

New Research on Late Byzantine Goldsmiths' Works (13th-15th Centuries)

Neue Forschungen zur spätbyzantinischen Goldschmiedekunst (13.-15. Jahrhundert)

Antje Bosselmann-Ruickbie (ed.)



Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz
Byzanz zwischen
Orient und Okzident

Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident | 13

Veröffentlichungen des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz



Der Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz ist eine Forschungs Kooperation des
Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums und der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz

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Gedruckt mit Unterstützung von
DFG – Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft
Freunde der Universität Mainz e. V.

Redaktion: Stefan Albrecht, Claudia Nickel (RGZM)
Englisches Lektorat: Leo Ruickbie
Satz: Dieter Imhäuser, Hofheim a. T.
Bildbearbeitung und Umschlaggestaltung: Claudia Nickel (RGZM)
Coverbild: Hodegetria-Ikone, 1. Drittel des 14. Jhs., Kreml Museum
Moskau

**Bibliografische Information
der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek**

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in
der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische
Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

ISBN 978-3-88467-310-2

© 2019 Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums

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Druck: Beltz Grafische Betriebe GmbH, Bad Langensalza
Printed in Germany.

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Foreword by the editor

*In memory of Silke Tammen (1964-2018),
who also believed that small objects
can reveal much information*

The current volume comprises the papers of the international conference »Neue Forschungen zur spätbyzantinischen Goldschmiedekunst – New Research on Late Byzantine Goldsmiths' Works (13th-15th Centuries)«. The conference was hosted by the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Leibniz-Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie, in the old Electoral Palace in Mainz from 29 to 30 October 2015. This event was part of the research project »Analyse und Datenbank spätbyzantinischer Goldschmiedearbeiten (13.-15. Jahrhundert)« (Analysis and Database of Late Byzantine Goldsmiths' Works (13th-15th Centuries), managed by the editor of this volume and generously funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation).

The aim of the conference was to bring together the international research community dealing with precious metal works of the Late Middle Ages and to fathom the current standing of research in this field. The specialists presented their latest research on goldsmiths' works of the post-Crusade period from Byzantium and beyond, a field that has been neglected for a long time. Goldsmiths' works – and especially small objects belonging to the genre of arts and crafts – are often seen as less important than the »major genres« of art history – architecture, painting and sculpture – and have thus received less attention. Furthermore, Late Byzantine art has not been studied as intensively as the arts of earlier Byzantine periods. Thus, this volume fills a gap in research that has been in need of attention.

Goldsmiths' works were most often portable and thus present the researcher with different questions than, for example, monumental painting or architecture. Apart from some excavated archaeological material, most objects are today in collections all over the world, and their provenance and date are often unclear. If there are no revealing inscriptions, for example, naming the – not always identifiable – owners or a date, the researcher falls back to »classical« methods of art history and archaeology, such as stylistic, iconographical and typological analyses. There is, unfortunately, no scientific method that allows determining the provenance or age of Medieval goldsmiths' works by testing their composition, since most of the objects were made of re-used, melted-down precious metals.

Jewellery and other personal adornments reflected the owners' personal tastes and the fashions of the times, and religious donations, such as precious-metal icons and their

frames, gem-encrusted crosses or reliquaries, served as an expression of their religiousness, as well as testifying to their wealth and taste. Precious objects changed hands, not only as war booty or trade goods, but also through »international« diplomatic exchange, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean, and also beyond, Russia, the Golden Horde, Mamluk Egypt, Sicily and Central Europe.

It is through such luxury metal objects that we gain knowledge of the tastes and fashions of the ruling and non-ruling elites of the Late Middle Ages. Important examples are found in the Chalcis Hoard from Euboea, comprising Venetian and Byzantine jewellery of the finest workmanship and representing the exchange between the ruling Venetians in former Byzantine territory. Often small details reveal a cultural exchange – may it be the decoration of an archer's ring from Serbia, or peculiarities in inscriptions of Russian enamels testifying to inspiration from the West, or Gothic features in Late Byzantine goldsmiths' works, such as chalice forms or enamel techniques.

Not only the current debates on »elite cultures« and »luxury« will benefit from the studies presented here, but also research on cultural transfer through trade and diplomatic exchange. Much more research will be necessary to study these processes, which yield important insights into cultural exchange and the complex distribution patterns of objects and their designs. Studies on Islamic goldsmiths' and metal works are a *desideratum*, especially, and it is hoped that this book will serve as an incentive to study these important witness of »international relations« in the Middle Ages.

I would like to express my gratitude to all speakers who have contributed with their expertise to this volume, and also to the Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz: Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident (Leibniz-ScienceCampus Mainz: Byzantium between Orient and Occident) for including the conference proceedings in the book series Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident (BOO), and particularly its former spokesman Prof. Dr Falko Daim. I am very grateful that the publication was financially supported by the ScienceCampus, by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Foundation), as well as the Freunde der Universität Mainz e. V. Many thanks also to Anke Dingler MA, Rachel Odenthal, Dr Claudia Nickel, PD Dr Stefan Albrecht and Dr Leo Ruickbie for their meticulous editorial work on the manuscripts.

Gold, Goldsmiths and Goldsmithing in Byzantium

»Look, what new miracle and wonderful grace; behold the gold outside, but Christ inside!¹«. This inscription is placed on the four medallions at the end of the bars of a cross, which is set in a silver-gilt triptych (most likely 12th-century) from St Peter's in Rome². Though the beholder is asked to look at the golden appearance of the object, the more urgent exhortation is to behold Christ inside, who is represented by a particle of the True Cross in the inner part of the cross. The statement made by the text is that the outer matter is valuable, but although it is golden, it is contrasted with the interior to imply that it is the interior content which is of greater value.

The same *topos* is employed in the three-verse epigram on a 10th-century reliquary cross kept in the Tesoro of Monte Cassino. The text states that the cross was donated by a certain Romanos, perhaps Emperor Romanos II (959-963), who adorned it with gold. The last verse, however, reads: »Christ is adornment for him (i.e., Romanos), not the gold!³«.

An impressive example of a text in which gold and other precious materials are presented as being inferior to the divine is preserved in the codex Princeton, Garrett 16, a manuscript of the Scala Paradisi of John Klimax dated to the year 1082⁴. On f. 194^r there is *inter alia* a depiction of the cross, which is accompanied by an epigram. The verses read: »For others gold is a great gift, and silver and purple are great possessions – flowing matter and full of perishability. For the worshippers and friends of Christ, however, the greatest gift is the cross alone and wealth and pride and divine power«⁵.

A comparison to gold and other precious materials is also spectacularly employed in a hymn to Emperor Justin II (565-578) that is preserved in the archive of Dioskoros of Aphrodito. Among other impressive epithets, which are reminiscent of words coined by the ancient comedian Aristophanes (or later by the 9th/10th-century author Constantine of Rhodes)⁶, the emperor is addressed as χρυσαργυροπιναροσμεαραγομαρ-

γαριτοβελτίων (»better than gold, silver, nacre, emerald and pearls«)⁷. In one of his poems, Manuel Philes, an author from the late 13th and the first half of the 14th century, designates his addressee as »a friend better than gold«⁸. Philes sometimes describes his patrons as »golden« (χρυσούς) to solicit their liberality in an attempt to obtain greater recompense⁹.

This *tour des textes* of the Byzantine millennium clearly testifies to the enormous prestige of gold. This is, of course, not restricted to Byzantium, but is a general cultural phenomenon in premodern and modern societies. As Margarete's saying goes in Goethe's *Faust*: »Nach Golde drängt, / am Golde hängt / doch alles. / Ach, wir Armen« (»Gold all doth lure, / gold doth secure / all things. / Alas, we poor«)¹⁰.

However, gold is not just regarded as the most intriguing material and the most persuasive reference for highlighting something special. It may also have a dangerous meaning and a negative connotation. Again, this is not a Byzantine invention: for example, one may think of the golden calf made by the Israelites during Moses' absence, when he went up to Mount Sinai. In the Byzantine context, one may cite a hymn on Saint Longinos, in which the Jews are accused of being χρυσολάτραι (»worshippers of gold«) whereas Longinos is praised as χριστολάτρης (»worshipper of Christ«) – one should note the pun χρυσολάτρης-χριστολάτρης¹¹. The same juxtaposition is also employed in an early 13th-century letter by Michael Choniates, the former archbishop of Athens, which was sent from his exile on the island of Keos to a certain Manuel Beriboes. At the end of his epistle¹², Choniates tells his addressee, who is a resident of Latin-dominated Chalcis, that he should let the barbaric Latins, who have transferred their worship of God to the worship of gold (τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ λατρείαν εἰς χρυσολατρείαν μεταθεμένους), perish¹³. Choniates also compares them to gold digging ants, which is a reference to Herodotus' account (3, 102) of gold digging μύρμηκες (ants or perhaps »marmots«) in India.

1 Unless otherwise indicated, the English translations are mine. – I deeply thank Cecile Morrisson for suggestions and corrections on this chapter.

2 Rhoby, Epigramme II, no. Me110: »Ὅρα τί καινὸν θαῦμα καὶ ξένην χάριν / χρυσὸν μὲν ἔξω Χριστὸν ἐν<δόν> δὲ σκόπει. Two more verses are attached on the medallions' reverses, cf. Rhoby, *Interactive Inscriptions* 324-325.

3 Rhoby, Epigramme II, no. Me70: Χριστὸς γὰρ αὐτῷ κόσμος, οὐ τὸ χρυσίον.

4 Cf. Kotzabassi/Patterson Ševčenko, *Manuscripts at Princeton* 112-125.

5 Hörandner, *Epigramm und das heilige Kreuz* 114 (fig. 5). 116 and Rhoby, Epigramme IV, no. US23 (with fig. CLXVIII): Ἄλλοις μὲν ἔστι δῶρον ὁ χρυσὸς μέγα / καὶ κτῆμα σεπτὸν ἄργυρος καὶ πορφύρα / ὕλη ῥέουσα καὶ φθορᾶς πεπλησμένη / τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δὲ καὶ λατρευταῖς καὶ φίλοις / δῶρον μέγιστον ἔστιν ὁ σταυρὸς μόνος / πλοῦτος τε καὶ καύχημα καὶ θεῖον κράτος.

6 *Anecdota Graeca* 624-632. On Constantine of Rhodes cf. now Constantine of Rhodes, Constantinople.

7 Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VI^e siècle I* 444-445; II 648-650.

8 Manuel Philes, *Carmina* I 440 (F 239, v. 9).

9 Manuel Philes, *A Poem* 63.

10 Goethe, *Faust* I 2521-2523 (translated by A. Swanwick).

11 *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* II 179.

12 Michael Choniates, *Epistulae* 148, 30-34 (p. 241).

13 Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 2, 346.

A long *psogos* («blame») of gold's dangerous features is embedded in the mid-12th century verse chronicle by Constantine Manasses. Among many other criticism, gold is called an »acropolis of all evil« (πάντων κακῶν ἀκρόπολις) and a »citadel of destruction« (φρούριον ἀπωλείας) because its beautiful colour poisons like a snake (τὸ καλλίχροον ὡς ἐχίδνα φαρμάσσει)¹⁴.

The climax of χρυσολατρεία is χρυσομανία («greed for gold» / »obsession with gold«). In an encomium for John Chrysostom (also a popular source for expressions connected with gold), the author, Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, addresses the church father with the plea that the metaphoric weeds in the crops that grow out of the greed for gold may not destroy the crop of his teaching¹⁵. The prototype χρυσομανής («obsessed with gold») is the legendary king Midas, as stated in the lexicon of Pseudo-Zonaras, for example: Μίδας. Κύριον. ὁ χρυσομανής¹⁶. In the chronicle by Manasses cited above, it is the iconoclast Emperor Nikephoros I who is called a »a slave of gold obsessed with gold like Midas the former Phrygian ruler«¹⁷.

In spite of its negative connotation the word χρυσοτξεφούδης (literally, »greedy for gold«) is attested as a family name in the 11th and 12th centuries¹⁸. The modest approach, rejecting gold, is stressed by a term used by the anonymous so-called Manganeios Prodromos in the middle of the 12th century. In a poem addressed to his patron, the *sebastokratorissa* Eirene, the author praises his addressee rhetorically for having a »golden soul« (ψυχὴ χρυσή) but being indeed μισόχρυσος – »someone who despises gold«, which serves as a synonym for wealth and splendour¹⁹.

Byzantine Greek vocabulary is full of hundreds of terms with χρυσο- as the initial sound (especially adjectives), many of them coined in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods for rhetorical texts and poems²⁰.

The following examples may illustrate this practice: there are many terms to describe the golden adornment of liturgical objects (crosses, reliquaries, vestments) that were donated by members of the imperial court and the aristocracy, both in Byzantium and beyond. In some houses there was σηρικὰ καὶ χρυσίπαστα ἐπιπλά («furniture with golden inlay-

ings and pieces of silk«)²¹, and in the long verse inscription once preserved in the 6th-century church of St Polyuktos at Constantinople, a foundation of the Juliana Anicia, one reads about the »golden roofed covering« (χρυσόροφος καλύπτρα)²². Theodore Prodromos also tells us of χρυσόστεγοι οἴκοι («houses with golden roofs»), which refers to the imperial palace at the time of Manuel I Komnenos²³; the same Prodromos also mentions the golden floors in the palace (χρυσοβατὲς δῶμα)²⁴. Interestingly enough, these golden floors are also mentioned in a short, but vivid Chinese report of an embassy to Constantinople in the 7th century, which was compiled in the 9th century²⁵. So far the substance of this passage has not been taken literally because it was interpreted as a reference to the impression of marble shimmering like gold²⁶. Prodromos' evidence, however, may indicate that some (or some parts) of the palace's floors were indeed made of gold. In addition, the golden splendour of the imperial palace's interior is also mentioned by the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, also in the 12th century²⁷. Gold leaf was also applied on mosaics tesserae, as archaeological evidence reveals²⁸.

Compounds of χρυσ- were also used for specifying distinctive scripts in manuscripts: while the scribe of golden letters is a χρυσογράφος²⁹, golden ink is called χρυσογραφία, and golden letters go under the name of χρυσογραμμία. Byzantine ink recipes are full of instructions for the fabrication of χρυσογραφία and χρυσογραμμία³⁰. The term χρυσογραμμία is, for example, also employed in the Vatican version of the Libistros and Rhodamne romance from the 14th century, namely in the description of Libistros' dream of his sojourn in the realm of Eros (Ἐρωτοκρατεία): τὸ στέγος εἶχεν φοβερὰν χρυσογραμμίαν ὄλον (»the roof was full of golden writing«)³¹ which perhaps refers to the well-known technique of producing inscriptions with inlaid golden letters³².

The presence of and need for gold is also testified to by technical treatises, among them alchemist recipes on χρυσοποιία («making of gold»), some of them attributable to known authors, such as Michael Psellos (11th century) and Nikephoros Blemmydes (13th century)³³. The latter describes how gold can be fabricated from an egg (ὠοχρυσοποιία)³⁴. Instruction on gold- and silversmithing also exist, including 56 such recipes, as in a probably 11th-century discourse in the codex Par. gr. 2327³⁵.

14 Constantine Manasses, *Chronicum* vv. 3497-3515. The passage is perhaps motivated by Constantine Manasses' own fortune and struggle for income and recognition at the Byzantine court. Similar words are to be found in vv. 3890, 4222.

15 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Logos* 318.

16 Ps.-John Zonaras, *Lexicon* s.v.

17 Constantine Manasses, *Chronicum* vv. 4478-4479: δοῦλον χρυσοῦ χρυσομανή ... / ἄντικρυς Μίδαν τόν ποτε κατάρξαντα Φρυγίας.

18 Seibt, *Probleme* 6.

19 Manganeios Prodromos, *De Manganiis* I 43.

20 Cf. LBG s.v. χρυσ-.

21 Mavromatis, *Fondation* 103 (l. 525-526).

22 *Anthologia Graeca* I 10, 57 (l. p. 110).

23 Theodore Prodromos, *Historische Gedichte* XXX 395.

24 *Ibidem* VI 220. δῶμα is a poetic side-form of δῶμα.

25 Schreiner, *Eine chinesische Beschreibung Konstantinopels* 494.

26 Schreiner, *Byzanz – die Brücke zum Osten* 18; Schreiner, *Eine chinesische Beschreibung* 499-500.

27 *Ibidem*.

28 Neri/Verità, *Glass and Metal Analyses*; Neri et al., *Glass and Gold*.

29 Rhoby, *Inscriptions and Manuscripts* 18.

30 Schreiner/Oltrogge, *Rezepte*; Benedetti, *Ricette bizantine*.

31 Livistros and Rodamne 152 (v. 318).

32 On this technique in Antiquity cf. Niquet, *Inchriften als Medium von »Propaganda« und Selbstdarstellung*, especially 158.

33 Cf. Hunger, *Hochsprachliche profane Literatur* II 279-282.

34 *Collection II* 452-457.

35 *Collection II* 321-337; cf. Wolters, *Traktat*; Wolters, *Goldschmiedekunst*. A new edition with translation and commentary is currently being prepared in a project led by Antje Bosselmann-Ruickbie and Susanne Greiff at the Wis-

However, after the reign of Michael IV (1034-1041), a first noticeable shortage of noble metals (gold, silver) is documented: it was only until then that gold coins of almost 100 % purity existed³⁶. By the beginning of the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), the *solidus* contained only 30 % gold³⁷. Evidence for the scarcity of noble metals is also provided by Anna Komnene's famous account of the melting down of golden and silver objects in order to finance military campaigns³⁸. Alexios, however, introduced a new gold coin, the *hyperpyron*, only 20.5 carats fine, which remained in use under his successors. In addition, Alexios also created the so-called *nomisma trachy*, a gold coin blended with silver and copper³⁹. By contrast, during the 11th to 13th centuries, the percentage of gold in jewellery was slightly higher since alloys contained more than 90 % gold⁴⁰. By the mid-14th century, however, the crown jewels had to be pawned to the Venetians. On the occasion of the imperial coronation, gold and silver dishes were no longer available, and at the second coronation of John VI Kantakuzenos the emperor had to settle for a crown crafted from gilt leather⁴¹. The last gold coins were minted under the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425)⁴², after the gold coinage had undergone several stages of debasement⁴³.

The Origin of Byzantine Gold

Despite the shortage of gold from the Middle Byzantine period onwards, the need for this precious metal continued unabated. But where did the Byzantine gold come from⁴⁴? And how did they cope with the shortage of it? Did they just melt and reuse the gold already in circulation? These are long-standing questions that have only been inadequately answered so far⁴⁵.

The well-organised Roman mining system was still functioning in Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine period⁴⁶.

Up to the 7th century, the empire benefitted from mines in the Balkans⁴⁷. This is proven by archaeological evidence that testifies to the existence of gold mines in Macedonia – for example at Arsenkies, Skouries and the so called Axantas mine on the Chalkidikē peninsula⁴⁸ –, Thrace and Bulgaria⁴⁹. In Antiquity and Late Antiquity, gold was also washed out from the Hebros River and some of its tributaries⁵⁰. The Balkans, especially Serbia (among others Caričin Grad)⁵¹ and Bosnia⁵², also turned out to be valuable places for (re-activated) gold and silver mines in the late Middle Ages and in the Early Modern period when they were re-activated by the Ottomans⁵³. Critobulos of Imbros, one of the four authors on the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, even praises Serbia for its abundance of gold and silver, in which it surpasses other regions. According to Critobulos, Serbia's gold and silver is of higher quality than that of India⁵⁴. This statement can hardly be taken at face value, but it attests to the fame of the gold and silver mines in the Balkans in this period. There is also evidence that the ancient mines on Mount Pangaion in northern Greece continued to yield silver, lead and gold from the 16th century onwards while under Ottoman control⁵⁵. Gold from there may have found its way to the Byzantine Empire, or at least to Thessaloniki from where it may have been shipped to other places⁵⁶. In the 14th and 15th centuries, there was also an attempt to re-establish gold and silver mines on some of the Aegean islands with the help of Western (Saxon) miners, but with only very modest results⁵⁷; these Saxon miners were already attested in the central Balkans as early as in the late 13th century⁵⁸. For the Aegean island of Milos, the traveller Reinhold Lubenau reported the existence of gold, silver, iron, copper and sulfur deposits at the end of the 15th century⁵⁹.

In addition, in the Early Byzantine Empire one also benefitted to a large extent from gold mines in the East: in Egypt the gold-mining town Bir Umm Fawakhir, situated in the Eastern desert of Egypt, east of Luxor, is supposed to have existed until the 7th century. Its gold mines are ancient, but

senschaftsCampus Mainz: <https://www.byzanz-mainz.de/forschung/a/article/der-griechische-traktat-ueber-die-hochgeschaezte-und-beruehmte-gold-schmiedekunst-edition-und-inter/> (22.10.2018).

- 36 An updated overview of Byzantine coinage is provided by Morrisson/Schaaf, Byzance et sa monnaie.
- 37 Oddy/La Niece, Byzantine Gold Coins and Jewellery.
- 38 Anna Komnene, Alexias 143, 72-144, 81 (cap. V 2,1); cf. Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 75; Grünbart, Zur Kulturgeschichte des Goldes 62.
- 39 Grierson, Catalogue IV 43-44.
- 40 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 75; Morrisson, Trade and Markets in Byzantium 16; Oddy/La Niece, Byzantine Gold Coins and Jewellery 25-26.
- 41 Hilsdale, Byzantine Art and Diplomacy 199; Hetherington, The Jewels from the Crown.
- 42 Wirth, Das Ende der römisch-byzantinischen Goldwährung; Grierson, Byzantine Coins 294. See also Morrisson et al., L'or monnayé I.
- 43 Morrisson, Monnaie et finances à Byzance, part XI.
- 44 A very general approach to this subject, primarily focusing on the West (in Antiquity) and on coins, is provided by Blet-Lemarquand/Nieto-Pelletier/Sarah, L'or et l'argent monnayés.
- 45 Schreiner, Byzanz – die Brücke zum Osten 19: »Die Frage, woher das byzantinische Gold gekommen ist, danach hat die Forschung kaum gefragt und weniger recherchiert«. Cf. also Bryer, The Question of Byzantine Mines in the Pontos 134: »But, so far, numismatic metallurgists have been unable to tell us with

certainly where Byzantine gold and silver came from, and how far it was new, imported, or inherited recycled stock«.

- 46 Short overview by Mundell Mango, Metalwork 444-445.
- 47 Where they were controlled by the *comes metallorum per Illyricum* and the municipal decurions (later often the bishops) that he chose as mine controllers (*procuratores metallorum*): Laiou/Morrisson, The Byzantine Economy 29; Matschke, Mining 116.
- 48 Wagner et al., Archäometallurgische Untersuchungen auf Chalkidiki 174. 176-177. 181.
- 49 Matschke, Mining 116; cf. Grünbart, Zur Kulturgeschichte des Goldes 55.
- 50 Soustal, Thrakien 152; Külzer, Ostthrakien 221.
- 51 Ivanišević, Caričin Grad 122-124.
- 52 Vryonis, Question 14-15.
- 53 Kolovos/Kotzageorgis, Halkidiki in the Early Modern Period; Kolovos, Mines and the Environment in Halkidiki.
- 54 Michael Critobulos, Historiae 96, 10-14.
- 55 Vryonis, Question 16; cf. Wagner et al., Archäometallurgische Untersuchungen auf Chalkidiki 180.
- 56 Koder, Lebensraum 60; Matschke, Zum Anteil der Byzantiner an der Bergbauentwicklung 58-65; Matschke, Westliche Bergleute 436-437; Ćirković, Production of Gold, Silver, and Copper.
- 57 Matschke, Westliche Bergleute 444-445; Matschke, Mining 120.
- 58 Ćirković, Production of Gold, Silver, and Copper 42.
- 59 Matschke, Westliche Bergleute 440.

they seem to have been in use at least until Justinian I's era⁶⁰. There was also a Byzantine interest in gold from Nubia⁶¹ and Arabia⁶², and from regions even further afield, from where it was brought by ship⁶³. An important source of gold was also the border regions of Armenia, which were therefore fought over by the Byzantines and Sasanids⁶⁴. According to John Malalas in the 6th century, the gold of Armenia was so close to the surface of some mountain slopes that it could be washed out by heavy rain⁶⁵.

But all of this ceased to be by the reign of Emperor Herakleios (610-641) at the latest, mainly for political reasons: invasion by Arabs, Slavs and other peoples⁶⁶. Moreover, there is evidence that some gold mines – and mines in general – had already been exhausted in Antiquity or Late Antiquity⁶⁷. This is especially true for the Anatolian mines, as detailed research has demonstrated⁶⁸. Thus, research suggests that both Byzantium and the Caliphate faced a metal shortage in the 7th century; only as the new economic system of the Caliphate took shape, did gold production resume in the southern Negev desert in the 8th century⁶⁹, from which Byzantium, however, was unable to benefit. Gold from Western Sudan reached Northern Africa, Spain and Egypt from the 8th century onward⁷⁰.

Were there any gold mines in the Byzantine Empire in which mining continued after Late Antiquity? The Greek term for (gold) mines is μέταλλα, already attested in Antiquity⁷¹, and there is even a place called Μέταλλον⁷², situated in Lydia on the Paktolos River, which was famous for its gold; the abundance of gold in Paktolos even became proverbial⁷³. Further terms for gold mines are χρυσωρυχ(ε)ία, χρυσωρυχείον and χρυσώρυχιον, but these terms are rarely attested in Byzantine sources, and, when they do occur, they refer to Antique or Late Antique gold mines. The same is most likely true for a passage from a poem by Leon Choirosphaktes from the beginning of the 10th century, addressed to the young co-Emperor Constantine VII. In this poem, the author describes the warm baths in Pythia (Bithynia): he not only mentions μέταλλα there (v. 21), but also states that Lydia is rich in μεταλλόχρυσον γαῖαν («land possessing gold mines«)

(v. 47)⁷⁴. These remarks, however, are most certainly Antique reminiscences.

But there might also be some positive evidence of functioning gold mines in Byzantium. In the district of Lulon, in the Cappadocian part of the Taurus Mountains, gold, silver, tin and lead mines continued to be in use at least up to the 8th century, as is documented archaeologically⁷⁵. In the 10th century, gold mines are recorded in Armenian Taron and Caucasian Albania⁷⁶, and the Byzantines might also have had access to these⁷⁷.

There is some evidence that exhausted mines were re-established in Byzantium; such a case being the (gold) mines near Astyra (in the modern province Çanakkale), which were already exhausted in the time of Strabon (1st century BC/1st century AD), but excavated in the Byzantine period and then again in the 19th century⁷⁸. The presence of gold is also attested for rivers in Bulgaria in an anonymous geographical work from 1308 (*Descriptio Europae Orientalis*)⁷⁹ without any more detailed specification, but it is impossible to know whether this reflected Medieval circumstances or if it is again an Antique reminiscence.

As for Bulgaria, gold manufacturing is attested between the 12th and the 14th centuries in the famous city of Tŭrnovo⁸⁰. There is also a place in Bulgaria named Izlate («gold») at the foot of the Haimos Mountains: the toponym is based on the gold in the sand of the River Topolnica; Greek sources (the historian Ducas) therefore also call the place Χρυσή⁸¹. There are further similar toponyms, such as Chrysopolis at the mouth of the Strymon River, or Chrysopolis in Bithynia on the eastern shore of the Bosphorus, which – interestingly enough – corresponds with Argyropolis on the opposite eastern shore of the Bosphorus⁸², but these are most likely just names and do not reflect any actual gold mining in the Byzantine period.

On the European part of the Bosphorus, however, one must mention the bay of Skletrinas on its Thracian shore, north of Constantinople. According to the report by Evlijā Čelebi, in the early 17th century there was a cave there, in which gold reserves were found in Byzantine times. There is some consensus in the secondary literature that this information is reliable⁸³. If this is indeed the case, then we have a place

60 Meyer et al., Bir Umm Fawakhir Survey Project 1993; see also the publications listed at <https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/bir-umm-fawakhir-project> (22.10.2018).

61 Cf. Matschke, Mining 115; Grünbart, Zur Kulturgeschichte des Goldes 54-55.

62 Shahid, Byzantium and the Arabs 2/2, 47-58.

63 Boyle, Gold 638; Blanchard, Mining, Metallurgy and Minting 27; cf. Grünbart, Zur Kulturgeschichte des Goldes 60.

64 Vryonis, Question 5; Koder, Lebensraum 60; Savvides, Observations on Mines and Quarries 136; Matschke, Mining 116.

65 John Malalas, Chronographia 383, 65-66 (cf. Theophanes, Chronographia I 179, 7); cf. Vryonis, Question 5-6; Matschke, Mining 116; Grünbart, Zur Kulturgeschichte des Goldes 55-56.

66 Matschke, Mining 117.

67 Savvides, Observations on Mines and Quarries 133.

68 Pitarakis, Mines anatoliennes exploités par les Byzantins; more general de Jesus, Prehistoric Mining.

69 McCormick, Origins of the European Economy 52-53.

70 Gondonneau/Guerra, Circulation of Precious Metals.

71 Cf. LSJ s. v.

72 Keil, Metallon (only attested in Nonn. Dionys. XIII 472).

73 Karathanasis, Sprichwörter 52.

74 Gallavotti, Planudea X 86-89. Cf. Leo Magistros Choirosphaktes, Chiliostichos Theologia 12-13.

75 Hild/Hellenkemper, Kilikien und Isaurien 116; Hild/Restle, Kappadokien 223-224 (on Lulon); cf. Matschke, Mining 118; cf. Vryonis, Question 9; Savvides, Observations on Mines and Quarries 135.

76 Vryonis, Question 7; Savvides, Observations on Mines and Quarries 136.

77 Vryonis, Question 7.

78 Pernicka, Archäometallurgische Untersuchungen in Nordwestanatolien 553-556.

79 Soustal, Thrakien 152.

80 Dochev, Tŭrnovo, Sixth-Fourteenth Centuries 676.

81 Soustal, Thrakien 289-290.

82 Külzer, Ostthrakien 263-264; cf. Trapp, Gold und Silber 22.

83 Külzer, Ostthrakien 653-654; Matschke, Zum Anteil der Byzantiner an der Bergbauentwicklung 53-54.

very close to Constantinople in which gold was perhaps still available in the Byzantine period.

Medieval mining up to the 14th century is also attested for the island of Thasos⁸⁴ and it is probable that they also excavated for gold⁸⁵. Some traces of Byzantine goldsmiths' shops were also found during excavations at Corinth⁸⁶.

Despite the aforementioned evidence of existing places for gold mining in Byzantium and its neighbourhood, there was a severe scarcity of gold in the Middle and, especially, in the Late Byzantine period, which is also documented by issues of gold coining⁸⁷. This lack of gold was also due to a general impoverishment of the state in this period⁸⁸. To what extent trade in gold from abroad existed is difficult to tell. It is known that the export of gold was prohibited; Michael VIII Palaiologos even tried to enforce this prohibition⁸⁹. Goldsmiths were prohibited from purchasing more than a pound of gold or silver at a time without special authorisation, as stated by the Book of the Eparch of Constantinople in the 10th century⁹⁰. This book also states that ordinary goldsmiths were not allowed to work at home, but only at the workshops (ἐργαστήρια) in the Mese⁹¹. This measure must have been due to the regular theft of the rare and precious material⁹².

Due to the lack of gold, or its cost, one can be sure that not all of what is called χρυσός is »pure« gold, but is rather added to other metals. This is not only true for coins from the 11th century onwards⁹³. »Gold« is indeed often silver gilt, for which the terms ἀργυρόχρυσος⁹⁴ and χρυσάργυρος were used. The latter is attested very often in the poems on objects composed by Manuel Philes in the 14th century⁹⁵. The verb χρυσαργυρέω (»to adorn with gold and silver«) is also attested, for example, in an epigram attached to the silver gilt cover of a Theotokos icon of the 13th/14th century from the Benaki Museum⁹⁶.

Byzantine vocabulary also includes terms such as χρυσόχαλκος (»alloy of gold and copper« = brass)⁹⁷. In his encomiastic vita of Constantine the Great, Constantine Acropolites, an author at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, mentions that the emperor had erected crosses in Constantinople made of χρυσόχαλκος for which he also provides the inscriptions⁹⁸. A στήλη (»column«) in the 14th-century allegoric poem by Meliteniotes is called σιδηροχρυσοχάλκευτος (»wrought of iron and gold«)⁹⁹. Gold alloys in general are called χρυσοχέμευτος (also -χύμευτος)¹⁰⁰.

Goldsmiths and Goldsmithing in Byzantium

Goldsmiths and their workshops in the Mese have already been mentioned. In the following some details about their profession, supplemented by some scarce biographical details will be presented, insofar as they are available¹⁰¹.

There are several terms, which describe goldsmiths and the art of goldsmithing in Byzantium. The earliest term for a goldsmith is χρυσοχός, already attested in Homer's *Odyssey* and in Aristophanes' plays¹⁰². In the apocryphal Acts of Paul, the famous smiths of Ephesos are not silversmiths (as in the Acts of the Apostles) but goldsmiths (χρυσοχόοι)¹⁰³. From this stem χρυσοχοΐα was coined which is attested in the *Souda* dictionary of the 10th century¹⁰⁴. In the 11th-century discourse in codex Par. gr. 2327 mentioned above, goldsmithing is called χρυσοχοΐκή (sc. τέχνη)¹⁰⁵. In a letter dated to the year 801, Theodore Stoudites uses the term χρυσουργία for goldsmithing¹⁰⁶. His famous Stoudios Monastery even had its own goldsmiths (χρυσοχόοι) as evidence for the time span 800-815 demonstrates¹⁰⁷. Theodore Lascaris, the later Emperor Theodore II (1254-1258), calls goldsmithing χρυσοποιητική (sc. τέχνη)¹⁰⁸.

In Late Antiquity, there are some attestations of αὐράριοι, which is a designation borrowed from Latin *aurarius*. The term is found in several inscriptions in Laodikeia Kekau-mene¹⁰⁹; the αὐράριοι also formed guilds¹¹⁰, and they even had their areas reserved in the theatre, as demonstrated by

84 Koder, *Aigaion Pelagos* 97; cf. Matschke, *Mining* 118; Babelides, *Koitsmata chrysu* 50 (fig.).

85 Grünbart, *Zur Kulturgeschichte des Goldes* 56.

86 Bouras, *Master Craftsmen* 518.

87 Cf. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* 278.

88 Cf. Morrisson, *Monnaie et finances*, part IV.

89 Matschke, *Zum Anteil der Byzantiner an der Bergbauentwicklung* 50.

90 Leo VI, *Eparchenbuch* 86 (2, 8); cf. Dagron, *The Urban Economy* 435-436; Cutler, *Industries of Art* 571-572; Morrisson/Cheyne, *Prices and Wages* 857; Laiou/Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* 54-55; see also Grünbart, *Zur Kulturgeschichte des Goldes* 57.

91 Leo VI, *Eparchenbuch* 88 (2, 10).

92 Cf. Dagron, *The Urban Economy* 435-436.

93 Grünbart, *Zur Kulturgeschichte des Goldes* 53.

94 LBG s. v.

95 *Ibidem* s. v.

96 Rhoby, *Epigramme* III 843-845 (no. AddII24).

97 Cf. Trapp, *Gold und Silber* 18. One must also mention the term ὀρείχαλκος (Latin *orichalcus*) which is a further designation for brass (materially an alloy of copper and zinc): cf. Halleux, *L'orichalque et le laiton*.

98 Constantine Acropolites, *Panegyric* 33.

99 *Poème allégorique de Méliténite* v. 1817.

100 Cf. ἀργυροχέμευτος in LBG.

101 For those being attested in PmbZ see also Prinzing, *Streiflichter auf Goldschmiede*.

102 Cf. LSJ s. v.

103 *Acta Pauli*, fragm. 1, 28. In Byzantium the side-form χρυσοχός is also attested (cf. LBG): in the *Ptochoprodromos* 2, 88 χρυσοχοὶ τεχνῖται are mentioned.

104 *Suidae Lexicon* α 571.

105 Collection II 321. However, one has to be aware that the title is perhaps not original, but was composed when the codex Par. gr. 2327 was copied by the scribe Theodoros Pelekanos in the year 1478, cf. Gamillscheg/Harlfinger, *Repertorium* II, no. 170. In parenthesis one also has to point at the earliest mention of χρυσοχοΐκός: the term ἡ χρυσοχοΐκή is already attested in the 3rd c. BC but as a term for a tax paid by goldsmiths, cf. LSJ s. v. χρυσοχοΐκός 2.

106 Theodore of Stoudios, *Epistulae* 7, 67 (on the date p. 149*-150*).

107 PmbZ 10349; see also Prinzing, *Streiflichter auf Goldschmiede* 765.

108 PG 140, 1342A.

109 Belke/Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien* 327 and LSSup.

110 Cf. Dagron, *The Urban Economy* 408. Women were not allowed to participate, *ibidem* 409.

evidence from Aphrodisias¹¹¹ and Miletos¹¹². The head of such a guild is called πρωταυράριος¹¹³. This office is still attested in 7th-century Egypt¹¹⁴. αὐράριοι could also have served as bankers¹¹⁵; according to other interpretations they also could have been financial managers of circus games or even clappers (*favisores*) in circuses and theatres¹¹⁶.

The Byzantine goldsmiths' workplaces also bear different names. There is the Palace's χρυσ(ο)εψητεῖον¹¹⁷ (literally the place where gold is boiled), which was even given its own lemma in the Souda dictionary which states: »χρυσεψητεῖον: here they cast and smelt the gold«¹¹⁸. A description of the Palace's monetary atelier is given by Nicholas Mesarites¹¹⁹. The χρυσεψητής, the craftsman working there, is the expert engaged in gold purification¹²⁰. The so-called Χρυσιοπλῦσια, as mentioned by Niketas Choniates, are *grosso modo* identical¹²¹: it is the place where »gold is washed« and denotes the imperial mint in the palace¹²². The χρυσοχοεῖον – literally also the place where gold is melted and cast – is already attested as early as in the 9th century¹²³: it is the name of the gold and jewellery atelier in the imperial palace¹²⁴. The head of this department is called ἄρχων τοῦ χρυσοχ(ο)εἰοῦ: the function is attested on seals and other sources from the 10th century¹²⁵. Such an ἄρχων τοῦ χρυσοχ(ο)εἰοῦ is a certain sakelarios Anastasios, who participated in a conspiracy in favour of Constantine VII against Romanos I Lakapenos in 922¹²⁶. In book VI of Theophanes Continuatus, he is called ἄρχων τοῦ χρυσοχέστου¹²⁷; however, it seems that this is a mistake in the manuscripts for χρυσοχείου¹²⁸. The office obviously continued to be used, since a ἄρχων τοῦ χρυσοχ(ο)εἰοῦ is also attested in the 11th century or perhaps even later¹²⁹. In the 9th century and later in the 10th century, mention is made of the χρυσίων

which is also a gold atelier in the imperial palace¹³⁰, where the χρυσοκλαβάριοι (»gold embroiderers«) worked, as the chronicler Theophanes revealed¹³¹.

A further, so far unknown, profession is executed by a χρυσογλύπτης attested on two unpublished seals from a private collection¹³². He was probably responsible for engraving golden letters in works of art¹³³.

A further duty was that of the χρυσ(ο)επιλέκτης, documented on seals from the 10th and 11th centuries as well as in documents from the archives of Mount Athos from the 14th century. This person is, however, not someone involved in working gold, but most probably designated a money-changer or banker, as stated in recent research¹³⁴.

The duties of the goldsmith were primarily the refining (purifying) and welding of gold and silver¹³⁵. The book by the eparch of Constantinople informs us that a χρυσοχός could also be a slave (δοῦλος)¹³⁶ and that the head of the goldsmiths was called προεστὼς τῶν χρυσοχῶν¹³⁷. The mention of slaves leads back to Late Antiquity: slaves also worked in the mines in Late Antiquity and prosecuted Christians were often sentenced to *damnatio ad metallum* (in Greek μεταλλίζειν)¹³⁸. Cyprian of Carthage addressed convicted Numidian bishops with the following words that also outline the symbolic meaning of gold: »No wonder that you, being pure gold and silver yourselves, are sent to gold and silver mines! Yet their nature has changed: whereas before they sent gold and silver uphill, now they get it from outside«¹³⁹.

There are some more terms used for goldsmiths. A 6th-century tomb inscription from Ankyra mentions a χρυσοκόπος¹⁴⁰, which is a designation for a goldsmith, as is the often-attested equivalent ἀργυροκόπος for a silversmith¹⁴¹. Andrew

111 Inscriptions of Aphrodisias, no. 10, 21.33; cf. Roueché, »Aurarii in the auditorium«; Roueché, Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias, cf. Feissel, Chroniques, no. 326.

112 Cf. LSSup s.v.

113 Cf. LSJ s.v., LBG s.v.

114 Cf. LBG s.v.

115 Morisson/Sodini, The Sixth-Century Economy 205-206; cf. Roueché, »Aurarii in the auditorium«.

116 The various opinions on this term were collected by Morisson/Sodini, The Sixth-Century Economy 206, n. 217.

117 Cf. Matschke, Mining 119.

118 Suda Lexicon χ 576; cf. Morisson, *Moneta, kharagè, zecca* 52.

119 Nicholas Mesarites, Palastrevolution 24-26 (cf. also the recent translation by M. Angold, Nicholas Mesarites, His Life and Works); cf. Morisson/Papadopoulou, L'atelier monétaire (Greek text with French translation).

120 Matschke, Mining 119; Prinzing, Streiflichter auf Goldschmiede 763.

121 Ibidem.

122 Niketas Choniates, Historia 347, 47; cf. Grünbart, Zur Kulturgeschichte des Goldes 57-59. 63; Matschke, Mining 119.

123 Dagron, The Urban Economy 431.

124 Matschke, Mining 119.

125 Cheynet/Gökyıldırım/Bulgurlu, Les sceaux byzantins, no. 2.1; Morisson, *Moneta, kharagè, zecca* 52.

126 PmbZ 20299.

127 Theophanes Continuatus 400, 11: literally »head of the one who shits gold« or »head of the place where gold is being shited«, cf. Diethart, Personen-

namen 197 who translates ἄρχων τοῦ χρυσοχέστου as »Gold-/Geldscheiβler (passend für einen Finanzminister)«.

128 The codices Vat. gr. 167 and Barb. gr. 232 transmit χρυσοχέστου, whereas other codices of Theoph. Cont. book VI have χρυσοχείου (I sincerely thank Michael Featherstone [Paris/Oxford] for this information). In all likelihood, the form χρυσοχέστου is a copying error by the scribe because the ligatures εστ and αι look very much alike.

129 PLP 20547.

130 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De cerimoniis I 583, 4; 586, 12; cf. also Theophanes, Chronographia I 469, 4 v.l.; Lampe s.v.; Psaltes, Grammatik 60, 151, 255.

131 Theophanes, Chronographia I 469, 3-4.

132 Stavrakos/Tsatsoulis, A Rare Lead Seal of a Goldsmith. I sincerely thank the authors for sending me this contribution before publication.

133 Cf. the term ιερογλύπτης »the one who engraves holy letters« in LBG s.v.

134 Gkoutzioukostas, Paratērēseis gia ton chrys(o)epilektē; cf. Matschke, Mining 120; Morisson, *Moneta, kharagè, zecca* 52.

135 Papathanassiou, Metallurgy and Metalworking Techniques 122-124.

136 Cf. Kaplan, The Producing Population 161-162.

137 Leo VI, Eparchenbuch 86 (2, 8).

138 Vryonis, Question 2.

139 Translated by Afanas'eva/Ivanov, Unexpected Evidence 138.

140 Mitchell, Inscriptions of Ankyra 97 (no. 39) = French, Inscriptions of Ankara 203-204 (no. 84).

141 Cf. LSJ s.v.; ἀργυροκόπος is also the term used in the famous passage about the silversmiths in Ephesos during Paul's visit in the Acts of the Apostles (19, 24).

of Crete (c. 700 AD) calls a goldsmith χρυσοτέχνης¹⁴²; the equivalent ἀργυροτέχνης is also attested¹⁴³. The same is true for so-called χρυσοτεχνίται, who are addressed directly in an alchemistic text attributed to the Late Antique author Olym-piodoros¹⁴⁴. A very rare term is χρυσηλάτης (also χρυσελάτης) which is determined as the equivalent of πεταλουργός in an undated alchemistic treatise¹⁴⁵.

As for a χρυσοχός – as one can see, the most common term – an interesting story is told by John Tzetzes in a letter dated to the year 1147. It is addressed to the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos in the light of an imminent crusader attack¹⁴⁶. In this epistle, Tzetzes reported a dream in which he met a goldsmith (χρυσοχός) called Basileios¹⁴⁷, who was reading Dexippos' *Scythica*. Tzetzes interpreted his dream for the emperor: Basileios is the equivalent of the emperor, who receives the Scythic cavalry (this is the meaning of Dexippos' *Scythica*), i.e., the cavalry of the Cumans. With the help of St Theodore Stratelates and Constantine the Great, and with the gold spent for the recruitment of the Cuman troops, they would overcome the enemy¹⁴⁸.

There are only a few instances in which we know the name of a goldsmith: an interesting personality must have been a certain Prandion, who worked as a gold- and silver-smith in Constantinople in the second half of the 8th century. Though confronted daily with precious materials, he is attested as instructing the young Theophanes the Confessor about the vanity of earthly joys¹⁴⁹.

An interesting story is also told by the Syriac author Bar Hebraeus in the 13th century: two jewellers, perhaps goldsmiths, of African origin, who were part of an Arabic embassy to Constantinople in 859/860, refused to return with their mission because they had converted to Christendom¹⁵⁰.

Despite the fact that goldsmiths could also be slaves, they could also be rich and renowned persons. An anonymous χρυσ(ο)εψητής was, for example, also attested as σπαθάριος at the imperial court in the Book of Ceremonies¹⁵¹, most probably because of his merits. Also in the 10th century a χρυσοχός was attested as the founder and patron of a church in the Apulian town of Trani¹⁵². The high esteem in which gold was held is also clear in a passage in Theophanes Continuatus book VI: the hero-Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos is praised for his expertise as a gold embroiderer, silversmith and other professions¹⁵³.

