesen werden kann; dies ist die einzige Signatur eines Emailleurs in der byzantinischen Kunst. Die andere Inschrift auf dem Knauf nennt einen »Heiligen Mann Gerasimos«, dessen Name sowie stilistische Vergleiche auf Zypern als Herstellungsort des westlichen beeinflussten Kreuzes weisen.