Conclusion

The aforementioned evidence clearly testifies to the presence of gold in Byzantine sources, regardless of its actual circulation and its availability in the Middle and Late Byzantine period. The external perception, at least, was that the Byzantine Empire and especially Constantinople were places full of gold. This is documented in reports – one might recall the previously quoted Chinese document or travellers' reports on Constantinople. This idea also pervaded the perception of Byzantium in the outside world: in the famous letter from Alexios I Komnenos to Robert of Flanders, which was forged in the West, it was stated: »In the city [i.e., Constantinople] you will find more gold than in the whole world.«¹⁵⁴ In creating an image of a golden empire, Byzantium's mission was definitely successful.

142 PG 97, 1293A; cf. Diethart/Grassien/Voigt, *Ausgewählte Lese Früchte* 643.

143 Cf. LSJ s.v. and DGE s.v.

144 Collection II 106, 15. However, the manuscript in which the passage is delivered is post-Byzantine.

145 LSSup s.v.; cf. Papathanassiou, *Metallurgy and Metalworking Techniques* 124-126; Trapp, *Gold und Silber* 16.

146 John Tzetzes, *Epistulae* 85 (p. 58, 21).

147 PBW 253.

148 Cf. Grünbart, *Prosopographische Beiträge* 200-201.

149 PmbZ 6346; some more details are offered by Prinzing, *Streiflichter auf Goldschmiede* 764-765.

150 PmbZ 10648; cf. also Prinzing, *Streiflichter auf Goldschmiede* 766.

151 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis* I 631, 10.

152 Guillou, *Recueil*, no. 180; PmbZ 22412; Prinzing, *Streiflichter auf Goldschmiede* 767.

153 Theophanes Continuatus 450 (c. 22); cf. PmbZ 23734 (p. 525 with some mistakes).

154 Schreiner, *Byzanz – die Brücke zum Osten* 18.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Gold, Goldsmiths and Goldsmithing in Byzantium

This chapter deals with the mention of gold, goldsmiths and goldsmithing in Byzantine written sources, primarily, with the addition of archaeological results incorporated in the discussion. At the beginning, the connotation of gold and derivative terms in literary sources is mentioned. Hereafter, the question of the origin of Byzantine gold is discussed. It is not unlikely that, even in Byzantium, gold mines near Constantinople were still in use. At the end, professions and names are mentioned that played a role in Byzantium's gold workmanship. Even though gold was scarce in Byzantium, the empire was able to keep its fame as a »golden realm«.

Gold, Goldschmiede und Goldschmieden in Byzanz

Der Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit der Erwähnung von Gold, Goldschmieden und Goldschmiedekunst in byzantinischen Schriftquellen. Daneben werden aber auch archäologische Erkenntnisse berücksichtigt. Zunächst wird die Konnotation von Gold und davon abgeleiteten Begriffen in literarischen Quellen untersucht. Daraufhin wird auf die Frage eingegangen, woher die Byzantiner ihr Gold bezogen. Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass selbst in byzantinischer Zeit Konstantinopel nahegelegene Minen noch über Gold verfügten.

Abschließend werden Berufe und Personen genannt, die in der Goldverarbeitung in Byzanz eine Rolle spielten. Auch wenn Gold in Byzanz knapp war, konnte das Reich, insbesondere Konstantinopel, dennoch seinen Ruf als »goldenes Imperium« behaupten.

Late Byzantine Enamel: A Period of Transition

A magnificent book-cover, which is now held by the Biblioteca degli Intronati in Siena¹ (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, Bibliotecta 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 Stockholm² (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 rulers³.

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 Bridgettine 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 1892⁴, 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 1911⁵, who also saw them as German in workmanship and gave a 12th century date. Montelius in 1912⁶ emphasised the presence of Byzantine elements, but regarded the Latin inscriptions as giving them a western origin; Bock suggested an origin in the Rhineland⁷, Ugglas in 1933⁸ favoured a Venetian origin and Yvonne Hackenbroch in 1938⁹ was the first to suggest that the enamels were made in Sicily (this was supported by Lipinsky¹⁰, who favoured Palermo under the Normans). Venice was mentioned again by Josef Deér in 1966¹¹ and this found favour with the Swedes Nisbeth and Estham in 2001¹². 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 note 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 byzantines* 241-243 figs 85-86.

5 Dalton, *Byzantine Art* 528.

6 Montelius, *Mästerstycken* 21.

7 Bock, *Byzantinische Zellschmelze* 346-349.

8 Ugglas, *Silversmide* 43.

9 Hackenbroch, *Italienisches Email* 63-64.

10 Lipinsky, *Sizilianische Goldschmiedekunst* 170-172.

11 Deér, *Zellschmelze 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 1212¹³. 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 1214¹⁴ (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-Rückbie).

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 Cotelierius, *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).

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



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



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

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-Papdopoulos¹⁵. 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 panel¹⁶, Garrison assembled over thirty surviving examples of 12th century Italian painted wooden crucifixes in which extra side panels are attached displaying figures with these identi-



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

ties. 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-

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).

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



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

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

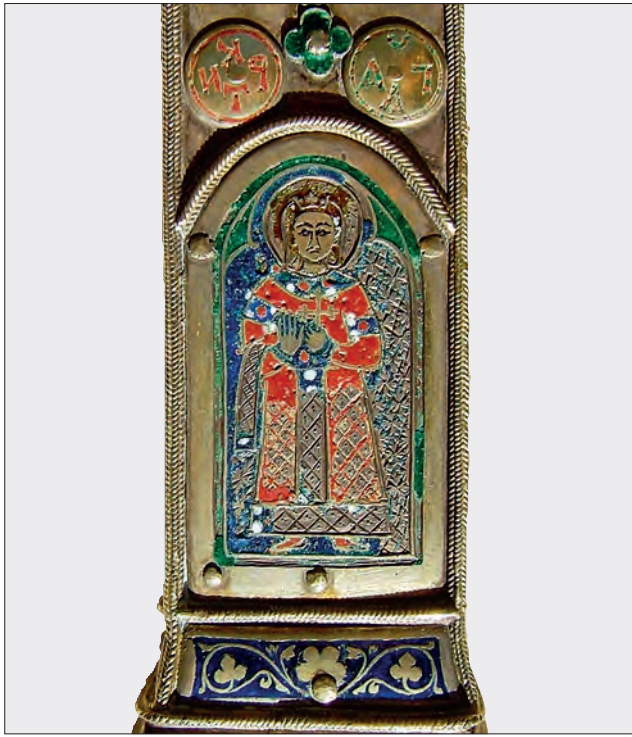


Fig. 11 Sinai cross, plaque at the foot of the cross with depiction of Saint Catherine. – (Photo P. Hetherington).



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]ρο Αλεχίου 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 Florence¹⁷, 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 ΓΕΡΑΣΙΜΩ«, »[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 possibly more significantly), Gerasimos was the name of the Cypriot bishop of Arsinoe, who died in 1320¹⁸. 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 / ΤΟΠς, 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 Kykottissa 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 oxidation 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 tradition¹⁹. 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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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-taille* 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. Jahrhunderts 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.

Two Little-Known Pre-Mongolian *Cloisonné* Enamel Medallions in the Moscow Kremlin Armoury Collection: On the Peculiarities of Denominative Inscriptions of the Virgin in the Art of Pre-Mongolian Rus'

The Moscow Kremlin Armoury Chamber houses a small round gold icon with the bust of the Virgin in *cloisonné* enamel dated to the late 12th or early 13th century (inv. no. MP-980; dm 4cm)¹ (fig. 1). This round enamel icon belongs to the complex of Russo-Byzantine artworks of the so-called Old Ryazan' treasure-trove found in 1822 on the place of the city of Old Ryazan' (fig. 2). On the round enamel icon, we see the frontal half-figure of the Virgin with palms open in front of her chest in the gesture of praying. The long, thin fingers are filled with enamel, which is thought to have been milky in colour originally, although now much darkened by corrosion. The same goes for all the other enamel colours: the enamel layer is corroded and partly crumbled because these archaeological finds had been buried in the earth and also because of the manufacturing techniques used. As we know, Russian craftsmen had some difficulties with certain stages of enamel production.

On the both sides of the Virgin's depiction, there is a vertically arranged Greco-Cyrillic inscription. It is a denominative inscription A/M/PH/A and can be read either: as ἀ(γία) Μ(α)ρ<ι>α (»St Mary«), if read in column from left to the right, with two abbreviation signs – shifted A and PH; or as Μαρ<ι>α (»Mary«), if read in a circular direction. The original red enamel on the letters is practically lost. The Greek letters of the denominative inscription have a characteristic itacistic misspelling – η instead of an iota (ι) – and a Cyrillic shape. The letters' palaeography allows dating of the inscription to the last quarter of the 12th or early 13th century².

Such an inscription is not typical for the Russian tradition of the time (which would be ΜΡ ΘΥ, Mētēr Theou, »Mother of God«), so it was considered to be a copy of an archaic inscription. This point of view was based on the observations of Nikodim Kondakov, who wrote about the tradition of the Virgin's denomination MARA (MARIA) in early Christian catacombs³. Examples are the 6th-century bottom of a cup with



Fig. 1 Gold icon with the depiction of the Virgin, 12th-early 13th centuries, Moscow Kremlin Museums, inv. no. MP-980. – (© Moscow Kremlin Museums).

the depiction of Our Lady from the Christian Museum of the Vatican and the bottom of the 4th-century glass cup from the collection of the Vatican's Apostolic Library in Rome⁴.

However, this inscription appears in variations on many Western European monuments of the 8th-12th centuries with the same denominative inscription of the Virgin in Latin. Here is a series of examples:

- SCA MARIA in the depiction of the Virgin in the Chapel of SS Quiricus and Julitta, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, 8th century (fig. 3)⁵

1 Shashina, *Osobennosti nadpisi* 43-52.

2 Rybakov, *Nadpisi pl. III-IV*.

3 Kondakov, *Ikonografija* 1, 77-79.

4 Kondakov, *Ikonografija* 1, 77-79.

5 Webb, *Churches and Catacombs* 112-123.



Fig. 2 The necklace «barmas» from the 1822 Old-Ryazan' treasure-trove, 12th-early 13th centuries, Moscow Kremlin Museums, inv. no MP-971, MP-972, MP-973. – (© Moscow Kremlin Museums).

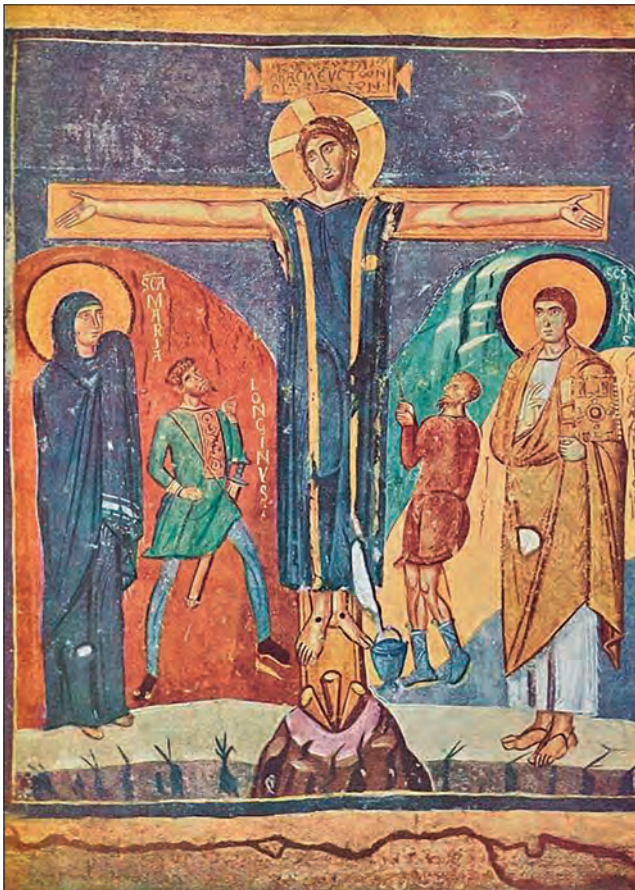


Fig. 3 Depiction (fresco) of the Virgin in the Chapel of Sts Quiricus and Julitta of Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, c. 750. – (From Webb, Churches and Catacombs 112).

- Latin inscription +MARIA+ and Greek denomination MP ΘΥ on a gold solidus of the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI, the Wise (886-908), Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C.⁶
- S(ancta) MA/RI/A on the portable altar of St Foy from the vestry of Conques Abbey, France, c. 1100⁷
- Inscription MA/RIA on the bust of the Virgin on the Chasse of Champagnat from Saint-Martial Cathedral in Champagnat, Limoges, Metropolitan Museum, New York, c. 1150⁸
- Inscription SCA MARIA on a mosaic depiction of the Virgin Orans, Archiepiscopal Museum of Ravenna, 12th century⁹
- Inscription S(ancta) MARIA in the Crucifixion scene on an enamel medallion from Conques, France, Metropolitan Museum New York, c. 1100¹⁰
- S(ancta) MAR/IA on a *champlevé* medallion from the Meuse Valley, Metropolitan Museum New York, c. 1150¹¹
- SCA/MARIA in the Crucifixion scene on *champlevé* enamel from the Meuse Valley, Metropolitan Museum New York, c. 1150-1175¹²
- Two denominative inscriptions MARIA on the St Calminius reliquary in the Abbey of St Pierre Mozac, c. 1185-1197¹³

6 Cat. New York 1997, 213-214 no. 147C (William E. Metcalf).

7 Cat. New York 1996 no. 1 (E. Taburet-Delahaye).

8 Cat. New York 1996 no. 10 (B. Drake Boehm).

9 Bovini, Ravenna pl. 91.

10 Houghton, Metropolitan Museum 24-25 fig. 35.

11 Nigel, Twelfth-Century Mosan Enamels 272 no. 41.

12 Wixom, Medieval Art 42.

13 Gauthier/Gaborit/Antoine, Corpus cat. B1 no. 32.



Fig. 4 Mosaic of the Virgin Mary in the apse of the Church of the Panagia Angeloktisti in Kiti, Cyprus, 6th-7th centuries. – (From Étingof/Sarab'janov, Angeloktisty Panagii 299).



Fig. 5 Double monogram «ή Αγία Μαρία» («Hagia Maria») from the nave of Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, c. 750. – (From Kondakov, Ikonografija 1, 273).

There are only three monuments with Greek denominative inscriptions of Our Lady as Maria:

- +Η ΑΓΙΑ+ΜΑΡΙΑ+ on the mosaic depiction of the Virgin standing with archangels in the apse of the Church of the Panagia Angeloktisti in Kiti on Cyprus, 6th-7th centuries¹⁴ (fig. 4)
- A half-length depiction of the Virgin with Child in the niche of the right pillar of the main nave of Santa Maria Antiqua Church in Rome (751-752), showing the double monogram «ή Αγία Μαρία»¹⁵ (fig. 5)
- A fragment of a fresco in the bottom of the left wall of presbytery of Santa Maria Antiqua with a fragment of the inscription «(Η) ΑΓΙΑ (ΜΑΡΙΑ)»¹⁶

It is known that the usual denomination of the Virgin on icons as **MP ΘΥ** (μ(ήτηρ) θ(εο)ύ, «Mother of God») became obligatory in Byzantine art after the Third Oecumenical Council, the Council of Ephesus (431). The Council decreed that the Virgin should be named Θεοτόκος («Θεοτόκον τὴν Μαρίαν λέγειν») and condemned the teachings of Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, proposing the denomination Χριστοτόκος as «Christ was God in the moment of conception». Socrates' «Historia ecclesiastica» (VII, 32) says: «Θεοτόκον τὴν Μαρίαν καλεῖτω μηδεὶς. Μαρία γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἦν: ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου δὲ θεὸν τεχθῆναι ἀδύνατον»¹⁷ («Nobody shall call Maria Theotokos, because Maria was human, and a human cannot give birth to God»). Needless to say that the tradition of calling Maria «Θεοτόκος» became stronger after Iconoclasm, which ended in 843, and the schism of



Fig. 6 Plaque with the depiction of Our Lady, executed in *cloisonné* enamel, decorating the epitachelion of Alexis the Metropolitan, Moscow Kremlin Museums, Armoury Collection, inv. no. TK-3. – (© Moscow Kremlin Museums).

1054 between the Western and Eastern Christian churches. Thus, the denomination of the Virgin by her human name Maria was not traditional for the art of the Byzantine world but closes to Western traditions. Noteworthy is the absence of the epithet «saint» (ΑΓΙΑ) in the inscription on the Krem-

¹⁴ Étingof/Sarab'janov, Angeloktisty Panagii.

¹⁵ Kondakov, Ikonografija 1, 273.

¹⁶ Kondakov, Ikonografija 1, 273.

¹⁷ Sokrates, Historia ecclesiastica col. 897-808.



Fig. 7 Epitrachelion of Alexis the Metropolitan of the late 14th century, Moscow Kremlin Museums, Armoury Collection, inv. no. TK-3. – (© Moscow Kremlin Museums).

lin medallion. Most likely, the inscription on the sample the maker was copying was the Latin SCA MARIA, the maker did not copy the letters SCA (Sancta); the combination of letters RI being written in the more usual and customary Greek way as PH. Thus, I consider the denominative inscription on our medallion to be the Greco-Cyrillic copy of a Latin inscription.

This might prove that Pre-Mongolian Rus' was much closer to the Western world as has been thought. Due to archaeological data and written sources, we certainly know that Russian princes and clergy received many gifts, such as relics, icons, church utensils, from both Constantinople and West-European countries, from the very moment of the Christianisation

of Rus' in the 10th century¹⁸. In the 11th century, many Latin codices and luxurious artworks were in use at the Russian court, because the nobility had been Latinised through the great number of dynastic marriages with representatives of Western European dynasties. By the 13th century, the House of Rurikovich had 65 marriages with foreigners: 58 with representatives of Western Europe (Poland, Scandinavia, Germany, Hungary) and only five with representatives of Byzantium.

There is evidence of a late 11th to early 12th-century Russian cult of eminent European saints, such as St Vitus, St Apollinaris of Ravenna and St Anastasia the Martyr¹⁹.

The iconographic type of the Virgin with palms in front of the chest is linked with a Byzantine type that appeared after the Iconoclastic period and is often met on Middle Byzantine coins, seals, cameos and medals. Examples include the serpentine relief of the Virgin Mary, the inscription of which mentions Emperor of Nikephoros Botaneiates (1078-1081) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London²⁰, and the mosaic depiction of Our Lady in the central dome of San Marco, Venice (12th century)²¹. Nikodim Kondakov connected this iconography of the Virgin with the compositions of the Ascension of Christ and the Pentecost²². He also linked it with Western iconography of the Assumption of the Virgin (in the sense of both the spiritual and corporal assumption of the Mother of God), the type of »Assunta« established in Western iconography by the 12th century.

In summary, the gold *cloisonné* icon with the depiction of Our Lady and the inscription »Maria« is an interesting example of a synthesis of Russo-Byzantine and West-European artistic traditions in Pre-Mongolian Rus'.

The other silver gilt round plate discussed here shows a half-figure of Our Lady executed in *cloisonné* enamel (inv. no. TK-3, dm 2.2 cm)²³ (figs 6-7). It is one of the Pre-Mongolian enamel plaques that decorate the epitachelion of Alexis the Metropolitan (1354-1378) of the late 14th century, displayed in the Kremlin's Armoury collection. The epitachelion was brought to the Armoury in 1920 from the Patriarchal Vestry. The round plaques are remnants of two Deesis medallion sets (five plaques have practically lost the enamel layer).

The bust depiction of the Virgin is a pair to the depiction of St John the Baptist. The quality of the enamelled piece is definitely worse than that of the other one from the Ryazan' trove. It belongs to the time of the decline of Pre-Mongolian *cloisonné* craftsmanship. The Virgin's depiction is modelled with thick compartments shaped as oval and angular lines. The palms of the Virgin (with four fingers!) are placed in front of her chest in the gesture of praying, modelled with enamel of dark reddish and not clear colour. The left palm is de-



Fig. 8 Inscription A/TI/A M/AP/OA in the 12th-century Deesis scene in the apse of the Saviour Church on Neredica, Novgorod. – (© Sarabianov/Smirnova, Istorija fig. 152).

picted on the reddish background (this peculiarity of Old Russian *cloisonné* is called »mitten« in the Russian literature)²⁴. On both sides of the depiction we see the horizontal denominative Greco-Cyrillic inscription ΜΡ/ΦΑ (M[á]ρφα) with abbreviation signs. The shape of the letters is Cyrillic, but they were cut by an inexperienced hand. Their palaeography allows us to date the inscription to not before the late 12th century, more likely the 13th century²⁵. Taking into consideration the signs of the titles, I believe that the maker must have made a mistake and copied the monogram of the Virgin ΜΡ/ΘΥ as ΜΡ/ΦΑ. St Maximus the Greek, who lived in Rus' for many years in the first half of the 16th century, wrote about multiple cases of corruption and misspelling of abbreviations of the Mother of God as »Μαρθα« or »Μηρθυ« by Russian makers due to their ignorance of Greek. In his writings, he explained the meaning of Greek abbreviations of Christ and the Mother of God to those who did not know their meaning²⁶. Analogous to the denominative inscription of the Virgin

18 Nazarenko, *Meždunarodnyh putjach* 451. 505. 559.

19 Kostromin, *Cerkovnye svjazi* 6-19.

20 Cat. New York 1997 cat. no. 130 (R. G. Ousterhout).

21 Demus, *Mosaic Decoration* 5-6.

22 Kondakov, *Ikonografija* 1, 357-358. 364-365.

23 Rybakov, *Russkoe prikladnoe* tab. 118.

24 Makarova, *Peregodčatye emali* cat. no. 127.

25 Medynceva, *Gramotnost'* pl. 1.

26 Avdeev, *Iz istorii drevnerusskoj epigrafiki i stavrografii* 273-276.

in the Deesis on the epitachelion of Alexis the Metropolitan is the inscription Α/ΓΙ/Α Μ/ΑΡ/ΘΑ of the Deesis scene (1199) in the apse of the Saviour Church on Neredica in Novgorod (fig. 8, after the church was destroyed during the Second World War, only archive photographs exist). To the right of the Saviour, there is the half-figure of the Virgin Hagiosoritissa with a column inscription Α/ΓΙ/Α Μ/ΑΡ/ΘΑ. Nikodim Kondakov wrote that the name Μάρθα must have appeared because the maker did not understand the traditional Greek or Bulgarian Deesis inscription ΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ²⁷. Kondakov considered such a »Maria« inscription to be an archaism. Modern scholar Lev Livshits has developed another theory: he believed that the depiction of St John the Baptist was dedicated to the heavenly patron of the church donator Prince Jaroslav, and the depiction of St Martha was dedicated to his spouse (whose name could have been Martha)²⁸. The scholar based this on the Medieval worship of the sisters of Lazarus, Martha and Maria, and their likening to the Vir-

gin. However, this version does not seem to be convincing. A much easier explanation for the appearance of the denomination Α/ΓΙ/Α Μ/ΑΡ/ΘΑ on the depiction of the Mother of God is that, in the Neredica Church, it is the idea that the words are the Virgin's monogram ΜΗΡ ΘΥ erroneously written as ΜΑΡΘΑ and put together with the Greek epithet ΑΓΙΑ (ἁγία, »saint«). The maker of the medallion on the epitachelion of Alexis the Metropolitan must have made the same mistake; however, he did not add epithets to the misspelled monogram of the Virgin. The very original inscription copied by the enamelist may have been incorrect.

The words of St Maximus the Greek about the ignorance of Greek among Russian makers may be the key to such »mysterious« cases of denomination such as of the Virgin as St Martha. Such examples in the art of Pre-Mongolian Rus' bring us to understand that poor knowledge or ignorance of the Greek language was common for makers at this time when they worked in the field of Byzantine traditions.

Conclusion

The two enamel medallions presented here exemplify misunderstandings in the denominations of the Virgin Mary in Pre-Mongolian art. The first example suggests a stronger Latin

influence on Pre-Mongolian art than hitherto thought. The second demonstrates that Greek was not widely known in Pre-Mongolian Rus'.

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²⁷ Kondakov, *Ikonografija* 2, 310-311.

²⁸ Lifšic, *Neredicy* 188-196.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Two Little-Known Pre-Mongolian *Cloisonné* Enamel Medallions in the Moscow Kremlin Armoury Collection: On the Peculiarities of Denominative Inscriptions of the Virgin in the Art of Pre-Mongolian Rus'

The Moscow Kremlin Armoury collection houses two Pre-Mongolian Russian *cloisonné* medallions with the bust of the Virgin Mary. A small 12th-century gold medallion from the 1822 Ryazan' treasure-trove bears the denominative inscription is A/M//PH/A – á(γ)ia M(α)ρ<í>α (or Map<í>α, depending on the reading order) as opposed to MP ΘY, Mētēr Theou, »Mother of God«. The maker of the Ryazan' medallion with the Virgin may have copied a Latin inscription »SCA MARIA« from a Western artwork.

On the second enamel on the epitachelion of St Alexis the Metropolitan, the inscription reads MP/ΦΑ – M(á)ρφα, most likely an erroneous copy of the Greek letters MP/ΘY. The closest analogy is in the Saviour Church on Neredica, Novgorod (Deesis fresco in the apse, 1199), reading A/ΓΙ/Α M/AP/ΘΑ, perhaps a misspelling of MHP ΘY as MAPΘΑ in combination with the Cyrillic spelling of »ΑΓΙΑ« (»áγία«).

St Maximus the Greek (1475-1556) noted that the misspelling of MP ΘY as »Mapθα« or »Μιρθυ« by Russian makers was common due to their poor knowledge of Greek. The two denominative inscriptions of the Mother of God discussed here seem to prove this, but also hint at close relations of Pre-Mongolian Rus' with Western culture.

Zwei wenig bekannte vormongolische Medaillons aus *Cloisonné*-Email in der Rüstkammer des Moskauer Kremls: Zu den Besonderheiten der denominativen Inschriften von Mariendarstellungen in der Kunst der vormongolischen Rus'

Die Rüstkammer im Moskauer Kreml beherbergt zwei russische Medaillons des 12. Jhs. in *Cloisonné*-Email aus der Zeit vor dem Mongolensturm. Bei dem einen handelt es sich um ein goldenes Medaillon aus dem Schatzfund von Rjazan', das die Inschrift A/M//PH/A – á(γ)ia M(α)ρ<í>α trägt (oder Map<í>α, je nach Leserichtung), im Gegensatz zu MP ΘY, Mētēr Theou, »Mutter Gottes«. Der Handwerker hat hier möglicherweise die lateinische Inschrift »SCA MARIA« von einem Stück westlichen Ursprungs kopiert.

Auf dem zweiten Email, das sich auf dem Epitachelion des hl. Metropoliten Alexej befindet, ist die Inschrift MP/ΦΑ – M(á)ρφα zu lesen, höchstwahrscheinlich ein Schreibfehler der griechischen Buchstaben MP/ΘY. Die beste Analogie findet sich in der in der Erlöser-Kirche in Neredica, Novgorod (A/ΓΙ/Α M/AP/ΘΑ), vielleicht eine fehlerhafte Wiedergabe von MHP ΘY als MAPΘΑ, in Kombination kyrillischen Schreibweise von »ΑΓΙΑ« (»áγία«).

Der hl. Maxim der Griechen (1475-1556) bemerkte bereits die oft fehlerhafte Schreibweise von MP ΘY als »Mapθα« oder »Μιρθυ«, die er auf die dürftigen Griechischkenntnisse der russischen Handwerker zurückführte. Die beiden hier besprochenen Emails scheinen dies zu bestätigen, weisen aber auch auf enge Beziehungen der Rus' mit dem Westen in der Zeit vor dem Mongolensturm.

Displaying an Icon: The Mosaic Icon of Saint Demetrios at Sassoferato and its Frame

The mosaic icon of St Demetrios in its splendid silver frame, today in the Museo Civico in Sassoferato in the Marche region of central Italy (fig. 1), has been the focus of scholarly disagreement from its first publication in the year 1901¹ to the present day. The dating has varied from the 14th to the 17th century², the classification from Byzantine object of art to »one of the oldest Byzantine fakes«³ or »hyper-Byzantine collage«⁴. It had its most prominent appearance in 2004, when it was on view in the »Byzantium. Faith and Power« exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum in New York⁵. The following year, it even made a short visit to Thessaloniki, where it was shown in the Basilica of St Demetrios on the occasion of the 1700-year anniversary of the martyrdom of the saint. The problematic part of the icon has always been the frame; in this article, I want to explain it as a genuine Byzantine object of art and veneration of the 14th century.

The mosaic icon was given together with a collection of western reliquaries to his city of birth by Niccolò Perotti (1430-1480), secretary to Cardinal Bessarion and archbishop of Siponto⁶. His gifts were placed in the Monastery of Santa Chiara di Sassoferato from where they were transferred to the Museo Civico in 1861. We owe this information to local tradition as is made clear by the first written testimony from 1753 that cites a document from 1472⁷. The first description and illustration of the mosaic icon and its frame is given in a document from 1772⁸. There seems to be no reason not to trust the local tradition. How in fact the object ended up

in Perotti's possession is an open question: it may have been given to him by Cardinal Bessarion, who owned several mosaic icons, but there is no proof for this⁹. Perotti may have even acquired it himself in the East; his travels took him as far as Trebizond¹⁰.

Anthony Cutler has argued that the mosaic icon was made for Perotti himself in the 15th century on the basis that the shield of St Demetrios shows what he believes is the coat of arms of the Perotti family¹¹. Indeed, the standing white lion against a blue background with golden stylized flowers looks like a coat of arms. The coat of arms of the Perotti family, however, depicts a silver lion climbing a golden ladder against a red background¹². This clearly proves that the lion cannot be the coat of arms of Perotti. The assumption by Jannic Durand¹³, that the coat of arms is a later restoration is also incorrect, since X-ray images taken during the recent restoration reveal no traces of any secondary interference¹⁴.

This type of almond-shaped or kite-shaped shield, a type sometimes called a »Norman shield«, does not look Byzantine at first, but it is known from Byzantine images since the mid-11th century¹⁵. An early example is a steatite icon from the monastery of Vatopedi¹⁶. A very prominent example is in the church of Nerezi (dated 1164), where St Theodore Tiron holds a shield of the same type even with a lion on it¹⁷. Warrior saints at Sopoćani – painted in the years 1263-1268 – again depict this type of shield but also the rampant lion on a Byzantine round shield¹⁸. A manuscript from the

1 The first publication outside of local scholarship is Savignoni, Reliquiario, already questioning whether the frame is »un'imitazione di una più antica bizantina«.

2 The bibliography for the piece is vast, for a recent overview see Moretti, Roma bizantina 24-26 with n. 81-94.

3 Chatzidakis, Ikonen aus Griechenland LXXXV (»Es dürfte sich um eine der ältesten byzantinischen Fälschungen handeln...«).

4 Bauer, Stadt und Patron 457-460 (esp. 460).

5 Cat. New York 2004, 231-233 no. 139 (J. Durand). – The icon was already on exhibition in Athens 1964 (Cat. Athens 1964, 238 no. 171 [D. Mouriki], icon 14th c., frame 16th c.), due to its state of conservation it was not in the exhibition in Ravenna 1990 (Cat. Ravenna 1990, 112 no. 42, 14th c. [S. Romano]). – Barucca, Icona musiva di San Demetrio 25). – 2011/12 in an exhibition in Cleveland/Baltimore/London: Cat. Cleveland 2011, 201 no. 115 (icon 14th or 15th c., frame probably Italian mid-15th century [K. B. Gerry]); an essay in the catalogue by D. Krueger mentions the frame as »possibly contemporaneous with the mosaic« (p. 15).

6 Still fundamental Mercati, Niccolò Perotti. – For an overview on recent scholarship Charlet, Nicolò Perotti. – D'Alessandro, Perotti.

7 Barucca, Reliquiari a Sassoferato 9-10, on the icon 15-16 fig. 23, on the other reliquaries 13-18 fig. 3-25. – Barucca, Raccolta di reliquie e reliquiari 28, on the icon 30-33 fig. 17, on the other reliquaries 34-42 fig. 18-21.

8 Barucca, Reliquiari a Sassoferato 10-11 fig. 2. – Barucca, Icona musiva di San Demetrio 22-23 fig. 16. – Barucca, Raccolta di reliquie e reliquiari 28-29.

9 First proposed by Bettini, Appunti 19-20, thereafter repeated by many authors. On Bessarion and other mosaic icons Cutler, Changing Modes 251-252. – Effenberger, Images of Personal Devotion 211. – On Bessarion and Byzantine art objects in general Moretti, Roma bizantina 18-29.

10 Mohler, Kardinal Bessarion 266. 409; not mentioned in Mercati, Niccolò Perotti.

11 Cutler, Changing Modes 253-254. The early form of the coat of arms only had the lion on a ladder, the later form was quartered with the lion on a ladder and a black eagle, see Mercati, Niccolò Perotti 51 pl. 5.

12 Examples in manuscripts Mercati, Niccolò Perotti pl. 1. 3. 5; a relief with the coat of arms in Bauer, Stadt und Patron 458 fig. 6.

13 Cat. New York 2004, 232 (J. Durand).

14 Aldrovandi et al., Indagini scientifiche 11-12 fig. 2-3.

15 Grotowski, Warrior Saints 231-236.

16 Grotowski, Warrior Saints fig. 33.

17 Sincević, Nerezi fig. 62. – Grotowski, Warrior Saints fig. 45b; the similarity is also stated by Ousterhout, Mittelalterliche Heraldik 93. – For the lion on Byzantine shields Grotowski, Warrior Saints 246-248.

18 Grabar/Velmans, Sopoćani pl. 40.



Fig. 1 Sassoferato, Museo Civico, Mosaic icon of St Demetrios. – (From Aldrovandi et al., *Indagini scientifiche* 18 fig. 1).

Kievan Rus', the Fjodor Evangeliary at Yaroslavl (dated to 1321-1327), shows a related shield again with the white lion rampant¹⁹, further Late Byzantine examples can be added²⁰. Obviously, this type of shield and decoration was widely used in the pictorial language of Middle and Late Byzantium. There is absolutely no need for any direct connection to the West.

The use of the lion rampant is also much too common to connect this heraldic device to a particular person, as has been suggested by Robert Nelson. He connected the icon at Sassoferato with Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotas, well known from his funeral chapel, the parekklesion of the Pammakaristos Church in Constantinople²¹, where a lion rampant is depicted on the cornice²². If we take heraldry seriously, we see there a red lion going to the right, not a white lion going to the left as on our icon. Therefore, there is no plausible connection.

Mosaic icons are probably the most elaborate form of Byzantine painting, closely related to the imperial court and high ranking commissioners²³. According to stylistic analysis, the mosaic icon at Sassoferato was executed in the 14th century as a typical work of Palaiologan art²⁴. This date is further confirmed by the radiocarbon analysis dating of the wooden support of the icon to 1279 ± 26 years²⁵, which gives a *terminus post quem*. This analysis was done during the restoration of the icon in the laboratory of the Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence in 1995. This careful examination, including X-ray, revealed that there are no indications that the metal revetment of the icon is secondary, there are no traces of earlier phases like holes for nails²⁶. All the holes are related to the frame we see today.

In the following, I will argue that the icon and the revetment of its frame have to be understood as two complimentary devices connected to the cult of St Demetrios and Thessaloniki and to a specific commissioner, affiliated with this saint and with this city.

The mosaic icon measures 12.5 cm × 5.5 cm, the frame doubles its size to 24.3 cm × 16 cm (fig. 1). As we see, the frame today is partly damaged. This happened in 1894 when the icon was stolen from the Museo Civico and only recovered in a damaged condition a year later²⁷. Fortunately, an old photograph taken before this date exists (fig. 2)²⁸.

The wide wooden frame of the icon, made out of poplar wood, is covered with a silver revetment. In the upper corners, there are two crosses, each quarter of which is articulated with the letter B, the so-called *tetrabasileion*. The lower corners depict a double-headed, crowned eagle. The upper frame panel, now partly missing, bears the inscription IC XC NI KA, and contains a silver ampulla in the middle, with the inscription TO AFION MYPON («the holy oil»). This part is now completely lost, giving view to a lead ampulla that had been incorporated into an opening in the wooden frame, its neck towering above it. This ampulla could not be seen before the destruction of the frame, only its outer form and the inscription. Below the ampulla was set a small amethyst intaglio depicting a beardless head, probably an ancient piece, now lost, just as the ten rubies originally placed onto the edges of the frame and the cap of the ampulla made out of sapphire. Furthermore, the central piece of the lower frame panel was stolen during the theft of 1894: a Byzantine cameo depicting the bust of a male saint holding a cross. Most likely, this was a cameo depicting St Demetrios as a martyr, as known from two other examples²⁹. Next to this, we find the inscription AFIOΣ twice, evoking the sainthood of the image, and in the corners a double-headed, crowned eagle.

The icon itself becomes a reliquary through the incorporation of the lead ampulla, a highly unusual feature in Byzantium. There are very few examples of icons containing relics³⁰, including two more mosaic icons. One is the icon with the crucifixion now in Berlin, with ten round depressions in its frame, some still containing particles of relics³¹. The second, an icon depicting four church fathers in Saint Petersburg, has a frame incorporating relics; however, this frame might be a later Russian alteration³². Other prominent examples are two closely related painted icons produced in the second half of the 14th century for Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina (fig. see p. 140 fig. 22), the diptych with its splendid metal revetment now in Cuenca and an icon nowadays without its revetment kept at the Monastery of the Transfiguration in Meteora³³. Below images of saints on the frame are small slots in which relics of saints were placed. These slots were originally covered by the revetment, as is still visible on the Cuenca Diptych. The place of origin of these two icons is un-

19 Popova, *Altrussische Buchmalerei* pl. 18.

20 Androudis, *Emblèmes héraldiques* 31-33. – Spier, *Late Byzantine Rings* 45-46. – Bauer, *Stadt und Patron* 457 fig. 7-11 (all with further references).

21 Nelson, *Shield* 11.

22 Belting et al., *Pammakaristos* pl. V. 94-95.

23 On mosaic icons in general Demus, *Mosaic Icons* (the Sassoferato icon p. 93). – Furlan, *Icone bizantine* – Krickelberg-Pütz, *Mosaikikone des Hl. Nikolaus*. – Demus, *Byzantinische Mosaikikonen* (the Sassoferato icon p. 11). – Effenberger, *Images of Personal Devotion* 209-212. – Ryder, *Micromosaic Icons* (the Sassoferato icon p. 128-132). – Fafalios, *Psēphidotes eikones* (the Sassoferato icon 85-88 no. 26).

24 Chatzidakis, *Ikonen aus Griechenland XXVIII* (end of the 14th c.). – Furlan, *Icone bizantine* 31-32. 96-97 no. 41 (last quarter of the 14th c.). – Krickelberg-Pütz, *Mosaikikone des Hl. Nikolaus* 98-99 (late Palaiologan). – Cat. New York 2004, 231 (J. Durand) (beginning of the 14th century).

25 Aldrovandi et al., *Indagini scientifiche* 16.

26 Aldrovandi et al., *Indagini scientifiche* 9-16 fig. 2-3.

27 Barucca, *Reliquiari a Sassoferato* 11. – Barucca, *Icona musiva di San Demetrio* 23. – Barucca, *Raccolta di reliquie e reliquiari* 30.

28 Bettini, *Appunti* 19 fig. 1. – Theocharis, *Eikon* pl. 2. – Aldrovandi et al., *Indagini scientifiche* 17 fig. 8.

29 Wentzel, *Kamee* 105 with n. 21 (Vatican) and n. 22 (Laubach). – On glass cameos, the bust of Demetrios is always shown as military saint with a spear: Wentzel, *Enkolpion* 11-24 fig. 3. – Wentzel, *Medaillon* 66 no. 37-38 fig. 10.

30 On icons as reliquaries in Byzantine Rapti, *Images du Christ* 215-221.

31 Cat. New York 2004, 221-222 no. 130 (A. Effenberger). – Indicated by the relics the piece must have been in Rome, Buschhausen, *Frage des makedonischen Ursprungs* 59; for the provenance from a Roman aristocratic collection Pizzoli, *Roma* 359.

32 Cat. New York 2004, 225-227 no. 134 (Y. Piatnitsky).

33 Cat. New York 2004, 51-54 no. 24B-C (L. Deriziotis). – Martínez Sáez, *Diptyco bizantino*.



Fig. 2 Sassoferrato, Museo Civico, Mosaic icon of St Demetrios prior to 1894. – (From Aldrovandi et al., *Indagini scientifiche* 17 fig. 8).

known. They have been ascribed to Ioannina, the residence of Maria and her husband, Meteora, Thessaloniki, or even Constantinople. In any case, they prove that the custom of incorporating relics was known in northern Greece during the Late Byzantine period. Whether this is a western influence at this late date is, however, an open question³⁴.

Large metal revetments are known from many other Byzantine icons, especially of the Palaiologan period³⁵, but the revetment of the Sassoferatto icon is not related to any other known example, they all look very different and much more ornamental. The unique Sassoferatto frame focuses on the inscriptions, the heraldic devices and the relic as no other revetment does.

Neither the place of production of the icon, nor the metal frame can be unequivocally determined. Mosaic icons have been generally connected to the court at Constantinople, but some, including the Sassoferatto icon, have been occasionally attributed to Thessaloniki. In addition, the frame has been attributed to Thessaloniki, especially because of the incorporation of the ampulla for the *myron* (oil), which comes from Thessaloniki³⁶.

The key to understanding the icon is given by the inscriptions. The inscription to the right reads »This ampulla bears holy oil drawn from the well in which the body of the divine Demetrios reposes, which gushes here and accomplishes miracles for the entire universe and for the faithful«³⁷. The text thus explains the reason for the incorporation of the ampulla at the top of the icon. Since the 12th century, the existence of miraculous oil (the *myron*) connected with the cult of St Demetrios is well attested in the sources. We know lead ampullae from the late 12th to the 14th centuries that contained the holy *myron* for pilgrims to the saint's tomb, called *koutrouvia*³⁸. Examples were found at various places in northern Greece and the Balkans. One of these ampullae, a cherished relic in itself, is the one incorporated at the top of the icon frame³⁹. On one side, it shows St Demetrios holding a cross and, on the opposite side, St Theodora, the second *myron*-giving saint of Thessaloniki.

Thus, St Demetrios is present on the icon three times: twice in the form of his image, on the mosaic icon and on the

lost cameo; the third time in the form of his venerated relics, the ampulla with the *myron*.

The second inscription on the left, now lost, even alludes to the historical situation that necessitated the appearance of St Demetrios: »O great martyr Demetrios! Intercede with God that he may help me, I, Your faithful servant, the basileus of the Romans, Justinian, to conquer my enemies and subjugate them beneath my feet«⁴⁰.

This enigmatic inscription naming an emperor Justinian has always troubled scholars. For example, Maria Theocharis even set forth the theory that the frame was commissioned by Marc' Antonio Giustiniano, Doge of Venice from 1684 to 1686. He claimed descent from the family of Justinian and was involved in the last great western attempt against the Turks, thus she dates the frame to late 17th century Venice⁴¹. This is an impossible explanation, as icon and frame, which are inseparable, were already in Sassoferatto in the 15th century.

In my opinion, the inscription was sufficiently explained by Alexander Vasiliev in 1950⁴², as referring to a victory of Justinian II (r. 685-695 and 705-711). In 688, he defeated the Macedonian Slavs, who had threatened Thessaloniki, and was honoured by a triumphal entry into the city. The connection of Justinian II to the church of St Demetrios is known through a long dedicatory inscription⁴³; his entry into the church has sometimes been seen in a fresco in the church⁴⁴. The Slavs could – according to contemporary legend – only be repelled thanks to the supernatural intervention of St Demetrios himself. Nevertheless, it took many centuries before this important event was introduced into art, notably at a time of renewed pressure on Thessaloniki during the Late Byzantine period. It was in the 14th century that Demetrios protecting the city against the Slavs appeared in a wall painting in Dečani⁴⁵.

The 14th century was a difficult time for Thessaloniki⁴⁶. In 1308, the Catalans besieged the city, although unsuccessfully. In the 1320s, the city was a focus of contention between Andronikos II and Andronikos III. In 1334 and 1341, the city was attacked by the Serbs. In the 1340s, the city fell temporarily under the control of the Zealots. The Ottomans attacked Thessaloniki in 1383 and the city fell to them for the

34 On frames with relics in the west and their relation to Byzantium Preising, Bild und Reliquie esp. 21-22. 39-41. – Zchomelidse, Liminal Phenomena. – On frames in Byzantine art in general Peers, Sacred Shock.

35 See Grabar, Revêtements, his catalogue is not complete at all. – Durand, Icon Revetments. – Moss, Revetments on Late Byzantine Icons. – On the revetments of mosaic icons Furlan, Icone bizantine 26-32.

36 Furlan, Icone bizantine 96. – Demus, Byzantinische Mosaikikonen 11. – Loverdou-Tsigarida, Thessalonique 247-248. The revetments attributed to workshops in Thessaloniki by Loverdou-Tsigarida, Thessalonique 248-252 are not comparable with the Sassoferatto frame. – Antonaras, Thessaloniki 71-72.

37 After Cat. New York 2004, 231 (J. Durand); slightly different Vasiliev, Historical Significance 32 with Greek text.

38 Bakirtzis, Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki. – Totev, Thessalonican Eulogia 53-79. 125-149. – Foskoulou, Blessing for Sale 69-77 fig. 16-18. – Antonaras, Thessaloniki 51-52.

39 I see no visible evidence that this ampulla was added to the wooden frame later as Bauer, Stadt und Patron 454 fig. 2, 460 claims.

40 After Cat. New York 2004, 231 (J. Durand); slightly different Vasiliev, Historical Significance 32 with Greek text.

41 Theocharis, Eikon. – Approvingly Buschhausen, Frage des makedonischen Ursprungs 61. – Effenberger, Images of Personal Devotion 212.

42 Vasiliev, Historical Significance.

43 Vasiliev, Edict. – Bauer, Stadt und Patron 247-249.

44 Vasiliev, Historical Significance 37; sceptical Bauer, Stadt und Patron 242-247 fig. 10. – Now with another more convincing interpretation and dating Bonnekoh, Malereien in Thessaloniki 277-499 colourpl. 24.

45 Walter, Myroblytos of Thessalonika 170-171 fig. 3. – Walter, Warrior Saints 85-89 pl. 49 with further examples.

46 Tafrafi, Thessalonique. – Vasiliev, Historical Significance 37-38. – Barker, Late Byzantine Thessalonike.

first time in 1387. In this Late Byzantine period, St Demetrios was particularly venerated as a warrior saint in Thessaloniki⁴⁷.

Combining this historic background with the text of the inscription, the inscription alludes to the former rescue of the city through the emperor with the help of St Demetrios, the protector of the city. St Demetrios experienced his last peak of cult veneration in the Late Byzantine period and the recollection of the inscription is perfectly fitting for Late Byzantine society. The icon of the saint appeals to the protection of the city by the emperor through the inscription on its frame and evokes the power of the saint through his image and his relics.

A palaeographic element adds another layer to the message of the frame: the shape of the letter sigma. It is not in the common form of the lunar sigma C, the usual shape since the Late Roman period and in Byzantium. Instead, used here is the classical form of the letter: Σ. This is an explicitly archaizing use of the letter, as Cyril Mango has pointed out, which is very rare, but not unknown, in the Middle Byzantine period, as for example in a 9th-century inscription from Ankara⁴⁸ and a painted inscription from Lagoudera (1192)⁴⁹. Following these examples, the use of this letterform as intentionally archaizing makes even more sense in connection with the content of the inscription, the allusion to a much older incident. That the archaizing form of the letter was also in use in Greek humanistic circles in Italy in the 15th century, as indicated by the use of this form in the inscription on the grave of Cardinal Bessarion in Rome⁵⁰, made the frame even more interesting in this period. For Perotti, the icon must have counted as an »antiquity«⁵¹.

The frame does not only refer to an historic event but also to a possible commissioner. My starting point are the two emblems or heraldic devices⁵² on the upper and lower frame panels: the cross with the letter B in each quarter, the *tetrabasilikon*⁵³; and the double-headed, crowned eagle⁵⁴. It has been noted that both are connected to the imperial family of the Palaiologoi, the double-headed eagle has even been called the »coat of arms« of the family. In many examples, the double-headed eagle is connected with the monogram of the Palaiologan family on works of art, clearly commissioned



Fig. 3 Seal of Theodore II Palaiologos of Montferrat (1381-1418). – (From Gentile, *Sigilli* 14 fig. V).

by members of the family. But is there a member of the family in Sassoferatto who may have ordered the icon?

A highly possible candidate is Demetrios Palaiologos (c. 1296-1344; full name Demetrios Angelos Doukas Palaiologos), a son of Andronikos II and Despot of Thessaloniki from about 1322 to 1328⁵⁵. He was named after the saint of Thessaloniki, as he tells us himself in the dedicatory epigram of the Oxford Menologion commissioned by him, which includes a cycle of images of the life of the saint⁵⁶. His veneration of St Demetrios must have been deep: an epigram composed by Manuel Philes on a now lost encolpion, which once belonged to Demetrios, directly connects the despot to Thessaloniki, the saint and the holy *myron*: »The Despot's bosom is the city of Thessaloniki, because Demetrios reposes there in a golden tomb. The tomb exudes *myron*, for Demetrios the illustrious

47 Russell, *Demetrius* esp. 16-21.

48 Mango, *Byzantine Epigraphy* 243-244. – Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme* 77-78.

49 Nicolaidēs, *Lagoudéra* fig. 33. – Problematic is the case of two earrings with the letter form Σ, either 10th-11th c. or modern, see Bosselmann-Ruickbie, *Byzantinischer Schmuck* 64-65 fig. 60-61 and Albani, *Middle Byzantine Earrings* 193 with n. 8 fig. 3. – Boyd/Vikan, *Questions of Authenticity* 21 mention »rare coin types of the later twelfth century« with this letter form without any further reference.

50 Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme* 458-460 no. IT19; 950 fig. LXVII; also on a now lost inscription from Naupaktos: Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme* 308-309 no. GR92 (c. 1497).

51 On Byzantine icons as »antiquities« in the Renaissance see Nagel/Wood, *Antiquity* 58-61, on the Sassoferatto icon 59 (»The inscriptions ... must have reinforced Perotti's conviction that he was in possession of a relic of ancient

Christianity«) with n. 20 (»The revetment was most probably a Palaiologan antiquarian venture«).

52 On heraldic devices in Byzantium in the Palaiologan period see Androudis, *Emblèmes héraldiques*. – Székely/Gorovei, *Insimnele imperiale*. – Ousterhout, *Mittelalterliche Heraldik*. – Ousterhout, *Origins of Heraldry* (all with numerous examples and further bibliography).

53 DOC V 87-88. – Androudis, *Emblèmes héraldiques* 27-30. – Ousterhout, *Mittelalterliche Heraldik* 95-96. – Ousterhout, *Origins of Heraldry* 159. – Babuin, *Standards and Insignia* 38-40.

54 DOC V 85-86. – Androudis, *Emblèmes héraldiques* 16-27. – Ousterhout, *Mittelalterliche Heraldik* 96-97. – Ousterhout, *Origins of Heraldry* 159-161. – Androudis, *Chapiteau* 133-134 with further bibliography n. 9.

55 PLP no. 21456. – Hutter, *Despotes Demetrios Palaiologos* 184-195.

56 Oxford, Bodleian Library cod. Gr. th. f. 1. Hutter, *Corpus* 1-33 no. 1, the epigram fol. 55^v-56^r fig. 104-105. – Hutter, *Despotes Demetrios Palaiologos* 201-214.



Fig. 4 Testone of Guglielmo IX Palaiologos of Montferrat (1494-1518). – (From Éditions Gadoury, no. 1143).



Fig. 5 Box for the icon of St Demetrios. Sassoferato, Museo Civico. – (From Bauer, Stadt und Patron 455 fig. 3).

martyr is within⁵⁷. Furthermore, Demetrios was the owner of a golden container for the *myron*, according to Philes⁵⁸. We even know the tomb of Demetrios in the inner narthex of the Chora Church in Constantinople, the city where he presumably died. Here again the despot shows his devotion to St Demetrios, depicting him as the only inscribed warrior saint on one of the capitals of the tomb⁵⁹.

That the Palaiologan family was interested in the church of St Demetrios at Thessaloniki may be further attested by a small column capital, now kept in the crypt of St Demetrios, with the Palaiologan monogram and the double-headed eagle on two sides, unfortunately, the fourth side shows a different monogram, not that of Demetrios⁶⁰. Also from Thessaloniki comes a lintel with the Palaiologan monogram⁶¹. These pieces may be connected to a tomb, erected by Demetrios for one of his two sons, who died young and was buried in Thessaloniki⁶².

The confirmation that Demetrios Palaiologos was the commissioner of the icon and its frame is given by the heraldic devices of the frame: the combination of the Palaiologan

double-headed eagle and the sign of the fourfold »B«. Both heraldic devices are common in the Palaiologan period, but the combination is rare. The double-headed eagle is extremely seldom seen on coins, but it occurs on coins struck for Demetrios' father Andronikos II in Thessaloniki⁶³. In addition, the *tetrabasileion* first occurs on coins of Andronikos III⁶⁴.

As Philipp Grierson has pointed out, the *tetrabasileion* is associated with the family branch of the Palaiologoi of Montferrat⁶⁵. The Marquisate of Montferrat was in the possession of the Palaiologoi since 1305. Here, the two devices in combination are part of their coat of arms, which occurs frequently on seals (fig. 3)⁶⁶ and coins (fig. 4)⁶⁷. The only other known example of the combination of these two devices are reliefs of the Genoese family of the Gattilusio from the northern Aegean who were closely related to the Palaiologan family⁶⁸, but there is no known relation of the family either to Thessaloniki or to St Demetrios. The fourfold »B« is also depicted on the small wooden box in which the icon is kept in Sassoferato (fig. 5), another indication for the connection with the Palaiologoi of Montferrat. The box has never been subjected to closer examination and has only recently been published⁶⁹.

57 Manuel Philes, *Carmina I* 133-134 no. 269-271. – Walter, *Myroblytos of Thessalonika* 164. – Walter, *Warrior Saints* 82 with n. 59. – Hutter, *Despotes Demetrios Palaiologos* 200-201. – Russell, *Demetrios* 20.

58 Manuel Philes, *Carmina II* 74 no. 32. – Hutter, *Despotes Demetrios Palaiologos* 200.

59 Hjort, *Sculpture* 255-263. – Brooks, *Tomb Decoration* 308-311 pl. 4.28-34. – Cat. New York 2004, 102-103 fig. 4.11-12 (S. Brooks).

60 Tzitzibassi, *Monogramma tōn Palaiologon* 81-87. – Ousterhout, *Origins of Heraldry* 153-156 fig. 1-4. – Androudis, *Chapiteau* 131-135 fig. 1-6.

61 Tzitzibassi, *Monogramma tōn Palaiologon* fig. 11. – Ousterhout, *Origins of Heraldry* 153-156 fig. 5. – Androudis, *Chapiteau* 136 fig. 7.

62 Androudis, *Chapiteau* 137-139.

63 Bendall, *Coinage Later Palaeologan* 206-207 no. 4. – DOC V 85-86.

64 Bendall, *Coinage Later Palaeologan* 96-99 no. 48-49. – DOC V no. 699-700 (joint reign with Michael IX 1294-1320 or later).

65 DOC V 88. The sign does not appear on the coinage of Theodore I (1305-1338), as Grierson states.

66 Beginning with Theodore II (1381-1418), Gentile, *Sigilli* 14 no. 7 fig. V; later examples 18 no. 19 (Guglielmo VIII); 19-20 no. 20-21 (Bonifacio III); 20 no. 22 (Maria of Serbia); 20-22 no. 23. 25-26. 28 (Guglielmo IX); 24 no. 32 (Gian Giorgio). – Gentile, *Riti ed emblemi* 153-156 pl. 55.

67 Beginning with Guglielmo VIII (1464-1483), *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum* 103 no. 7-11 pl. VIII 17-18; 105 no. 26 pl. IX 1; later examples pl. X-XII. – On the coinage of Montferrat see now Maetzel, *Montferrat* 162-190 pl. 8-10; examples with the full coat of arms pl. 9 no. 138-140.

68 Ousterhout, *Mittelalterliche Heraldik* 97-98 fig. 2. – Ousterhout, *Origins of Heraldry* 160-161 fig. 7. – Babuin, *Standards and Insignia* 37 fig. 81-82. – Wright, *Gattilusio Lordships* 116-122. The *tetrabasileion* frequently appears on the coins of the Gattilusio from Mytilene and Ainos from 1355 to 1462, Lunardi, *Monete* 243-276. – DOC V 88.

69 Mentioned Buschhausen, *Frage des makedonischen Ursprungs* 60. – Bauer, *Stadt und Patron* 455 fig. 3, claiming it to be made in the 15th c. in the West.

Demetrios' mother was Yolanda of Montferrat, who married Andronikos II in 1284 and took the name of Irene⁷⁰. She was very much engaged in Thessaloniki through her father Guiglielmo VII of Montferrat, the titular Latin King of Thessaloniki, and lived in the city from 1303 to her death in 1317. Originally, Demetrios was destined by his father to become the first Marquis of Montferrat, but this was not realised⁷¹. Theodore, brother of Demetrios and the one preferred by his mother, instead became the first Palaiologan Marquis of Montferrat in 1305⁷².

Thus, the icon is connected, through its heraldic devices, to the Palaiologoi of Montferrat and Demetrios from this

branch of the family, with his affection for St Demetrios, is the obvious candidate for the commissioner of this icon and its frame.

The icon of St Demetrios (including its frame) in Sassoferrato is clearly an extraordinary object of Late Byzantine art. It can be connected to the veneration of St Demetrios, the city of Thessaloniki and with Demetrios Palaiologos. The »display« of the icon, the metal frame, serves a special function, turning the icon into a reliquary that demonstrates the miracle-working power of the saint *and* the outstanding devotion of its imperial patron to St Demetrios of Thessaloniki.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Displaying an Icon: The Mosaic Icon of Saint Demetrios at Sassoferrato and its Frame

This chapter is devoted to a Late Byzantine mosaic icon and its silver frame, both known since the 15th century, and now kept in the Museo Civico in Sassoferrato. The icon, a precious object in terms of material and technique, and its frame, complement each other and present a complex and outstanding programme of veneration of St Demetrios of Thessaloniki. Elements are the representations of the saint himself, as well as an ampulla containing the holy *myron* and inscriptions referring to him. This unusual programme asks for a specific commission and, indeed, the emblems in the corners of the frame point to a member of the imperial family of the Palaiologoi, probably Demetrios Palaiologos (c. 1296-1344), despot of Thessaloniki, with a deep veneration of St Demetrios.

»Displaying an Icon«. Die Mosaikikone des hl. Demetrios in Sassoferrato und ihr Rahmen

Dieser Beitrag widmet sich einer spätbyzantinischen Mosaikikone und ihrem Silberrahmen, die beide seit dem 15. Jahrhundert bekannt sind und heute im Museo Civico in Sassoferrato aufbewahrt werden. Die Ikone, ein hinsichtlich Material und Technik auffallendes Objekt, und ihr Rahmen ergänzen sich und präsentieren ein komplexes und herausragendes Programm der Verehrung des hl. Demetrios von Thessaloniki. Elemente sind die Darstellungen des Heiligen selbst sowie eine Ampulle mit dem heiligen Myron und Inschriften, die sich auf ihn beziehen. Dieses ungewöhnliche Programm deutet auf eine konkrete Bestellung hin, und die Embleme in den Ecken des Rahmens weisen auf ein Mitglied der kaiserlichen Familie der Palaiologoi, wahrscheinlich Demetrios Palaiologos (ca. 1296-1344), Despot von Thessaloniki, mit einer tiefen Verehrung für den hl. Demetrios, als Auftraggeber.

Neue Forschungen zum Trapezunt-Kästchen und seiner Datierung

An kaum einem anderen Ort sind derart viele herausragende Werke der byzantinischen Gold- und Silberschmiedekunst versammelt wie in der Schatzkammer von San Marco zu Venedig. Unter den dort ausgestellten Kleinodien findet sich auch das sog. Trapezunt-Kästchen, ein silbervergoldetes, reich ornamentiertes Reliquiar mit einem figürlich dekorierten Deckel und einem auf den Kastenseiten umlaufenden Epigramm (**Abb. 1-2**)¹.

Gemäß der gängigen Forschungsmeinung handelt es sich bei dem Kästchen um eine spätbyzantinische Arbeit des ausgehenden 14. oder des 15. Jahrhunderts². Diese Ansicht wurde erstmals von Anatole Frolow (im Jahre 1971) vertreten³. Zuvor war das Kästchen aufgrund paläographischer Überlegungen in das 11./12. Jahrhundert datiert worden⁴. Frolow meinte hingegen, dass der Stil der Dekoration und die paläographischen Charakteristika der Inschrift für eine Datierung in das 15. Jahrhundert sprechen würden⁵. Allerdings lieferte er keine Argumente. Als Herkunftsort des Reliquiars vermutete er Trapezunt⁶. Darauf aufbauend stellte Frolow eine Hypothese zur Provenienzgeschichte des Kästchens auf, die seither vielfach in der Forschungsliteratur vertreten wurde. Frolow zufolge könnte Kardinal Bessarion (um 1403-1472), der aus Trapezunt stammte, das Kästchen (genauso wie seine Bibliothek und die berühmte Staurothek) der Stadt Venedig geschenkt haben⁷.

Seither setzten die meisten Forscher das Kästchen in Anlehnung an Frolow in das 14./15. Jahrhundert. Einzelne sprachen sich jedoch aus paläographischen Gründen erneut für die Datierung des Reliquiars in das 11./12. Jahrhundert aus⁸.

Angesichts der divergierenden Forschungsmeinungen zur Datierung des Kästchens ist es erforderlich, weitere Aspekte

in die Diskussion miteinzubeziehen und die Argumente auf eine breitere Basis zu stellen. An dieser Stelle wird in erster Linie eine eingehende kunsthistorische Analyse der figürlichen Dekoration des Kastens vorgenommen, um neue Ansätze zur Datierung und zum Entstehungskontext des Reliquiars gewinnen zu können.

Das silbervergoldete Reliquienkästchen misst 28 cm in der Breite, 14 cm in der Tiefe und 9 cm in der Höhe. Die auf dem Deckel angebrachte figürliche Dekoration ist in Treiarbeit ausgeführt. Gezeigt wird jener Moment, in dem Christus Märtyrerkronen an die vier Märtyrer von Trapezunt verteilt, die unter Diokletian und Maximian (303-305) für ihren Glauben gestorben waren⁹. Die gesamte Darstellung ist achsensymmetrisch komponiert und durch fünf Arkaden gegliedert. Im Zentrum sitzt Christus (Ι[ΗCΟΥ]C Χ[ΡΙCΤΟ]C), frontal ausgerichtet, auf einem lehnenlosen Thron. Seine Füße ruhen auf einem Suppedion. In seinen ausgestreckten Händen hält Christus je eine diademförmige Krone für die Märtyrer bereit. Zwei weitere Kronen liegen zu Füßen Christi auf einem Podest. Neben Christus stehen links die Heiligen Akylas (Ο ΑΓ[ΙΟ]C ΑΚΥΛΑC) und Eugenios von Trapezunt (Ο ΑΓ[ΙΟ]C ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟC Ο ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΥΝΤΙΟC) sowie rechts die Heiligen Kanidios (Ο ΑΓ[ΙΟ]C ΚΑΝΙΔΙΟC) und Valerianos (Ο ΑΓ[ΙΟ]C ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟC). Die vier Märtyrer sind Christus im Dreiviertelprofil, mit Bittgestus und geneigtem Haupt zugewandt.

Die Märtyrer sind einheitlich mit einer Chlamys und einer weiten, gegürteten Tunika mit Schulter- und Saumbesatz bekleidet¹⁰. Eugenios von Trapezunt ist als Hauptheiliger der Märtyrergruppe durch einen etwas reicheren Saumbesatz seiner Tunika hervorgehoben.

1 Venedig, Tesoro di San Marco, Inv.-Nr. 133. Zum Reliquiar und seinem Epigramm Tiepolo, Trattato 83-84. – Durand, Trésor 95 Nr. 18. – Pasini, Tesoro 84 Nr. 2. – Molinier, Trésor 102 Nr. 145. – Pasini, Guide 273. – Schlumberger, Epopée I, 669; II 456, 469, 484, 504. – Braun, Reliquiare 154 Taf. 20 Abb. 66. – Gallo, Tesoro 314 Nr. 15 Taf. 30 Abb. 52-53. – Hahnloser, Tesoro 39-40 Nr. 33 Taf. 31 (A. Frolow). – Kat. Venedig 1974 Nr. 113 (G. Mariacher). – Kat. Köln 1984, 211 Nr. 27 Abb. 209-210 (W. D. Wixom). – Kat. New York 1984, 201-203 Nr. 28 (W. D. Wixom). – Kat. Venedig 1994, 455 Nr. 69 (F. Lollini). – Guillou, Recueil 93-94 Nr. 91 Taf. 99-100 Abb. 91a-d. – Talbot, Epigrams 83-84 Abb. 15-16. – Rosenqvist, Worshipers 210-212. – Kat. New York 2004, 138-139 Nr. 74 Abb. 74 (B. Ratliff). – Foukaneli, Casket.

2 Hahnloser, Tesoro 39-40 Nr. 33 (A. Frolow). – Kat. New York 1984, 201-203 Nr. 28 (W. D. Wixom). – Talbot, Epigrams 83. – Rosenqvist, Worshipers 210. – Kat. New York 2004, 138-139 Nr. 74 (B. Ratliff). – Foukaneli, Casket 292.

3 Hahnloser, Tesoro 39-40 Nr. 33 (A. Frolow).

4 Molinier, Trésor 102 Nr. 145 (11./12. Jh.). – Schlumberger, Epopée II 456 (11. Jh.).

5 Hahnloser, Tesoro 40 Nr. 33 (A. Frolow).

6 Ebenda.

7 Hahnloser, Tesoro 40 Nr. 33 (A. Frolow). – Zur Staurothek Kardinal Bessarions Klein/Poletto/Schreiner, La staurotheca di Bessarione mit weiterführenden Hinweisen auf Quellen und Sekundärliteratur. Zur Bibliotheks-Schenkung Leonhard, Schenker. Zur Erstinformation über Kardinal Bessarion Mohler, Kardinal Bessarion. – Labowsky, Bessarione. – PLP II Nr. 2707. – Gill, Bessarion. – Mioni, Vita. – Kat. Venedig 1994.

8 Guillou, Recueil 94. – Rhoby, Epigramme 260 Nr. Me85.

9 Anonymus, Passio Eugenii I. – Anonymus, Passio Eugenii II. – Johannes Xiphilinos, Passio Eugenii. – Syn. CP. 406-407.

10 Sie sind folglich in Beamten- und Soldatentracht wiedergegeben, obwohl sie gemäß der ältesten griechischen Version ihrer Passio Missionare waren (Rosenqvist, Worshipers 194). Allerdings könnte nach Jan O. Rosenqvist die Tatsache, dass sie gemeinsam mit zum Christentum konvertierten Soldaten vor Gericht geführt wurden, Verwirrung gestiftet haben (Rosenqvist, Worshipers 195). Ab dem 10. Jh. wurde oft angenommen, dass Eugenios und seine Gefährten selbst Soldaten gewesen wären (Rosenqvist, Worshipers 195).



Abb. 1 Sog. Trapezunt-Kästchen. Venedig, Tesoro di San Marco. – (Kat. New York 2004 Abb. auf S. 139 oben).

Die Faltengebung ihrer Gewänder ist korrespondierend gestaltet. Unter anderem verdeutlicht dies der annähernd spiegelbildliche Zickzack-Faltenwurf der Chlamys.

Die Figuren haben verhältnismäßig große Köpfe und auffallend kleine Füße. Ihre Gesichter sind ausdruckslos. Die vier Märtyrer tragen alle die gleiche Frisur, bestehend aus einem Pagenschnitt mit eingerollten Haarspitzen. Ein Eindruck von Individualität entsteht nur durch die unterschiedlichen Bartlängen. Der hl. Akylas, der Jüngste von ihnen, ist bartlos wiedergegeben¹¹. Die einzelnen Figuren werden von Arkaden mit tordierten und geknoteten Doppelsäulen umrahmt. Auf den Säulenschäften sitzen Blattkapitelle. Die gesamte Darstellung bleibt an die Fläche gebunden und besitzt keine Raumtiefe.

Den Kastendeckel säumt eine Reihe von kleinen Ösen, durch die ursprünglich ein Draht mit aufgefädelten Perlen geführt war.

Auf den Kastenseiten läuft zwischen Ornamentbändern eine auf zwei Zeilen verteilte, gravierte und niellierte Inschrift um. Sie beginnt am Kreuz auf der Vorderseite, rechts neben dem Schließbügel. Dort setzt sie sich auch nach einmaliger Umrundung des Kastens eine Zeile tiefer fort. Das Epigramm

besteht aus zwölf Versen, wobei je sechs Verse auf eine Zeile verteilt sind:

Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐ πτήξαντες αἱμάτων χύσεις
μάρτυρες ἠθλήσατε πανσθενεστάτως·
τοὺς τῆς ἑώας ἀκλινεῖς στύλους λέγω
τὸ λαμπρὸν εὐτύχημα Τραπεζουντίων
πρώταθλον Εὐγένιον ἅμα δ' Ἀκύλαν
Οὐαλλεριανόν τε σὺν Κανιδίῳ·
καὶ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν τῶν ἀμετρήτων πόνων
ὁ Χ(ριστὸς) αὐτός ἐστιν ὑμῖν παρέχων·
καὶ γὰρ δίδωσι τοὺς στεφάνους ἀξίως·
ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τάλας πλημμελημάτων γέμων
ὑμᾶς μεσίτας τῆς ἐμῆς σ(ωτη)ρίας
τίθημι φυγεῖν τὴν καταδίκην θέλων.

Ihr habt, ohne euch vor den Strömen des Blutes zu fürchten,
als Märtyrer gekämpft mit aller Kraft.
Die unbeugsamen Säulen des Morgen(landes) meine ich,
das strahlende Glück der Bewohner von Trapezunt,
den Vorkämpfer Eugenios, zugleich Akylas
und Valerianos mit Kanidios.

¹¹ Im sog. Malerbuch vom Berg Athos steht über die Physiognomie der vier Märtyrer von Trapezunt nichts geschrieben (vgl. Dionysios von Phourna, *Hermēneia*). Eine deutsche Übersetzung des Textes legte Godehard Schäfer im Jahre 1855

vor (Schäfer, *Handbuch*), die 1960 neu herausgegeben wurde (Schäfer/Slavisches Institut München/Trenkle, *Malerhandbuch*).



Abb. 2 Sog. Trapezunt-Kästchen, Deckel. Venedig, Tesoro di San Marco. – (Nach Kat. New York 2004 Abb. auf S. 139 unten).

Und Vergeltung für die unzähligen Mühen,
Christus selbst ist es, der sie euch gewährt.
Er vergibt nämlich auch die Kronen nach Gebühr.
Ich Armer aber, voll von Sünden,
mache euch zu Vermittlern für mein Heil,
weil ich der Verurteilung entfliehen will¹².

Zusammengefasst werden in den einleitenden Versen des Epigramms die vier Märtyrer von Trapezunt gepriesen (Verse 1-6). Der hl. Eugenios wird dabei erneut aus der Gruppe herausgehoben, indem er als erster Märtyrer von Trapezunt gerühmt wird (Vers 5)¹³.

Es folgt eine kurze Bezugnahme auf die dargestellte Kronenvergabe (Verse 7-9), bevor sich abschließend der anonyme Auftraggeber des Kästchens zu Wort meldet (Verse 10-12). Er erklärt, die Märtyrer als Interzessoren ausgewählt zu haben, um der Verdammnis zu entgehen. Nach Alice-Mary Talbot besitzt das Epigramm mehrere Interpretationsebenen¹⁴.

Sie nimmt an, dass die Metapher der unbeugsamen Säulen (Vers 3) und das Adjektiv λαμπρός (Vers 4) gewählt wurden, um auf die abgebildeten Arkaden und den Glanz des silbervergoldeten Kästchens anzuspielden¹⁵.

Das Kästchen ist ein Zeugnis des Kults der vier Märtyrer von Trapezunt, dessen Anfänge im 5. oder 6. Jahrhundert liegen¹⁶. Die Passio des hl. Eugenios und seiner drei Gefährten ist im Griechischen in zwei Versionen überliefert. Die erste Version, BHG 608y, stammt wohl aus dem 6. Jahrhundert und die zweite, BHG 609z, aus dem frühen 11. Jahrhundert¹⁷.

Wie aus dem Epigramm und der figürlichen Dekoration des Kästchens hervorgeht, nahm der Heilige Eugenios eine Sonderstellung unter den vier Märtyrern ein. Der Überlieferung nach erlitten zwar alle vier das Martyrium in Trapezunt, der hl. Eugenios soll jedoch der einzige von ihnen gewesen sein, der auch aus Trapezunt stammte und dort bestattet wurde¹⁸. Er war deshalb für die Stadt von besonderer Bedeutung.

12 Lesung und deutsche Übersetzung des Epigramms nach Rhoby, Epigramme 260-261 Nr. Me85.

13 Zum Epitheton πρώτατος in Vers 5 Rhoby, Epigramme 261 Nr. Me85.

14 Talbot, Epigrams 84.

15 Talbot, Epigrams 84.

16 Zum Kult des hl. Eugenios und seiner drei Gefährten Keçiş, Trabzon. – Rosenqvist, Worshipers. – Rosenqvist, Dossier 21-36. 64-87. – Martin-Hisard, Trébizonde. Anthony Bryer und David Winfield vermuten einen Kultbeginn im 5. Jh., wenngleich der Kult erst ab dem 6. Jh. greifbar ist (Bryer/Winfield, Monuments 168).

17 Die Version BHG 608y wurde von Bernadette Martin-Hisard (Anonymus, Passio Eugenii I) und Odysseas Lampsides (Anonymus, Passio Eugenii II) ediert. Letzt-

genannter edierte auch die zweite Version ihrer Passio BHG 609z (Johannes Xiphilinos, Passio Eugenii).

18 Seine drei Gefährten sollen wiederum in ihre jeweilige Heimatstadt überführt worden sein. Hierzu ausführlicher Rosenqvist, Worshipers 195. Zu den frühesten Hinweisen auf den Eugenios-Kult gehört der im Jahre 542 in Trapezunt errichtete Aquädukt, der dem Märtyrer gewidmet wurde (Bryer/Winfield, Monuments 182). Darüber hinaus wird in der sog. Autobiographie des Ananias von Schirak (um 600) ein in Trapezunt befindliches Heiligtum der hl. Eugenia erwähnt (Ananias von Schirak, Autobiographie 573). Rosenqvist, Worshipers 196-197 sieht darin eine Namensverwechslung und geht davon aus, dass es sich hierbei um das Heiligtum des hl. Eugenios handelt.



Abb. 3 Buchdeckel. Nordgriechenland/südlicher Balkan, spätes 14./frühes 15. Jh. Venedig, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cl. gr. I, 55. – (Nach Kat. New York 2004, 271 Abb. 157).

Der Eugenios-Kult wurde in der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, und mit besonderer Intensität in der späbyzantinischen Zeit, in Trapezunt gefördert¹⁹. Die drei Gefährten des hl. Eugenios rückten dabei sukzessive in den Hintergrund. Trotz intensiver Förderung erlangte der Eugenios-Kult keine regionale oder gar überregionale Popularität. Er blieb, wie Jan O. Rosenqvist konstatierte, über die Jahrhunderte hinweg »a local affair«²⁰. Das gleiche gilt für die Verehrung der geschlossenen Märtyrerguppe.

Der lokale Charakter ihres Kults macht eine enge Verbindung des Kastens zu Trapezunt wahrscheinlich – vor allem in Anbetracht seiner originären Zweckbestimmung als Reliquiar²¹.

Sein ursprünglicher Inhalt ist zwar unbekannt, da er nicht nach Venedig gelangte²². Der an die gesamte Märtyrerguppe gerichtete Lobpreis legt jedoch die Vermutung nahe, dass sich in dem Kästchen einst von jedem der vier Märtyrer Reliquien befanden²³. Zumindest dürfte das Kästchen Reliquien des

Hauptheiligen von Trapezunt enthalten haben. Der einzige in der Forschung bekannte Ort, der über solche Reliquien verfügte, ist das seit dem 9. Jahrhundert bestehende Eugenios-Kloster zu Trapezunt²⁴. Laut Konstantinos Loukites (1. Hälfte 14. Jh.) besaß das Kloster gleich mehrere Reliquiare, in denen Reliquien des hl. Eugenios und seiner drei Gefährten verwahrt wurden²⁵. Über die klostereigenen Eugenios-Reliquien wird erstmals im frühen 11. Jahrhundert berichtet²⁶. Seit wann das Kloster über diese Reliquien und jene der übrigen drei Märtyrer genau verfügte, lässt sich aufgrund der lückenhaften Überlieferung nicht mehr klären.

Über die Datierung des Kästchens herrscht in der Forschung kein Konsens. Erste Datierungsversuche unternahmen Émile Molinier und Gustave Schlumberger im ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert. Auf paläographischen Überlegungen basierend, schlugen Schlumberger und Molinier eine Datierung des Reliquiars in das 11. bzw. 11./12. Jahrhundert vor²⁷.

19 Keçiş, Trabzon. – Rosenqvist, *Worshippers*. – Rosenqvist, Dossier 21-36. 64-87. – Martin-Hisard, *Trébizonde*.

20 Rosenqvist, *Worshippers* 198.

21 Diese Zweckbestimmung ist in der Forschung unstrittig. Talbot, *Epigrams* 83 vermutet, dass das Kästchen ursprünglich in einer der Hauptkirchen, vorzugsweise im Katholikon des Eugenios-Klosters, aufbewahrt wurde.

22 Gallo, *Tesoro* 314 Nr. 15. – Rosenqvist, *Worshippers* 211.

23 So auch Talbot, *Epigrams* 83.

24 Zum Kloster Bryer/Winfield, *Monuments* 222-224. – Rosenqvist, Dossier 81-85.

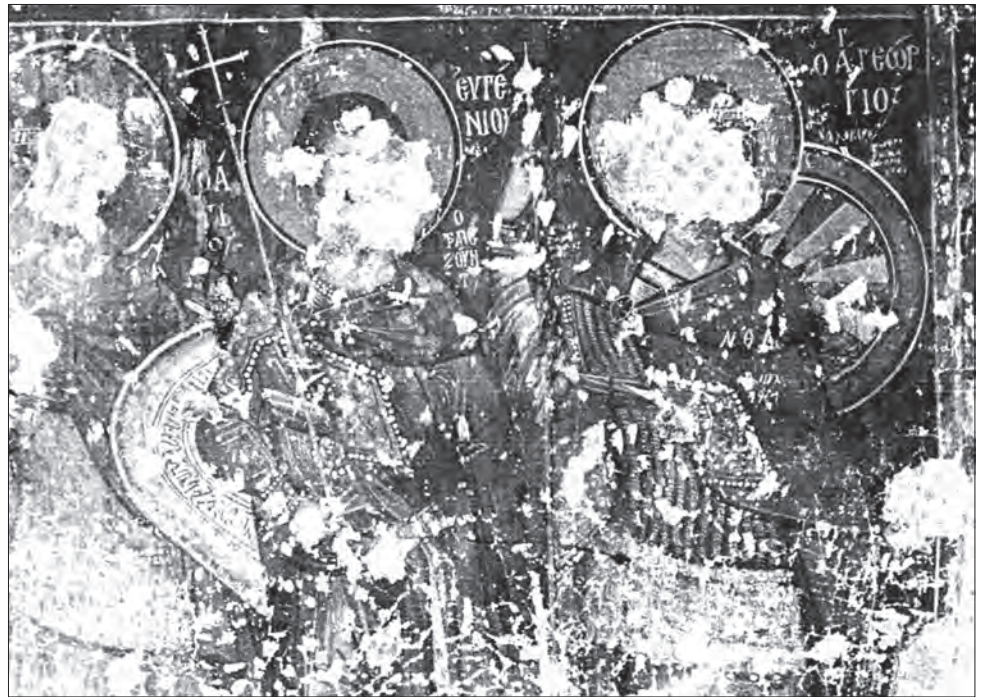
25 Konstantinos Loukites, *Enkomion* auf den heiligen Eugenios und seine drei Gefährten (BHG³ 609) 874-876 »τὰ δὲ τούτων λείψανα λάρναξιν ἀργυρέοις ἄμα καὶ

χρυσαιγίζουσιν ὡς θησαυροὶ πλουσίως ἐναπετέθησαν«. Text und Übersetzung bei Rosenqvist, Dossier 114-169, darin 166-167. Zu den verschiedenen, im Kloster verwahrten Reliquiaren Rosenqvist, Dossier 82.

26 Johannes Xiphilinos, *Miracula* des heiligen Eugenios (BHG³ 610), *Mir.* 1-4. 7. 10. Text und Übersetzung bei Rosenqvist, Dossier 170-203, darin 172-185. 188-191. 198-201.

27 Molinier, *Trésor* 102 Nr. 145 (11./12. Jh.). – Schlumberger, *Epopée* I, 669; *Epopée* II 456. 469. 484. 504 (11. Jh.). Wie Rhoby, *Epigramme* 260 Nr. Me85 Anm. 648 bereits anmerkte, ist die von Antoine Pasini vorgeschlagene Datierung in das 7. Jh. zu vernachlässigen (Pasini, *Guide* 273).

Abb. 4 Die Heiligen Theodor, Eugenios von Trapezunt und Georg. Spätes 13./frühes 14. Jh.. Kloster Vazelon, Elias-Kapelle. – (Nach Bryer/Winfield, *Monuments* 292 Taf. 225c).



Einen neuen Datierungsvorschlag machte Frolow im Jahre 1971²⁸. Er setzte das Kästchen in das 14./15. Jahrhundert und merkte an, dass der Stil der figürlichen Dekoration sowie die paläographischen Merkmale des Epigramms in das 15. Jahrhundert weisen würden. Seitdem Frolow das Kästchen in die palaiologische Zeit eingeordnet sowie Kardinal Bessarion als potientes Bindeglied zwischen Trapezunt und Venedig in den wissenschaftlichen Diskurs eingebracht hat, hält sich die Spätdatierung in der Forschungsliteratur²⁹. Sie diente William D. Wixom und Lyn Rodley als Ausgangspunkt für weitere Hypothesen, wie das Reliquiar im 15. Jahrhundert nach Venedig gelangt sein könnte³⁰. Die einzigen Wissenschaftler des 20. Jahrhunderts, die sich für die Frühdatierung des Kästchens aussprachen, sind André Guillou und Andreas Rhoby. Beide datierten das Reliquiar aus paläographischen Gründen in das 11.-12. Jahrhundert³¹.

Aus kunsthistorischer Sicht blieb die heute gängige Datierung des Reliquiars in das späte 14. bis frühe 15. Jahrhundert bislang unbegründet – vermutlich, weil weder stilistisch noch ikonographisch für die Spätdatierung argumentiert

werden kann, wie eine Betrachtung von spätbyzantinischen Gold- und Silberschmiedearbeiten mit figürlicher Treibarbeit verdeutlicht. Bei diesen handelt es sich vornehmlich um szenische Darstellungen oder Heiligenbüsten, die auf sakralem Gerät, Reliquiaren, Ikonenrahmen und Buchdeckeln angebracht sind (Abb. 3)³². Separierte, ganzfigurige Heiligendarstellungen sind hingegen selten³³, was einen direkten Vergleich mit dem Kästchen erschwert. Dennoch sind auf den ersten Blick stilistische Unterschiede zur figürlichen Dekoration des Kästchens ersichtlich. Den Figurenstil der spätbyzantinischen Gold- und Silberschmiedearbeiten kennzeichnen Merkmale der palaiologischen Kunst im Allgemeinen, der sich in einem stark bewegten Faltenwurf, Lebendigkeit in Ausdruck und Gestik sowie Individualisierung durch unterschiedliche Trachten, Haltungen und Physiognomien äußert³⁴. All diese Merkmale stehen dem Figurenstil des Trapezunt-Kästchens konträr gegenüber. Auch in Bezug auf die Ikonographie gibt es innerhalb der spätbyzantinischen Gold- und Silberschmiedekunst keine Vergleichsbeispiele.

28 Hahnloser, *Tesoro* 39-40 Nr. 33 (A. Frolow).

29 Kat. New York 1984, 201-203 Nr. 28 (W. D. Wixom) (spätes 14./15. Jh.). – Rosenqvist, *Worshippers* 210 (spätes 14. Jh.-1461). – Talbot, *Epigrams* 83 (spätes 14./15. Jh.). – Kat. New York 2004, 138 Nr. 74 (B. Ratliff) (1420-1440). – Foukaneli, *Casket* (1420-1440).

30 Kat. New York 1984, 203 Nr. 28 (W. D. Wixom). – Rodley, *Context* 31.

31 Guillou, *Recueil* 94. – Rhoby, *Epigramme* 260 Nr. Me 85. Diese Datierung vertrat auch Ernst Gamillscheg in Korrespondenz mit Rhoby (Rhoby, *Epigramme* 260 Nr. Me85 Anm. 653). Wixom meinte zwar, dass die figürliche Dekoration des Kästchens einige Gemeinsamkeiten mit mittelbyzantinischen Elfenbeinarbeiten aufweise, letztendlich schloss er sich aber Frolows Datierung an, Kat. New York 1984, 203 Nr. 28 (W. D. Wixom).

32 Heiligenbüsten finden sich u. a. auf diversen Ikonenrahmen (Kat. New York 2004, 29 Abb. 4; 179, Abb. 99) und auf dem Fuß des Kelches von Manuel Kan-

takouzenos Palaiologos (Kat. New York 2004, 118 Abb. 5.2A-B). Beispiele für szenische Darstellungen liefern etwa folgende Ikonenrahmen (Kat. New York 2004, 248 Abb. 8.7.-8.8.; 253 Abb. 151), der Buchdeckel Cl. gr. I, 55 in der Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana zu Venedig (Abb. 3) und das rechteckige Enkolpion in Santa Maria della Scala zu Siena (Kat. Schallaburg 2012, 378 Abb. XVII.29).

33 Zu den wenigen Beispielen gehören die Christusfigur auf dem silbervergoldeten Kreuz im Athos-Kloster Dionysiou, das Kaiserin Helena Dragaš Palaiologina in Auftrag gab (Kat. Thessaloniki 1997, 315 Abb. 9.23), sowie die Heiligen- und Engelsfiguren auf den Rahmen der Esztergom-Staurothek, der Maria-Psychosostria-Ikone (Kat. New York 1997, 81 Abb. 40) und der Pantokrator-Ikone in der Kirche der Gottesmutter Peribleptos in Ohrid (Kat. New York 2004, 255-256 Abb. 153-154).

34 Hierzu grundlegend Demus, *Entstehung*. – Radojčić, *Entstehung*. – Radojčić, *Klassizismus*.



Abb. 5 Die Heiligen Kanidios, Eugenios von Trapezunt, Valerianos und Akylas. Um 1374. Doppelseitige Ikone, Rückseite. Athos, Kloster Dionysiou. – (Nach Kat. Thessaloniki 1997 Nr. 2.29 Abb. auf S. 97).

Weitere Darstellungen des Märtyrers Eugenios und seiner drei Gefährten finden sich nur in anderen Gattungen, namentlich der Buch-, Ikonen- und Wandmalerei sowie auf Siegeln und Münzen³⁵. Bis auf drei Ausnahmen stammen diese aus der spätbyzantinischen Zeit³⁶. Zudem zeigen sie Eugenios meist alleine³⁷. Beides ist darauf zurückzuführen, dass die Großkomnenen von Trapezunt 1204 (oder kurz danach) Eugenios zum Patron ihres Reiches und ihrer Herrschaft auserkoren hatten, wodurch sein Kult im spätbyzantinischen

Trapezunt neu aufblühte³⁸. Entsprechend seiner Funktion als Reichspatron erscheint Eugenios auf den Siegeln und Münzen der Großkomnenen von Trapezunt entweder frontal stehend oder im Profil zu Pferd, jeweils in Anlehnung an das Kaiserbildnis auf dem Avers³⁹.

Weitere spätbyzantinische Einzeldarstellungen des Heiligen sind in der Wandmalerei in Trapezunt und Umgebung überliefert⁴⁰. Sie zeigen Eugenios stets frontal ausgerichtet, in edelsteinbesetzter Tunika und Chlamys gekleidet und ein Stabkreuz haltend (**Abb. 4**)⁴¹. Der Legende nach soll Eugenios zu Lebzeiten ein Kreuz bei sich getragen haben, das spätestens seit dem 11. Jahrhundert in Trapezunt als Reliquie verehrt und wenig später in Form eines Stabkreuzes fester Bestandteil seiner Ikonographie wurde⁴².

Eine weitere Eugenios-Darstellung ist im Typikon des Eugenios-Klosters von Trapezunt aus dem Jahr 1346 überliefert⁴³. Eine sehr ähnliche Eugenios-Darstellung zeigt eine doppelseitige Ikone (**Abb. 5**), die Alexios III. Komnenos um 1374 dem Athos-Kloster Dionysiou schenkte⁴⁴. Im Gegensatz zu den Wandbildern und dem Typikon trägt die Ikone eine Darstellung des hl. Eugenios samt seiner drei Gefährten. Sie sind alle in gleicher Körperhaltung, aber dennoch individualisiert, mit unterschiedlichen Frisuren und Bärten wiedergegeben. Der hl. Eugenios wird wie im Fall des Trapezunt-Kästchens, wenngleich mit etwas anderen Mitteln, aus der Gruppe herausgehoben: durch das Stabkreuz, den goldenen Nimbus sowie die edelsteinbesetzte und reich verzierte Tracht.

Ein stilistischer Vergleich dieser Ikone ist mit dem Trapezunt-Kästchen aufgrund der verschiedenen Formate und Materialien nur bedingt möglich. Dennoch lassen sich in einer Gegenüberstellung Unterschiede im Figurenstil feststellen. Diese zeigen sich vor allem im Grad der Individualisierung der Figuren und in den Körperproportionen. Auf der einen Seite befindet sich die Ikone mit ihren individualisierten und deutlich gelängten Figuren. Auf der anderen Seite steht das Trapezunt-Kästchen mit seinen recht einheitlich gestalteten Märtyrerfiguren, die verhältnismäßig große Köpfe und auffallend kleine Füße besitzen.

Mit ihren Körperproportionen stehen die Figuren einer anderen Darstellung der vier Märtyrer sehr nahe, welche sich

35 Diese wurden bereits von Rosenqvist, *Worshippers* 206-212 zusammengetragen und besprochen.

36 Diese Ausnahmen bilden eine Miniatur im Menologion Basileios II. und zwei private Bleisiegel, von denen das eine in das letzte Viertel des 11. Jhs. datiert (Cheynet/Morrison/Seibt, *Sceaux* 62) und das andere grob in den Zeitraum zwischen dem späten 10. Jh. und 1204 eingeordnet wurde (Zacos/Veglery/Nesbitt, *Lead Seals* Nr. 787). Im Gegensatz zum gängigen Porträttypus ist Eugenios auf diesen Siegeln bartlos wiedergegeben (Rosenqvist, *Worshippers* 207-208). Zur Miniatur im Menologion Basileios II. siehe weiter unten im Fließtext.

37 Außerhalb von Trapezunt und Umgebung sind kaum Darstellungen des hl. Eugenios überliefert. Jüngst machte Nino Chikhladze auf zwei Eugenios-Darstellungen innerhalb der georgischen Wandmalerei des späten 12. bis frühen 13. Jhs. aufmerksam. Die erste findet sich im Timotessubani-Kloster und ist in die Jahre 1205-1215 datiert (Chikhladze, *Images* 68 Abb. 1). Die zweite Darstellung befindet sich in der Himmelfahrts-Kirche in Wardsia und datiert in die

Jahre 1184-1185 (Chikhladze, *Images* 68-69 Abb. 2-3). Beide zeigen Eugenios als Soldatenheiligen.

38 Rosenqvist, *Worshippers* 199. 205.

39 Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich, *Report* 94. – Vishniakova, *Svintsovy pechati* 121 Nr. 1. – Retowski, *Münzen* 193-206 Taf. I-XIV. – Rosenqvist, *Worshippers* 208.

40 Siehe Bryer/Winfield, *Monuments* 236 Abb. 73; 273 Abb. 83; 292 Taf. 225c.

41 Wie Rosenqvist, *Worshippers* 207 Anm. 79 anmerkte, wurde bei der teilweise zerstörten Eugenios-Darstellung in der Turmkapelle der Hagia Sophia in Trapezunt das Stabkreuz fälschlich als Lanze rekonstruiert (vgl. Bryer/Winfield, *Monuments* 236 Abb. 73).

42 Dieses ist erstmals auf dem undatierten privaten Bleisiegel eines gewissen Theodosios belegt, das zeitlich zwischen das späte 10. Jh. und 1204 eingeordnet wurde (Zacos/Veglery/Nesbitt, *Lead Seals* Nr. 787).

43 Zur Eugenios-Darstellung im Typikon des Eugenios-Klosters in Trapezunt Phillipidēs, *Ekklesiā* Taf. 21. – Rosenqvist, *Worshippers* 198. 207. 209.

44 Zur doppelseitigen Ikone Kat. Thessaloniki 1997, 95-98 Nr. 2.29 (E. N. Tsigaridas). – Rosenqvist, *Worshippers* 209.

Abb. 6 Martyrium des hl. Eugenios und seiner Gefährten. Konstantinopel, um 1000. Menologion Basileios II. Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. gr. 1613 fol. 335^v. – (Nach Menologion Basileios II., Faksimile, fol. 335^v).



im Menologion Basileios II. (um 1000) findet. Die Miniatur auf fol. 335^v zeigt die Enthauptung der vier Märtyrer von Trapezunt (**Abb. 6**). Am rechten Bildrand steht der hl. Eugenios, der sich ein weiteres Mal durch seine Tracht von seinen Kameraden abhebt und mit seinen kleinen Füßen sehr stark an die Figuren des Kästchens erinnert. Der Figurenstil ist im Menologion nicht vollkommen einheitlich, da mehrere Maler beteiligt waren, aber dennoch relativ homogen. Seine Verwandtschaft mit dem Figurenstil des Kästchens betrifft dabei nicht allein die Körperproportionen, sondern auch den Faltenstil und die Frisuren⁴⁵. Darüber hinaus liefern die Miniaturen des Menologions weitere Vergleichsmöglichkeiten mit dem auf dem Kasten Dargestellten. Diese bieten sich in den Knotensäulen, Blattkapitellen und Ornamenten⁴⁶.

Abgesehen vom Menologion Basileios II. eignen sich auch andere mittelbyzantinische Kunstwerke zum stilistischen und ikonographischen Vergleich. In Bezug auf den Figurenstil sind dies in erster Linie weitere Beispiele der höfischen Buchmalerei des 11. Jahrhunderts, wie das kaiserliche Menologion im Staatlichen Historischen Museum in Moskau (Cod. Sin gr. 183)⁴⁷ oder der Psalter Basileios II. in der Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venedig (Cod. gr. z. 17)⁴⁸. In zweiter Linie sind

dies einzelne byzantinische Elfenbeine und Steatitikonon des fortgeschrittenen 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts⁴⁹.

Das ikonographische Thema der Vergabe der Märtyrerkrone ist bereits in der frühbyzantinischen Zeit verbreitet und findet sich z. B. im Apsismosaik von San Vitale zu Ravenna (um 540) dargestellt⁵⁰. Das Mosaik zeigt im Zentrum Christus, auf der Weltkugel sitzend. Er wird von zwei Engeln sowie dem hl. Vitalis (links) und Bischof Ecclesius (rechts) flankiert. In seiner ausgestreckten Rechten hält Christus eine Märtyrerkrone für den hl. Vitalis bereit, die als edelsteinbesetzter Diademreif wiedergegeben ist. Der Heilige nähert sich Christus mit verhüllten Händen, um die Märtyrerkrone zu empfangen.

Was die Komposition anbelangt, steht diese Darstellung zwar der auf dem Kästchen gezeigten Kronenvergabe nahe, im direkten Vergleich offenbaren sich in den Details jedoch mehr Unterschiede als Gemeinsamkeiten. Abgesehen davon, dass Christus im Fall des Kästchens auf einem Thron sitzt, besteht ein wesentlicher Unterschied darin, dass die Hände der vier Märtyrer unverhüllt sind. Sie haben ihre Hände nicht nur ausgestreckt, um die Märtyrerkronen entgegenzunehmen, sondern auch um bei Christus Fürbitte für den anonymen

45 Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. gr. 1613, fol. 135^v (Faltenstil, Frisuren). 146^v (Zickzack-Falten, Gestus). Siehe Menologion Basileios II., Faksimile. Der Kodex ist auch online zugänglich: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613 (25.10.2018).

46 Fol. 285^v (Knotensäule, Blattkapitell), fol. 44^v (vgl. Ornamentik der Tunika [»stilisierte Ranken mit gegabelten Enden«] mit Saumbesatz der Tunika des hl. Eugenios).

47 Zum Cod. Sin gr. 183 (Konstantinopel, 11. Jh.) Kat. New York 1997, 101-102 Nr. 56 Abb. 56 (fol. 211^v) (N. Patterson Ševčenko) mit weiterführender Literatur. Zu den sog. kaiserlichen Menologien im Allgemeinen Ševčenko, Menologio.

48 Siehe Kat. New York 1997 Abb. auf S. 188 (fol. 4^v). Zum Psalter Basileios II. (Konstantinopel, frühes 11. Jh.) Cutler, Psalter I. – Cutler, Psalter II.

49 Vgl. folgende Beispiele: Steatitikonon mit Hetoimasia und vier Soldatenheiligen (Konstantinopel, spätes 10./frühes 11. Jh.). Paris, Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art, Inv.-Nr. OA 11152, Kat. New York 1997, 157 Nr. 103 (O. Z. Pevny). Elfenbein-Triptychon mit Deesis und Heiligen (Konstantinopel, Mitte 10. Jh.). Rom, Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Pentcheva, Icons 83 Abb. 50. Steatitikonon mit Deesis und Heiligen (11. Jh.). Sankt Petersburg, Eremitage, Inv.-Nr. 304, Kat. St. Petersburg 2000-2001, Abb. auf S. 97.

50 Siehe Velmans, Byzanz 28 Taf. 3.



Abb. 7 Thronender Christus Pantokrator. Unter Arkaden flankieren vier Hierarchen im Fürbitt-Gestus Maria. Konstantinopel, 2. Hälfte 11. Jh. Liturgischer Rotulus. Jerusalem, Bibliothek des Griechischen Patriarchats, Stavrou 109. – (Nach Vokotopoulos, Manuscripts 99 Abb. 44).

Auftraggeber des Kästchens einzulegen⁵¹. In der Darstellung sind die Vergabe der Märtyrerkrone und die Fürbitte ineinander verschränkt, sodass das Dargestellte thematisch mit dem Epigramm korrespondiert. Die Zusammenführung dieser beiden ikonographischen Themen ist – genauso wie die daraus entwickelte Bildformulierung – singulär.

Die Vergabe der Märtyrerkrone findet sich innerhalb der byzantinischen Kunst aber sehr häufig mit einem anderen Thema verknüpft, nämlich dem Martyrium der 40 Märtyrer von

Sebaste. Der in der mittel- bis spätbyzantinischen Zeit gängige Bildtypus zeigt eine vertikale Anordnung und Verschränkung der beiden Themen: im unteren Bereich das Martyrium der 40 Märtyrer von Sebaste, im oberen Bereich die Kronenvergabe⁵². Christus ist meist halbfigurig und in einem Himmelsegment wiedergegeben. Zwischen ihm und den im Sterben begriffenen Märtyrern schweben die Märtyrerkronen⁵³. Eine thronende Christusfigur begegnet allein bei den beiden verwandten Elfenbeinen (Konstantinopel, 10./11. Jh.) in Berlin und Sankt

⁵¹ Talbot, Epigrams 84. – Rhoby, Epigramme 261 Nr. Me85.

⁵² Zur Entwicklung dieses Bildtypus und zur Ikonographie der 40 Märtyrer von Sebaste im Allgemeinen Kaster, Vierzig Märtyrer von Sebaste.

⁵³ So z. B. in der mittelbyzantinischen Darstellung des Themas (frühes 12. Jhs.) in der Hagios Nikolaos tis Stegis-Kirche in Kakopetria auf Zypern (Stylianou/Styli-

anou, Churches 60 Abb. 22). Bisweilen erscheint aber auch nur die Dexteradomini, wie im Fall der Mosaikikone der 40 Märtyrer von Sebaste (spätes 13. Jh.) in der Dumbarton Oaks Collection in Washington, D.C., Inv.-Nr. BZ.1947.24 (Kat. New York 2004, 224 Abb. 133).

Abb. 8 Deesis. Um 1100. Athos, Kloster Vatopedi, Katholikon, Exonarthex. – (Nach Tavlakis, *Peinture monumentale* 41 Abb. 2).



Petersburg⁵⁴. Allerdings hält Christus dort im Unterschied zum Trapezunt-Kästchen keine Kronen in seinen Händen⁵⁵.

Außerhalb des Martyriums der 40 Märtyrer von Sebaste wurde das Thema der Vergabe der Märtyrerkrone in der mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Kunst relativ selten zur Anschauung gebracht. Zu den wenigen Beispielen gehört die in der Anargyroi-Kirche in Kastoria dargestellte Kronenvergabe an die Märtyrer Kosmas und Damian (spätes 12. Jh.)⁵⁶. In dem Wandbild erscheint Christus als Halbfigur über den beiden Märtyrern, während er in seinen ausgestreckten Händen zwei Kronen über ihre Häupter hält. Christus setzt ihnen die Krone aber nicht auf; er bekrönt sie nicht. Eine Märtyrerkronung⁵⁷ zeigen jeweils zwei Wandbilder des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts der Kirikos und Julitta-Kirche in Lissos auf Kreta (Nomos Chania, Eparchie Selino)⁵⁸. Im westlichen Gewölbe der Kirche schreitet auf der einen Seite eine Gruppe von Märtyrerinnen und auf der anderen Seite eine Gruppe von Märtyrern jeweils auf eine stehende Christusfigur zu⁵⁹. In beiden Wandbildern

bekrönt Christus die vorderste Märtyrerfigur, die zugleich ihre unverhüllten Hände im Bittgestus erhoben hat. Auch hier klingt folglich das Thema der Fürbitte an. Im Unterschied zum Trapezunt-Kästchen ist Christus jedoch nicht thronend dargestellt und die Kronenvergabe dezidiert als Krönung formuliert.

Was das Thema der Fürbitte anbelangt, so erinnert die Komposition des auf dem Kästchen Dargestellten sehr stark an drei Hauptwerke der mittelbyzantinischen Elfenbeinkunst, welche die Deesis mit einer thronenden Christusfigur im Zentrum zeigen. Gemeint sind das Elfenbein-Triptychon (Konstantinopel, 10./11. Jh.) im Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatikan, das sog. Harbaville-Triptychon (Konstantinopel, Mitte 11. Jh.) im Musée du Louvre, Paris, und das Elfenbeinkästchen (Konstantinopel, 2. Hälfte 10. Jh.) im Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York⁶⁰.

Die Arkade, zum Teil kombiniert mit Blattkapitellen und Knotensäulen, ist besonders in der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit als kompositorisches Element beliebt⁶¹. Im liturgischen Rotu-

54 Kat. Berlin 1992, 214-215 Nr. 124 Abb. auf S. 215 (A. Effenberger/H.-G. Severin) (Mittelteil eines Elfenbein-Triptychons in Berlin, Museum für Byzantinische Kunst). – Bank, Art Abb. 124 (Elfenbein-Triptychon in Sankt Petersburg, Eremitage).

55 Zwei Kronen hält Christus jedoch z. B. im Falle der Ikone der 40 Märtyrer von Sebaste (spätes 13./frühes 14. Jh.), die sich im Katharinen-Kloster (Sinai) befindet (Kat. New York 2004, 369 Abb. 225).

56 Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis, Kastoria Abb. auf S. 32.

57 Das Thema der Märtyrerkronung stand in der byzantinischen (und westlichen) Kunst in einem ständigen ikonographischen und gedanklichen Wechselverhältnis mit dem Thema der Herrscherkrönung. Gussone, Krönung. – Ott, Krone.

58 Die Wandmalereien sind noch unpubliziert, werden jedoch aktuell von Antje Steinert M.A. (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz) im Rahmen ihrer Dissertation »Ost-West Kontakte im Kirchenraum: Kirchenmalereien Kretas in der Zeit der venezianischen Herrschaft« bearbeitet, der ich für ihre freundliche Auskunft über das Dargestellte herzlich danke.

59 Die Tituli der Märtyrer und Märtyrerinnen sind nicht erhalten, sodass eine Identifizierung nicht mehr möglich ist.

60 Zum Triptychon im Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica Kat. New York 1997, 131-132 Nr. 79 Abb. 79 (auf S. 131) (I. Kalavrezou). Zum sog. Harbaville-Triptychon im Louvre (Inv.-Nr. OA3247) Kat. New York 1997, 133-134 Nr. 80 Abb. 80 (auf S. 133) (I. Kalavrezou). Im Falle des Elfenbeinkästchens sind die thronende Christusfigur und die Heiligenbüsten allerdings in Medaillons eingeschrieben. Zum Elfenbeinkästchen Kat. New York 1997, 131 Nr. 78 Abb. 78 (Ch. T. Little).

61 Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, Column 97-98. Innerhalb der Gold- und Silberschmiedekunst liefert das in Zadar (Benediktinerinnen-Kloster der hl. Maria, Sammlung sakraler Kunst) verwahrte »byzantinisch-romanische« Kopfreliquiar des hl. Arontius (2. Hälfte 11. Jh.) die engste Parallele zum Trapezunt-Kästchen, wenn gleich die Arkaden dort keine geknoteten Doppelsäulen besitzen (Grgić/Krleža, Gold Abb. 26). Das Reliquiar gilt als lokale Arbeit (Grgić/Krleža, Gold 153-156). Vergleichbar schlanke, tordierte Knotensäulen zeigt hingegen eine silbervergoldete Schale mit der Darstellung der Himmelfahrt Alexanders des Großen (12. Jh.) (Bank, Art Abb. 217). Ebenfalls sehr schlanke Knotensäulen (ohne Torsion) begegnen bei folgenden Steatitarbeiten: Steatitrelief mit Koimesis-Darstellung (2. Hälfte 10. Jh.), Kat. New York 1997, 155-156 Nr. 102 (A. Weyl Carr). Ikone des hl. Theodor Stratelates (11. Jh.), Kat. New York 1997, 157-158 Nr. 104 (A. Weyl Carr).



Abb. 9 Kaiser Konstantin IX. Monomachos mit seiner Gattin Zoë und ihrer Schwester Theodora. Konstantinopel, 1042-1050. Johannes Chrysostomos, Homilien. Sinai, Katharinen-Kloster, Cod. gr. 364, fol. 3r. – (Nach Weitzmann/Galavaris, Monastery 66 Abb. 185).

lus Stavrou 109 (Jerusalem, Bibliothek des Griechischen Patriarchats) aus der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts kehren neben der fünfbogigen Arkadenstellung mit Blattkapitellen und Knotensäulen auch im Dreiviertelprofil und Bittgestus dargestellte Heilige sowie ein thronender Christus wieder (Abb. 7). In Übereinstimmung mit dem Trapezunt-Kästchen besitzt der Thron Christi keine Lehne. Dieser Throntypus ist seit der frühbyzantinischen bzw. frühchristlichen Zeit geläufig und bietet *per se* keinen Anhaltspunkt für die Datierung des Kästchens⁶². Deutlich seltener sind hingegen Darstellungen der Thronbank in Kombination mit einem Suppedion und

einem Podest überliefert. Zu den wenigen Beispielen gehören die beiden Throndarstellungen, die im Weltgerichtsbild im Narthex der Panagia Chalkeon-Kirche zu Thessaloniki (kurz nach 1028)⁶³ und im Deesismosaik im Kloster Vatopaidi (um 1100; Abb. 8) enthalten sind. Beide weisen in der Gestaltung des Throns Ähnlichkeiten mit dem Kästchen auf (vgl. z.B. die Thronbeine).

Die auf dem Kastendeckel dargestellte Christusfigur steht hinsichtlich ihrer Beinstellung sowie der Drapierung von Tunika und Pallium den Christusdarstellungen im Cod. Sinait. gr. 364 (1042-1050; Abb. 9) und Barberini-Psalter (2. Hälfte

⁶² Talbot Rice, Art Abb. 142. 170. 195. 200. – Chookaszian, Illustrations 293. Zu den verschiedenen Throntypen in der frühchristlichen Kunst Grabar, Empereur 196-200. Auf Münzen wird der lehnenlose Thron erst unter Michael IV. Paphlagon (1043-1041) eingeführt und bleibt bis zum ausgehenden 12. Jh. ein

beliebter Typus. DOC III,2, 159. – Kat. New York 1997, 215-216 Nr. 147K (W. E. Metcalf). – DOC IV,1 Nr. 2b.1.

⁶³ Volbach/Lafontaine-Dosogne, Byzanz 175-176 Taf. IX (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne).

Abb. 10 Kaiser Michael VII. Doukas/Kaiser Nikephoros III. Botaneiates zwischen Johannes Chrysostomos und dem Erzengel Michael. Konstantinopel, um 1071-1081. Johannes Chrysostomos, Homilien. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Coislin 79, fol. 2^v. – (Nach Galabarès, Technè 101 Abb. 92).



11./ 1. Viertel 12. Jh.) besonders nahe⁶⁴. In Übereinstimmung mit diesen ist das rechte Bein Christi nach außen weggedreht und das linke frontal ausgerichtet. Das Pallium bildet dabei über dem linken Knie eine Schlaufe aus, während das über die linke Schulter geführte Gewand auf Brusthöhe endet und gerade herunterhängt. Nach Levon Chookaszian kommt dieser Typus des thronenden Christus in der ersten Hälfte des

11. Jahrhunderts auf und bleibt bis weit ins 12. Jahrhundert hinein populär⁶⁵.

In etwa den gleichen Zeitraum weist auch die Gestaltung des Kreuznimbus. Er besitzt geschweifte Hasten, die mit einem rautenförmigen Edelstein und vier Perlen geschmückt sind. Chronologische Fixpunkte für diesen Nimbustypus liefern das Votivmosaik Kaiser Konstantins IX. Monomachos

64 Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Barb. gr. 372, fol. 5^v-5^r, fol. 249^r, Cutler/Spieser, Byzanz Abb. auf S. 351 (fol. 5^v). – Spatharakis, Portrait Abb. 7 (fol. 5^v). – Kat. Paderborn 2001-2002, 170-175 Nr. I.62 Abb. auf S. 172 (A. von Euw) (fol. 249^r). Zum Barberini-Psalter und seiner Datierung Der Nersessian, Illustration 66-70. 331-333. 328-329 (kurz vor 1066). – Spatharakis, Portrait

26-36 (kurz vor 1066). – Anderson/Canart/Walter, Barberini Psalter 15 (um 1090). – Kat. Paderborn 2001-2002, 172-175 Nr. I.62 (A. von Euw). Die Nähe des Barberini-Psalters zum Theodor-Psalter Ms. Add. 19.352 macht dessen Datierung in die 2. Hälfte des 11. Jhs. wahrscheinlich.

65 Chookaszian, Illustrations 294.



Abb. 11 Sog. Stephanskrona. *Corona graeca*: Konstantinopel, 1074-1077. Budapest, Parlamentsgebäude. – (Nach Kat. New York 1997 Abb. auf S. 187 unten links).

und seiner Gemahlin Zoë in der Südgalerie der Hagia Sophia zu Konstantinopel (erste Phase: 2. Viertel 11. Jh.), ein Bleisiegel Kaiser Konstantins IX. Monomachos (1042-1055), das bereits erwähnte Deesismosaik im Kloster Vatopaidi (um 1100; **Abb. 8**) und die Koimesis-Darstellung an der Westwand der Theotokos Phorbiotissa-Kirche in Asinou (1105/1106)⁶⁶.

Weitere Anhaltspunkte für die kunsthistorische Einordnung des Kästchens bieten einige Ornamente. Stilisierte Ranken mit gegabelten Enden, wie sie auf dem Tunika-Saumbesatz des hl. Eugenios erscheinen, sind für die byzantinische

Kunst des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts charakteristisch (vgl. Gewandsäume und Tablion in **Abb. 10**), wie Antje Bosselmann-Ruickbie bereits darlegte⁶⁷. Das mit einem Schuppenmuster überzogene Suppedion Christi wiederum begegnet in ähnlicher Form bei der Email-Ikone des hl. Demetrios (1. Hälfte 11. Jh.) im Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseum und auf fol. 2^v der Handschrift Coislin 79 (um 1071-1081; **Abb. 10**)⁶⁸.

Abschließend sei daran erinnert, dass der Kastendeckel ursprünglich von einer umlaufenden Perlenschnur eingefasst war. Solche Perlenreihen säumen vor allem byzantinische Goldschmiedearbeiten des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts. Exemplarisch seien hier der sog. Romanos-Kelch (10. Jh.)⁶⁹ in der Schatzkammer von San Marco (Venedig), der Bucheinband Lat. I, 100 (spätes 10./frühes 11. Jh.)⁷⁰ in der Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Venedig) und die *corona graeca* der sog. Stephanskrona (1074-1077; **Abb. 11**) genannt⁷¹.

Als Resümee lässt sich festhalten, dass aus kunsthistorischer Sicht nichts für eine Datierung des Kästchens in die palaiologische Zeit spricht. Auch gibt es kein Indiz für dessen Herstellung in Trapezunt⁷². Die untersuchten Merkmale der figürlichen Dekoration (Figurenstil, ikonographische Details, Komposition, Arkadengliederung, Ornamente) weisen zusammen mit der den Deckel rahmenden Perlenschnur in das 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Die meisten Bezugsmöglichkeiten liefern dabei vom Kaiserhof in Konstantinopel in Auftrag gegebene Arbeiten des 11. Jahrhunderts. Womöglich darf deshalb sogar von einer Fertigung des Kästchens in einer konstantinopolitanischen Werkstatt ausgegangen werden. Angesichts des lokalen Charakters des Kults des hl. Eugenios und seiner drei Gefährten⁷³ muss nach einer möglichen Verbindung zwischen Trapezunt und Konstantinopel im 11. Jahrhundert gefragt werden. Solche Verbindungen bestehen durch Kaiser Basileios II. (reg. 976-1025)⁷⁴ und Johannes Xiphilinos (1010/1013-1075)⁷⁵, dem nachmaligen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel.

Was Kaiser Basileios II. betrifft, so ist überliefert, dass dieser den Umbau der Eugenios-Kirche des gleichnamigen Klosters zu Trapezunt (um 1021/1022) unterstützte⁷⁶. Mit Blick auf das Reliquienkästchen und sein Epigramm ist von besonderem Interesse, dass Kaiser Basileios II. die neue Eugenios-Kirche mit großen Säulen ausstattete⁷⁷. Vor diesem

⁶⁶ Cutler/Spieser, Byzanz Abb. auf S. 331 (Votivmosaik). – Nesbitt, Catalogue Nr. 73.1 (Bleisiegel). – Kat. New York 1997, Abb. auf S. 112 (Koimesis-Darstellung). Diesen Kreuznimbus mit Edelstein- und Perlschmuck zeigt auch eine Beschlag-Ikone des Christus Pantokrator, die grob in das 11./12. Jh. datiert wurde, Kat. Paderborn 2001-2002, 127-128 Nr. I.32 Abb. auf S. 128 (A. Effenberger).

⁶⁷ Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 138 mit Belegen.

⁶⁸ Zur Demetrios-Ikone Kat. New York 1997, 160-161 Nr. 107 (W. D. Wixom).

⁶⁹ Siehe Cutler/Spieser, Byzanz Abb. auf S. 193.

⁷⁰ Kat. New York 1997, 88 Nr. 41 Abb. 44 (I. Kalavrezou).

⁷¹ Vgl. auch folgende Beispiele: Patene mit Pantokrator-Darstellung in der Schatzkammer von San Marco, Venedig (11. Jh.), Kat. New York 1997, 68 Nr. 29 Abb. 29 (I. Kalavrezou). Sog. Kelch des Patriarchen in der Schatzkammer von San Marco, Venedig (10./frühes 11. Jh.), Kat. New York 1984, 159-165 Nr. 16 (M. E. Frazer / D. Alcouffe). Kelch mit eucharistischer Inschrift in der Schatzkammer von San Marco, Venedig (10./11. Jh.), Kat. New York 1997, 71 Nr. 32 Abb. 32 (I. Kalavrezou).

⁷² Zuvor stellte bereits Rosenqvist, Worshipers 210 Trapezunt als Herstellungsort des Reliquiars in Frage: »The lack of individualization in the representation of the martyrs could perhaps indicate that, unlike the Dionysiou icon, the reliquary was not produced in close contact with the cult center, where iconographic details and personal facts known from the texts about the martyrs would have been familiar enough to leave more distinct traces on the reliquary«.

⁷³ Rosenqvist, Worshipers 200. – Eastmond, Saints 745.

⁷⁴ PmbZ II Nr. 20838.

⁷⁵ Zur Erstinformation über Johannes VIII. Xiphilinos Bones, Iōannēs ho Xiphilinos. – Kazhdan, John VIII Xiphilinos. – Savvides, John VIII Xiphilinos. – PBW s.v. Ioannes 18: <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/107262> (25.10.2018).

⁷⁶ Bryer/Winfield, Monuments 223. Zur ursprünglichen Baugestalt des Klosters Ballance, Churches 157.

⁷⁷ Zum Beitrag Kaiser Basileios II. am Umbau des Klosters Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Sbornik 54. 56-57. 65. 74. 85. 87. 102. 140. 144. Bei den Säulen handelt es sich vermutlich um jene beiden dorischen Säulen, die in die westlichen Pfeiler inkorporiert wurden (Bryer/Winfield, Monuments 223).

Hintergrund ließe sich eventuell die im Epigramm verwendete Säulen-Metapher erklären (Vers 3), für die es nach Rhoby keine Parallele gibt⁷⁸. Unabhängig davon, ob es sich hierbei tatsächlich um eine subtile Anspielung auf die kaiserliche Schenkung handelt, fällt es angesichts der relativen Schlichtheit des Reliquiars schwer, in Kaiser Basileios II. (oder einem anderen Kaiser) den Auftraggeber des Kästchens zu sehen.

Als Auftraggeber käme aber Johannes Xiphilinos in Betracht, der 1010/1013 in Trapezunt geboren wurde und schon in jungen Jahren (um 1030) zu Studienzwecken nach Konstantinopel ging⁷⁹. Dort gehörte er dem intellektuellen Kreis um Michael Psellos und Johannes Mauropous an, der zunächst eine privilegierte Position am Hofe Kaiser Konstantins IX. Monomachos genoss⁸⁰. Im Jahr 1045 wurde Xiphilinos von Kaiser Konstantin IX. Monomachos zum Nomophylax ernannt, dem die Leitung der juristischen Hochschule in Konstantinopel oblag⁸¹. Um die Jahrhundertmitte fielen einige Mitglieder des Gelehrtenkreises, darunter auch Xiphilinos, am Hof in Ungnade⁸². Aus diesem Grund trat Xiphilinos 1054 in das berühmte Kloster im Olympos-Gebirge ein und kehrte erst dann nach Konstantinopel zurück, als er 1064 auf den Patriarchenstuhl berufen wurde⁸³. Xiphilinos hatte diesen unter dem Namen Johannes VIII. bis zu seinem Tod im Jahr 1075 inne.

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Aus Xiphilinos Feder stammen u. a. zwei hagiographische Werke über den hl. Eugenios und seine drei Kameraden: zum einen die Passio BHG³ 609z und zum anderen die Miracula des heiligen Eugenios BHG³ 610⁸⁴. Xiphilinos verfasste diese vermutlich in den späten 1020er Jahren, noch bevor er seine Heimatstadt Trapezunt verließ⁸⁵. Aus dem Prolog seiner Mirakelsammlung geht hervor, dass Xiphilinos ein besonderes, von Dankbarkeit und tiefer Verehrung geprägtes Verhältnis zum hl. Eugenios besaß⁸⁶, weil dieser nicht nur generell zahlreiche Wunder in seiner Heimatstadt gewirkt, sondern auch Xiphilinos persönlich und seiner Familie in verschiedenen Lebenslagen geholfen habe⁸⁷.

Es spricht also einiges dafür, in Xiphilinos den Auftraggeber des Reliquiars zu vermuten. Sollte das Kästchen tatsächlich von ihm in Auftrag gegeben und in einer konstantinopolitanischen Werkstatt gefertigt worden sein, ließe sich die Datierung entweder auf Xiphilinos frühe Phase in Konstantinopel, vorzugsweise seine Amtszeit als Nomophylax (1045-1054), oder sein Patriarchat (1064-1075) eingrenzen. Es wäre dann anzunehmen, dass er das Reliquiar dem Eugenios-Kloster in Trapezunt schenkte⁸⁸. Wie das Reliquiar schließlich nach Venedig gekommen sein könnte, wo es seit 1634 nachweisbar ist⁸⁹, bleibt allerdings bis heute ungeklärt.

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78 Rhoby, Epigramme 261.

79 Zu seiner Biographie siehe Anm. 75. Zu Xiphilinos Geburtsjahr Bones, Iōannēs ho Xiphilinos 11-12.

80 Zur Erstinformation über Michael Psellos Kazhdan, Michael Psellos. – Papadioannou, Michael Psellos 4-14 (Biographie mit weiterführender Literatur). – PBW s. v. Michael 61: <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/107822> (25.10.2018). Zur Erstinformation über Johannes Mauropous Kazhdan, John Mauropous. – PBW s. v. Iōannes 289: <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/109594> (25.10.2018).

81 Hierzu auch Hoff, Haflidi Másson 162.

82 Metzler, Bildung 296.

83 Bones, Iōannēs ho Xiphilinos 71-76.

84 Johannes Xiphilinos, Passio Eugenii. – Rosenqvist, Dossier 170-203 (Miracula).

85 Nach Rosenqvist, Dossier 28 dürften die Schriften zwischen 1028 und ca. 1030 entstanden sein.

86 Rosenqvist, Dossier 170-173.

87 Das erste von Xiphilinos geschilderte Eugenios-Wunder soll seinem Bruder widerfahren sein (Rosenqvist, Dossier 172-177). Mit Sicherheit verfolgte Xiphilinos mit diesem Wunderbericht auch das Ziel, die Glaubwürdigkeit seiner Schrift zu steigern.

88 Auch Talbot, Epigrams 83 ist der Ansicht, dass sich das Kästchen einst im Besitz des Eugenios-Klosters in Trapezunt befunden haben könnte.

89 Gallo, Tesoro 314 Nr. 15.

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New Research on the Trebizond Casket and its Dating

The reliquary, kept in the Tesoro di San Marco in Venice, bears witness to the cult of the martyr Eugenios and his three companions, rooted in Trebizond. According to most researchers, the casket is a Byzantine work made in Trebizond in the late 14th or 15th century. However, few others dated the reliquary to the 11th-12th century for palaeographical reasons.

In this chapter, an art historical analysis of the figurative decoration of the casket has led to a new dating of the reliquary. The results of this study can be summarised as follows:

1. From an art-historical point of view, nothing suggests the Late Byzantine date of the casket; the same applies to Trebizond as the place of manufacture.

2. The features of the figurative decoration (figurative style, iconographic details, composition, arcade structure, ornaments), together with the row of pearls surrounding the lid, point to a time between the 10th and the 12th century; most of the comparanda are given by Byzantine works of the 11th century, commissioned by the imperial court in Constantinople.

Based on these results, the author of the present article makes some considerations about the context of the reliquary's creation and the possible commissioner. It is undisputed that it once contained relics of St Eugenios (and his three companions). The only known place to date with such relics is the monastery of St Eugenios in Trebizond, which dates back to the 9th century. For this reason, it can be assumed that the casket was commissioned in the 11th century in Constantinople by a person related to the cult (centre) of the four martyrs and then given as a present to the Monastery of St Eugenios in Trebizond. The author concludes that this person may have been Emperor Basil II (reigned 976-1025) or – even more likely – the Constantinopolitan Patriarch John Xiphilinos (1010/1013-1075).

Neue Forschungen zum Trapezunt-Kästchen und seiner Datierung

Das im Tesoro di San Marco (Venedig) verwahrte Reliquiar ist ein Zeugnis des in Trapezunt verwurzelten Kults des Märtyrers Eugenios und seiner drei Gefährten. Gemäß der gängigen Forschungsmeinung handelt es sich bei dem Kästchen um eine in Trapezunt gefertigte byzantinische Arbeit des späten 14. oder des 15. Jahrhunderts. Davon abweichend, sprachen sich einzelne Forscher aus paläographischen Gründen für eine Datierung des Reliquiars in das 11./12. Jahrhundert aus.

Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird in erster Linie eine eingehende kunsthistorische Analyse der figürlichen Dekoration des Kastens vorgenommen, um neue Ansätze zur Datierung des Reliquiars gewinnen zu können.

Die Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchung lassen sich wie folgt zusammenfassen:

1. Aus kunsthistorischer Sicht spricht nichts für die Spätdatierung des Kästchens. Das gleiche gilt für Trapezunt als Herstellungsort.

2. Die untersuchten Merkmale der figürlichen Dekoration (Figurenstil, ikonographische Details, Komposition, Arkadengliederung, Ornamente) weisen zusammen mit der den Deckel rahmenden Perlenreihe in das 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Die meisten Bezugsmöglichkeiten liefern dabei byzantinische Arbeiten des 11. Jahrhunderts, die vom Kaiserhof in Konstantinopel in Auftrag gegeben wurden.

Auf diesen Ergebnissen aufbauend, stellt die Autorin des vorliegenden Artikels Überlegungen zum Entstehungskontext und zum möglichen Auftraggeber des Reliquiars an. Es ist in der Forschung unstrittig, dass das Kästchen einst Reliquien des hl. Eugenios (und seiner drei Gefährten) enthielt. Der einzige bislang bekannte Ort, der über solche Reliquien verfügte, ist das seit dem 9. Jahrhundert bestehende Eugenios-Kloster zu Trapezunt. Aus diesem Grund nimmt die Autorin an, dass das Kästchen von einer Person mit Bezug zum Kult(zentrum) der vier Märtyrer im 11. Jahrhundert in Konstantinopel in Auftrag gegeben und dem Eugenios-Kloster zu Trapezunt geschenkt wurde. Sie legt abschließend dar, dass diese Person Kaiser Basileios II. (reg. 976-1025) oder eher noch der Patriarch von Konstantinopel, Johannes Xiphilinos (1010/1013-1075), gewesen sein könnte.

Late Byzantine Jewellery from Thessaloniki and its Region: The Finds from Ippodromiou 1 Street and Other Excavations

This chapter will examine the jewellery from a Late Byzantine to Early Ottoman period cemetery, which was unearthed during salvage excavations in 1972 in south-eastern Thessaloniki, as well as some Late Byzantine finds from Thessaloniki and the surrounding area.

The excavation was conducted in the plot where the post-Byzantine St Constantine and Helen's Church stood and was rebuilt in 1972¹. The church is known from early 18th-century sources and it has been proposed that it was originally a monastic dependency that became a parochial church in the 17th century. This area was originally part of the palace of the Tetrarch Caesar Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximianus, built after 297 AD. A hippodrome was constructed to the east of the palatial complex and along the walls; the plot with the cemetery that is presented here was situated on the long eastern side of this hippodrome.

The area of the hippodrome, retaining its name to the present day, was one of the main quarters of the city. In the Byzantine era, Thessaloniki was organised in quarters, typically named after the church of the neighbourhood, such as Hagios Mēnas, Acheiropoiētōs etc., or after the most important monument that was still standing at this time, such as Chrysē (Gate), Omphalos, and Hippodromos. It appears that in the Late Byzantine period, the Hippodrome – a part of the racing area, which was used as an open market place – was occupied by housing developments, monasteries and at least one cemetery. Free-standing houses and housing arranged around courtyards, with vats and reservoirs for the production of wine, wells and water channels, gardens, monasteries, and monastic dependencies are mentioned in legal deeds of the monasteries of Mount Athos in this neighbourhood². A built reservoir and parts of the pipes leading to it were unearthed during the excavation. This was possibly part of a wine vat, like the ones mentioned in the legal documents of the era.

In the Late Byzantine and Ottoman periods, potteries operated in open spaces at the centre of the city and close to the western and eastern city walls. According to the archaeological evidence, potteries were also active in the northern part of the Hippodrome and in the vicinity of the plot with the cemetery³. Finally, it is well known that a market was held on the site, since at least the 9th century and up to the 19th century. This was probably an open-air one, selling agricultural produce from the city's hinterland⁴.

A total of 32 built graves were unearthed at the plot (fig. 1). However, numerous clay and glass vessels found

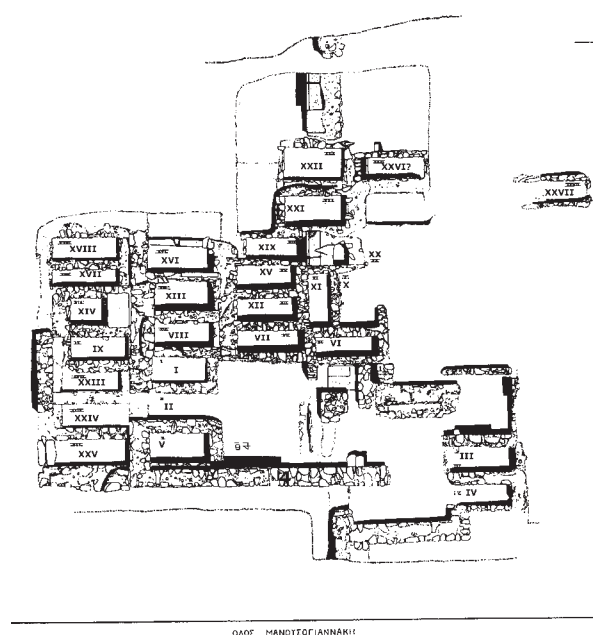


Fig. 1 Ippodromiou 1, excavation plan, archive of the Ephoreia Archaioτήτων Polis Thessalonikē. – (From O. Alexandrē, *ἸΣΤ' Ephoreia Proisthorikōn kai Klassikōn Archaioτήτων. Archaioτήτες kai Mnēmeia Kentrikēs Makedonias 1973. Anaskaphikēs ergasies. N. Thessalonikēs. Thessalonikē. Odos Ippodromiou 1 kai Manousogiannakē. ADelt29, 1973-1974, Chronika B3, 656*).

¹ The earliest mention of the church is by the French traveller Jean-Baptiste Souciet in 1734. In a decree of 1833-1834, the church was already considered an old building and a permit for its renovation was granted, see Mantopoulou-Panagopoulou, *Threskeutikē architektonikē* 406-412. It has been proposed in Dēmētriadēs, *Topographia Thessalonikēs* 260-261, that the church was a dependency of one of the Mount Athos monasteries and that it was later evolved into a parochial church, due to the raise of the population in the neighbourhood during the 17th c. In the 19th c., it was one of the most important churches of the

Greek community. It was renovated in 1908 and a bell tower was added to the three-aisled basilica.

² For a recent overview of these references, see Antonaras, *Arts, Crafts and Trades* 44. 62-64.

³ On the finds from Ippodromiou 1 plot, see Antonaras, *Arts, Crafts and Trades* 140-141.

⁴ Bakirtzis, *Imports, Exports and Autarky* 111. – Raptis, *Seeking the Marketplaces* 240-241. – Antonaras, *Arts, Crafts and Trades* 46 with further bibliography.



Fig. 2 Bronze earrings. Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, inv. nos BKO 247/2, BKO 247/13, BKO 277/5, BKO 277/7. – (Photo A. Antonaras).

during the excavation that were unassociated with any of these graves would indicate that more graves existed at the site. Jewellery was found in 14 graves and in two »stray« groups that are not associated with an identified grave. A wide variety of glazed clay vessels were unearthed in the graves that have been divided into nine Late Byzantine and one early Ottoman classes on the basis of their decoration. The dates of the clay finds define the time frame of the period of use of the cemetery as being between the late 13th and the 16th centuries. Furthermore, the great number of clay vessels (9, 12, 13, up to 16 in a single grave) affirm that these built graves were used for consecutive burials over a longer period of time. In addition, the coins found in the fill of some of them range from Early Byzantine to Ottoman issues⁵. There is no reference to skeletal remains in the cemetery, the number of individuals per grave nor the preservation and placement of the bones in each grave.

There is no clear archaeological evidence of the church, parochial or monastic, around which the cemetery was formed. Parts of a couple of walls were found on the site, comprising rubble stones connected with mud, which could belong to it, and fragments of wall paintings scattered in different areas of the excavation, indicating that it had been a decorated church. This was possibly the church that stood on the site until the 20th century, or its predecessor. Unfortunately, the

excavator's notebook makes no further remarks about the correlation of the cemetery and the church.

Parts of the Hippodrome were revealed under the Medieval layers preserved under the foundations of the new church.

Earrings

The majority of our finds consists of small-sized examples (fig. 2). They are quite sumptuous; several among them are made of silver or gilded copper decorated with small pearls. The simplest forms are plain rings made of a bent wire, some of them with an »s«-shaped fold at one end to form a hook to secure the ring into the loop formed at the other end. In addition, one example has a fine wire coiled around the lower, visible part of its body, probably intended to secure a bead in place. It cannot be excluded that other examples were also adorned with coiled wires that have not been preserved. Exact parallels were not found, although comparable finds from the Balkans are dated to the Middle and Late Byzantine times⁶.

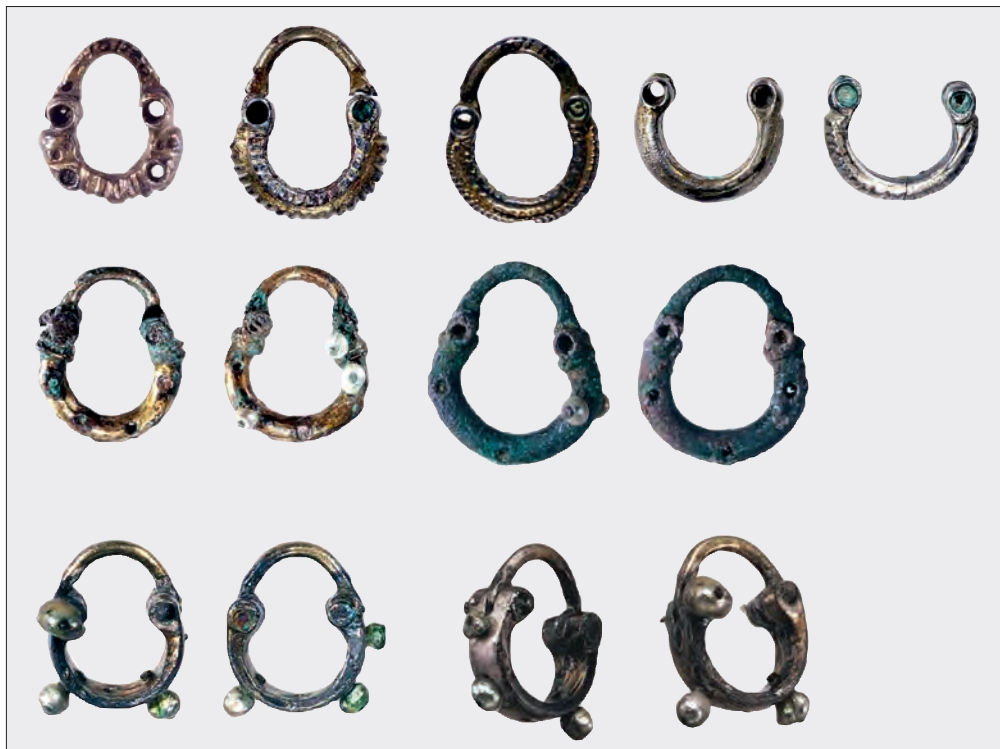
The most common group of earrings present are small (fig. 3), relatively simple rings, or simplified crescent-shaped earrings, occasionally gilded, sometimes with cast pseudo-granulation and additionally decorated with glass gems, or tiny pearls⁷. A single example of this group (fig. 4 top)

⁵ In total 65 coins were unearthed in the excavation: including six Roman, ten Early Byzantine, five Middle Byzantine, eight Late Byzantine, seven Ottoman, two Western modern; 50 were reported to be from the graves and among them four Early Byzantine, three Middle Byzantine, four Late Byzantine, one Ottoman and two Western European were identified. For the identification of the coins I would like to thank Maria Polychronaki, archaeologist in the Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki.

⁶ Cf. Maneva, *Srednovekoven nakit* 41-43. – Zečević, *Nakit novog Brda* 34-36 type 3. – Bikić, *Vizantijski nakit* 54-56.

⁷ For bronze, silver and golden finds from FYRO Macedonia and Serbia with further bibliography, see Maneva, *Srednovekoven nakit* 55-56 pl. 22. – Zečević, *Nakit novog Brda* 47-48, type 7. – Bikić, *Vizantijski nakit* 51, dated to the second half of the 14-15th c.

Fig. 3 Bronze earrings. Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, inv. nos BKO 247/4a, BKO 247/4b, BKO 247/5, BKO 247/22a, BKO 271/81, BKO 271/82. – (Photo A. Antonaras).



differs in its flat, band-like body, which forms an ovoid, bezel-like surface flanked by two raised areas.

In addition, one gilded copper alloy crescent-shape earring (**fig. 4 bottom left**) was found, which was made of two concave parts, soldered together. The seam at the join is concealed by a twisted wire placed on top of it⁸.

All earrings of this group were suspended from short semi-circular wires, flattened on both ends, with a perforation opened in the middle of each end – a characteristic known from other Palaiologan earrings. A pair of parallel hoops was formed at each end of the body and in the slot between them suspension wires were secured with a rivet passing through all three layers. The suspension wire in Late Byzantine earrings is noticeably smaller than that used in Middle Byzantine examples.

Finally, a quite exquisite earring with mosaic decoration was unearthed in this cemetery (**fig. 4 top right**). *Cloisonné* enamel with undulating fields, which was imitated in book illumination and in micro-mosaic precious icons, was also used in the decoration of metal jewellery, such as crescent-shaped earrings, found both in Thessaloniki and in rural sites in Chalkidiki, dated to the late 13th-14th century⁹. It has been proposed that such pieces are not real earrings, but temple pendants. Looking at surviving examples, the suspension loop is very long and the upper part of the object is apparently open.

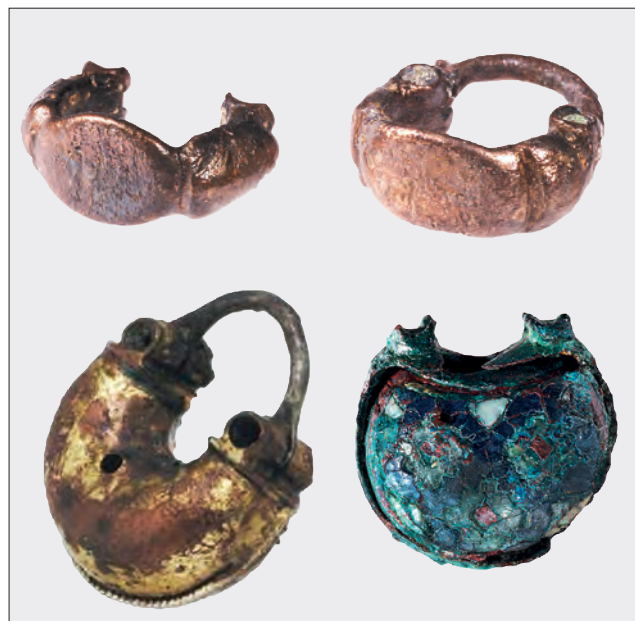


Fig. 4 Bronze earrings. Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, inv. nos BKO 247/9, BKO 247/17, BKO 247/22b. – (Photo M. Skiadaresis).

Identical finds from Corinth have been dated to the 11th-12th centuries¹⁰, and other finds from the FYRO Macedonia to the late 12th to first half of the 13th century¹¹, but neither

8 Maneva, *Srednovekovni nakit* 58-59 pl. 23 dated to the late 14th and 15th c. – Zečević, *Nakit novog Brda* 44-46, type 6 dated to the 15th-16th c. – Bikić, *Vizantijski nakit* 51-54, dated to the middle of the 14th to the 16th c. with further bibliography.

9 Moutsopoulos, *Rentina* fig. 170. – Antonaras, *The Use of Glass* 333. – Cat. Thessaloniki 2007, 127. – Cat. Athens 2007, 52. – Antonaras, *Middle and Late Byzantine Jewelry* 122. – Toska/Chatzakis, *Valta* 162 fig. 10.

10 Davidson, *The Minor Objects* 250. 254.

11 Maneva, *Srednovekovni nakit* 59 pl. 23.89/19; 23.23/1ab.



Fig. 5 Bronze crosses. Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, inv. no. BKO 247/11. – (Photo M. Skiadareisis).

the sites in Chalkidiki nor the Thessalonian cemetery bear any indications of a Middle Byzantine period use. Therefore, it was necessary to re-examine the date of the three Corinthian finds using information taken from the inventories and notebooks of the excavation. The first one is found loosely connected to a Middle Byzantine earring and a ring, and coins issued under Manuel I (1143-1180). The second was found with coins issued under Alexios I (1081-1118) and the third one is a very early find with no particular information retained about the context within which it was found¹². Thus, I am inclined to consider the Macedonian finds as heirlooms remaining in use for several centuries.

Another type of Middle Byzantine heirloom, which appeared among Palaiologan finds in Thessaloniki, is a golden earring formed by a thick wire bent to form an open circle. It is decorated at the lower part with a vertical composite element, like a multi-tiered filigree bead, which is flanked by fine, twin-coiled wires¹³.

In addition to the crescent-shaped earrings from the cemetery in Ippodromiou 1, another type of crescent-shaped

earring, which was additionally decorated with glass gems, was unearthed in Thessaloniki¹⁴.

Crescent-shaped filigree earrings were another type of late Palaiologan product present in the region¹⁵. Finally, it must be noted that many of the bronze examples retain a layer of gilding, indicating their original, golden appearance¹⁶.

Pendants and Crosses

Three small Greek crosses were found in the cemetery (fig. 5). All of them are cast in bronze, with flat backs and cast decoration on the front, imitating the inlaid decoration of their golden prototypes¹⁷. At the end of all four arms and at the centre of their junction, there is a notch in which a circular knob is formed, apparently imitating insets made of glass or semiprecious stones. Very similar, if not identical, finds have been unearthed in FYRO Macedonia and Serbia. It is quite safe to ascribe them to Thessalonian jewellers, as well. Firstly, because at least five of these pieces were found in three

12 I wish to thank the director of the Corinth Excavations of the ASCSA, Dr Guy Sanders, and the assistant director, Dr Ioulia Tzonou-Herbst, for their permission to examine the earrings and their help in the research in the archives and the database of the excavation from where the following information was taken. MF 7648: Corinth XII, no. 2046. Forum N-NW-W. North of Tower. Bema area. Near the church that once stood over the Bema. 31 March 1938. Context discarded. It was found with coins issued under the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I (1143-1180). A bronze ring MF 7966 and earring MF 7954 (both Middle Byzantine products) were found together, in addition to pottery C. 38.405. MF 6258: Corinth XII, no. 2047. South Stoa M. South of »Senate House«. Practically above Shop XX. 3 October 1936. It was found together with two coins of Alexios I, and six of Manuel I. The earring is quite heavy 5.87 g. It is filled with some heavy substance, possibly lead. MF 3391: Corinth XII, no. 2045. Find from the excavations for the »New Museum« conducted on 4 April 1931. There is no special information in the notebook. »Found in red soil above black soil«.

13 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 437 (I. Kanonidis). On this type of earrings, see Maneva, *Srednovekovni nakit* 51-52 and Bikić, *Vizantijski nakit* 39-44 both with earlier bibliography. This type is considered to be a Byzantine product and it is dated to between the 9th and 11th c., although 12th-c.-examples are known as well.

14 Antonaras, *The Use of Glass* 333. – Antonaras, *Middle and Late Byzantine Jewelry* 122.

15 Moutsopoulos, *Rentina* fig. 238. On metal revetments and other filigree objects produced in Late Byzantine Thessaloniki, see Antonaras, *Arts, Crafts and Trades* 73.

16 Personal observation on unpublished material, partly exhibited at the Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki.

17 Kanonidis, *Enkolpia* 69. 75. On their decoration, see Antonaras, *Gyalina mesobyzantina brachiolia* 431. – Antonaras, *Middle and Late Byzantine Jewelry* 123. For the metal production in Late Byzantine Thessaloniki, see Antonaras, *Arts, Crafts and Trades* 72-75.



Fig. 6 Bronze bracelets. Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, inv. nos BKO 247/1a, β, γ. – (Photo A. Antonaras).

different parts of Thessaloniki; and secondly because of the stone moulds unearthed in the workshops at the central part of Via Regia, the main street of the city, which match perfectly with these crosses and are probably the ones in which they had been cast¹⁸.

Small bronze crosses, almost all of them with arms of equal length, have been unearthed in other Palaiologan cemeteries as well. They bear cast decoration that imitates the inlaid decoration of their golden prototypes¹⁹. Few Middle Byzantine stone crosses have been unearthed in Late Byzantine cemeteries. Those that have, are apparently heirlooms that were in use for some centuries before being deposited in a grave²⁰.

Bracelets

Bracelets (**fig. 6**) are rare in Palaiologan finds in Thessaloniki. Glass bangles and band-shaped bronze bracelets, amply represented in the Middle Byzantine period, fall out of fashion in the first half of the 13th century, and by the end of the century they no longer appear²¹. Among our finds from the Ippodromiou 1 plot, only a more subtle version of the wired, Middle Byzantine bracelets occurred, differing from their predecessors by the void hoops in which they end and the wire that was bent to form two hooks securing it to the hoops and

thus securing the bracelet at the wrist²². In addition, another bronze bracelet was partly preserved from the same burial with the twisted bracelets. The band-like body of the bracelet widens and forms four equidistantly arranged square plaques, which were probably decorated with engraving.

Rings

Four rings are among our finds, all of them made of cast bronze (**fig. 7**). Three of the rings are made of undecorated plain wire with a circular cross-section²³. The fourth ring has a flat band hoop and a slightly raised, pyramidal or square bezel. If it is not a Middle Byzantine heirloom, then it is a later derivation that is still very close to its Middle Byzantine prototype²⁴.

On average, Late Byzantine rings are larger and more massive than the Middle Byzantine examples. Most of the finds are simple creations with raised bezels, usually bearing engraved, geometrical and floral decoration²⁵. Also, a group of massive, cast examples, which often have plain, undecorated bezel, or bear intaglio decoration, are known²⁶.

A chalcedony ring (**fig. 8**) was unearthed in a very early Muslim graveyard excavated in Themi, a settlement in the plain east of Thessaloniki, which, in all probability, is datable to the first century of the Ottoman occupation of the region²⁷.

18 On the metal production in Late Byzantine Thessaloniki, see Antonaras, *Arts, Crafts and Trades* 72-75, esp. on these crosses and their moulds see p. 73.

19 On their decoration, see Antonaras, *Gyalina mesobyzantina brachiolia* 431.

20 Kanonidis, *Enkolpia* 69. 75.

21 For an overview of Middle Byzantine jewellery from Thessaloniki, see Antonaras, *Middle and Late Byzantine Jewelry* 117-126. Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 420 (A. Antonaras).

22 On Middle Byzantine glass bracelets, see Maneva, *Srednovekoven nakit* 75-78. – Antonaras, *Gyalina mesobyzantina brachiolia* 423-434. – Bikić, *Vizantijski nakit* 87-89, dated between 11th and early 13th c. – On Middle Byzantine bracelets, made of twisted bronze wires, see Maneva, *Srednovekoven nakit* 73-74. – Antonaras, *Middle and Late Byzantine Jewelry* 119-120.

23 Zečević, *Nakit novog Brda* 178-182, dated to the late Medieval-Early Ottoman period. Cf. also Maneva, *Srednovekoven nakit* 83 for similar, Middle Byzantine examples.

24 Maneva, *Srednovekoven nakit* 88-89 t. 77-79 dated between the 10th and 12th c. – Bikić, *Vizantijski nakit* 103-104, dated to the 11th c. with further bibliography.

25 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 453 (I. Kanonidis).

26 Cat. Thessaloniki 2007, 107. 125 (A. Antonaras).

27 On the excavation, see Pappa et al., *Neolithikos oikismos* esp. 344-345. On the form with further bibliography, see Zečević, *Nakit novog Brda* 95-100. 196-197 no. 72.



Fig. 7 Bronze rings. Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, inv. nos BKO 247/10, BKO 247/12, BKO 247/18, BKO 247/25. – (Photo A. Antonaras).

The ring has a planoconvex hoop with a small projection at the middle of the bottom. The hoop is raised on the shoulders, forming triangular projections. The ovular, raised bezel is slightly undercut to project, and its upper surface is flat and plain. Furthermore, a group of small rings should be added to this overview, although they are probably of a later, Early Ottoman, date. These small bronze rings have a fine band body and a square bezel embellished with a smooth, planoconvex glass gem in a striking colour²⁸.

Archers' rings are a particular type of rings, which appear after the late 13th-14th century²⁹. They are fine band rings, with a triangular, oblique projection for the bezel. The feature that identifies them is their smooth, flat, triangular bezel, originally designed to protect the thumb of the archers when releasing the string of their bows. Several examples have been unearthed in Late Byzantine cemeteries of Thessaloniki and its hinterland. In addition to the bone examples, a few bronze ones are also known. The rings, which are made of bone are either smoothed and left otherwise plain and undecorated or in some cases fine bronze inlays are added to form geometrical and floral patterns on their bezel. Bronze examples bear shallow, engraved, floral decoration.

Buckles

Although one would expect buckles to be a relatively common find, there is only one example from the Ippodromiou 1

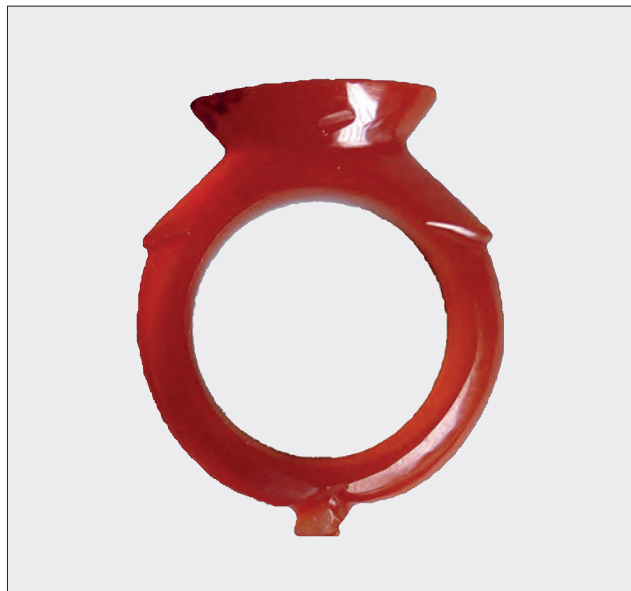


Fig. 8 Carnelian Ring. Ephoreia Archaiotētōn Periphērias Thessalonikēs (no inv. no.). – (Photo A. Antonaras).

cemetery (fig. 9). It is made of copper alloy covered with a layer of silver and has an elaborate shape. It appears to have belonged to a wealthy lady of Thessaloniki. It was found in a grave with a pair of earrings indicating the sex of the deceased; however, it was not mentioned in the excavation notebooks whether there was only one burial in the grave.

Buttons

Although buttons are not strictly speaking jewellery, I have included them (fig. 10) because it is obvious that they were not merely practical items. Particular effort was put into making them decorative embellishments of the clothing to which they would have been fastened. It appears that during the Late Byzantine and Ottoman period, brooches, which were already almost non-existent during the Middle Byzantine period, were completely replaced by buttons³⁰. In total, 142 buttons were found in eleven graves, in groups ranging from 3 or 4, up to 31, offering an indirect glimpse into the design of the costume the deceased was buried in. They are made of bronze, which in some cases has been gilded, and usually spherical, less often ellipsoidal, in shape, comprising two hemispherical cast pieces joined together, one of which bears an inherent or applied suspension ring.

Finally, according to the archaeological finds, it seems that flat, discoid, bone buttons were used at least in one case, being part of the cloth, which was embellished with hundreds of glass beads.

28 Cat. Thessaloniki 2007, 124-125 (A. Antonaras). For parallel finds from Serbia, see Zečević, *Nakit novog Brda* 95 no. 85.

29 Antonaras, Contribution 50-62, with further bibliography on analogous Balkan finds.

30 On buttons, see Maneva, *Srednovekovno nakit* 34-36 pl. 99-100. – Zečević, *Nakit novog Brda* 119-133 type 1, globular buttons dated to the mid-14th to late 15th c. and type 4, ovular buttons dated to the late 15th-16th c. with further bibliography. In addition, see Bikić, *Vizantijski nakit* 113-114.



Fig. 9 Silver-plated bronze belt buckle. Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, inv. no. BKO 247/4ε. – (Photo M. Skiadaresis).

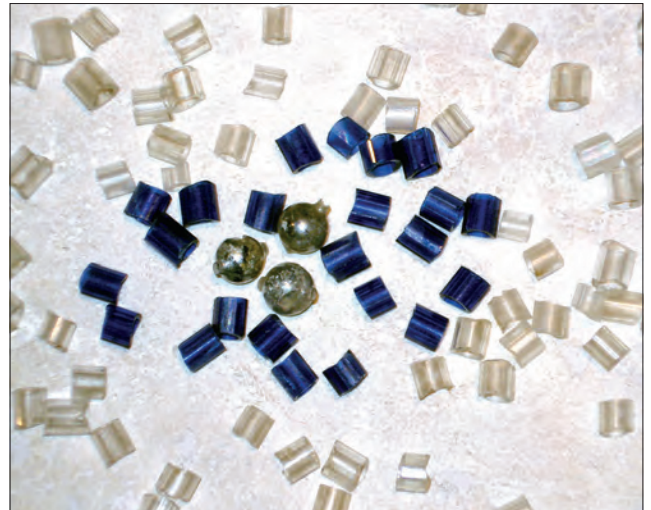


Fig. 11 Glass beads. Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, inv. nos BYM 44/2, BYM 44/3. – (Photo M. Skiadaresis).



Fig. 10 Bronze buttons. Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, inv. nos BKO 247/3, BKO 247/14, BKO 247/15, BKO 247/16, BKO 247/20, BKO 247/22Γ, BKO 247/23, BKO 247/24. – (Photo A. Antonaras).

In addition to these, heavy, cast, lead buttons, bearing relief decoration in the form of ribs or granules have been sporadically reported³¹, as are also a few large filigree buttons³².

Beads

Beads are not present among the finds from the cemetery (fig. 11), although a very large group of glass beads – more

than 700 pieces – is present in one single find. These were fastened on a garment – identified by the excavator as an »ecclesiastical vestment« – which was found buried in a 60 cm-wide clay vessel. The vast majority of the preserved beads (several hundred) are colourless or blue, hexagonal beads, made out of a hexagonal perforated cane, cut quite carelessly in lengths varying between c. 0.5-1 cm. Among them were found several dozen spherical, colourless beads, with a metal lining in their interior, giving them a reflective

31 Cat. Thessaloniki 2007, 90. 93 (A. Antonaras).

32 Cat. Thessaloniki 2007, 93 (A. Antonaras).

quality. The small number of spherical beads is probably connected to the fact that they are very fine and fragile, and being easily crushed would not survive the conditions of interment, and/or could well go unnoticed by the excavators of the time. This particular find quite probably is of a considerably later date, possibly 19th century, as the beads' technology indicates³³. For instance, 19th-century traditional

female Slovak cloths comprise great numbers of the spherical, metal lined beads, either as part of the bridal headdress or in long strands used as necklaces, offering a quite safe date and geographical attribution for the Thessalonian find as well³⁴. But since there is no other indication of such a late use of the cemetery it seemed appropriate to present them along with the rest of the cemetery's finds.

Conclusions

In closing this presentation of the jewellery from the Ippodromiou 1 plot in Thessaloniki and selected other Late Byzantine Macedonian jewels, a few remarks can be made that, although far from being real conclusions of some general value, nevertheless sum up the material. Based on the finds, which may only reflect the burial customs and not the actual way of living of the society under examination, the following can be noted: Middle Byzantine jewellery, heirlooms, or venerated objects such as stone crosses and amulets, are occasionally found in graves dated by pottery finds to the

Palaiologan period (probably 13th century). Less than half of the Ippodromiou 1 graves contained jewellery, some of which was decorated with pearls, especially the earrings. Some glass gems and cut pieces of coloured glass were used as insets in earrings. The majority of the jewels were made of cheap metals, copper alloys and silver of low purity, while gold articles are almost non-existent. Glass continues to be used as substitute for semiprecious stones, quite rare anyway, while bone and stones are used for the production of certain artefacts, such as crosses, pendants, or special types of rings.

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³³ I thank Ingeborg Krueger, Torben Sode and Jan Kock for their information on this topic.

³⁴ At least two 19th-c. examples of necklaces and one headdress were presented in Novi Sad, Serbia in the temporary exhibition of the Museum of Vojvodina, »Iza gora i dolina – tri veka Slovaka u Vojvodini« in 2016.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Late Byzantine Jewellery from Thessaloniki and its Region: The Finds from Ippodromiou 1 Street and Other Excavations

The jewellery from a Late Byzantine to Early Ottoman period cemetery of 32 built graves is the subject of the present chapter. The cemetery was unearthed during salvage excavations conducted at the south-eastern part of Thessaloniki in the area of the former post-Byzantine Church of SS Constantine and Helena that was built over the ruins of the Roman hippodrome. Glazed pottery bowls were found in every grave, which date the period of use of the cemetery to between the late 13th and the 16th centuries. In addition, Late Byzantine jewellery from burials in other parts of Thessaloniki and its hinterland are presented, offering a wider typology of items circulating in Thessaloniki of that era. In short, among burial finds, the following have been noted: some Middle Byzantine jewellery is occasionally found in graves dated by pottery to the Palaiologan period; pearls and glass insets are occasionally used, especially in earrings; the majority of the jewellery was made of copper alloy and low-purity silver, while gold objects remain elusive; bone and stones were used for the production of crosses and special types of rings.

Spätbyzantinischer Schmuck aus Thessaloniki und Umgebung: die Funde aus der Straße Ippodromiou 1 und anderen Ausgrabungen

Der vorliegende Aufsatz behandelt den Schmuck aus einem spätbyzantinisch-frühosmanischen Friedhof mit 32 gemauerten Gräbern. Der während Notgrabungen freigelegte Friedhof liegt im südöstlichen Teil Thessalonikis auf einem Grundstück, auf dem sich die post-byzantinische Kirche der Heiligen Konstantin und Helena befand, die wiederum auf den Ruinen des römischen Hippodroms errichtet worden war. In jedem Grab wurden glasierte Keramikschalen gefunden, welche die Friedhofsnutzung auf die Zeit zwischen dem späten 13. und dem 16. Jahrhundert eingrenzen. Zum Vergleich wird spätbyzantinischer Schmuck aus anderen Grabkontexten Thessalonikis und seines Hinterlandes vorgestellt, der eine umfangreichere Typologie von in Thessaloniki im Umlauf befindlichen Objekten dieser Zeit ermöglicht. Zusammenfassend lässt sich zu den Grabfunden Folgendes bemerken: Einige mittelbyzantinischer Schmuckstücke wurden gelegentlich in Gräbern gefunden, die anhand der Keramik in die palaiologische Zeit datierbar sind. Perlen und Glaseinlagen wurden gelegentlich verwendet, besonders bei Ohrringen. Der Großteil des Schmucks wurde aus Kupferlegierungen und Silber geringer Reinheit gefertigt, während goldene Schmuckstücke fehlen. Knochen und Stein wurde für die Herstellung von Kreuzen und besonderen Ringtypen verwendet.

Late Byzantine Accessories and Jewellery: New Thoughts on the Small Finds from Mystras

The fortified city of Mystras is situated in the south-western Peloponnese, Greece. Mystras became the capital of the Despotate of the Morea in 1345 and was built right below the 13th century Frankish castle of Geoffrey de Villehardouin¹. Even though the buildings' excellent condition presents some general information on the structure of the settlement and the religious life during the Palaiologan Period, more can be deduced from smaller contexts and finds that provide information on the appearance of the city's inhabitants².

For a settlement as large and politically and economically important as Mystras, the actual number of small finds³ seems to be alarmingly low. Furthermore, most finds are without context, with the exception of a few grave finds. This chapter will search for a hypothetical context for those finds

with the help of comparable objects that – lacking Late Byzantine comparisons – often date to Middle Byzantine times.

It is important to think about any possible context in which the small finds could have been found. It seems very likely that most of them were found in graves. Opened but undocumented graves can be seen in almost every church or chapel. The only recorded set of graves that includes the well-known silken garments of the so-called »Byzantine Princess«⁴, most likely of Western origin, is in the Hagia Sophia⁵. A group of silken and metal embroidered ribbons most likely found in different graves just outside the Hagia Sophia⁶, another silken fabric in poor condition with buttons on it from grave no. 7 of the Hagia Sophia⁷, shoe irons from various graves of the Hagia Anna, Pribleptos and Hagia Sophia⁸ and four

1 Sinos' publication from 2009 (Sinos, *Monuments of Mystras*) that preceded an article in the *RbK* (Sinos, *Mistra*) examines the city's structures and history after lengthy restoration work. Kalopissi-Verti, *Late Byzantine Settlement*, summarises the status of the research on Mystra gives a short and incisive insight on the general topic.

2 The author worked on this subject during her Master Thesis »Die materielle Kultur von Mistra. Rekonstruktion des Alltagslebens?«, that included all the published finds, organic and non-organic, that were found inside the city. Even though I was able to see the objects in the exhibition, I was not able to review them on my own, so my analysis is only based on the catalogue texts from the 2001 publication *Cat. Mystras 2001*, 138-169.

3 Not included in this article are objects such as glass-products, pottery, tongs, nails and knives that inform about the craft and trade inside the city. This evidence of material culture still needs publishing and is only represented in the *Mystra* catalogue with some exemplary pictures (cf. Vlachou, *Byzantine Table*).

4 Cf. choice of title »Parure d'une princesse byzantine: tissu archéologiques de Sainte-Sophie de Mistra / Το ένδυμα μια βυζαντινής πριγκίπισσας« (Martiniani-Reber, *Parure*).

5 Drandakēs, *Cheirographo*. – Martiniani-Reber, *Parure*. – *Cat. Mystras 2001*, 148-153 nos 1-5; 155-156 no. 7; 159-160 nos 12-14 (P. Kalamara).

6 Drandakēs, *Cheirographo* 2. 10. 12. – Flury/Schweizer, *Tissus* 53-75. – Kalamara, *Costume à Mistra* 108-109. – Kalamara/Valansot, *Tissus de Sainte-Sophie* 121. – *Cat. Mystras 2001*, 159 no. 12 fig. 159; 160 no. 13 fig. page 159; 160 no. 14 fig. page 160 (P. Kalamara). Since the following finds with secured context will not be analyzed in the this article in detail, I will give a few comments concerning comparisons and the use in each footnote. No analogies to the embroidered silk ribbons are known from Greece, but from the Rus'. Two silk ribbons embroidered with elaborate motives found next to the head also in a female burial site inside the Church of the Dormition of the Theotokos in the Kremlin, Moscow, date to the 12th c. (Sterligova, *Byzantine Antiquities* 538-539 nos 109-110). The remains of another example dated loosely between the 12th and 14th c., again found next to the head of a buried female, only consisted of the small metal applications that were most likely fastened to a silk ribbon (Orfinskaya/Engavatova, *Medieval Textiles* 10. 13-15). That the ribbons from Mystra were also used as part of the headgear can be deduced from Drandakēs, who describes a set of fabric bands that he characterized as *seirition* of a prelate and could concur with the silken and metal embroidered ribbons from the museum. But only the first of the three ribbons is ascribed to a child's burial, while the character of the other graves is unknown (*Cat. Mystras 2001*, 159 no. 12 [P. Kalamara]). Even though the comparisons are far from sufficient, a few similarities can be noted: almost all ribbons can be found in female or children's graves and can be surely identified as part of

the hair decoration. As to their function, only assumptions can be made. Since all the ribbons were found in a funeral context, the question arises whether this kind of hair decoration was part of the everyday hairstyle or saved for the burial rite and conveyed a special meaning. Who then would be privileged to wear such a ribbon? Looking at the known examples, children and women are the most likely candidates, but whether they can be characterised as young and unmarried, as Dawson proposed, can be neither verified nor denied (Dawson, *Women's Dress* 48).

7 Drandakēs, *Cheirographo* 13. – Flury/Schweizer, *Tissus* 56-57. 70-73 pl. VII/7.13; VII/8. – Kalamara, *Costume à Mistra* 107-108. – Kalamara/Valansot, *Tissus de Sainte-Sophie* 120-121. – *Cat. Mystras 2001*, 155 no. 7 fig. page 155 (P. Kalamara). This fabric, found on the latest of the four burials of that grave, was made of two layers of which the finely woven upper one is decorated with metal threads in a floral pattern (*Cat. Mystras 2001*, 155-156 no. 7 [P. Kalamara]). Next to the forged and cast buttons that are documented for Mystra – the latter is known from half of a stone mould (*Cat. Mystras 2001*, 158-159 no. 11 [P. Kalamara]) – this clothing used a third type of button, that of knotted silk threads. This type seems to be more delicate on such a fine silken fabric than the metal buttons that were rather roughly made and would have harmed the silk. If the buttons were lined up from the top to the bottom – as can be seen in the burial portrait of the skouterios Kaniotes (second half of the 14th c.) inside the southern annex of the Hodegetria in Mystra – cannot be determined with certainty (Kalamara, *Dress* 143 fig. 163). Another possible installation on the dress is just over the chest area as it occurs in the West or Bulgaria of the 14th c. (*Cat. Mystras 2001*, 155 no. 7 [P. Kalamara]). – Mitova-Džonova, *Archeologičeski* 50 fig. 8).

8 While the catalogue entry recorded nine irons, a total of ten were exhibited in the museum in October 2014. By their form, they can be divided into two types: the first, with elongated semicircle iron, is represented with four pieces while the horseshoe-shaped irons can be found six times. Their pointed and bent over triangles around the outer brim of the irons prove that they are the longer lasting remains of shoes and were used to protect the soft leather material around the shoe tip and heel (*Cat. Mystras 2001*, 153-155 no. 6 fig. page 154 [S. Volken / M. Volken]). Since Volken stated that such a technical innovation seems to have started in the 15th c. new finds from Greece and the Balkans can retrace such objects back to the 12th c. (*Cat. Thessaloniki 2002*, 113 no. 108 [N. Zikos]). Unpublished comparisons from the Frankish castle of Chlemoutsí, very close to the city of Mystra, are five horseshoe-shaped irons. This observation – the complete lack of comparisons, for the shoe irons of the first type which protected the tip of the shoe – makes it seem more common and useful in the late Byzantine time to strengthen the heel.

bronze buttons from the fourth grave of the chapel of Hagia Anna⁹ complete the finds that have a secured context. If not found inside graves, it is also possible that some finds can be put into a settlement context, being buried *in situ* or stored away in hiding. Yet there is no record that an excavation inside the city's walls has ever been undertaken. The third and altogether very dissatisfying circumstance of discovery is when the objects have been collected at random places due to the steep landscape or the erosion by water and wind.

The following discussion concerning small finds without context will be divided into two parts: first, accessories; and second, objects that can be understood as personal jewellery.

Accessories

20 simple gilded, hollow bronze buttons, one of them fragmented, can be addressed as accessories of a dress. Each button is made from two plain hemispheres in between which a thick, looped wire was placed and soldered together. Whether the hemispheres were actually moulded, as Kalamara proposes¹⁰, or were formed over a model¹¹ cannot be determined without a closer look at the objects. Even though buttons are practically mass products that can be found in every cemetery context, a systematic study has not yet been undertaken¹². Concerning their contexts, it might be useful to take a closer look at the inventory number of the set in the Museum of Mystras (166)¹³. It precedes the numbers of the already mentioned four bronze buttons (167, 168) from the Hagia Anna¹⁴. Therefore, it is highly likely that the set of 20 buttons was also found in 1952 in the Hagia Anna, given that the inventory numbers were handed down chronologically, which is the usual process. During the Palaiologan period,

such buttons were used as fastenings for dresses at various places¹⁵ and prove the change in fashion occurring from the 10th century¹⁶ onwards. Before this time, pins and fibulae were used to fasten clothes. This is corroborated by the historian John Zonaras¹⁷, who wrote in his encyclopedia of the 12th century that buttons replaced the pin and fibula entirely¹⁸. This statement is verified by numerous bronze button finds from all over the country dating to the 10th century and later¹⁹. The buttons are mostly not found *in situ*, their precise installation can therefore not be reconstructed. Where up to three buttons are found, it is assumed that they are part of the upper part of the dress²⁰. For other larger groups, a different use is attested: twelve bronze buttons from a grave of the 10th century in Berroia in Greece were found laid out as a necklace around the neck of the deceased²¹. The same context is also known for the 12th-14th centuries with the seven silver-coated buttons from a grave inside the basilica on Hagios Achilleios in the Small Prespa Lake²². Whether the buttons were employed on a necklaces in secondary use after no longer being used as closures cannot be determined. In the case of the buttons from Mystras, it seems also highly probable that they cannot only be interpreted as part of the dress but also as personal ornament. In any case, these buttons were manufactured locally, as is proven by one half of a stone mould found in the city²³. Another object might have had a different function from that hitherto ascribed to it a bone object without context, 2.5 cm wide and 0.7 cm high and with a central hole²⁴. The conical piece has a surface feebly decorated with various deep and wide furrows. The identification as a bone button has already been doubted²⁵ and it is likely that it was actually a spindle whorl, weighing down the shaft of a drop spindle. These were usually made out of stone²⁶, clay²⁷, lead²⁸ or glass²⁹, but also bone³⁰. We

9 These buttons were manufactured with a lot of single pieces. The round body was modeled with the help of two square iron sheets around a looped wire that are held together by a long and thin hairspring wire. This decorative presentation gives the impression of an acorn or raspberry (Cat. Mystras 2001, 156 no. 8 fig. page 156 [P. Kalamara]).

10 Cat. Mystras 2001, 157 no. 9 fig. page 157 (P. Kalamara).

11 This kind of production is testified by some golden buttons from Moravia, dating to the 9th c. (Szmoniewski, Goldsmiths' Production 170 fig. 17).

12 Only regional typologies, such as the excavation in Saraçhane, Istanbul, that divided the buttons into spherical, spherical with a nipple on the bottom and spheroidal, were made (Harrison, Saraçhane 263-164 fig. S).

13 Cat. Mystras 2001, 157 no. 9 (P. Kalamara).

14 Cf. footnote no. 9.

15 Parani mentions due to her observation of the contemporary murals a fitting of such buttons on the sleeves (Parani, Reality of Images 59). In the portraits of Mystra, buttons are additionally attested at the front closing the long garments from top to bottom, as can be seen on Manuel Laskaris Chatzikes in the Pantanassa church or the *skouterios* Kaniotes in the Hodegetria church (Aspra-Bardabakē/Emmanuēl, Pantanassas fig. 97. – Kalamara, Dress fig. 162-163 fig. 8).

16 The only example, a single fine golden button, dating to the 10th c., derives from a hoard made in Thessaloniki (Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 396 no. 490 fig. page 397 [G. Papazotou]).

17 A short overview of his work can be found in Treadgold, Middle Byzantine Historians 388-399.

18 Angelkou/Cheimonopoulou, Kosmēmata kai Exartēmata 396.

19 Examples from Greece: Angelkou/Cheimonopoulou, Kosmēmata kai Exartēmata 395-396 (10th-13th c.). – Antonaras, Jewellery from Thessaloniki 121 (Middle Byzantine). 124 (Late Byzantine) fig. 12. – Drandakēs/Gkiolē, Anaskaphē

254 tab. 148, στ' (two gold buttons, undated). – Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 397 no. 491 (M. Paisidou, 12th-14th c.). – Bulgaria: Mitova-Džonova, Archeologičeski 47-53 fig. 7-9 (14th c.). Turkey: Berti, Grave Goods lasos 190 tab. 1-3 (13th-16th c.). – Denker, Bizans Saraylari 25 (undated). – Harrison, Saraçhane 263-264 (12th-16th c.). – Waldbaum, Metalwork from Sardis 126 no. 761 (Late Antique?), nos 784-796 (1000-13th c.), nos 797-798 (14th-16th c.), no. 799 (Middle/Late Byzantine) tab. 46.

20 Berti, Grave Goods lasos 190. For an installation on the whole garment cf. footnote 15.

21 Pektos/Karagianni, Veroias 512-513 fig. 4.

22 Paisidou, Agios Achilleios 532 fig. 5. – Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 397 no. 491 (M. Paisidou).

23 Cat. Mystras 2001, 158-159 no. 11 fig. page 158 (P. Kalamara). Next to the interpretation from Kalamara that the mould produced a hollow object, it is also possible that it was solid like some small but heavy lead buttons from the Late Byzantine time (Antonaras, Jewellery from Thessaloniki 124).

24 Cat. Mystras 2001, 158 no. 10 fig. page 158 (P. Kalamara).

25 Cat. Mystras 2001, 158 no. 10 (P. Kalamara).

26 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 368 no. 439 (S. Doukatak-Demertzi). – Cat. Munich 2004, 274 no. 417.

27 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 368 no. 440 (S. Doukatak-Demertzi).

28 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 368 no. 441 (S. Doukatak-Demertzi).

29 Cat. Munich 2004, 274 no. 416.

30 Dell'Era, Zeytinli Bahçe 403-404. – Denker, Bizans Saraylari nos 72. 74. 76. 77. – Koroğlu, Yumuktepe Excavations 315 fig. 8. – Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 366 no. 535 (A. Nika). – Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 366 nos 437-438 (S. Doukatak-Demertzi). – Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 368-369 no. 442 (L. Starida). – Cat. Munich 2004, 274 no. 415.

might look back to an early discussion by Davidson in 1952, who tried to differentiate a spindle whorl from a button in her publication on the small finds from Corinth³¹. Both objects share the disc or cylindrical formed cross section with a central perforation. The spindle whorl would have been put on a shaft so that the rotating shaft, with the help of the weight of the spindle whorl, twisted the fibre into thread. Depending on the thickness of the thread, the weight of the spindle whorl could vary³². The attachment of the bone object as a button must have been made with a knot whose diameter exceeded the diameter of the perforation. Another possibility is the use of a small pin that, put on the upper side of the buttons, was knotted and attached with thread to the dress³³. Moreover, Davidson identified the spindle whorl as bigger, heavier, often made from clay and usually undecorated³⁴, while buttons were typically smaller and lighter, often made from ivory or bone and decorated lavishly³⁵. Recordings of small finds show that these misleading criteria are not proof for the classification of these objects³⁶. The biggest problem in identifying bone buttons is the complete lack of secured context. Davidson dates most of the buttons in the stratigraphical layer of the 10th-12th centuries in which not a single piece was found inside a grave with evidence of having been applied to fabric³⁷. The better context for these objects is settlement³⁸. A definite use as a spindle is proven in some cases by the preservation of wooden shafts³⁹. The only object that was published as a bone button with the same form is a piece from Makryalos, Pieria, Greece, dating to the 12th-13th centuries⁴⁰. Sadly, this identification is based on the find from Mystras⁴¹ and therefore is of no use as a comparison. Different button types, being perforated more than once like modern buttons with holes, can be found in Late Byzantine times⁴². Thus, it seems more likely that the bone object from Mystras was actually a spindle whorl for textile production and not a dress accessory.

Two objects that have been identified as »belt buckles«⁴³ (fig. 1), previously, also have to be questioned and should now be labelled as »toggle-closures«. The first example consists of two parts, while of the second, gilded looking one,



Fig. 1 Two bronze and gilded(?) toggle closures with traces of a rasp on the surface. – (From Cat. Mystras 2001, 161 no. 15-16).

only one part has survived. What tells them apart from the usual Byzantine belt buckle⁴⁴ is that the toggle-closure is fastened with a two-part toggle, in this case with a central circular element that is hooked into a counterpart. It was attached to the dress with a needle on each piece that was connected to the closure through an overlapping bridge⁴⁵. Both almost identically decorated closures comprise three adjoining circles or ovals (although one item is incomplete), which are decorated with interlocking circle-dot motifs that enclose a single central circle. The sharp-edged brim is decorated with wedged emboss strokes. Because of their crude appearance and decoration it has been proposed that they were produced in a local smithy⁴⁶.

The only overview on toggle-closures dating to Merovingian times was written by Mechthild Schulze-Dörlamm⁴⁷. Given that she locates their origin in Byzantium, her article also contains some Byzantine examples⁴⁸. Detected in Byzantium around 600 AD⁴⁹, most of the toggle-closures

31 Davidson, Corinth 296.

32 Cat. Munich 2004, 274.

33 Davidson, Corinth 296-298.

34 Davidson, Corinth 296. That the lack of decoration is no criterion for the identification of a spindle is observed by Davidson herself in footnote 72 on the same page. Additional secured spindle finds, with their elaborate concentric line-, circle- and scratched decoration, also count against such an assumption (Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 368-369 no. 442 [L. Starida]).

35 Davidson, Corinth 296. The size of the so-called bone buttons is no smaller than the objects that have been called spindles. The »button« from Mystras with a diameter of 2.5 cm is, e.g., bigger than the Middle Byzantine spindle from Maroneia, Palichora, Greece, with a diameter of 2 cm (Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 366 no. 438 [S. Doukato-Demertzi]).

36 Even Harrison doubts his list of »disc-buttons« and adds that some of them were surely used as spindles (Harrison, Saraçhane 262).

37 Davidson, Corinth 297.

38 Denker, Bizans Sarayları nos 72. 74. 76-77. – Koroğlu, Yumuktepe Excavations 315.

39 Dell'Era, Zeytinli Bahçe 403 fig. 11a. The author proposes in contrast the function as bottle cap and identifies the boneshaft not as part of a spindle.

40 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 397 no. 492 (E. Marki).

41 Angelkou/Cheimonopoulou, Kosmēmata kai Exartēmata 384-385.

42 Those finds again not made in graves and cannot be identified as buttons certainly even though they look so much like modern buttons (Davidson, Corinth 298 nos 2580-2581. – Denker, Bizans Sarayları nos 112-114).

43 Cat. Mystras 2001, 161-162 nos 15-16 (P. Kalamara). As to the context, the inventory numbers are again interesting. Like the three digit numbers of the four bronze buttons (see above), the numbers (170-171) are just a little higher than those of the four bronze buttons from the Hagia Sophia (167-168). This could indicate that the toggle closures come from the chapel (cf. nt. 9).

44 For an extensive documentation on Byzantine belt buckles from the RGZM in Mainz, see the two publications Schulze-Dörlamm, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen 1 and Schulze-Dörlamm, Byzantinische Gürtelschnallen 2.

45 A picture of the rear of the closure that shows the exact mechanism of the needle is not yet published.

46 Cat. Mystras 2001, 162 no. 16 (P. Kalamara).

47 Schulze-Dörlamm, Byzantinische Knebelverschlüsse 571-593.

48 Schulze-Dörlamm, Byzantinische Knebelverschlüsse 589.

49 Schulze-Dörlamm, Byzantinische Knebelverschlüsse 591.

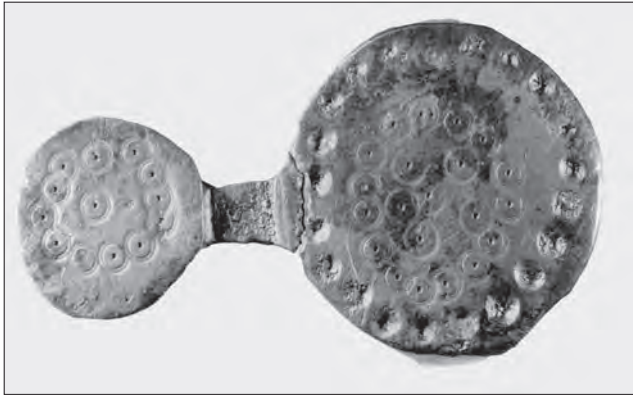


Fig. 2 Bronze toggle of the toggle closure from Boğazköy, Turkey, 10th-12th centuries. – (From Böhlendorf-Arslan, Boğazköy tab. 169 Kn 3).

date to the end of the Early Byzantine to the beginning of the Middle Byzantine time. The two closures from Mystras cannot be classified among those pieces. In between the various types of toggle and counterpart only one example from the Byzantine settlement of Boğazköy (Hattuşa)⁵⁰, Turkey dating to the 10th-12th centuries, matches the two pieces from Mystras, not only in form, but also in decoration (fig. 2)⁵¹. Whereas in Middle Byzantine times the toggle-closure is known from other media (fig. 3), the only object dating to Late Byzantine times was located in today's Macedonia⁵². Even though the round toggle bears some resemblance to the finds from Mystras, the counterpart and the way of attachment to the dress are completely different. Because there is no documentation of Byzantine toggle-closures that were found *in situ* they are often understood as belt buckles⁵³. However, the closing mechanism would point to a different use. A belt buckle usually possesses a pin that allows choosing different lengths. A toggle-closure lacks this functionality. The position of such a closure over the collarbone in grave 235 in Unterthürheim in Bavaria, Germany⁵⁴, leads Schulze-Dörrlamm to hypothesise attachment on coats, as it is known in Early Byzantine times in Egypt⁵⁵. An ivory today in Saint Petersburg shows a similar construction, not on a belt, but on coat (fig. 3). Similar closures are not held by a single fastening, but by up to three toggle-closures on the front of the body⁵⁶. This method of attachment with the



Fig. 3 Detail of the St Eustratios on the right side of the Byzantine ivory triptych of the »Forty Martyrs and Saints«, Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, 10th-11th centuries. – (From Bank, Byzantine Art fig. 124 [detail]).

help of a pin that the two objects from Mystras offer, makes it, not only possible to pierce through leather, but also fabric; and, therefore, very likely that they have been used – even as a set – as closures for a coat.

Jewellery

The next section will examine the finds without context that can be understood as personal jewellery. While their individual value or their symbolism cannot always be determined definitely, the choice of material and complexity of decoration gives a hint as to the quality and significance of the piece.

Rings

The four bronze finger rings from Mystras can be counted among the group of »cheap« representatives due to their material, method of production and quality of decoration, which can vary⁵⁷. Rings are »mass products« and have survived in great numbers, but it is mostly the high-quality pieces that are published⁵⁸. Many pieces are not securely dated, thus there is no gapless typology of rings from Byzantine Middle Ages⁵⁹. The first bronze ring from Mystras consists of a straight band and decorated oval bezel⁶⁰. The decoration of the bezel con-

50 For a short historical overview with a focus on the church inventory of Boğazköy see Böhlendorf-Arslan, Kleinfunde aus Boğazköy 351-368.

51 Luckily, I was pointed to that piece by Prof. Dr Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan, whom I wish to thank for also allowing me to use the drawing made for an unpublished book (Böhlendorf-Arslan, Boğazköy 214 tab. 169 Kn 3).

52 Maneva, Srednovekoven nakit 202. 204 tab. 104, 63/24.

53 Cat. Mystras 2001, 161-162 no. 15-16 (P. Kalamara). – Maneva, Srednovekoven nakit 204. – Lightfoot, Belt Buckles 88.

54 Schulze-Dörrlamm, Byzantinische Knebelverschlüsse 587 fig. 12.

55 Schulze-Dörrlamm, Byzantinische Knebelverschlüsse 588 fig. 13.

56 Schulze-Dörrlamm, Byzantinische Knebelverschlüsse 589 fig. 14, 1.

57 Antonaras assumes that the ring was a piece of jewellery that everybody wore. Besides the archers' rings, no innovation in the production of rings during the Late Byzantine Period is known. What makes the dating of Late Byzantine rings so difficult is that they were patterning on the forms that were used before (Antonaras, Jewellery from Thessaloniki 123-124). The ring typology from Corinth, on the other hand, shows certain innovations from the 10th c. onwards (Davidson, Corinth 232).

58 Selected literature on Middle and Late Byzantine rings, sorted by countries: Greece: Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 280-341. – Davidson, Corinth 227-248 tab. 102-107. – Paisidou, Agios Achilleios 532 fig. 6 (11th-13th c.). – Pektos/Karagianni, Veroias 514 fig. 12 (10th-13th c.). – Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 558 no. 768 (5th-6th c.). 444-453 nos 584-624 (Middle Byzantine). 453 no. 625 (Late Byzantine). Bulgaria: Grigorov, Metalin Nakit 46-63. 186-212 figs 57-87 (various locations, 7th-11th c.). Serbia: Bikić, Nakit 170-174 figs 59-85 tab. 6 (various locations, 11th-15th c.). Croatia: Fol et al., Djadovo 278-280 (various locations, 11th-12th c.). Turkey: Waldbaum, Metalwork from Sardis 128-133 nos 816-823. 827-839. 841-842. 853-875 tab. 47-49 (Late Antique to Late Byzantine).

59 A typology of rings dating between the 9th to 13th c. can be found in Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 117-124. – The monographic publication by Jeffrey Spier deals with datable Late Byzantine rings with figural decoration or inscriptions (Spier, Late Byzantine Rings).

60 Cat. Mystras 2001, 164 no. 18 fig. page 164 (P. Kalamara).

sists of eleven deeply impressed circle motifs that still hold the remains of a colourful filling and enhance the visual value of the bronze piece⁶¹. The simple motif can be found in every material and period, especially on Early and Middle Byzantine rings⁶², some comparable finds present a more precise dating. The earliest comparison from Prilep, Varoš, found inside the so-called Marko's Towers (Markovi Kuli) dates to the 12th century⁶³. Also dating to that century is a ring of the same form and decoration from Corinth⁶⁴. Much later rings, dating to the Turkish period or rather the 17th century, are known from Turkish Sardis⁶⁵ and the Bulgarian Zemun⁶⁶. The ring from Mystras could hence be interpreted as link between the pieces from the end of the Middle Byzantine time and those from the post-Byzantine period⁶⁷.

The second ring, which can be classified as type Q of Davidsons typology⁶⁸, has a plain and slightly convex band with open ends and a flat, round bezel⁶⁹. The engraved decoration of the latter shows a central Greek cross framed by two inwardly bent lozenges. The background is filled with lines arranged diagonally. Mexia offers a dating via the rings from Corinth from the 10th-13th century⁷⁰. An additional comparison is a type of ring with similar decoration from Bulgaria that dates between the 10th-11th century and is interpreted due to the cross on the bezel as sign of Christianisation⁷¹. This ring differs, however, in the production, as well as in the existence of decoration of the ring band. The particular decoration of the bezel can also be found in 13th-century Serbia, where it is used for a different type of cast rings with a broad and decorated band⁷². The last two bronze rings are harder to settle. A cast piece that imitates a stone fitting⁷³ corresponds to type G⁷⁴ from Corinth. The suggested dating is vague and ranges from the 3rd to the 13th centuries, and it is difficult to narrow this down with help of the decoration or form⁷⁵. A single ring from Aerino, Magnesia, in Greece, matches the concept of imitating the fitting and dates to the 11th-12th century⁷⁶. The last ring, with a plain band and an oval bezel, holds a green stone made from glass⁷⁷. This production out of two pieces correlates with Davidson's type C that can be found from the Early Byzantine to Turkish periods⁷⁸. The

other known Byzantine rings holding a stone usually have a different ring band. Most commonly used were bands made of entwined wire⁷⁹, or thin, parallel wires⁸⁰, rarely filigree wire⁸¹. The plain and massive band of the Mystras rings in combination with a glass fitting has no parallel to my knowledge. That the four pieces are only of minor value and quality is obvious. Since most of the quoted comparable finds are found inside graves, it is more than likely that the rings from Mystras might have been found in graves that were not only restricted to the aristocracy. However, graves for non-aristocrats have not been found yet, neither outside nor inside the city walls. The ring's provenance from a grave must, therefore, remain speculative.

Earrings

Two types of jewellery can be understood as earrings and represent the most valuable small finds from Mystras. The first type is known through seven similar pieces (**fig. 4-6**), four of them in good condition, the others corroded.⁸² Even though the earrings are usually referred to as crescent-shaped⁸³, these pieces differ from the usual Middle Byzantine earrings of that type in their plasticity, which are three-dimensional but flatter⁸⁴. The garlic-shaped description as found in the 12th century trousseau list of the Cairo Geniza seems to describe the shape well, but should be used with caution for Byzantine earring types, since this term in the manuscript derives from Arabic⁸⁵. Here, the term kidney-shaped is preferred. The exact production method has not yet been studied, but the objects were certainly formed from two convex metal sheets and soldered together, and the hoop was connected with hinges on the one and an eye fixed with a peg on the other side⁸⁶. The decoration of all the pieces is similar: they are gilded and delicately engraved on both sides. The central medallion is flanked by floral ornaments ending in a palmette, while the background is filled with lines; only the medallion is filled differently on each side. One earring (**fig. 6**) contains a monogram with the Greek capital letters Π, Α, Λ, Γ, standing for the family name of the Palaiologoi⁸⁷. This monogram

61 Cat. Mystras 2001, 164 no. 18 (P. Kalamara).

62 Cat. Mystras 2001, 164 no. 18 (P. Kalamara).

63 Maneva, Srednovekoven nakit 193 tab. 89, 58/31.

64 Davidson, Corinth 247 no. 1978 tab. 106, 1978.

65 Waldbaum, Metalwork from Sardis 130 no. 840 tab. 48 no. 840.

66 Bajalović-Hadžić-Pešić, Collection 127 no. 595 tab. XIII no. 595.

67 Dr Kristina N. Rauh kindly informed me of three more rings of that type. They were found inside grave no. 7 of a Medieval cemetery inside the yard of the church of the Theotokos in Priboj, Pernik Province, and can due to the arming be dated to the 16/17th c. (Čochadžiev/Čolakov, Nekropol 121-122. 128. 137 fig. 12).

68 Davidson, Corinth 231.

69 Cat. Mystras 2001, 164 no. 19 fig. page 164 (A. Mexia).

70 Cat. Mystras 2001, 164 no. 19 (A. Mexia).

71 Grigorov, Metalin Nakit 52-57. 104. 186 tab. 60, type III.2.7.

72 Bajalović-Hadžić-Pešić, Collection 135 no. 658 tab. LIII/658.

73 Cat. Mystras 2001, 165 no. 20 fig. page 164 (A. Mexia).

74 Davidson, Corinth 229.

75 Cat. Mystras 2001, 165 no. 20 (A. Mexia).

76 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 448 no. 600 fig. page 448 (A. Dina).

77 Cat. Mystras 2001, 165 no. 21 fig. page 164 (A. Mexia).

78 Davidson, Corinth 228.

79 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 337 nos 246-248.

80 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 328 no. 226. 329-330 nos 228-230.

81 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 329 no. 227.

82 Cat. Mystras 2001, 166-167 no. 23 fig. page 166-167 (A. Mexia). Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 436-437 no. 568 fig. page 437 (A. Mexia). Cat. New York 2004, 47 no. 18 (A. Mexia).

83 Cat. Mystras 2001, 166 no. 23 (A. Mexia). – Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 436 no. 568 (A. Mexia).

84 Bosselmann-Ruickbie describes the form as gibbous moon-shaped (Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 107-109).

85 Cat. New York 1997, 418 no. 275 (M. Jenkins-Madina).

86 Cat. New York 2004, 47 no. 18 (A. Mexia). – Cat. Mystras 2001, 166 no. 23 (A. Mexia). – Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 436 no. 568 (A. Mexia).

87 Cat. Mystras 2001, 166 no. 23 (A. Mexia).



Fig. 4 Gilded, kidney shaped, silver earring. – (From Cat. Mystras 2001, 166-167 no. 23).



Fig. 5 Gilded, kidney shaped, silver earring. – (From Cat. Mystras 2001, 166-167 no. 23).



Fig. 6 Gilded, kidney shaped, silver earring with engraved monogram of the Palaiologoi family. – (From Cat. Mystras 2001, 166-167 no. 23).

can be often found in architectural decoration⁸⁸. The other side shows two interlocking lines (fig. 5), the meaning of which is unclear. This symbol can, however, also be found in context with the aristocratic family in Mystras⁸⁹, as well as in Istanbul⁹⁰. Another example linking the lines to the Palaiologoi that has been found fairly recently is a ring from the last Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos and his wife Theodora Tocco that has due to the inscribed names been understood as wedding gift⁹¹. The interlocking lines therefore can also be seen as symbol of a direct connection to the Byzantine aristocracy of the Palaiologoi. The general ear-ring form is one of the few also found in depictions (namely, murals in Kastoria/GR)⁹².

Apart from the earring shape, the fastening is important. The earliest parallel seems to be an earring from Rhodes, dated to the 11th-12th centuries, which is also engraved with partial openwork decoration⁹³. In Greece⁹⁴ there is only one more piece made of bronze known from Corinth, also dated to the 12th century⁹⁵. A small cotton piece that was found inside suggests a function also as a perfume carrier⁹⁶. The six bronze earrings from Sardis, dating to the Late Byzantine period, confirm a spread of that form as far as Turkey⁹⁷. Pieces in different versions dated to the 14th-15th centuries from Macedonia⁹⁸, Serbia⁹⁹ and Bulgaria were also definitely used as earrings¹⁰⁰. Mexia's conclusion that the seven kidney-shaped earrings from Mystras were not used as such and should be understood as part of the hairdressing¹⁰¹ conflicts with the *in situ* found comparisons¹⁰² that can surely be identified as earrings. Because of the number of pieces found in Mystras – their resemblance indicates the work of a local craftsman¹⁰³ – a context as a group cannot be eliminated. The kidney-shaped decoration, whether found separately or together, is an innovation that can be traced back to the end of the Middle Byzantine period and sets itself apart from the crescent or gibbous moon-shaped earrings. Vesna Bikić suspects the origin of the kidney-shaped form in those flat types¹⁰⁴. Regardless of the genesis of the shape, the examples from Mystras



Fig. 7 Drawing of the gold earring ascribed to Maria Palaiologina from the grave of the Monastery of Djuriste, Ovče Pole, Macedonia, 14th-15th centuries. – (From Angelova, Silistra 596 fig. 5).

were surely dedicated to the Palaiologan family or those in their favour. If they were part of the grave goods, then their location can most likely be assumed to have been inside the graves of the churches or chapels inside the city.

The second type of earring, passed down by only one representative, is made from a simple circular silver wire that is decorated by three spheres, constructed of two hemispheres. At which point of the production the unique dot motives were added is unknown. Thin wire wound in the spaces in between fastens the spheres on the wire. The earring could be closed by a simple hoop and hook system¹⁰⁵. Earrings of that type made from gold, silver and very often bronze dated to the 11th-13th century are widespread in Greece¹⁰⁶, Macedonia, Serbia¹⁰⁷, Bulgaria, Croatia¹⁰⁸, Switzerland, the

88 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 436 no. 568 (A. Mexia). The author quotes additional media, such as jewellery, coins and textiles, without referring to the literature. One textile, the silken book cover from the Bibliotheka della Badia Greca in Grottaferrata, Italy, holds more than one monogram and the double-headed eagle of the Palaiologoi (Jacoby, Trade and Material Culture 26-27 fig. 26).

89 Cat. Mystras 2001, 180-182 no. 28 (E. Bakourou). – Millet, Monuments Byzantins de Mistra tab. 52, 9, 7.

90 Mango/Hawkins, Fenari Isa Camii 180-181. The authors mention another textile example, the grave cloth of Maria Mangop, also from the Palaiologan family.

91 Cat. Istanbul 2010, 478 no. 275 fig. on page 240 (C. Scampavias).

92 The 12th c. portrait of Anna Radēnē in Kastoria, Greece, shows exactly the same pendant form, although the closing using a hook and loop on one side differs from the fastening of the pieces from Mystra.

93 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 109.

94 Another pair of bronze earrings, with the same pendant design but differing hoop, was found in a not dated excavation from Thebes (Koilkou, Eforia 105 tab. 59a).

95 Davidson, Corinth 254 no. 2047 tab. 108.

96 Cat. Mystras 2001, 166 no. 22 (A. Mexia). – Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 135.

97 Four pieces were found in one, the other in a second grave (Waldbaum, Metalwork from Sardis 125 nos 752-755. 758-759 tab. 46).

98 The here quoted open-worked earring was found together with a pendant for a necklace inside a grave of the monastery of Djuriste and, due to the

engraved monogram and the coherent ascription to Maria Palaiologina, is, besides the objects from Mystra, another example that stresses the representation of the aristocratic family (fig. 5) (Aleksova, Marie Paléologue 121-129. For a regional typology, see tab. XLVI).

99 Bikić, Nakit 53 fig. 27-28. 166.

100 Angelova, Silistra 593-598 fig. 1. The three grave finds from Silistra were discovered *in situ* to the left and right of the skull, and can be classified as earring types, with monogram and double-headed eagle (cf. footnote 105). Those pieces are moreover decorated with small movable wires that were fastened to the underside and may once have held pearls.

101 Cat. Mystras 2001, 167 no. 23 (A. Mexia). The pictorial sources often show diadems that are decorated with pendilia, but these look a little more like pearls than being made from metal (Kalamara/Katsara, Urban Centre of Mystras 141 fig. 160). For the Russian region a metal hair decoration, the so-called kolty, is attested from the 12th c. onwards (Ristovska, Temple Pendants 203-211).

102 Cf. footnote 103. Agelarakis, Excavations Polystlos 299 fig. 7.

103 Mexia, Mistra 167 no. 23.

104 Bikić, Nakit 166.

105 Cat. Mystras 2001, 168 no. 24 fig. on page 168 (A. Mexia).

106 Albani, Elegance 197 fig. 17 (10th-12th c.). – Kakavas, Agia Paraskevi fig. 62 (12th c.). – Philippa-Touchais, Fouilles 1381 fig. 80 (10th-11th c.).

107 Bikić, Nakit 22 tab. 5, 70-72.

108 Petrinec, Gräberfelder 256-259. 637 tab. 311.

Ukraine¹⁰⁹, Russia (Kievan Rus')¹¹⁰ and Turkey¹¹¹. Because the size and format of the spheres and their fitting to the wire could be handled in very different ways, I decided to offer just some very close comparisons to the silver earring from Mystras, hence earrings with wire fitting and barely decorated spheres. A pair of bronze earrings from Parapotamos, Thesprotia, Greece, dated to the 11th century, is the earliest appearance of this type¹¹². The spheres are, in this case, of an elongated form. From the 11th to 12th centuries, pieces with spheres were found in graves in Corinth¹¹³, Aetino, Magnesia¹¹⁴, Ermita close to Agrino¹¹⁵, the church of Agia Paraskevi in Eretria¹¹⁶ and Parapotamos, Thesprotia¹¹⁷. The only other earrings made from silver were found in the church of Hagios Panteleimon in Niš, Serbia, which are not dated, but show bigger and more elaborately decorated spheres¹¹⁸. The piece from Mystras therefore illustrates the continuance of a type of earring from the Middle Byzantine to the Late Byzantine period. All the previously mentioned comparisons were found in a funeral context, some of them were even discovered *in situ* on both sides of the skull¹¹⁹. A rather unusual context held an earring without wire fitting from Stylos, Chania in Crete¹²⁰. The buried woman wore it, together with another type of earring in secondary use, around the fingers.¹²¹ Such a secondary context is – like the bronze buttons threaded as a necklace – another possibility for the single earring from Mystras.

Glass Bracelets

Even if glass bracelets belong to the common small finds in Byzantium and must have been very popular, only two bracelets are known from Mystras with orange and blue colours. Katsoungraki described them because of their fragmentary

state bracelets with open ends, but their characteristic joint is merely lost¹²². With an innerdiameter of 5.5 cm both belong to the undecorated and unicoloured group of these bracelets with rectangular cross section that is only interrupted by a deep furrow on the outside. Byzantine glass bracelets have played a minor role in research up until now and are published only sparsely, or with a strong regional perspective¹²³. There are examples of different fabrication and decoration known dating from the 10th to the 13th century from Greece¹²⁴, Turkey¹²⁵, Russia¹²⁶, the Ukraine¹²⁷, Serbia¹²⁸ and the Republic of Macedonia¹²⁹. Antonaras suspects a rapid decline of production during the 13th and 14th century that was induced by the instable political situation going along with the reduced spending capacity of the population¹³⁰. There are only a few finds from Late Byzantine times¹³¹.

Due to the lack of a secure chronology for these glass bracelets, of which many are stray finds, the dating of the two Mystras bracelets is difficult. Katsoungraki dated them to the 11th century without comment¹³². The only painted bracelet with the same rectangular cross section and a dividing furrow was found in Amorium, Turkey, dating to the 9th–10th centuries¹³³. The few dated comparanda thus suggest a Middle Byzantine date, and it is important to note that it is not documented where the bracelets were found, either inside the Late Byzantine city¹³⁴ or possibly in Sparta, only 8 km distant, which was inhabited during the Middle Byzantine¹³⁵ period. A Late Byzantine dating on the other hand cannot be rejected either as there is still research going on that might throw light on the production of glass bracelets beyond the Middle Byzantine time. Glass bracelets, in general, can be found inside the settlement, but more often in the funeral context. The objects from Corinth are, along with the glass cakes, an indicator for local glass production in the north-eastern agora¹³⁶. Bracelets can

109 Rjabceva, Volgi 161–182. – Reabteva, Pandantive 111–126. Most of the pieces that are presented in this chapter are characterised by their extraordinary rich decoration, style of production and size and – like their Russian neighbours – do not have anything in common with the simple three-sphered earring (cf. footnote 119).

110 Pekarska, Jewellery of Princely Kiev 47–52. 178–179. 234–235. The production of the so-called blackberry-shaped earrings can be found in Szmonewski, Goldsmiths' Production 170 fig. 17.

111 Böhlendorf-Arslan, Boğazköy 186–187 tab. 96, Or 30 (10th–12th c.).

112 Preka-Alexandre, Parapotamou 172–173 tab. 40, 9–10.

113 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 227 no. 24; 229 no. 30. – Davidson, Corinth 2019 no. 2014.

114 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 227 no. 26a–b; 229 no. 31a–b. – Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 434 no. 563; 562 no. 779 (A. Dina).

115 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 230 no. 34a–b.

116 Kakavas, Agia Paraskevi 66–68 fig. 62.

117 Preka-Alexandrē, Parapotamou 190–191 tab. 42, 8.

118 Albani, Elegance 197–198 fig. 18.

119 Preka-Alexandrē, Parapotamou 172–173, grave no. 18; 177–178, grave no. 33; 190–191, grave no. 74.

120 Albani, Hoffnung 58. – Albani, Elegance 197.

121 The author interprets this occurrence as proof of the low status of the deceased (Albani, Hoffnung 58. 60). It is also possible that the two earrings were added as grave goods by relatives. The installation of the earring on the finger is easier than fumbling at the dead person's ear.

122 Cat. Mystras 2001, 168 no. 25 fig. on page 168 (Y. Katsoungraki).

123 Gill and Lightfoot started their research on arm rings from Amorium for Turkey, while Antonaras started the research for Greece in 2006 (Gill, Glass Finds 1. –

Gill, Glass Finds 2. – Lightfoot, Glass Finds at Amorium. – Antōnarakas, Mesobyzantina Brachiolia).

124 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 418 no. 531 (10th–12th c.) (A. Antonaras). – Chrysē, Zōodochoi 758 fig. 9 (12th–13th c.). – Davidson, Corinth 263–265 nos 2142. 2144–2154. 2158–2159 tab. 112–113 (10th–12th c.). – Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 418–419 nos 533–534 (10th–13th c.) (S. D. Doukaka).

125 Cat. Istanbul 2007, 264–265 (12th c.) (H. Bilgi). – Ivson, Byzantinisches Amorium 336–338 figs 31–32 (10th c.). – Lauwers/Degryse/Waelkens, Glass Bracelets at Sagalassos (10th–13th c.). – Von Saldern, Glass from Sardis 98–101 nos 738–779 tab. 18 (10th–13/14th c.). – Özgümüş, Iznik 733 (Middle Byzantine).

126 Sterligova, Byzantine Antiquities 2013, 541–544 nos 114–120. 122–125 (12th–13th c.).

127 Jaseva, Byzantine Cherson 404. 670–671 nos 489–490 (10th–12th c.). 404. 670–671 nos 491–493 (11th–13th c.).

128 Bikić, Nakit 87–89 fig. 57 (11th–13th c.).

129 Babić, Prilepa 35 nos 66–67 (12th c.). – Maneva, Srednovekovni naki 111 tab. 64–74 (after the 10th c.).

130 Antōnarakas, Mesobyzantina Brachiolia 434.

131 Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 420 nos 535–536 (A. Antonaras). – Tsourēs, Didymoteicho 57–60 fig. 19.

132 Cat. Mystras 2001, 168 no. 25 (Y. Katsoungraki).

133 Gill, Glass Finds 2, 379–389 fig. M.

134 The oldest structure that can be dated to the end of the Middle Byzantine period is the chapel of St Elias inside the Frankish castle. Another Byzantine use before the castle is not documented (Sinos, Mistra 404).

135 Gerousi, Rural Greece 41.

136 Davidson, Corinth 263.

be found in women's and children's burials¹³⁷, sometimes even in a greater number. Whether the wearing of bracelets was reserved for women only is unclear. The wearing around the wrist¹³⁸ and the upper arm¹³⁹ is known. This observation is confirmed by a mural from Nerezi dating back to the 12th century¹⁴⁰. Hence, a context inside the settlement structure or the cemetery sites is possible, even though the answer to the context is even more impeded by the contradictory dating.

Ivory Necklace

The last piece of jewellery is an ivory necklace that stands out because of the singularity of its material¹⁴¹ (fig. 8). Bosselmann-Ruickbie realised, not without reason, that the application of ivory – in Middle Byzantine times often used for new or rearranged ivory caskets¹⁴² – was apparently not favoured or is simply not attested in jewellery production¹⁴³. The necklace, whose beads were arranged in alternating order by Nikolaos Drandakēs, has an impressive length of 64 cm. The beads can be divided into three groups. Consisting of 47 pieces, the largest group is represented by spherical, lamella-like cut beads that resemble the surface of a melon. Five larger pieces are crafted like an opening rose that holds a simple core. The last bead, much smaller in size, broadens over a bulge into an elongated but broken off piece. Therefore, it could be possible that it once held a pendant¹⁴⁴. Looking at the reconstructed composition of the necklace that may have even held a pendant¹⁴⁵, one always has in mind that it has a lot in common with a rosary¹⁴⁶. Even though the necklace from Mystras is unique, pieces made of other material prove the importance of this type of jewellery, whether worn on the person or as part of the grave goods¹⁴⁷. Among the few comparanda are bone necklaces from Crete, some of which several come from a secured context. Their material is comparable to the ivory but shows a great difference in production, quality and shape. The beads are tubular-shaped. Found together with a pair of earrings, a necklace from glass beads and a bronze bracelet the bone necklace was found inside a woman's grave in Chania that dates to the 12th century¹⁴⁸. Another piece dating to the same period from a grave close to Hagios Nikolaos in Bourouni/GR was



Fig. 8 Ivory beads, reconstructed as a necklace. – (From Cat. Mystras 2001, 169).

made from round and uniform beads that are interrupted by three bigger pearls, like the necklace from Mystras¹⁴⁹. Finally, there are two necklaces from a child's burial in Alikianos, Chania/Crete, dating from the 12th to the 14th centuries¹⁵⁰. They were made by threading glass, and bone beads. Thus, the finds from secured contexts come from women's and children's graves. However, a significant conclusion for the ivory necklace from Mystra cannot be arrived at in this study without having more finds of Late Byzantine necklaces.

As it is always important to look beyond the medium of research, the chance of finding representations of jewellery within the preserved murals of the city would seem to be high. But in line with the donor and grave portraits¹⁵¹ – 18 individuals in number – only a male grave portrait shows two

137 Lauwers/Degryse/Waelkens, Glass Bracelets at Sagalassos 150.

138 Lauwers/Degryse/Waelkens, Glass Bracelets at Sagalassos 150.

139 Ivison, Byzantinisches Amorium 338 fig. 32.

140 Antónaras, Mesobyzantina Brachiolia 432 fig. 13.

141 Cat. Mystras 2001, 169 no. 26 fig. on page 169 (Y. Katsoungraki).

142 The basic works still are the publications by Weitzmann who catalogued all the known ivory caskets (Weitzmann, Kästchen. – Weitzmann, Reliefs).

143 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 15.

144 Cat. Mystras 2001, 169 no. 26 (Y. Katsoungraki).

145 Cross pendants were very common decorations for pearl necklaces from early Medieval times (Gonosová/Kondoleon, Art 114-115 no. 40. – Kharedinova, Crosses from South-Western Crimea 431-438 fig. 7-9. – Petrina, Kreuze 260. – Cat. Munich 2004, 404 no. 924). Crosses made from bone can rarely be found because of their organic nature (Cat. Magdeburg 2001 vol. 2, 68-69

no. II.37. – Cat. Baltimore 1947, 96 no. 449 tab. LXVIII. – Cat. Munich 1998, 199-200 no. 287).

146 The composition of the rosary used in the Roman-Catholic Church was defined during the 16th c. Nevertheless, in the 13th c. the *Marienspalter* was known as *Rosarium* (Heinz, Rosenkranz 1304). Prayer beads like this were, as far as I know, not used in the Orthodox Church.

147 Greece: Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 91-97. 210-216. – Davidson, Corinth 287-295. Macedonia: Maneva, Srednovekovni nakit tab. 26, 79/2 tab. 32-35. Serbia: Bicić, Nakit 78-81 fig. 50/2. – Bajalović-Hadži-Pešić, Collection 144 tab. XXI, XXXII-XXXIV.

148 Albani, Hoffnung 54 tab. I fig. 4.

149 Giōrgos, Agios Nikolaos 224.

150 Chrysē, Zōdochou 758-759 fig. 10.

151 The most thorough article about the portraits of Mystras was written by Etzeoglou (Etzeoglou, Mistra).



Fig. 9 Detail from the portrait of the Skouterios Kaniotes on the west wall in the southern annex, Brontochion Monastery, Hodegetria (Afentiko), Mystras, 2nd half of the 14th century. – (Photo A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie).

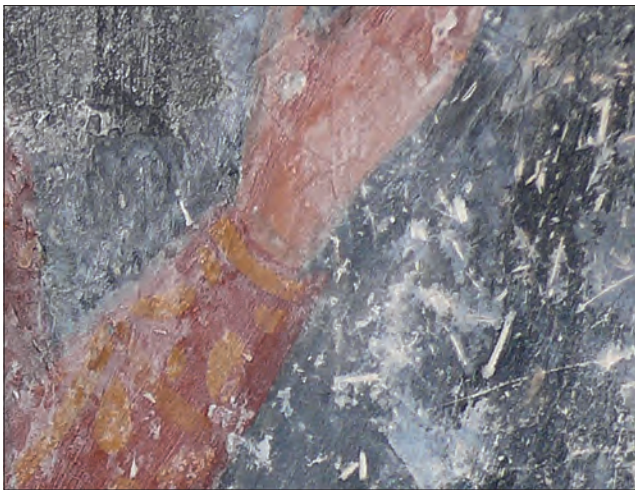


Fig. 10 Detail from the portrait of the Skouterios Kaniotes on the west wall in the southern annex, Brontochion Monastery, Hodegetria (Afentiko), Mystras, 2nd half of the 14th century. – (Photo A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie).

small golden rings on each side on the little finger (fig. 9-10). In this case, monumental paintings do not add any more evidence to the finds. Only by reflecting all the relevant available sources gives the approximation of a complete understanding of the past population: in this case, details for the dress and jewellery of the inhabitants of Mystras with all the aspects, luxury and plainness, as well as tradition and innovation that makes research so exciting.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Late Byzantine Accessories and Jewellery: New Thoughts on the Small Finds from Mystras

This chapter throws new light on the known accessories and jewellery that are exhibited in the Museum of Mystras. Although traditionally connected with the Byzantine settlement, most of them lack a definite archaeological context. Comparative objects from a wide geographical area, archival data and pictorial sources help to attribute the small finds from Mystras, which were part of burials or found as stray finds in the area of the Byzantine town.

Most important accessories are the group of bronze buttons that prove a change in dress. They were worn either on the front or the sleeves of the male dress and replaced the fibula or pin used until the 12th century. A »bone button« was identified as spindle whorl, two sets of roundly formed toggle closures were used more likely as closures of coats than belts. Four bronze rings, simply engraved or decorated with glass, belong to the group of personal jewellery that find some comparisons from the 10th century onwards. They represent common, simple ring types of a comparatively low value. More individual is a set of seven kidney-shaped earrings that can be tied to the local aristocracy and those in their favour due to monograms of the Palaiologoi family. This type of three-dimensional earring first appeared at the end of the Middle Byzantine period and developed into larger and more elaborate forms during the Palaiologan period. Another type of silver earring, with a simple wired ring and three spheres, belongs to a common Medieval group of earrings, mainly made of bronze, that date to the 11th-13th centuries and can be found from Switzerland to Turkey. Comparisons for the two glass bracelets from Mystras were most often dated to the Middle Byzantine time and raise the question whether those objects were actually found inside the Late Byzantine city or perhaps the Middle Byzantine settlement of Sparta and only later found their way into the museum of Mystras. Finally, a large ivory necklace is a unique piece that lacks any *comparanda*.

Spätbyzantinische Accessoires und Schmuck: neue Überlegungen zu den Kleinfunden aus Mystras

Dieses Kapitel wirft ein neues Licht auf bereits bekannte Accessoires und Schmuckstücke, die im Museum von Mystras ausgestellt sind. Obwohl diese traditionell mit der byzantinischen Siedlung in Verbindung gebracht werden, fehlt den meisten ein archäologischer Kontext. Vergleichbare Objekte aus weiten geographischen Gebieten, Archivmaterial und Bildquellen helfen bei der Zuordnung der Kleinfunde aus Mystras, bei denen es sich um Grab- oder Streufunde aus byzantinischen Stadt handelt.

Die wichtigsten Accessoires sind die Bronzeknöpfe, die einen Wandel in der Kleidung belegen. Sie wurden entweder auf der Vorderseite oder an den Ärmeln getragen und ersetzen die Fibeln oder Nadeln, die bis zum 12. Jahrhundert üblich waren. Ein »Knochenknopf« konnte als Spinnwirtel bestimmt werden, zwei Knebelverschlüssen sind eher als Mantelschließe denn als Gürtel zu verstehen. Vier Bronzeringe, schlicht graviert oder mit Glaseinlagen versehen, gehören zur Gruppe des persönlichen Schmucks, der vergleichbar ist mit Objekten ab dem 10. Jahrhundert. Sie repräsentieren verbreitete schlichte Ringformen von eher geringem Wert. Individueller ist ein Set aus sieben nierenförmigen Ohringen, die der lokalen Aristokratie und deren Umfeld zugeschrieben werden können. Dieser Ohringtyp mit dreidimensionalem Zierelement erschien erst am Ende der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit und entwickelte sich in der Palaiologenzeit hin zu größeren und aufwändigeren Formen. Ein anderer Typus von Silberohrringen mit einem einfachen Drahring und drei Kugeln gehört zu einer verbreiteten Gruppe mittelalterlichen Schmucks, hauptsächlich aus Bronze gefertigt, welcher vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert von der Schweiz bis in die Türkei angetroffen werden kann. Vergleichsbeispiele für zwei Glasarmreife aus Mystras werden meist in das 11.-13. Jahrhundert datiert und eröffnen die Frage, ob die Objekte tatsächlich in der spätbyzantinischen Stadt oder vielleicht in der mittelbyzantinischen Siedlung im nahegelegenen Sparta gefunden wurden und erst später in das Museum von Mystras gelangten. Die lange Elfenbeinkette bleibt vor allem aufgrund ihres Materials bisher ein Unikat.

Darstellungen von Schmuck in der spätbyzantinischen Wandmalerei Kretas

Schmuck und Accessoires spielen in der spätbyzantinischen Welt, wie auch in jedem anderen Kulturkreis, eine wichtige Rolle. Neben rein dekorativen Funktionen kann das Tragen eines Schmuckstücks auch symbolischen Charakter haben. Möchte man sich mit spätbyzantinischem Schmuck beschäftigen, so stehen zu dessen Untersuchung im Wesentlichen zwei primäre Quellen zur Verfügung: Zum einen die erhaltenen Realien – hauptsächlich in Form von Grabfunden – und zum anderen deren Darstellungen in den verschiedensten Kunstgattungen. Nachfolgend steht letzteres im Fokus.

Die Insel Kreta bietet mit annähernd 1000 Kirchen einen unschätzbaren Materialfundus für Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiet der spätbyzantinischen Kunstgeschichte und der ihr anverwandten Disziplinen. Die meisten der Kirchen und ihre Malereien¹ entstanden in der Zeit der venezianischen Herrschaft (1211-1669)², welche wohl eine der interessantesten und bewegtesten Epochen der Insel darstellt³. Innerhalb dieser – zum Großteil noch unpublizierten – Kirchenausmalungen ist auch eine nicht unerhebliche Anzahl von Schmuckdarstellungen zu finden, die bis heute noch keinen detaillierteren Untersuchungen unterzogen worden sind. Sie können in zwei Gruppen unterteilt werden:

Die erste Gruppe umfasst die Abbildungen von Schmuckstücken im Zusammenhang mit Stifterdarstellungen⁴. Bei ihnen handelt es sich um Darstellungen von realen Objekten, die höchstwahrscheinlich der abgebildeten Person gehört haben. Die zweite Gruppe besteht aus Abbildungen von Schmuck in narrativen Szenen und bei Heiligen. Hierbei

handelt es sich eher um Schmucktypen und nicht wie in der ersten Gruppe um individuelle Stücke. Die erste Gruppe des »Stifterschmucks« wird den Schwerpunkt dieser kurzen Abhandlung bilden, da sie klar abzugrenzen ist und durch den Realienbezug einen interessanten Einblick in das Alltagsleben der kretischen Bevölkerung geben kann. Aus diesem Grund werden zunächst die 15 bekannten Darstellungen von Schmuck innerhalb der Gruppe der Stifterbilder vorgestellt. Die Stücke werden nicht nur beschrieben und typisiert, sondern auch – sofern möglich – in ihrem darstellerischen Kontext verortet. Dazu werden vorhandene Stifterinschriften⁵, aber auch die dargestellten Personen selbst mit in die Bewertung einbezogen.

Die Darstellungen der zweiten Gruppe sind weniger gut einzugrenzen, da Abbildungen von Schmuck in nahezu allen narrativen Szenen oder bei Heiligen zu finden sein können. Aus diesem Grund werden hierzu nur einige ausgewählte Beispiele vorgestellt, um einen Eindruck von den verschiedenen Variationen zu bekommen. Eine systematische Auswertung aller Darstellungen ist an dieser Stelle nicht möglich, jedoch werden Fragen nach werkstattinternen Vorlieben und weitere Aspekte an gegebener Stelle aufgegriffen.

Schmuckdarstellungen bei Stiftern

Die umfassende Zusammenstellung und Untersuchung der Stifterbilder stellt, der gesamten Forschungslage zur kreti-

- 1 Zur byzantinischen Wandmalerei auf Kreta s. Bissinger, Wandmalerei. – Bissinger, Kreta 905-1174. – Chatzidakēs, Krētē. – Gerola, Monumenti Veneti I-IV. – Kalokyris, Crete. – Kalokyris, Toichographiai. – Lassithiōtakēs, Apokorōnas. – Lassithiōtakēs, Christianikos naos. – Lassithiōtakēs, Kisamos. – Lassithiōtakēs, Kydōnia. – Lassithiōtakēs, Selino. – Lassithiōtakēs, Sfakia. – Spatharakis/van Essenberg, Amari. – Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings. – Spatharakis, Hagios Basileios. – Spatharakis, Mylopotamos. – Spatharakis, Rethymnon. Zu den kretischen Kirchen im Spiegel von Kunst und Kultur des 14. Jhs. s. Tsamakda, Kakodiki 245-269. – Tsamakda, Kunst und Stifterwesen. – Zu verschiedenen Aspekten der Kunst und Kultur im spätbyzantinischen Kreta s. Hausteine-Bartsch, Kreta.
- 2 Für einen historischen Überblick zur Geschichte Kretas s. Bissinger, Kreta 913-917. – Detorakis, History of Crete. – Maltezou, Istoria 537-548. – Maltezou, Krētē. – Manoussacas, Crete. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 17-21.
- 3 Als jüngst erschienene Publikationen zu Kontakten zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen s. Daim/Heher/Rapp, Byzanz und der Westen. – Daim u. a., Byzanz und der Westen. – Kat. Schallaburg 2018. – Lymberopoulou, Cross-Cultural Interchange.
- 4 Zu Stifterbildern im Allgemeinen s. Spieser/Yota, Donation et donateurs. – Zu weiblichen Stifterinnen und Stiftungen von Frauen s. Theis, Female Found-

- ers. – Speziell zu Stifterdarstellungen in der Monumentalkunst s. Kalopissi-Verti, Donor. – Etzeoglou, Portraits (Mistra). – Stylianos/Stylianos, Donors (Zypern). – Bernardini, Donateurs (Kappadokien). – Weißbrod, Gräber 79-171 (Grabdekor mittelbyzantinischer Zeit). – Zu Stifterbildern in der Paläologenzeit s. Velmans, Portrait. – Darstellungen von Stiftern und Heiligen mit Schmuck gab es selbstverständlich auch schon vor der spätbyzantinischen Zeit, weshalb zu Vergleichszwecken auch auf ältere Darstellungen verwiesen werden wird. – Zu Darstellungen aus mittelbyzantinischer Zeit s. Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 66-71 mit weiterführenden Hinweisen auch zu Darstellungen der spätbyzantinischen Zeit. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 262-263. – Tsamakda, Kunst und Stifterwesen.
- 5 Zu den griechischen Inschriften in den Kirchen Kretas s. Curuni, Documenti di graffiti. – Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV 390-594. – Kalokyris, Epigraphai 337-342. – Kalopissi-Verti, Donor. – Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings. – Tsougarakēs/Angelomati-Tsougarakē, Epigraphēs I-III. – Xanthoudidēs, Epigraphai. Von 2013-2016 lief ein durch die DFG gefördertes Projekt zur »Dokumentation und Auswertung der griechischen Inschriften Kretas (13.-17. Jh.)« (Leitung: V. Tsamakda; Mitarbeiterin J. Schmidt), aus dem eine umfangreiche Publikation hervorgehen wird (www.byzanz-mainz.de/en/research/details/article/die-griechischen-inschriften-kretas-13-17-jh/ [29.10.2018]).

schen Wandmalerei entsprechend, ein Desiderat dar⁶. Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts reiste Giuseppe Gerola im Auftrag des Staates Venedig nach Kreta, um die dortigen venezianischen Denkmäler zu dokumentieren und zu untersuchen⁷. Neben den venezianischen Bauwerken erfasste er auch eine große Anzahl an byzantinischen Kirchen samt deren Malereien⁸ und dokumentierte und beschrieb 54 Stifterdarstellungen⁹. Von diesen sind heute nicht mehr alle erhalten, was sein Werk umso wertvoller für die Forschung macht. Durch die jüngere und jüngste Kreta-Forschung wurden etwa 30 weitere Stifterbilder bekannt, sodass von einer dokumentierten Anzahl von rund 80 Darstellungen ausgegangen werden kann. Nur bei 15 von ihnen ist Schmuck zu sehen. Es handelt sich dabei um fünf kreuzförmige Anhänger und um zehn Ohrringe, welche im Folgenden im Detail vorgestellt werden. Den Anfang der Untersuchung bilden die fünf Kreuzanhänger.

Bei diesen Stücken handelt es sich um eine höchst beliebte und nahezu zeitlose Variante von Schmuck, was unzählige Funde in Gräbern auf Kreta¹⁰ und im gesamten byzantinischen Reich beweisen. Das Material variiert von Stein, Perlmutter und Bein über unedle Metalle bis hin zu Gold¹¹. Auch die Maße und Verzierungen können in ihrer Form und ihrem Aufwand höchst unterschiedlich sein. Dass im Verhältnis zu der hohen Anzahl von Realien nur so wenige Darstellungen zu finden sind, lässt sich vermutlich damit erklären, dass die Anhänger in den meisten Fällen unter der Kleidung getragen wurden und somit auch nicht sichtbar waren.

Bei den fünf Beispielen auf Kreta handelt es sich um die Darstellungen von drei Mönchen¹², einer jungen Frau und einer Nonne. Bei Stifterbildern sowohl innerhalb als auch außerhalb Kretas gibt es immer wieder Darstellungen von kreuztragenden Nonnen und Mönchen¹³, aber auch von Priestern und anderen kirchlichen Würdenträgern¹⁴.

Beispiel 1: Kirche des Erzengels Michael in Sarakina¹⁵ (1. Hälfte des 14. Jhs., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino)

In der östlichen Hälfte der Bogenlaibung der östlichen Nische an der Nordwand ist die Darstellung einer Stifterin zu sehen (Abb. 1). Ihre Kleidung lässt zunächst vermuten, dass es sich um eine Nonne handelt. Ungewöhnlich ist jedoch, dass sie keine Kopfbedeckung trägt, was in der Regel höchstens bei jungen und noch unverheirateten Frauen vorkommen konnte¹⁶. Somit muss es sich nicht zwangsläufig um eine Nonne handeln¹⁷. Klar und deutlich ist der Kreuzanhänger zu erkennen, den sie über ihrem Gewand trägt. Es handelt sich um ein einfaches und schlichtes Kreuz, zu dessen Befestigung eine Öse am oberen Ende angebracht wurde. Die helle Farbe könnte darauf schließen lassen, dass es sich vielleicht um Silber handelt.

Beispiel 2: Kirche des Soter in Kakodiki¹⁸ (15. Jh., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino)

An der Südwand dieser Kirche ist hier anders als bei Beispiel 1 eindeutig die Darstellung einer Nonne zu sehen (Abb. 2), was durch ihre Kleidung und die benachbarte Inschrift belegt wird. Die Beischrift identifiziert sie als Martha Archotokephanēs¹⁹. Im Gegensatz zum erstgenannten Beispiel ist ihr Umhängekreuz sehr breit gearbeitet. Die helle Materialfarbe könnte in diesem Fall auch für Bein oder Stein als Material sprechen.

6 Zu den Stifterdarstellungen auf Kreta ist 2017 eine unpublierte Masterarbeit von Anke Dingler (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz) unter dem Titel »Stifterdarstellungen in der Wandmalerei Kretas zur Zeit der venezianischen Herrschaft« erschienen. Hier stellt die Verfasserin nicht nur alle erhaltenen und bekannten Stifterdarstellungen auf Kreta vor, sondern ordnet sie auch ihrer jeweiligen Typologie nach ein. Auch gibt sie einen Überblick zum Forschungsstand in Bezug auf die kretischen Stifterdarstellungen. Mein herzlicher Dank gilt A. Dingler für die weiterführenden Hinweise zu den inner- und außerkretischen Stifterdarstellungen. – Zu den wichtigsten Publikationen zählen Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II 327-339 mit Taf. 8-17. – Gerola/Lassithiotakis, Katalogos 121-123. – Maderakēs, Kolasē.

7 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti I-IV. – Gerola/Lassithiotakis, Elenco.

8 Siehe dazu: Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II und IV.

9 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II 327-339.

10 Zu Grabfunden auf Kreta aus mittelbyzantinischer Zeit s.: Albani, Hoffnung. – Bourbou, Alikianos. Für mehr Informationen zu diesem Projekt und weitere Abbildungen der Fundstücke s. www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/project-grant-reports/2010-2011/bourbou (28.10.2018). – Für Beispiele außerhalb Kretas s. Kat. Stuttgart 2004, 312-315 Nr. 534-575 (C. Schmidt).

11 Einen guten Überblick mit Beispielen aus verschiedenen Materialien finden sich in Kat. Stuttgart 2004, 313-315.

12 Die Darstellungen der drei Mönche sind zugleich die einzigen (bislang bekannten) Beispiele für männliche Personen mit Schmuck auf Kreta.

13 Eine durch die danebenstehende Gedenkinschrift als Nonne Martha zu identifizierende Frau befindet sich an der Südwand der Kirche der Panagia in Alikampos (1315/1316) (Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Apokoronas). Für eine Abbildung s.

Gerstel/Talbot, Nuns 481-489, mit den Abb. 6 und 7 als weiteres Beispiel für Darstellungen von Nonnen auf Kreta. – Für ein außerkretisches Beispiel einer Darstellung der Nonne Kataphège Alexena in der Kirche der Hagia Triada in Psinthos (Rhodos) s. Gerstel/Kalopissi-Verti, Founders 205 Abb. 3. – Ein Beispiel für eine außerkretische Darstellung eines Mönchs ist in der Kirche Porta Panagia in Pilē (Πύλη) (Thessalien, Euböa) (ca. 1289) zu finden s. Kalopissi-Verti, Donor 99 mit Abb. 85 und 86.

14 Siehe dazu Tsamakda, Kakodiki 94-99 und Abb. 18-19 mit Beispielen für inner- und außerkretische Darstellungen.

15 Die Malereien in dieser Kirche gehören zu den Werken des Ioannes Pagomenos bzw. dessen Werkstatt, wie V. Tsamakda in ihrer Arbeit nachvollziehbar belegt. Aus diesem Grund erscheint auch ihre Einschätzung, die Malereien in der Kirche des Erzengels Michael in Sarakina und somit auch die Stifterdarstellung in einen Zeitraum von 1325-1340 zu datieren einleuchtend. Tsamakda, Kakodiki 119-120. – Zur Kirche der Panagia in Sarakina s. Bissinger, Wandmalerei 101 Nr. 61. – Lassithiotakis, Selino 144. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 35. 48-50. 53. 56-57. 60. 64. 66. 69. 74. 78. 82-84. 88. 91. 97. 100. 104. 119-120. 123. 129-130. 189-190. 247. 249. 271.

16 Zur byzantinischen Tracht und Kopfdeckungen s. u.

17 Dieser Einschätzung folgt V. Tsamakda, die als Vergleichsbeispiel die Stifterinnen in der Kirche der Panagia in Kakodiki anführt s. Tsamakda, Kakodiki 97. – Maderakēs, Eprosōgrafia 45 mit Abb. 6.

18 Zur Kirche des Soter in Kakodiki s. Lassithiotakis, Selino 348 Nr. 102. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 35. 151. 167. 176. 179. 182.

19 Zu lesen ist: Μάρθα[ς] μων[α]χίς τῆς Ἀρχτοκεφανῆνης s. Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV 460 Nr. 38.



Abb. 1 Stifterin in Kirche des Erzengels Michael in Sarakina. 1. Hälfte des 14. Jhs., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino. – (© Maderakis Archiv, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz).



Abb. 2 Darstellung einer Nonne in der Kirche des Soter in Kakodiki. 15. Jh., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino. – (© Maderakis Archiv, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz).

Beispiel 3: Kirche des Hagios Georgios in Komitades²⁰ (1313/1314, Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Sphakia)²¹

An der Südwand befinden sich unterhalb des Fensters die Darstellungen von zwei Männern (**Abb. 3**). Die beiden Inschriften links und rechts von ihnen verraten, dass es sich im linken Bildteil um Manoëlos Skordilēs und im rechten um den Mönch Gerasimos Phourogīorgi handelt²². Letzterer trägt über seiner Kleidung ein Umhängekreuz, welches in seiner Machart als Henkelkreuz mit doppelter Querhaste an das altägyptische Anch – ein Symbol für das Weiterleben im Jenseits²³ – erinnert. Das Material lässt sich nicht eindeutig

²⁰ Zur Kirche des Hagios Georgios in Komitades s. Antourakēs, Krētē 19-22. – Antourakēs, Dytikē Krētē 33. 37. – Aspra-Vardavakē, Malles 211. – Bissinger, Wandmalerei 97 Nr. 51. – Bissinger, Kreta 1098-1099. – Borboudakēs, Krētē 573. – Gallas/Wessel/Borboudakis, Kreta 105. 228. – Gerola, Elenco Nr. 218. – Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II 308. 334 Nr. 27. IV 472 Nr. 2. – Kalokyriēs, Pagomenos 351-353. – Lassithiōtakēs, Sfakia 111-114. – Lymberopoulou, Kavalari-ana 137-139. 150-151. – Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings 33-35. – Sucrow, Pagomenos 17-18. 32-33. 72-74. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 15. 34. 43. 45 Anm. 115; 47. 48 Anm. 142; 49-50. 53 Anm. 193. – Vassilakē-Mavrakakē, Xeno Digenis 562 Anm. 61.

²¹ Auch hierbei handelt es sich wieder um ein Werk des Ioannes Pagomenos und stellt zugleich seine früheste signierte Arbeit (1313/1314) dar. Sein Name und das Datum sind in der Stifterinschrift an der Westwand erhalten. Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV 445-446 Nr. 18. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 15. 34.

²² Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV 472-473 Nr. 2. In der großen Stifterinschrift an der Westwand waren weitere Familienmitglieder der reichen und bedeutenden Familie Skordilēs genannt. Auch die beiden gemalten Stifter Manoël Skordilēs und Gerasimos Fouriogīorgi werden dort erneut aufgeführt. Weiterhin ist dort zu lesen, dass Gerasimos ein Mönch war.

²³ Lurker, Symbole 124-125.



Abb. 3 Manoëlos Skordilēs und Gerasimos Phourgiōrgi in der Kirche des Hagios Georgios in Komitades. 1313/1314, Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Sphakia. – (© Maderakis Archiv, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz).

bestimmen. Die rötliche Farbe könnte auf Kupfer oder gebeiztes Holz schließen lassen. Zweiteres lässt sich auf Grund der Vergänglichkeit des Materials nur schwer durch Realien fassen.

Beispiel 4: Kirche des Hagios Ioannes in Kalamos²⁴

(1. Hälfte des 14. Jhs., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino)

Die Darstellung des Nēkodeimos Volaka²⁵ befindet sich an der Nordwand unterhalb des Gurtbogens (Abb. 4). Der Mönch trägt ein kleines Kreuz mit Henkel und doppelter Querhaste, das demjenigen des Gerasimos Phourgiōrgi aus dem vorangegangenen Beispiel ähnelt. Das Kreuz des Nēkodeimos Volaka unterscheidet sich jedoch deutlich in der geringeren Größe. Auch die Aufhängöse ist in ihren Proportionen har-

monischer an das Kreuz angeglichen worden. Die helle Farbe könnte wiederum auf Silber schließen lassen²⁶.

Beispiel 5: Kirche der Panagia in Prines²⁷

(1. Hälfte des 14. Jhs., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino)

An der Nordwand befindet sich rechts neben der Darstellung des hl. Georgios die kleine Figur eines männlichen Stifters (Abb. 5). Es handelt sich höchstwahrscheinlich wiederum um einen Mönch, da seine Kleidung mit der Kleidung der beiden vorangegangenen Beispiele übereinstimmt.

Auch das kleine Kreuz mit doppelter Querhaste und Aufhängöse erinnert stark an jenes in Komitades und noch stärker an das in Kalamos, da die Proportionen wieder sehr harmonisch gestaltet sind. Über das Material lässt sich wiede-

24 Zur Kirche der Panagia in Kalamos s. Maderakēs, Lakōnia 135. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 35. 45-46. 49-51. 54. 88. 91. 100. 102. 126. 129. 271.

25 Eine darüberstehende Deesisinschrift enthält den Namen und den Hinweis, dass es sich um einen Mönch handelt (δεήσης τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ Νηκοδεῖμου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βολακά). Auch seine Kleidung und Kopfbedeckung sind sehr ähnlich denen des Gerasimos Phourgiōrgi in Komitades. Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV 445-446 Nr. 18.

26 Die Malereien der Kirche des Hagios Ioannes in Kalamos (Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino) scheinen aus stilistischen Gründen größtenteils vom Pagomenos-Schüler bzw. Mitarbeiter Nikolaos angefertigt worden zu sein, der auch in mehreren weiteren Kirchen dieser Werkstatt nachweisbar ist. V. Tsamakda argumentiert auf Grund der genannten Tatsachen nachvollziehbar und überzeugend, dass die Malereien in Kalamos um 1337/1338 zu datieren sind (s. Tsamakda, Kakodiki 126).

27 Erstmals publiziert von V. Tsamakda. Da auch hier wiederum u. a. Arbeiten des Pagomenos-Mitarbeiters Nikolaos in den Malereien zu sehen sind, datiert sie die Fresken um 1330/1340 s. Tsamakda, Kakodiki 123-124.



Abb. 4 Nēkodeimos Volaka in der Kirche des Hagios Ioannes in Kalamos. 1. Hälfte des 14. Jhs., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino. – (© Maderakis Archiv, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz).



Abb. 5 Darstellung eines Mönchs in der Kirche der Panagia in Prines. 1. Hälfte des 14. Jhs., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino. – (© Maderakis Archiv, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz).

rum kein eindeutiges Urteil fällen, es ist von heller Farbe und könnte somit abermals aus Silber gewesen sein.

Zu der Gruppe der fünf Kreuzanhänger lässt sich folgendes Fazit ziehen: Bis auf die Malereien in der Kirche des Soter in Kakodiki stammen alle Werke von Ioannes Pagomenos bzw. aus dessen Werkstatt. Ob es sich hierbei um einen Zufall oder um eine durch den Maler bzw. die Stifter bewusst getroffene Entscheidung über die Darstellungsweise handelt, muss offenbleiben. Bei den drei Männern handelt es sich ausnahmslos um Mönche, und auch die Darstellungen ihrer Kreuze sind sich in ihrem Typus mit henkelartiger Aufhängöse und doppelter Querhaste sehr ähnlich. Dagegen tragen die beiden Frauen einfache Kreuze. Auffällig ist in jedem Fall, dass es keine eindeutige Darstellung eines Laien mit dieser Schmuckvariante in den kretischen Beispielen gibt. Ein Grund hierfür wird zum einen die schon angesprochene Tatsache

sein, dass diese schlichten und somit nicht sehr repräsentativen Schmuckstücke wohl oft unter der Kleidung getragen worden sind. Zum anderen war es für die Gruppe der Kleriker und somit auch für Nonnen und Mönche quasi die einzige Form von Schmuck, die sie überhaupt besitzen und zeigen konnten.

Ganz anders sieht es bei den zehn Darstellungen von Ohringen aus. Sie sind ausnahmslos bei Frauen zu sehen²⁸, was nicht weiter verwundert, und haben eine rein repräsentative Funktion. Bevor näher auf die entsprechenden Beispiele eingegangen wird, soll an dieser Stelle kurz ein Bild der sich darstellenden und dargestellten Stifter skizziert werden, bei denen die Schmuckdarstellungen erscheinen.

Bei den abgebildeten Personen sind mehr Männer als Frauen zu sehen, und sie können einzeln, als Paare oder als ganze Familien auftreten²⁹. Interessant ist die Analyse der Kleidung: Hier lassen sich in der Mehrzahl Beispiele für

²⁸ In der anonymen Kirche in Ayvali (Kappadokien) sind zwei Männer zu sehen, die jeweils einen Ohrring tragen. Sie gehören somit zu den wenigen Beispielen, bei denen männliche Stifter mit Schmuck zu sehen sind s. Jolivet-Lévy, Cappadoce Pl. 202 Abb. 2-3. – Für weitere Informationen und Abbildungen zu männlichen

Personen mit Schmuck in mittel- und spätbyzantinischer Zeit s. Parani, Accessories und Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 131-133.

²⁹ Diese Auswertung erfolgte anhand aller eingangs erwähnten 74 Stifterdarstellungen, die an die 100 Personen zeigen bzw. beschrieben werden.



Abb. 6 Stifterfamilie in der Kirche des Profitis Elias in Skaloti. 1355/1356, Chania, Sphakia). – (© Maderakis Archiv, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz).

traditionelle byzantinische Tracht finden, aber auch einige für venezianisch bzw. westlich beeinflusste Kleidung. Von den Frauen sind weit mehr als drei Viertel in traditioneller byzantinischer Tracht dargestellt³⁰. Diese setzt sich in der Regel aus einem Untergewand mit engen Ärmeln, einem weißen Obergewand mit langen, weitausladenden Ärmeln und einem darüber getragenen roten Mantel zusammen³¹. Auf dem Kopf wurde – mit Ausnahme von jungen unverheirateten Mädchen und Kindern – stets eine Kopfbedeckung, meist in Form des turbanartigen, weißen *fakioli*, getragen³². Diese Art von Kleidung ist bis in die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts nachweisbar³³.

Dem gegenüber stehen die westlich orientierten Trachten, welche sich grundlegend von den byzantinischen unterschei-

den. Die Schnitte sind enger und figurbetonter mit weiten Schulterausschnitten; kleinteilige Knopfleisten dienen der Verzierung (letzteres auch bei Männern). Auch der Stoff an sich tritt in den verschiedensten Farben auf³⁴.

Die dargestellten Ohrringe erscheinen in den meisten Fällen bei Frauen in traditioneller byzantinischer Tracht, was bei der großen Anzahl nicht weiter verwundert, jedoch gibt es auch einige Ausnahmen. Bei den zehn Darstellungen von Ohrringen können grob zwei Gruppen in der Typisierung unterschieden werden.

Die erste Gruppe zeigt verschiedene Varianten von schlichten geschlossenen Goldohrringen³⁵. Diese können in Größe, Stärke und im Vorhandensein kleinerer Verzierungen variieren. Ein schlichter Goldohrring an sich stellt, ähnlich wie die bereits gezeigten Umhängekreuze, eine nahezu zeitlose und weitverbreitete Variante von Schmuck dar³⁶.

Beispiel 1: Kirche des Profitis Elias in Skaloti³⁷ (1355/1356, Chania, Sphakia)

An der Westwand ist rechts neben der Tür ist die Darstellung einer ganzen Stifterfamilie zu sehen³⁸ (**Abb. 6**). Über ihr befand sich eine heute nicht mehr erhaltene Stifterinschrift. Zu Zeiten Gerolas war diese noch lesbar, sodass durch ihn überliefert wurde, dass es sich bei den Stiftern um Georgios Kontoleos und dessen Frau und Kind handelt und die Stiftung in Form der Ausmalung 1335/1336 erfolgte³⁹. Mutter und Tochter sind in die gleiche und eingangs als byzantinisch charakterisierte Tracht gekleidet. Nur das Mädchen trägt schlichte goldene Ohrringe ohne Verzierung.

Beispiel 2: Kirche Hagios Georgios in Phres⁴⁰ (14. Jh., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Apokoronas)

An der Westwand dieser Kirche sind zwei Frauen zu sehen, von denen die rechte leider großflächig zerstört ist (**Abb. 7**). Beide sind in byzantinischer Tracht gekleidet. Die linke Stifterin trägt relativ große goldene Ohrringe. Ob sie gegossen wurden und somit massiv waren oder aus einem Hohlkörper bestehen, lässt sich anhand der Darstellung nicht feststellen. Sie scheinen sich nach oben zu verjüngen, weisen aber sonst keine weiteren Verzierungen auf⁴¹.

30 Insgesamt ist die Kleidung der Frauen in den Stifterdarstellungen viel stärker in der byzantinischen Tradition verhaftet. Der großen Anzahl von traditionell gekleideten Frauen steht etwa nur die Hälfte an Männern gegenüber. Gerade bei Darstellungen von Paaren ist der Mann sehr oft in seiner Kleidung westlich orientiert.

31 Zur byzantinischen Tracht s. Mylopotamitakē, Foresia 110-118. – Parani, Reality 72-80. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 98-99.

32 Speziell zu Kopfbedeckungen und Haartrachten bei Frauen s. Emmanuel, Hair-styles. – Emmanuel, Women 769-778.

33 Mylopotamitakē, Foresia 118. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 97.

34 Zu den weitaus selteneren Beispielen westlicher oder an westlich orientierter Kleidung s. Maderakis, Eprosōgrafia 48. – Maltezou, Moda. – Vassilakē, Kathēmerinē zōē 60-65.

35 Geschlossen meint eine große Öffnung (vermutlich zum Anziehen der Ringe).

36 Für Fundbeispiele aus frühbyzantinischer Zeit s. Kat. Thessaloniki 2002, 426 Nr. 546 und 547 (E. Ghini-Tsofopoulou).

37 Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings 101-102 mit älterer Literatur.

38 Zum Stifterbild s. auch: Tsamakda, Kakodiki 97.

39 Gerola, Monumenti IV 473 Nr. 4.

40 Zur Kirche des Hagios Georgios in Phres s. Bissinger, Kreta 1117. – Bissinger, Wandmalerei 131-132 Nr. 97. – Gerola, Monumenti Veneti II 329 Nr. 6. – Lassithiotakēs, Apokorōnas 471-472.

41 Bissinger schlägt auf Grund des Stils eine Datierung für die Malereien um 1315-1320 vor. Bissinger, Wandmalerei 132 Nr. 97.



Abb. 7 Zwei Stifterinnen in der Kirche Hagios Georgios in Phres. 14. Jh., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Apokoronas. – (© Maderakis Archiv, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz).



Abb. 8 Darstellung der Stifterin Kalis im Katholikon des Klosters der Panagia Kardiotissa in Kera. Mitte des 14. Jhs., Präfektur Herakleion, Bezirk Pediada. – (© Maderakis Archiv, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz).

Beispiel 3: Katholikon des Klosters der Panagia Kardiotissa in Kera⁴²

(Mitte des 14. Jhs., Präfektur Herakleion, Bezirk Pedias)

Die Darstellung der Stifterin Kalis befindet sich im Katholikon des Klosters⁴³ (Abb. 8). Auch sie ist in byzantinischer Tracht gekleidet. Ihre Ohrringe sind ähnlich groß wie die der Stifterin in Phres, jedoch scheinen die Schmuckstücke in diesem Fall sich nicht zu verjüngen, sondern weisen überall die gleiche Stärke auf. In der Darstellung in Kera wurde auch etwas mehr Wert auf eine naturalistische Darstellungsweise gelegt, da die Ohrlöcher durch das Gewicht leicht nach unten gezogen werden. Somit scheint es sich in der Herstellung um gegossene und massive Ohrringe zu handeln.

Beispiel 4: Kirche des Soter in Loutro⁴⁴

(1331, Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Sphakia)

Bei der dargestellten Stifterin handelt es sich um eine Frau in byzantinischer Tracht, die durch eine über ihr platzierte Gedenkschrift ebenfalls als Kalis⁴⁵ identifiziert werden kann (Abb. 9). Das Porträt befindet sich an der Nordwand. Sie trägt schlichte goldene Ohrringe, welche relativ groß sind und zwei kleine Verzierung haben. Zu ihrer Herstellungsweise lassen sich in der Darstellung keine Hinweise finden.

42 Zur Kirche der Panagia Kardiotissa in Kera s. Bissinger, Wandmalerei 144-145 Nr. 109 und 179-180 Nr. 148 mit älterer Literatur.

43 Tsamakda, Kakodiki 97 mit einem Datierungsvorschlag um die Mitte des 14. Jhs.

44 Eine von Gerola unentdeckte und bis heute unpublizierte Stifterinschrift befindet sich am Prothesis-Altar. Dort ist auch das Datum für die Malereien 1331 zu lesen. Zur Kirche s. Lassithiotakēs, Sfakia 107.

45 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV 472 Nr. 1.



Abb. 9 Darstellung der Stifterin Kalis Kirche des Soter in Loutro. 1331, Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Sphakia. – (Foto J. Schmidt).

Beispiel 5: Kirche der Hagia Kyriaki in Kandanos (Lambriana)⁴⁶

(14. Jh., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino)

In der Kirche sind eine Stifterinschrift am südlichen Pilaster des Gurtbogens und verschiedene Deesis-Inschriften neben mehreren Stifterdarstellungen zu sehen⁴⁷ (Abb. 10). Jene Inschrift in der unmittelbaren Nähe einer Stifterin enthält den Wunsch nach »Fürbitte für die Dienerin Gottes, Eirēnē«, weshalb es sich bei der dargestellten Frau wohl um diese Eirēnē handeln muss. Sie trägt Ohrringe, die auf den ersten Blick ebenfalls einem schlichten goldenen Typus angehören. Bei genauerer Betrachtung wird deutlich, dass es sich jedoch um



Abb. 10 Darstellung der Eirēnē in der Kirche der Hagia Kyriaki in Kandanos (Lambriana). 14. Jh., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino. – (© Maderakis Archiv, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz).

einen goldenen Ohrring mit Verzierung handelt. Er scheint teilweise mit einem Golddraht umwickelt zu sein, wie es besonders deutlich am linken Ohr der Stifterin zu sehen ist. Interessant ist auch die Trageweise: Am rechten Ohr entsteht der Eindruck, dass der Ring nicht durch das Ohrläppchen, sondern vielmehr in einem Loch durch die untere Ohrmuschel getragen wurde⁴⁸. Vielleicht sollte auf diese Weise das Tragen von schweren massiven Ohrringen erleichtert werden.

Beispiel 6: Kirche des Soter in Plemeniana⁴⁹

(Ende des 13. Jhs., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino)

Die Stifterin befindet sich an der Nordwand neben der Darstellung des Erzengels Michael (Abb. 11). Ihre Kleidung entspricht im Schnitt der nun schon mehrfach gesehenen byzantinischen Tracht. Jedoch ist auffällig, dass sie einen blauen Mantel trägt und das turbanartige *fakioli* fehlt. Ihre Ohrringe stechen ebenfalls hervor: Sie bestehen augenscheinlich aus zwei Ringen, von denen der äußere etwas größer ist und aus hellem Material besteht. Der innere, etwas kleinere Ring ist rot. Bei genauerer Betrachtung fällt auf, dass es sich nicht

⁴⁶ Die Kirche ist bis auf die Inschriften unpubliziert, s. Anm. 45.

⁴⁷ Gerola, Monumenti IV 456-457 Nr. 30.

⁴⁸ Zu verschiedenen Tragevarianten von Ohrringen s. Ristovska, Temple Pentants.

⁴⁹ Zur Kirche des Soter in Plemeniana s. Maderakēs, Plemeniana. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 150-151. 160 mit älterer Literatur.

um glatte Ringe handelt, was für ein Metall oder ähnliches sprechen würde, sondern um eine unebene Oberfläche. Das lässt die Vermutung zu, dass es sich vielleicht um auf Draht aufgefädelte Perlen handeln könnte. Bei dem weißen Ring könnte es sich um Naturperlen, und bei den roten um bunte Glas- oder Steinperlen handeln.

Die zweite Gruppe der Ohrringe stellt eine besonders interessante Variante dar: Es handelt sich hierbei um einen großen, offenbar massiven und dadurch schweren goldfarbenen Ohrring. Hauptmerkmale dieses Ohrringtypus sind eine große Lücke, die vermutlich sowohl als Zierelement als auch zum Anziehen des Schmucks diente, und eine sich wiederholende Verzierung. Die Enden an der Lücke sind mit kugelartigen Aufsätzen abgeschlossen, an die sich ein schraubenartiges Muster anschließt. Über den genauen Fertigungsprozess lässt sich leider nichts Konkretes sagen, da die Darstellungen in ihrer Qualität und Detailfreude große Unterschiede aufweisen. Tendenziell erscheint es am wahrscheinlichsten, dass die Ringe in einer entsprechenden Form gegossen worden sind, da sie offensichtlich massiv und schwer waren⁵⁰. Es bleibt fraglich, ob die goldene Farbe auch tatsächlich massives Gold meint. Angesichts der Zeitstellung und des immer wieder zu beobachtenden Versuchs, Material zu sparen, ist es wahrscheinlicher, dass die Ohrringe aus Gold bzw. vergoldetem Material (Silber oder unedles Metall) bestanden, das mit einer Füllmasse versehen war⁵¹. Eine weitere Möglichkeit wäre, dass die Ohrringe aus sehr dickem vergoldetem Draht geformt worden sind. Hinweise für diese Hypothese könnte das schraubenartige Muster hinter den Kugelabschlüssen sein, da es durch einfaches Verdrehen des Materials zu erzeugen wäre. Der erläuterte Ohrringtypus findet sich in unterschiedlichen Varianten in folgenden Darstellungen:

Beispiel 1: Kirche des Soter in Akoumia⁵² (1389, Präfektur Rethymnon, Bezirk Hagios Basileios)

Zu sehen sind zwei Personen (vermutlich Verstorbene), eine Frau und ein Mann, deren Namen Anitza und Kostas durch darüber liegende Inschriften bekannt sind (Abb. 12). Die Darstellungen befinden sich in der Südwest-Ecke des Narthex. Die eigentliche Stifterinschrift befindet sich in zwei rechteckigen Feldern über den beiden Darstellungen und gibt für die Fertigstellung der Malereien den 12. Juni 1389 in der 12. In-



Abb. 11 Darstellung der Stifterin in der Kirche des Soter in Plemeniana. Ende des 13. Jhs., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino. – (© Maderakis Archiv, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz).

diktion⁵³ an. Beide Porträts sind von besonderer Detailfreude: So trägt der Mann eine Reihe von verschiedenen, sorgsam ausgestalteten Utensilien am Gürtel⁵⁴. Die Ausführung und Qualität der Kleidung lässt auf kostbares Material schließen, was sie als Personen von hohem Stand auszeichnet⁵⁵.

Die dargestellte Anitza trägt den eben beschriebenen, sehr auffälligen Ohrringtypus. Der in den Abbildungen vorherrschenden Detailfreude entsprechend sind auch die Ohrringe sehr sorgsam ausgestaltet worden. Es ist deutlich zu erkennen, dass es sich wiederum um ein schweres, goldfarbenes Material handelt. An beiden Enden der Lücke, die zum

50 Siehe dazu Beispiel 3 und 4. In beiden Fällen ist deutlich zu sehen, dass die Ohrläppchen der Stifterinnen geweitet und auf Grund des Gewichts der Ringe nach unten gezogen werden.

51 An dieser Stelle danke ich Antje Bosselmann-Ruickbie ganz herzlich für diese Hinweise.

52 Zur Kirche des Soter in Akoumia s. Konstantoudakē-Kitrobēlidou, Akoumia. – Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings 127-132 mit älterer Literatur. – Spatharakis, Hagios Basileios 16-36.

53 Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV 492-493 Nr. 7.

54 In ähnlicher Ausführung, aber in bedeutend schlechteren Zustand, ist eine Darstellung eines anderen männlichen Stifters in der bereits gezeigten Kirche der

Hagia Kyriaki in Kandanos (Lambriana) zu sehen. Der dargestellte Mann trägt ebenfalls verschiedene, durch Lederhüllen geschützte Utensilien am Gürtel. – Konstantoudakē-Kitrobēlidou geht in ihrem Beitrag auch näher auf die dargestellten Stifter selbst und weitere Vergleichsbeispiele ein vgl. Konstantoudakē-Kitrobēlidou, Akoumia 98-106.

55 Diese Erkenntnis ist nicht überraschend, da ein solches Stifterbild nur Angehörigen der Oberschicht mit den entsprechenden finanziellen Mitteln vorbehalten war. Dennoch ist die Darstellung aus Akoumia eines der wenigen Beispiele, bei denen diese Tatsache auch bildlich fassbar gemacht wurde.



Abb. 12 Darstellung der Anitza in der Kirche des Soter in Akoumia, 1389, Präfektur Rethymnon, Bezirk Hagios Basileios. – (Foto J. Schmidt).



Abb. 13 Frau des Georgios Mazizanis in der Kirche der Panagia Kera in Kritsa. Nordschiff, Ende des 14./Anfang des 15. Jhs., Präfektur Lassithi, Bezirk Merabello. – (© Maderakis Archiv, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz).

»Einfädeln« der Schmuckstücke in die Ohrlöcher gedient haben wird, wurden Kugelaufsätze zur Verzierung angebracht. Durch Schraffierungen wird eine weitere Verzierung oberhalb der Kugelaufsätze angedeutet. Es lässt sich nicht klären, ob es sich dabei um eine Umwicklung mit sehr dickem Gold- oder vergoldeten Draht handelt oder die Ohringe inklusive dieser Verzierung gegossen wurden. Zweiteres erscheint plausibler, da der Ring nahezu überall ungefähr gleich stark ist und ein aufgesetzter Golddraht das Anziehen deutlich erschweren würde.

Beispiel 2: Kirche der Panagia Kera in Kritsa⁵⁶

(Nordschiff, Ende des 14./Anfang des 15. Jhs., Präfektur Lassithi, Bezirk Merabello)

Die Darstellung einer Stifterfamilie befindet sich am westlichen Ende der Nordwand des Nordschiffes (**Abb. 13**). Wie aus der Stifterinschrift über dem Paar zu entnehmen ist, handelt sich hierbei um Georgios Mazizanis und seine Frau⁵⁷. Zwischen den beiden ist noch ein Kind zu sehen. Da es vom Stoff und Schnitt nahezu die gleichen Gewänder wie seine

Mutter trägt, liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass es sich hierbei um ein Mädchen und somit die Tochter des Paares handelt. Da ihr Bild im Bereich des Kopfes stark zerstört ist, lässt sich leider nicht mehr feststellen, ob auch sie, wie ihre Mutter, Ohringe trug. Diese trägt einen ähnlichen Typus wie Anitza in Akoumia.

Die Schmuckstücke in Kritsa sind etwas dünner und wirken nicht so massiv. Hier ist die Verzierung über den kugelförmigen Enden auch deutlich dicker als der Rest der Ringe. Bei der Kirche der Panagia Kera in Kritsa handelt es sich um einen dreischiffigen Sakralbau. Neben verschiedenen Bauphasen ist somit auch mit verschiedenen Malphasen zu rechnen.

Eine Inschrift an der Westwand des Mittelschiffs enthält einen Teil einer Datumsangabe, sodass die Malereien in diesem Bereich in das 14. Jahrhundert verortet werden können⁵⁸. Für den Bereich des Stifterbildes schlägt Gerola eine Datierung in das 15. Jahrhundert vor⁵⁹. Auf Grund von stilistischen Tendenzen und der großen Ähnlichkeit zum Stifterbild in Akoumia, welches 1389 datiert, erscheint eine Datierung des Stifterbildes in Kritsa und somit der Darstellung der Ohringe ins letzte Drittel des 14. Jahrhunderts bis ins erste Drittel des 15. Jahrhunderts durchaus vorstellbar.

⁵⁶ Zur Kirche der Panagia Kera in Kritsa s. Bissinger, Wandmalerei 76 Nr. 28; 107 Nr. 73; 132 Nr. 98; 137-138 Nr. 105 mit älterer Literatur. – Mylopotamitaki, Kritsa. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 65. 209.

⁵⁷ Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV 532 Nr. 30.

⁵⁸ Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV 531-532 Nr. 29.

⁵⁹ Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV 532 Nr. 30.

Beispiel 3: Kirche der Hagioi Apostoloi in Kavousi⁶⁰
(14./15. Jh.?, Präfektur Lassithi, Bezirk Hierapetra)

Es wird schnell ersichtlich, dass es in dieser Kirche mindestens zwei Malschichten gibt (Abb. 14). Eine ältere, zu der das uns interessierende Stifterbild gehört, und eine darüber liegende jüngere Malschicht. Die Frau an der Nordwand, welche durch eine erhaltene Beischrift als *Presbyterēs*, also Gemahlin eines Priesters charakterisiert wird, wurde zu einem nicht bekannten Zeitpunkt übermalt. Einen Ansatz für die Datierungsfrage liefern zwei Graffiti, die sich beide an der Nordwand erhalten haben. Das erste befindet sich auf der unteren und somit älteren Malschicht und zeigt deutlich das Datum 1456⁶¹. Somit stellt es den *terminus ante quem* für die Malereien dieser Schicht und die Stifterin samt Ohrringen dar. Auch wenn die Darstellung im Bereich der Ohrringe mehrere Fehlstellen und Beschädigungen aufweist, ist der Ohrringtypus dennoch deutlich zu erkennen. Ein Urteil über die Machart der »gedrehten« Verzierungen lässt der Erhaltungszustand aber nicht zu. Trotzdem wird an diesem Beispiel zum ersten Mal ersichtlich, dass es sich tatsächlich um massive und schwere Ringe handeln muss. Der Blick auf die Ohrläppchen der Stifterin zeigt, dass diese stark nach unten gezogen sind, was für ein nicht unerhebliches Gewicht der Schmuckstücke spricht.

Beispiel 4: Kirche des Hagios Athanasios in Kephali⁶²
(1393, Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Kissamos)

An der Nordwand sind neben dem Fenster zwei Frauen zu sehen (Abb. 15). Eine Deesis-Inschrift über den beiden identifiziert sie als Annis und Mochsannis⁶³. Eine an der Westwand erhaltene Stifterinschrift gibt als Datum für die Vollendung der Malereien den 15. Dezember 1393 an⁶⁴. Die vom Betrachter aus links stehende Frau, also Annis, trägt Ohrringe, die eine auffällige Variation in der Verzierung aufweisen, die sie von den anderen Stücken unterscheidet: Sie werden mittig von einer Rille durchzogen, die den Ring optisch in zwei Hälften gliedert. Die restlichen Verzierungen mit Kugelaufsatz und Schraubmuster stimmen wieder mit den vorangegangenen Beispielen überein. Am Ohrläppchen der Stifterin ist zu erkennen, dass die Ringe sehr stark waren.

Die zweite Stifterin, Mochsannis, trägt ebenfalls Ohrringe. Sie entsprechen wieder der »normalen« Variante ohne Rille. Die größte Ähnlichkeit besteht zu den Ohrringen der Stifterin in Kavousi, da auch sie relativ groß und verhältnismäßig schlank gearbeitet sind. Am interessantesten an der Darstellung in Kephali ist jedoch die Tatsache, dass die Frauen in westlicher Tracht gekleidet sind. Sie tragen die bereits



Abb. 14 Darstellung einer *Presbyterēs* in der Kirche der Hagioi Apostoloi in Kavousi. 14./15. Jh.?, Präfektur Lassithi, Bezirk Hierapetra. – (Foto J. Schmidt).

erwähnten enganliegenden Kleider mit weitem Schulterausschnitt. Somit scheint diese spezielle Form von Ohrringen offensichtlich nicht einer speziellen ethnischen Gruppe vorbehalten gewesen zu sein, sondern zeigt sich vielmehr als eine beliebte Schmuckvariante dieser Zeit auf Kreta.

Die vorgestellten Beispiele konnten für den Typus der zweiten Ohrringgruppe folgendes verdeutlichen: Das eingangs beschriebene Grundschema aus Goldring mit »verzierter Lücke« stimmt bei allen Darstellungen überein. Darüber hinaus kann-

⁶⁰ Diese Kirche und ihre Malereien sind unpubliziert.

⁶¹ Das zweite Graffiti ist ebenfalls ein Datum und befindet sich dieses Mal auf der jüngeren Malschicht. Es ist klar 14-- zu lesen. Die beiden hinteren Ziffern des Datums lassen sich nicht ohne weiteres entziffern. Eine Lesung als 1460? wäre möglich.

⁶² Zur Kirche des Hagios Athanasios in Kephali s. Bissinger, Wandmalerei 192 Nr. 163 mit älterer Literatur. – Lassithiotakēs, Kissamos 218. – Tsamakda, Kakediki 76. 87. 213. 263. – Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings 145-146 mit weiterer Literatur.

⁶³ Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV 418 Nr. 14.

⁶⁴ Gerola, Monumenti Veneti IV 417 Nr. 14.



Abb. 15 Zwei Stifterinnen in der Kirche des Hagios Athanasios in Kephali. 1393, Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Kissamos. – (© Maderakis Archiv, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz).

ten verschiedene Varianten innerhalb des Typus ausgemacht werden. Sie betreffen in erster Linie die Größe und Stärke, weniger die Verzierungen rund um die Lücke. Die Verzierungen scheinen, wie die Ohrringe an sich, durch das Gießen in einer Form hergestellt worden zu sein, da die Schmuckstücke offensichtlich massiv und schwer waren. Die Darstellung der Ohrringe in Kephali weicht mit der Rille als einzige auffallend von den anderen Beispielen ab. Auch wenn es sich hier um Stifter in westlicher Tracht handelt, dürfte das nicht der Grund für die Abweichung sein, da die zweite Frau auf der rechten Seite die »normale« Variante trägt. Das Beispiel in Kephali ist ein wichtiger Beleg dafür, dass Schmuck, in diesem Fall eine offensichtlich Ende des 14./Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts sehr

beliebte Ohrringvariante auf Kreta nicht auf eine ethnische Gruppe beschränkt war, sondern eine begehrte und moderne Schmuckvariante darstellte. Völlig unabhängig von der ethnischen Herkunft oder Zugehörigkeit ist allen gezeigten Stiftern eines gemeinsam: Sie gehören zur Oberschicht der kretischen Gesellschaft oder zumindest zu einem Personenkreis, der über entsprechende finanzielle Mittel verfügte. Offenkundig konnten sie sich wertvollen Schmuck und die nicht unerheblichen Ausgaben für eine Kirchenstiftung bzw. der dortigen Malereien leisten. Welche prestigeträchtige Aussage ein Stifterporträt hatte, steht außer Frage.

Ein umso größerer kulturenthnologischer Mehrwert kann den 15 Schmuckdarstellungen beigemessen werden, welche nicht nur in ihrer Anzahl, sondern auch in ihrer individuellen Einzigartigkeit herausgestellt werden müssen. Dies wirft noch einmal ein anderes Licht auf die Tatsache, dass innerhalb der schon überschaubaren Anzahl an Schmuckdarstellungen bei Stiftern auf Kreta gleich vier Fälle eines offenbar lokal sehr beliebten Ohrringtypus zu sehen sind. Diese für Schmuck vergleichsweise »hohe Dichte« an Beispielen für jenen Ohrringtypus lässt die Vermutung zu, dass er auch in Form von Realien – in erster Linie als Grabfunde – fassbar sein müsste, jedoch ist dem bis jetzt leider nicht so. Umfassende Recherchen nach byzantinischen, aber auch westlichen/venezianischen Vergleichsbeispielen blieben bislang ergebnislos⁶⁵. Sollte es sich trotz aller Zweifel doch um Stücke aus massivem Gold gehandelt haben, darf der große materielle und der vermutlich noch größere persönliche Wert nicht außer Acht gelassen werden. In diesem Fall ist davon auszugehen, dass sie als Erbstücke in einer Familie lange Bestand hatten und darum nicht ohne weiteres als Grabbeigabe zum Einsatz kamen. Weiterhin erscheint es auch denkbar, dass die Ohrringe entweder komplett oder die Bestandteile mit hohem materiellen Wert in Zeiten von Geldnot oder durch Dritte eingeschmolzen bzw. weiterverarbeitet worden sind, wie es üblich war.

Wirft man einen Blick auf die außerkretischen Beispiele von Schmuckdarstellungen bei Stiftern, so sind dort ebenfalls fast ausnahmslos Frauendarstellungen zu sehen. Auch bei diesen Stücken handelt es sich in erster Linie um Ohrringe, was vermutlich einfach damit zu erklären ist, dass sie – mit Ausnahme von Fingerringen und weiterem Kopfschmuck – nicht von der langärmeligen und hochgeschlossenen Kleidung verdeckt wurden⁶⁶. Eines der bekanntesten Stifterportraits ist die Darstellung der Anna Radene in der Kirche der Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria, Nordwestgriechenland⁶⁷, aus dem 12. Jahrhundert. Sie trägt neben dreiviertelmondförmigen Ohrringen auch noch achtzehn Fingerringe⁶⁸.

65 Die zuständigen Ephorien auf Kreta führen regelmäßig Restaurierungen einzelner spätbyzantinischer Kirchen durch, was auch die Untersuchung vorhandener Gräber und deren Inhalte vorsieht. Leider ist von dem daraus resultierenden Fundmaterial nur verhältnismäßig wenig und oftmals nur lokal publiziert worden, was einen tatsächlichen Überblick über entsprechende Funde sehr schwierig macht. Auch eine Nachfrage bei der zuständigen Ephorie in Chania brachte kein positives Ergebnis.

66 Außerkretische Beispiele für Ohrringe bei Stiftern: Darstellung der Irene Palaio-logina im Taxiarches von Metropolis vgl. Chatzidakis, Kastoria 105 Abb. 22. –

Darstellung der Dessislava in der Kirche der Panagia in Bojana (Bulgarien) (1259) vgl. Kambourova, Don 216 Abb. 1. – Darstellung der Tamar in der Kirche des Hagios Georgios in Belisirma (Kappadokien) vgl. Warland, Kappadokien 125.

67 Chatzidakis, Kastoria 42 Abb. 22.

68 A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie geht in ihrer Publikation zum byzantinischen Schmuck des 9. bis frühen 13. Jhs. auch auf den Schmuck der Stifterin ein und vergleicht ihn mit verschiedenen dreiviertelmondförmigen Ohrringen, die als Realien erhalten sind. Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 70. 71. 109. 129. 130. 131. 133 und 135.



Abb. 16 Darstellung des hl. Georgios in der Kirche der Panagia in Platania. 1. Drittel des 14. Jhs., Präfektur Rethymnon, Bezirk Amari. – (Foto J. Schmidt).

Für die Gruppe der Darstellungen von Schmuck bei Stiftern – auf Kreta und darüber hinaus – kann festgehalten werden, dass sie wahre Schätze für kulturanthropologische Untersuchungen in Hinblick auf die Beliebtheit von Schmucktypen in einer bestimmten Zeit und dem Personenkreis, von dem er getragen wurde, bietet, und dies über die Untersuchung von Realien hinaus.

Darstellungen von Schmuck in narrativen Szenen und bei Heiligen

Im Verhältnis zu den eben vorgestellten Beispielen für Schmuckdarstellungen in Stifterbildern gibt es viel mehr Abbildungen in narrativen Szenen und bei Heiligen, weshalb hier nur exemplarisch einige Beispiele vorgestellt werden.

Der Hauptunterschied zwischen den Darstellungen der beiden Gruppen liegt wie bereits eingangs erwähnt darin,

dass in den Stifterbildern mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit reale und individuelle Stücke als Vorbilder benutzt worden sind. Bei den Schmuckdarstellungen innerhalb des szenischen Bildprogramms sind dagegen eher Abbildungen von schematischen Schmucktypen zu erwarten – also Schmuckvarianten, die entweder auf bekannte zeitgenössische oder zeitlose Vorbilder zurückgreifen oder der Phantasie und Vorliebe des verantwortlichen Malers entstammen.

Im Verhältnis zu den zahlreichen Möglichkeiten, Schmuck in narrativen Szenen und bei Darstellungen von Heiligen darzustellen, ist die Anzahl derselben dagegen sehr gering. Eine statistische Auswertung der Anzahl und Verteilung der entsprechenden Darstellungen ist auf Grund der Größe der Materialbasis im Rahmen dieses Aufsatzes nicht möglich, weshalb lediglich subjektive Tendenzen wiedergegeben werden können⁶⁹. So finden sich sowohl innerhalb als auch außerhalb der kretischen Wandmalerei in christologischen Szenen wie dem Bad in der Geburtsszene Christi, aber auch

⁶⁹ Zu Darstellungen von Schmuck in hauptsächlich mittelbyzantinischer Zeit s. Bosse-Mann-Ruickbie, *Byzantinischer Schmuck* 66-74 mit Beispielen in Teil 2, Kat. II, Kat.-Nr D1-D32.



Abb. 17 Der hl. Kyrikos in der Kirche der Hagioi Kyrikos und Julitta in Lissos. 1. Hälfte des 14. Jhs., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Sphakia. – (Foto J. Schmidt).

in anderen narrativen Szenen immer wieder Schmuck bei den Nebenfiguren⁷⁰. Außer in weiteren narrativen Szenen, wie Heiligenzyklen,⁷¹ stehen in erster Linie die Darstellungen von weiblichen Heiligen als Trägerinnen von Schmuck zu Verfügung. Bei fast allen weiblichen Heiligen, die nicht wie die hl. Anastasia auf Grund ihrer Ikonographie mit einem Maphorion gezeigt werden, lassen sich immer wieder auch Beispiele mit Ohrringen finden⁷².

Weit seltener sind Darstellungen von männlichen Heiligen mit einem Ohrring. Das bekannteste Beispiel hierfür ist wohl die Darstellung des Christuskindes in der Kirche der Panagia Arakou in Lagoudhera (Zypern, 1192)⁷³. Im spätbyzantinischen Kreta findet sich ein ohrringtragender Mann bzw. männlicher Heiliger z.B. an der Nordwand der Kirche der Panagia in Platania⁷⁴ (erstes Drittel des 14. Jahrhunderts, Präfektur Rethymnon, Bezirk Amari) (**Abb. 16**): Der hl. Georgios zu Pferde trägt einen gut sichtbaren Ring im rechten Ohr. Ebenfalls einen Ohrring

trägt der hl. Kyrikos an der Nordwand in der Kirche der Hagioi Kyrikos und Julitta in Lissos⁷⁵ (erste Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Sphakia) (**Abb. 17**).

Bei vielen der Ohrringe und Schmuckdarstellungen lassen sich keine konkreten Vorbilder in Form von Realien aufzeigen. Es sind oftmals Mischformen von verschiedenen Typen und Zierelementen wie Perlen o.ä. Dies spricht dafür, dass ein Künstler nicht zwangsläufig einen bekannten Typus darstellen wollte, sondern vielmehr eine Variante, die für ihn den Inbegriff eines »prächtigen« oder »schmückenden« Ohrrings darstellte.

Eine Beispielgruppe verbindet beides, den eventuellen Bezug zu einem real existierenden Ohrringtypus und die Vorliebe eines Künstlers, einen bestimmten Ohrring – als Inbegriff für »Ohrring« – werkstattintern immer wieder zu verwenden. Es handelt sich dabei um Werke des im ersten Drittel des 14. Jahrhundert tätigen Malers Michael Veneris⁷⁶.

70 So trägt die linke Dienerin in der Badeszene bei der Geburt Christi in der Kirche der Panagia in Alikampos einen Ohrring vgl. Kalokyris, Crete 65 Abb. C2. – In der Kirche des Hagios Georgios in Anydri (1. H. 14. Jh.) (Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Selino) trägt die Königstochter in der Szene, in der sie den besiegten Drachen in die Stadt zieht (Georgszyklus), ebenfalls einen Ohrring vgl.: Kalokyris, Crete 108 Abb. C 28. – Als außerkretisches Beispiel seien die Dienerinnen in der Badeszene in der Kirche Panagia Arakou in Lagoudhera (Zypern) (1192) genannt vgl.: Winfield, Lagoudhera Tafel 35.

71 Darstellung der Geburt des Konstantin (die Dienerinnen tragen Ohrringe) in der Kirche des Hagios Georgios und Hagios Konstantinos in Pyrgos (1314-1315) (Präfektur Herakleion, Bezirk Monofatsi) vgl.: Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings Abb. 28.

72 Für kretische Beispiele von Heiligen mit Ohrringen vgl. Die Darstellungen der hl. Kyriaki und der hl. Eirini in der Kirche des Hagios Ioannes in Anogia (1320) (Präfektur Rethymnon, Bezirk Mylopotamos) s.: Spatharakis, Mylopotamos Abb. 80 und 81. – Die Darstellung der hl. Barbara und der hl. Katharini in der Kirche des Hagios Onouphrios in Genna (1329) (Präfektur Rethymnon, Bezirk Amari) vgl.: Spatharakis/van Essenberg, Amari Abb. 183 und 195. – Darstellung der hl. Eirini in der Kirche des Hagios Nikolaos in Meronas (Anfang 14. Jh.) (Präfektur Rethymnon, Bezirk Amari) vgl.: Spatharakis/van Essenberg, Amari Abb. 446.

Außerkretische Beispiele für Darstellungen der Kaiserin Helena mit Ohrringen: Kirche des Hagios Stephanos in Kastoria (zweite Malschicht) vgl.: Chatzidakis, Kastoria 13 Abb. 7. – Kirche des Hagios Georgios in Ortaköy vgl.: Jolivet-Lévy, Cappadoce Pl. 238. Abb. 1.

73 Vgl. Winfield, Lagoudhera Tafel 28.

74 Zur Kirche der Panagia in Platania s. Bissinger, Wandmalerei 148 Nr. 113. – Bissinger, Kreta 1133-1134. – Gallas, Sakralarchitektur 121. – Gerola, Elenco 183 Nr. 399. – Kalokyris, Crete 173. – Lassithiōtakēs, Topografikos Katalogos 68 Nr. 399. – Spanakēs, Chōria 640. – Spatharakis/van Essenberg 111. 115. 166. 193-202. 225. 235-236. 240. 249. 264. 268. 274. 284. – Spatharakis, Rethymnon 186. 245. 299. – Tsamakda, Kakodiki 68. 118.

75 Zur Kirche der Hll. Julitta und Kyrikos s. Papadakē-Oekland, Toichographies.

76 Die Dissertation der Autorin mit dem Titel »Die spätbyzantinischen Wandmalereien des Theodor Daniel und Michael Veneris – eine Untersuchung zu den Werken und der Vernetzung zweier kretischer Maler« wird 2019 erscheinen und behandelt erstmals alle Werke dieser beiden Maler. Zu den Werken des Michael Veneris und seines Onkels Theodor Daniel s. Bissinger, Wandmalerei 89-94. – Maderakēs, Venerēs. – Spatharakis, Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings 24-28.

In der Kirche der Hagia Paraskevi in Argoule⁷⁷ (erstes Drittel des 14. Jahrhunderts, Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Sphakia), die zur Hälfte von Michael Veneris ausgemalt wurde, ist an der Nordwand die Darstellung der hl. Kyriaki zu sehen (Abb. 18). Sie trägt kleine Ohrringe, die an ein Körbchen mit drei kleinen Aufsätzen erinnern. Diese Form von Ohrringen findet sich in mindestens zwei weiteren von diesem Maler ausgeführten Kirchengemälden wieder⁷⁸. Somit scheint es sich hierbei um eine vom Künstler bevorzugte Darstellungsweise für einen Ohrring zu handeln. Diesem gemalten Ohrringtypus entspricht ein reales Paar, welches in Aerina (Magnesia) gefunden wurde⁷⁹.

In der Kirche des Hagios Nikolaos in Polemita (Mani) verwendete der dortige Künstler bei den Darstellungen der hl. Barbara und der hl. Kyriaki einfache Ohrringe mit einem Kugelaufsatz⁸⁰. Dieser Typus entspricht nicht nur gefundenen Realien⁸¹, sondern scheint auch eine Vorliebe des Malers zu sein, was wiederholte Darstellungen innerhalb der Kirchengemälde belegen.

Dieser kurze Überblick zu den Darstellungen von Schmuck in narrativen Szenen und bei Heiligen konnte folgende Erkenntnisse liefern:

Es gibt verhältnismäßig wenige Beispiele von Schmuckdarstellungen, wenn man die Fülle an Unterbringungsmöglichkeiten in der Wandmalerei betrachtet. Dass die deutliche Mehrheit von Schmuckdarstellungen bei weiblichen Personen zu finden ist, ist keine überraschende Tatsache. Viel interessanter ist die sich herauskristallisierende Tendenz, dass es sich oftmals nicht um Darstellungen von Schmuck mit realen,



Abb. 18 Darstellung der hl. Kyriaki in der Kirche der Hagia Paraskevi in Argoule. 1. Drittel des 14. Jhs., Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Sphakia. – (Foto J. Schmidt).

zeitgenössischen Vorbildern handelt, es aber genauso wenig einen speziellen »Standardtypus« für das Darstellen von Ohrringen gibt. Viele Abbildungen werden in erster Linie ihren Ursprung in der Vorliebe des jeweiligen Künstlers haben.

Die Darstellungen von Schmuckstücken sind ein interessanter Aspekt innerhalb der großen Bandbreite der spätbyzantinischen Wandmalerei auf Kreta. Eine vertiefende und intensive Untersuchung von Grabfunden könnte das sich bietende Bild und die hier genannten Forschungsansätze noch weiter festigen und ergänzen.

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⁷⁷ Zur Kirche der Hagia Paraskevi in Argoule s. Antourakēs, Toichographēmenoi 1977. 1059-1077. – Gerola, Elenco Nr. 231. – Lassithiōtakēs, Topographikos Katalogos 49 Nr. 231. – Spanakēs, Chōria 133. – Varthalitou, Argoule. – Maderakēs, Venerēs. – Varthalitou, Panagia Kera 371. 375.

⁷⁸ Die Darstellungen der Ohrringe lassen sich bei weiblichen Heiligen in der Kirche der Hg. Marina in Ravdoucha (1. Drittel des 14. Jhs.) (Präfektur Chania, Bezirk Kissamos) und in der Kirche des Hagios Nikolaos in Moni (vor 1315) (Präfektur

Chania, Bezirk Selino) finden. Leider sind trotz vorhandener Literatur zu den Kirchen keine Abbildungen der entsprechenden Heiligen publiziert.

⁷⁹ Kat. Thessaloniki 2002, 560 Nr. 562 (Ch. Karadina).

⁸⁰ Drandakē, Manē Tafel IX Abb. 28 und 29.

⁸¹ Für Beispiele aus mittelbyzantinischer Zeit s. Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 224-225 Kat.-Nr. 18-20.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

Representations of Jewellery in the Late Byzantine Murals of Crete

Under archaeological aspects, Crete is often associated with the ancient palace of Knossos. In contrast to this, until today relatively little attention has been paid to the nearly 1000 Late Byzantine churches, which were mostly founded under Venetian rule from 1211 to 1669.

This paper deals with representations of jewellery and accessories in the Late Byzantine murals of Crete using eighteen relevant examples. They can be distinguished between the representations of »real« persons – especially donors – and depictions of saints and figures in narrative scenes. Jewellery in donor portraits is characterised by real and individual traits, whereas jewellery in narrative scenes is a reflection of common jewellery types and stylised variations.

Darstellungen von Schmuck in der spätbyzantinischen Wandmalerei Kretas

Unter archäologischen Gesichtspunkten wird Kreta oftmals mit den Palastanlagen von Knossos assoziiert. Im Gegensatz dazu wurde den annähernd 1000 spätbyzantinischen Kirchen, die größtenteils während der venezianischen Herrschaft von 1211 bis 1669 erbaut worden sind, bis heute nur verhältnismäßig wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt.

Der vorliegende Aufsatz behandelt Darstellungen von Schmuck in den spätbyzantinischen Wandmalereien Kretas anhand von 18 aussagekräftigen Beispielen. Der Schwerpunkt liegt hierbei auf Darstellungen, die in Abbildungen von »realen« Personen – beispielsweise Stifter – und in diejenigen von Heiligen und weiteren Personen in narrativen Szenen unterschieden werden. Schmuckdarstellungen in Stifterportraits dürften auf real existierende, individuelle Schmuckstücke zurückgehen, während Heilige und Personen, die in narrativen Szenen erscheinen, offenbar typisierte bzw. stilisierte Schmuckvarianten wiedergeben.

The Chalcis Treasure: A 14th-15th Century Hoard from Euboea, Greece – First Thoughts and Preliminary Results

The Chalcis Treasure consists of high status objects that were buried for safe-keeping in the port of Negroponte (as was Chalcis known then) in Euboea, Greece, on the eve of the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1470. Today, the hoard consists of some 630 objects and includes gold and silver-gilt pieces of jewellery, dress accessories and tableware, reflecting the rich material culture of the Aegean during the Late Byzantine period. The objects date to the 14th and 15th centuries while the event of the conquest offers a *terminus ante quem*.

In the 1870s, the treasure was recovered and came into the hands of a Greek dealer, Paul Lampros¹. Lampros assigned original ownership of the treasure to a Venetian prince from Negroponte, who buried it, but did not live to reclaim it. Following its recovery, the hoard was split up and sold off to various collectors. A small part consisting of rings, primarily, was acquired by the collector Charles Drury Fortnum, who later bequeathed it to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford². Meanwhile, the remaining objects were bought by Augustus Woolaston Franks, curator and benefactor of the British Museum³. The hoard still remains divided between the Ashmolean and British Museums.

A 1911 article by Ormonde Dalton⁴ was for many years the only source of information about the Chalcis Treasure and this present ongoing study represents the first comprehensive evaluation of the assemblage⁵. The investigation focuses on

different aspects, including the artefacts themselves, their mode of production and use, as well as the socio-economic context of their owners and their collectors. Surface chemical characterization of a selected sample of some 200 objects was conducted with a handheld x-ray fluorescence (XRF) spectrometer (InnovX/Olympus Delta Premium)⁶. Non-invasive surface analyses aimed at complementing the assemblage's macroscopic investigation and classification, and contributing to its contextual interpretation were also conducted. Analytical examination may throw light on the precious alloy recipes⁷ used during the 14th and 15th centuries in Eastern Mediterranean workshops, as well as on gilding and manufacturing techniques. Finally, the results of the surface analyses were used to examine whether isolated pieces having some typological affinities could have originally belonged to a single artefact, as, for example, in the case of belt buckles, strap-ends and mounts coming from the same belt or for groups of buttons to have possibly adorned a single garment.

Late Medieval Aegean – Archipelagus Turbatus

For Euboea and its capital Chalcis, the Late Byzantine period was a time when insecurity and war co-existed with trade, riches and cultural exchange⁸. The island was initially part

1 McLeod, Finger-Rings 233. The relevant information comes from the correspondence of C. D. Fortnum in the archive of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

2 For more information on Fortnum, see Thomas/Wilson, Fortnum.

3 For more information on Franks, see Caygill/Cherry, A. W. Franks.

4 Dalton, Ornaments.

5 Nikos Kontogiannis conducted the art-historical and comparative study of the material, while Vana Orfanou carried out the scientific analysis of the artefacts.

6 Surface analysis was conducted on 22 and 174 artefacts from the Ashmolean and the British Museums respectively. Several spot analyses of 2-3 mm each have been obtained per object, of which mean values have been used. Where traces of gilding were present, both gilt and non-gilt areas were examined where possible. Interpretation of results took into consideration the potential effects on the surface analyses of mercury gilding. Discussion of metals and alloy types is based solely on analysed areas free of gilding traces. During analysis, two sets of certified reference materials (CRMs) were used; a set of three pressed pellets (registered no. 10156, 3.2 cm diameter, MAC Micro-Analysis Consultants Ltd) prepared for XRF analysis for the gold-based alloys, and a set of three discs (AGA1-3, 2.5 cm diameter, MBH Analytical Ltd) for the silver-based alloys. CRM analysis suggested minimum detection limits for the gold, zinc, lead, tin and antimony at around 0.2 %, while results are more accurate for tin at 0.5 % and for bismuth, iron and cobalt at 0.04-0.05 %. No silver values below 4.5 % were present in the CRMs in order to test the minimum detection limit for this element. For the major elements, i.e., gold, silver, copper and tin, analytical errors were

found at around 0.05 % (0.4-2.5 % of the measured values), while for the trace elements at 0.02 % (1.0-15.0 % of the measured values). Analytical errors for the low-end values for cobalt and bismuth (0.05 %) were found rather high, often at 100 % of the measured value, and have thus been treated with caution. Overall, analysis of the CRMs suggested the rather good accuracy and precision of the data produced with the handheld XRF instrument.

7 The limitations resulting from the surface examination of silver-gold alloys with handheld XRF equipment were acknowledged and addressed during the interpretation of the results. Previous studies have already proven that gold- and silver-containing alloys may present significant discrepancies between the surface and the core of the objects (Beck et al., Silver Surface – Blakelock, Surface Analysis). An additional limitation could prove the nature of the material itself as jewellery pieces often lack flat surfaces, a fact that could further complicate their surface analyses (Karydas et al., Jewellery Collection 20). Thus, the discussion of the results below is a cautious one and always takes into consideration the aforementioned. Consequently, the types of alloys and metals are discussed rather as qualitative information, in a way to show the differences between the various types of metals/alloys used (e.g. see also Pitarch/Queralt, Coins, on the discussion of ancient silver surface analyses). For example, it is safe to make a distinction between silver or gold with traces of copper on the one hand, and gold-silver alloys on the other.

8 Kontogiannis, Material Culture with previous bibliography.



Fig. 1 Finger rings. Ashmolean Museum Oxford: **a** Ornamental rings, inv. nos from left to right: WA1897.CDEF.F386, WA1897.CDEF.F389, WA1897.CDEF.F379. – **b** personal ring, inv. no. WA1897.CDEF.F393. – **c** ring attributed to Constantinople, inv. no. WA1897.CDEF.F396. – (© Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford).

of the Latin Kingdom of Thessalonica, with a peculiar feudal system of three lordships, known as »triarchs«, and later became a Venetian colony until the Ottoman conquest of 1470.

During this period, Chalcis was the port of call for all seaborne travelling and trade between Italy and the Black Sea, as reflected in the well-documented diverse and mobile local population of merchants, sailors and craftsmen, whether Greeks, Westerners or Jews⁹. Venetians had set in place an efficient administration, which relied on governors, magistrates, notaries, naval and army officers. Alongside them stood the community council, a collective body formed by senior and prominent locals with considerable authority and autonomy from the appointed officials¹⁰. The feudal lords of the island resided in its capital, along with many noble Frankish families of the Aegean, thus following a pattern common in all Latin controlled territories of the Eastern Mediterranean. The city also became the seat of the titular Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, although many bearers of the title such as Bessarion or Isidore of Kiev administered their bishopric duties through representatives.

Artefact Groups in the Treasure

Personal Jewellery

The objects from the hoard that have traditionally attracted most attention are the rings, of which the Chalcis group comprises 25 (**fig. 1**). They are grouped under several headings, although we cannot positively conclude whether they were all products of specific workshops, or a random collection

of contemporary artefacts representing various production centres.

The first group, the Venetian group according to Dalton's terminology¹¹, comprises twelve ornamental rings (**fig. 1a**). They have various hoop forms and are always highly adorned with engraved motifs or inscriptions, enhanced by niello or enamel. Three of them have dragon-headed endings, which is a distinct feature with many similar examples in other museum collections. The bezel is decorated with cabochon stones held by claws or pearls on pins.

A second group includes the personal rings, namely those specifically made for a certain individual whose mark they bear (**fig. 1b**). The lion rampant and the double-headed eagle are among the most distinctive Medieval symbols, which also comprise the starting point for a long-standing scholarship. Another point of interest is the presence of two almost identical rings both with almond-shaped bosses on the shoulders and an octagonal bezel bearing a lion rampant, each though made of different metals, i.e., gold and copper. The latter could hint to a specific circumstance as, for example, the use of the lesser, namely the copper, ring by a messenger in order to prove the identity of the sender, etc.

Two other rings have been attributed by Jeffrey Spier to a 14th-century Palaiologan imperial workshop operating in Constantinople (**fig. 1c**)¹². They both bear the same inscribed epigram by the renowned early 14th-century Greek poet Manuel Philes. In the collection of Philes' poems, this epigram is specifically entitled as destined for a ring and serves as a *memento mori*. The fact that the Chalcis treasure contains a pair of rings bearing an identical epigram presents an interesting case and opens an array of questions regarding their commission and ownership.

⁹ For the population of Negroponte, see Jacoby, Euboea – Borsari, Eubea.

¹⁰ Papadia-Lala, Thesmos, esp. 41–42. 195–200.

¹¹ Dalton used terms such as »products of a colonial art« concluding that the hoard should be regarded as Veneto-Byzantine in character, and »the emphasis

should certainly be placed on the first rather than the second word« (Dalton, Ornaments 402).

¹² Spier, Rings 35–36 nos 13. 19.

A fourth group includes simple rings decorated with a single cabochon stone, or a pearl set on elaborate bezels¹³. The calyx form of two bezels finds parallels in contemporary Europe, but also in much earlier jewellery production.

Finally, a fifth group encompasses rings, which for the moment seem unique, such as an Islamic product of Mamluk workshops as identified by Beth McLeod¹⁴, or two items, which were thought to be representative of chivalric culture imitating a knight's belt and his spurs¹⁵.

Analysis of the rings¹⁶ showed the use of gold-silver alloys in a variety of ratios, while only a single ring is made of silver. Interestingly, the above outlined typological groups do not directly correspond to specific metals or alloys used. Silver was found from 3 % to 45 %¹⁷ and gold from 30 % to 95 %, and gold to silver ratios between 1 and 30. Copper is typically up to 10 %, while four rings contained up to 17 % copper. Two alloy recipes could be distinguished: one (five rings) with both low silver and copper contents (gold 84-85 %, silver 3-12 %, copper 1-5 %); and a second (14 rings) with variable but typically higher silver and copper contents (gold 30-75 %, silver 17-45 %, copper 7-17 %). The single ring made from silver had a content of 88 % silver with 8 % copper and only traces of gold (<1 %). Gold to silver ratios for the first group is typically high, between 7 and 30 due to the low silver content, while for the second one is much lower, namely between 1 and 4. The silver to copper ratios for both groups are found at comparable levels with mean values of 3.

Three pairs and a single earring form part of the jewellery group in the treasure. Two of these pairs belong to a typical Byzantine style¹⁸. Although their size and circular layout point to the popular lunate-type of Middle and Late Byzantium, as well as to that known as »garlic clove« or kidney-shaped Late Byzantine earrings, their exact form is not so common among the surviving pieces.

The remaining earrings (a pair, **fig. 2**, and a single piece) belong to »the articulated type«, consisting of two or three interlocking components. According to Dalton, these pieces were rather Late Antique and an intrusion into the hoard, or – less probably – late Medieval revivals of ancient forms¹⁹. However, at the present state of research, the articulated type may find contemporary 14th-15th century parallels, although admittedly none of those is identical to the Chalcis pieces.

Dress Accessories

Belts and dress accessories comprise a large part of the hoard. Studies on Medieval fashion have relied principally on written



Fig. 2 Earrings of the articulated type. British Museum London, inv. no. AF.2779. – (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

and visual records, as well as on a few recovered objects, which further highlights the importance of the present study and the interdisciplinary investigation of the Chalcis Treasure. From the belts of the treasure, only the metal parts survive, which are almost exclusively made of gilt silver. On their reverse sides, many of them preserve silver threads that would have decorated the braiding. These were probably tablet woven and had simple V-shaped designs, which also appear on a number of contemporary Medieval belts.

The metal parts can be grouped as buckles, strap ends, strap-slides and mounts in various forms and decoration techniques. Regarding the strap ends and buckle parts, many of the decorative motifs belong to a late Gothic repertory with trefoil arches and rosettes (**fig. 3a-b**); a semi-nude female and a helmeted head (**fig. 3a, upper centre**), both in low relief, seem very different and Renaissance in style. An array of figures, human, animal and animals with human heads is engraved in profile on metal sheets with their backgrounds enlivened with translucent enamel.

13 British Museum, nos AF.1861, AF.1862, AF.1863, see collection online for all mentioned pieces (https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx [02.12.2018]).

14 McLeod, *Finger-Rings* 233-235.

15 Respectively: British Museum: no. AF.1860, Ashmolean Museum: nos WA1899.CDEF.F385 and WA1899.CDEF.F390.

16 A total of 25 rings have been analysed, namely all rings found in the British and Ashmolean Museums collections.

17 As mentioned above (footnote 6), all wt % values are provided for general guidance and to be treated as fully quantitative data.

18 British Museum, nos AF.2775, AF.2776, AF.2777, and AF.2778. See also contribution by A. Antonaras in this volume.

19 Dalton, *Ornaments* 396.



Fig. 3 Dress accessories: **a** buckles, strap end and cloak clasps (centre piece), inv. nos. AF.2810, AF.2811, AF.2809, AF.2808, AF.2807 (clockwise from left), AF.2818, AF.2819 (center). – **b** strap ends, metal parts and buckle (centre piece), inv. nos AF.2815, AF.2814, AF.2817, AF.2816, (upper row, from left), AF.2821, AF.2822, AF.2813.a, AF.2813, AF.2812 (bottom row, from left), AF.2810 (centre piece). – (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

Fig. 4 Buttons. British Museum London: **a** made from filigree, inv. no. AF.2831. – **b** made from blanc spheres with added filigree, inv. no. AF.2829. – (© The Trustees of the British Museum).



The mounts that adorned the body of the belts come in sets of identical pieces, each including between 3 and 42 items. The simpler ones are star-shaped, X-form or in double-crescent²⁰. More elaborate pieces bear inlaid plaques decorated with opaque, filigree or translucent enamel. They are often decorated with either floral patterns or coat-of-arms identifying the owner of the belt²¹. A number of plaques preserve parts of inscriptions in Latin and Hebrew, complementing a group of fittings in the form of letters²².

All belt parts analysed (84 objects), including buckles, strap ends/slides, and mounts consisted of silver, typically with up to 10 % copper and 2 % gold²³, while they all bear traces of gilding, giving a bright yellow finish. The above general pattern suggests the existence of a common underlying metallurgical practice for the belt pieces regardless of whether produced in a single workshop or several. Finally, it was possible to match certain strap ends/slides to two buckles on the basis of their semi-quantitative surface analyses.

20 For ex. British Museum, nos AF.2796, AF.2786, AF.2787, AF.2844, AF.2795 etc.
21 British Museum, nos AF.2798, AF.2802, AF.2803.

22 British Museum, nos AF.2805, AF.2806, AF.2842, AF.2843, AF.2790.
23 As suggested by analysis on non-gilt metal areas.

The c. 340 buttons of the Chalcis Treasure have received almost no attention from past scholarship (fig. 4). They are presently grouped in the British Museum collection on the basis of their style in sets containing from 10 to 60 buttons each. In the vast majority, they are spherical or hemispherical, while the same types often come in various sizes. Based on their manufacturing techniques, we can discern various categories as described in detail below.

The openwork filigree buttons are hollow and spherical, the body was carefully constructed with filigree or simple wire starting from the two ends and working towards the mid-section (fig. 4a). The hoop, made of beaded wire, was either soldered to the upper body or pierced through the body ending with a pearl. The traces of cloth visible in the interior of a broken piece suggest that the filigree was possibly constructed around a core of cloth. This core may have served both as a structural element (in order for the filigree wires to acquire the desired shape), and as a decorative one (being visible through the openwork filigree offering a colourful visual effect).

The largest category of buttons was made using blank half-spheres. These hollow hemispheres were either directly soldered together to produce a spherical button, such as in a group of rattle bells (fig. 4b), or soldered with a flat underside resulting in a hemispherical shape²⁴. Their surfaces were either left plain, or decorated with filigree wire and then drilled to produce an openwork effect²⁵. In the latter case, the result is seemingly similar to the filigree buttons, only using a completely different and less elaborate technique.

Filigree buttons, which are both fewer and more refined, could be imports at Chalcis, while the blank sphere buttons would be products of (a) local or regional workshop(s) trying to imitate the former. The local character of the blank sphere buttons is further supported by the fact that the majority of extant Byzantine buttons belongs to that type²⁶. Similarly manufactured spherical or bi-convex beads, often with added filigree, were widely used in Balkan jewellery (earrings and pendants), particularly during the Middle and Late Byzantine period²⁷.

A local/Byzantine workshop origin for the blank half-sphere buttons may be further supported by the presence of half-finished pieces among the Chalcis hoard on which, after

the filigree was added on the blank sphere base, only a few holes were drilled. Regardless of whether the blank sphere buttons were imitations of the filigree ones or not, they provide evidence for the goldsmiths' attempts to produce the filigree effect via a less time-consuming and more cost-effective method, as a way to respond to the local demand for these high-status dress accessories.

Analyses of gilt-free areas of these two button groups (blank sphere and filigree) pointed to the use of high-grade silver with a mean value of 95 % silver for the former, while the filigree ones had silver of variable but typically higher copper content up to 22 % copper, compared to the blank spheres. This could indicate distinct technological traditions for the respective typological groups of buttons, supporting further their production by different (groups of) goldsmiths.

A distinct group of buttons is made of simple wire²⁸. These buttons give the impression of openwork globes and originally had a fabric core enclosed by metal wire. Parts of the fabric are preserved on the interior surface of this type of button. In addition, imprints of the fabric detected microscopically on the inner surfaces of these wire rings suggest that the metal was not in a complete solid state when it came into contact with the fabric.

A fourth category includes the less elaborate solid globular buttons, represented in the hoard by a small group of four²⁹. Even though few surviving objects of this type are known in the archaeological record, a matching mould recovered at Mystras in the Peloponnese, most likely destined for similar objects, suggests the origin for these buttons within the provinces of Byzantium³⁰.

Lastly, among the Chalcis hoard, a single ring button belongs to a jewellery type of large circular buttons and brooches that was often depicted in murals and paintings³¹. This artefact stands out, both for its high quality craftsmanship (filigree and beaded wire on a flat disc), the precious stones (pearls, garnet), and for its gold-silver alloy as opposed to gilt silver.

Another group of dress ornaments is related to the use of cloaks. A pair of richly decorated plaques (fig. 3a, centre) with the openwork lion of St Marc, can be interpreted as fasteners with a preserved – yet currently dissociated – silver chain in between³². Among the dress accessories, two sets of

24 Such as British Museum nos AF.2825, AF.2827, AF.2836, AF.2839.

25 British Museum nos AF.2845, AF.2838, AF.2834.

26 See for e.g. finds from Mystras (Cat. Mystras 2001, 156-157 nos 8-9 [P. Kalamara]). – Hagios Achilleios, Florina (Moutsopoulos, Prespa I, 176 pl. 52.3. – Moutsopoulos, Prespa II, 159 no. A52, pl. 31.1. – Moutsopoulos, Prespa II, 170-171 nos A56. A59 pl. 30.2; 31.2. – Moutsopoulos, Prespa II, 199-201, 215-223. – Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 397 no. 491 [M. Paisidou]). – Golem Grad, Prespa (Bitrakova-Grazdanova, Golem Grad 111-112 fig. 9, grave 84). – Redina Castle (Moutsopoulos, Rentina 216-217. 219. 221-222. 296-297). – See also contributions by A. Antonaras and A. Steinert in this volume.

27 See, e.g., objects from the Preslav Treasure (10th c., Cat. New York 1997, 334-335 no. 228 [J. D. Alcheres]). – Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 25-26. 28-29 fig. 3; 244-248 no. 63-64) – the Crete Treasure of the Stathatos Collection (10th c., Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 41-44. 248-253 nos 65-68). – the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb, Croatia (10th-15th c.,

Cat. Zagreb 2014, 69-70 no. 20. – Cat. Zagreb 2014, 86-87 no. 27.1. – Cat. Zagreb 2014, 87-88 no. 27.2). – Corinth (9th-12th c., Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 224-243 nos 18. 23-24. 27-28. 30. 36. 61). – Hagios Achilleios, Florina (12th c., Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 225 no. 20). – Agrinio, Magnesia and Elassona (11th-14th c., Cat. Thessaloniki 2002, 434-435. 561-562 nos 562-566. 778-779 [F. Kefalonitou / A. Dina / S. Kougioumtzoglou]). – Golem Grad, Prespa (10th-11th c., Bitrakova-Grazdanova, Golem Grad 106-107 fig. 5).

28 British Museum no. AF.2835.

29 British Museum no. OA. 10826.

30 Cat. Mystras 2001, 158-159 no. 11 (P. Kalamara). See also the essay of Antje Steinert in this volume.

31 Ashmolean Museum no. WA1899.CDEFF103

32 Lightbown, Jewellery 302 fig. 161. For the chain see British Museum no. AF.2824.



Fig. 5 Silver plate with maker's mark. British Museum London, inv. no. 1887,0211.1. – (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

small bells, very much in fashion in late 14th century Europe, could have been either part of belts and sashes, or simply stitched on the garment³³. Meanwhile, the same stands true for a large filigree disc with a central medallion depicting a bird³⁴.

Tableware

Last but not least, one of the most valuable objects regarding the historic information, is a deep silver plate consisting of a rather pure silver with only 2 % copper, and traces of gold (0.03 %) and lead (0.07 %), undoubtedly part of high-quality domestic silverware (**fig. 5**). Thanks to its stamps, we know that it was produced in Naples in the early 1400s and surely before 1420³⁵. An engraved coat-of-arms was added at a later stage as the plate's owners changed. The plate's long period of use is also attested by a soldered repair. This is undoubtedly one of the key dating objects for the whole of the hoard. Similar plates formed part of every wealthy household during the late Middle Ages³⁶.

Precious Metals in Fashion: Remarks on Alloys and Techniques

The hoard comprises both gold and silver metal objects, while gold- and silver-based alloys have also been used. Copper-based objects are absent, as copper was only used to dilute the precious metals and alloys. Based on analysis of gilt-free areas of 37 artefacts, four compositional groups were identified. These groups can be described as:

- a) silver metal (16 objects) with minor concentrations of copper and gold with maximum values of 5 % and 2 % respectively, and with traces of lead and tin;
- b) silver with copper (3 objects) in which copper was found between 8 % and 22 % and lead up to 1 % while gold levels are comparable to those for the silver metal, namely up to 2 % gold;
- c) gold metal (3 objects) with up to 4 % silver and 2 % copper with only traces of lead detected;
- d) gold-silver alloys (15 objects) with a variety of gold-silver ratios and with silver between 7 % and 45 %, and gold between 30 % and 89 %, often containing copper between

³³ Piponnier/Mane, Dress 68. British Museum nos AF2784 and AF2785.

³⁴ British Museum no. AF2823.

³⁵ Catello/Catello, Napoli 37 pl. 9.

³⁶ Such items were usually recorded in wills and inventories, with isolated objects usually surviving as part of recovered hoards (see below).

3 % and 17 %, and with traces and up to 3 % of tin, zinc and arsenic detected. As mentioned above, this classification is based on surface results, while the metal core of the objects remain to be determined by future research.

Lead was rarely present in levels to suggest its deliberate addition. Only 13 objects, all gilt, were found with more than 5 % lead, while just three objects (two rings and a button) were found with lead above 10 %. Nonetheless, the presence of niello on the surfaces of all these three high-lead objects could account for the lead content detected during surface analyses, which should not be considered at the moment as an alloying element. Tin and zinc were typically found at low impurity levels in both metals and alloys.

Silver and silver with copper additions were largely used for the manufacturing of dress ornaments, including the mounts, fittings, belt parts and buttons. As already noted, only a signet ring was made of a silver, with 8 % copper and traces of gold (<1 %). In contrast, gold metal and gold-silver alloys were used for the manufacturing of all jewellery pieces including rings and earrings. The ring button mentioned above comprises the single exception as it consists of a gold-silver alloy with 67 % gold, 25 % silver and 9 % copper. This compositional difference is better understood when considering its high-quality craftsmanship and its stylistic differences with the rest of the buttons.

Mercury Gilding

The vast majority of the artefacts were gilt, with 176 objects providing evidence for surface treatment, namely mercury gilding³⁷. Gilt objects mostly consist of silver or silver with copper, whereas few objects of gold-silver alloys were found gilt, too³⁸.

Gilt objects were often identified with the naked eye due to the characteristic bright yellow colour of their surfaces. However, this gilding layer was often eroded by long-term use and the analyses of a small number of objects that did not seem to be gilt initially showed traces of mercury suggesting the original presence of the surface treatment. Finally, mercury gilding was used not only to imitate gold metal, but also as a decoration technique. For example, both gilt and non-gilt silver had been combined in the strap-sides and ends in order to visually enhance the belt by the interplay between white-silver and yellow-gilt areas, perhaps following contemporary aesthetics.

Cuttlefish Casting

Observation of the casting techniques employed in the manufacturing of the Chalcis hoard objects offered an insight into the craftsmanship of Medieval goldsmiths. Noteworthy is the evidence for cuttlefish casting as seen amongst reverse faces of the mounts and cloak fasteners where the characteristic traces of cuttlefish bone were visible. Casting pieces of jewellery in moulds carved out of cuttlefish bone was a practice used by metalworkers and goldsmiths throughout Antiquity and one that is still in use today³⁹.

As a relatively fast and inexpensive technique, cuttlefish casting was deemed particularly suitable for small pieces of jewellery due to the size limitation posed by the bone itself. Evidence for this practice is seldom found in the archaeological record due to the fragility of these organic moulds. A 15th-century mould fragment recovered in London is a notable example as it is also contemporary to the Chalcis Treasure⁴⁰. Meanwhile, this technique has also been noted on many goldsmith products attributed to 14th-century Lucca, Italy⁴¹.

Producers and Users

For a deeper understanding of the Chalcis hoard, the artefacts need to be seen within their wider socio-economic context by focusing largely on the historic reality and commercial activity of the late Medieval Aegean region. Concerning the commerce, circulation and use of raw materials, it was imperative for the Venetian administration to strictly control the procurement of precious metals, as well as the consistencies of the produced objects, in order to give a sense of security to the consumers. These rules were apparently standardised and regulated over the years and recorded in a number of decrees, which were enforced in the metropolis, as well as in the colonies, including Chalcis and Crete. However, archival evidence is unfortunately preserved only for the latter case⁴².

When it comes to the silver- and goldsmiths who produced these high-status objects, we have to rely again on the documents concerning Crete. For the period from the early 14th until the end of the 15th century, i.e., roughly the period corresponding to the Chalcis treasure, there were over 150 such craftsmen active in Cretan workshops⁴³. These professionals neither emerged from thin air, nor operated in isolation; they learned their craft, manufactured and sold their products,

37 The origins of the use of mercury gilding or fire gilding is still somewhat unclear, but it became widespread in the Mediterranean during the late Roman times and still widely practiced during the Medieval period until it was abandoned due to mercury poisoning (Lins/Oddy, Mercury Gilding – Oddy, Gilding – Martínón-Torres/Ladra, Mercury Gilding). Different methods of mercury gilding have been identified, however, for the objects in the Chalcis Treasure the one that should be considered is one in which a gold-mercury amalgam is applied to heat-treated silver (or copper) objects followed by a second stage of heating in order to bond the gold with the base metal and to evaporate the mercury (Lins/Oddy, Mercury Gilding 370).

38 Due to the presence of the gilding layer on the objects' surfaces, it is presently not possible to describe more accurately the nature of the gilt metal(s).

39 Brepohl/McCreight, Goldsmithing.

40 Cuttlefish mould fragment (find record BOY86[1487]<1291>) found at the site of the former City of London Boy's School, 5-11 Tudor Street, City of London, excavated by the Museum of London in 1986 (Murdock et al., Treasures. – Schofield/Maloney, Archaeology).

41 Morigi, *Tecnologia* 29. 37.

42 Gasparis, *Epaggelmaties*, esp. 102-104. 130-131.

43 Konstantoudaki-Kitromilidou, *Apotheca* 363-364.

competed and collaborated within the Aegean market, unified under and regulated by the Venetian administration. It is this Venetian »commonwealth«, within which goldsmiths circulated and many of them must have travelled through or lived in Chalcis, although references are very scarce.

Inherent to the production and diffusion of jewellery and dress accessories was a specialised network of merchants and bankers, including: a) those involved in the trafficking, both of the precious metals and gems, and of the finished goods; b) those who certified the metal quality and the value of the objects at the time when they first entered the market, and later on, when they were used as collateral for loans or resold; and c) those who transferred and procured funds with which to buy or traffic in luxury commodities⁴⁴.

The consumer, for whom the goldsmiths worked, can be discovered through two sets of data. Firstly, there is the archival material. Jewellery is mentioned in wills, being a considerable part of the movable inheritance as well as in acts of donation, usually to monastic foundations, and in notarial documents, relating to the pawning of valuables and their use as guarantees and collaterals⁴⁵. Secondly, there is a considerable body of artistic information, such as visual representations of dress accessories and jewellery in murals, manuscripts, tombstones and silver revetments, which give us a fair idea on the wide use of these objects⁴⁶. The 14th century marks the advent of fashion throughout Europe and dress accessories ought to fit constantly changing fashionable garments⁴⁷. These were worn, not only at the princely courts as in previous times, but also by the upcoming merchant classes and the burgesses of the maritime cities of the Mediterranean.

Precious Artefacts as Social Indicators

The above aspects point to a complex social reality, not only regarding the place of manufacture, which is very hard to pinpoint when it comes to small portable items like jewellery and dress accessories, but also the place of consumption, so we ought to consider the two independently. Furthermore, the Chalcis Treasure should be studied within its wider European context as part of a series of 14th-15th century hoards whose concealment is linked to devastating events of a certain magnitude. These were found all over Europe, reaching Crimea in the East and Scandinavia to the North. Many of the hoarded items were similar to those of Chalcis, in materials, techniques, value and style. These hoards prove in the most eloquent way, a common notion of what was considered

valuable and worthy of preserving. Their size varies from the 30 kgs of the Erfurt Treasure, Germany, and the thousands of objects in the Gotland cases, Sweden, down to the few silver brooches in Canonbie, Scotland⁴⁸. Another common thread is that most of them come from civic environments, hidden at the foundations or within the walls of large houses, as in the case of Colmar, France.

Regarding the manufacturing of the hoard's artefacts, the rather clear distinction between gold reserved for jewellery pieces and gilt silver for dress ornaments, and the consistency of this pattern, raise additional questions on the signification of colour, value and the properties of the metals themselves in conjunction with their role in Medieval design and fashion, and by extension in the contemporary Aegean society. Objects of adornment expressed elegance and conveyed a sense for cosmopolitan fashion, but they were also strong statements of class and status. They represented a system of social classification, which was translated in the visual vocabulary of design and material. The existence and careful concealment of the Chalcis Treasure marked, on the one hand, its high value, and, on the other, the effort prominent members of the local community invested in order to distinguish themselves within the community through fashion and jewellery. This identity constructed with the aid of metal objects on the part of high-status groups served its purpose as a very specific social signifier. Nevertheless, this self-constructed high-status identity does not seem to have helped the owners of these prestigious artefacts to escape the common fate of the Chalcis community and the city's destruction during the Ottoman conquest. They were apparently never able to recover their luxury items.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the British and Ashmolean Museums for providing access to the material and allowing the analytical techniques used, the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection for funding Nikos Kontogiannis' work on the Chalcis Treasure, the Institute of Archaeometallurgical Studies (IAMS) for supporting financially our participation in the Archaeometallurgy in Europe IV conference (Madrid, June 2015) and the Wolfson Archaeological Science Laboratories at UCL for kindly supplying portable XRF equipment. Vana Orfanou would like to kindly thank the Danish National Research Foundation for supporting her position at the time of publication of this paper under the grant DNR119 – Centre for Excellence for Urban Network Evolutions (UrbNet).

44 The subject has been poorly studied in relation to the former territories of Byzantium. For 14th-century Italy, see Stuard, *Gilding*, esp. 118-119. 122. 180-181, with references to more specialised bibliographies.

45 In this respect, a helpful tool is the online database Ludovic Bender, Maria Parani, Brigitte Pitarakis, Jean-Michel Spieser, Aude Vuilloud, *Artefacts and Raw Materials in Byzantine Archival Documents/Objets et matériaux dans les documents d'archives byzantins*, www.unifr.ch/go/typika (01.11.2018).

46 Parani, *Reality* 58-72. 74-80.

47 See, e.g., Scott, *Dress* 79. 84. 96-101.

48 For the Erfurt Treasure with parallels from other cases, see Stürzebecher, *Schatzfund*. For the Gotland cases, see Thordeman/Nørlund/Ingelmark, *Armour* 27-30 figs 25-29. For the Canonbie find, see Campbell, *British Perspective* 28. For the Colmar treasure, see also Descatoire, *Colmar Treasure* 40-45.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

The Chalcis Treasure: A 14th-15th Century Hoard from Euboea, Greece – First Thoughts and Preliminary Results

Chalcis (known in the Late Medieval period as Negroponte) was an international port of call, where insecurity and war co-existed with trade, riches, cultural exchange and personal adventure. The city was under Frankish and Venetian Rule for some 270 years, ending with the Ottoman conquest of 1470. An important hoard of jewelry and dress accessories, currently in the collections of the British Museum, London, and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, is usually attributed to the events just before the city's fall.

The jewellery consists of rings, both decorative and personal (i.e., bearing the mark of their owner), and earrings. A large number of metal objects (buckles, strap-ends, strap-slides, mounts) belonged to belts and accessories whose exact number and form is a matter for further research. The hoard comprises some 340 buttons, all silver or silver gilt, belonging to various groups distinguished by their technique and craftsmanship. Finally, a large silver plate can be attributed on the basis of its markings to a Neapolitan workshop of the early 15th century.

Following a presentation of the various categories included in the hoard and the results from macroscopic and surface chemical characterisation, the chapter explores a number of issues, such as questions of alloys and techniques, the wider socio-economic context, and, finally, the role of these artefacts as social indicators.

Der Chalkis-Schatz: ein Hortfund des 14.-15. Jahrhunderts aus Euböa, Griechenland – erste Gedanken und vorläufige Ergebnisse

Chalkis, in spätmittelalterlicher Zeit bekannt als Negroponte, war ein internationaler Anlaufhafen, wo Unsicherheit und Krieg nebeneinander mit Handel, Reichtum, kulturellem Austausch und persönlichen Abenteuern existierten. Die Stadt war für etwa 270 Jahre unter fränkischer und dann venezianischer Vorherrschaft, die mit der osmanischen Eroberung im Jahr 1470 endete. Ein wichtiger Hortfund aus Schmuck und Kleidungsaccessoires, welcher sich in den Sammlungen des British Museums in London und des Ashmolean Museums in Oxford befindet, wird zumeist mit den Ereignissen kurz vor dem Fall der Stadt in Zusammenhang gebracht.

Der Schmuck besteht aus Ringen, sowohl dekorativen als auch individuellen Anfertigungen (d.h. mit den Zeichen ihrer Besitzer), und Ohrringen. Eine große Anzahl von Metallobjekten (Schnallen, Riemenzungen, Riemenbügel, Appliken) gehörte zu Gürteln und Accessoires, deren genaue Anzahl und Form weiter untersucht werden müssten. Der Schatzfund umfasst etwa 340 Knöpfe, allesamt silbern oder versilbert, die anhand ihrer Technik und ihrer Handwerkskunst differenzierbar sind und verschiedenen Gruppen zuzuordnen sind. Schließlich kann eine große Silberplatte aufgrund ihres Stempels einer neapolitanischen Werkstatt des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts zugeschrieben werden.

Nach der Darstellung der verschiedenen Gruppen, die im Fund vertreten waren, sowie der Ergebnisse der makroskopischen und der chemischen Oberflächenanalyse, erforscht dieser Aufsatz eine Reihe von Aspekten, wie die Frage nach den Legierungen und Techniken, dem weiteren sozioökonomischen Kontext und schließlich die Rolle der Artefakte als soziale Indikatoren.

Zur Rezeption westlich-lateinischer Goldschmiedekunst im spätbyzantinischen Kulturraum

In der Regel stehen die Rezeption und der Umgang mit byzantinischer Kunst und ihren Gestaltungsformen im lateinischen Westen im Mittelpunkt kunsthistorischer Untersuchungen – im vorliegenden Beitrag soll hingegen die Rezeption von Goldschmiedearbeiten aus dem lateinischen Westen im byzantinischen Kulturraum in den Fokus der Betrachtung gestellt werden¹. Dabei sei vorausgeschickt, dass diese Richtung der Rezeption als Phänomen nicht allein auf das Gebiet der Goldschmiedekunst beschränkt bleibt – das Aufgreifen westlich-lateinischer Formen ist in spätbyzantinischer Zeit in verschiedenen Gattungen anzutreffen, so etwa auch in der Architektur. Als besonders markantes Beispiel sei hier die Kirche des Pantanassa-Klosters in Mystras angeführt, die 1428 geweiht wurde²: Ihre Apsiden (Abb. 1) besitzen eine aufwändige Ziergestaltung aus gestaffelten Bögen sowie geschwungenen, von Kreuzblattformen bekrönten Giebeln – ein Reflex auf spätgotische Wimperge. Die besondere Betonung der drei gestaffelten Apsiden durch einen solchen Dekorreichtum erinnert in Anlage und Struktur zudem an die Apsiden des Domes in Monreale (errichtet 1172-1176). Auch der Turm der Pantanassa-Kirche verrät eindeutig seine Orientierung an westlich-gotischen Turmlösungen, worauf neben der Gesamtstruktur auch Details wie die Spitzbögen und der Dekor aus (z. T. aufgemalten) Drei- und Vierpässen sowie die Nachahmungen von Eckfialen am Helmansatz verweisen. Auch in anderen Gattungen wurden spätgotische Elemente – wenn auch selten – aufgenommen: Aus dem Bereich der Holzschnitzerei sei auf zwei Lesepulte des 15. Jahrhunderts aus dem Athos-Kloster Vatopaidi verwiesen, die raffinierte Kassettenfüllungen mit spätgotischen Maßwerkmotiven aufweisen³.

Im Bereich der Bildkünste lassen sich hingegen nur wenige Beispiele für die Übernahme westlicher Motiv- und Gestaltungsformen nachweisen, da bei den Ikonen und Wandmalereien ein fester Darstellungskanon bestand, der als bindend angesehen wurde und daher in den nicht von Lateinern besetzten Territorien bis ins 16. Jahrhundert nur

wenige Abweichungen und Aufnahmen ikonographischer Motive aus dem lateinischen Westen erlaubte: Ein seltenes Beispiel sind die Keramik-Ikonen aus Arta (Abb. 2), die einst den keramoplastischen Dekor im Ostgiebel der im späten 13. Jahrhundert errichteten Basileios-Kirche in Arta bildeten⁴. Die in Majolika-Technik gefertigten Ikonen zeigen in Flachrelief eine dreifigurige Kreuzigung bzw. die drei Hierarchen Gregor von Nazianz, Basileios den Großen und Johannes Chrysostomos und besitzen griechische Beischriften. Insbesondere bei der Kreuzigung zeigen sich in Ikonographie und Figurenanlage jedoch Gestaltungsformen, die ihren Ursprung in der italienischen Kunst der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts haben, erkennbar etwa an der Haltung Mariens oder bei der Anlage des Lendentuches Christi. Auch die Köpfe der drei Hierarchen folgen italienischen Formulierungen. Es wird angenommen, dass die Keramik-Ikonen in Arta, die sich mit wenigen weiteren zu einer Gruppe zusammenschließen, entweder von einem italienischen Kunsthandwerker oder von einem italienisch geschulten byzantinischen Kunsthandwerker angefertigt wurden⁵.

Vor welchem historischen Hintergrund vollzog sich die hier in den Blickpunkt genommene Rezeption westlich-lateinischer Kunstformen? Seit dem 13. Jahrhundert änderten und erweiterten sich die Vermittlungswege westlicher Artefakte in den byzantinischen Kulturraum, denn mit der Eroberung Konstantinopels durch das Kreuzfahrerheer 1204 standen die byzantinische Hauptstadt und in der Folge große Teile des Byzantinischen Reiches, so etwa auch die zweitgrößte Stadt Thessaloniki, unter lateinischer Herrschaft – Thessaloniki konnte 1246, Konstantinopel 1261 zurückerobert werden, während in anderen Bereichen die Kreuzfahrerstaaten fortbestanden. Diese »Lateinerherrschaft« brachte durch die neuen Herrschereliten auch westeuropäische Lebensgewohnheiten und römisch-katholischen Kult in den Kirchen mit sich – für deren Bedarf haben entsprechend auch »westlich-lateinische« Kunsthandwerker gearbeitet. Die Venezianer beherrschten

¹ Bisher ist dieser Themenkomplex – abgesehen von Äußerungen zu Einzelstücken – nur von wenigen Autoren in den Blick genommen worden. Zu nennen ist hier vor allem: Durand, *Innovations gothiques*; außerdem Ballian, *Implements*; Bosselmann-Ruickbie, *Goldsmiths' Works and Enamels*. – Generell zum bisher vernachlässigten Blick auf die Rezeption westlicher Formen in der byzantinischen Kunst: Grabar, *L'Asymétrie*.

² Chatzidakis, *Mistra* 95-107. – Sinos, *Architektonikē tou Katholikou*.

³ Athos, Kloster Vatopaidi, siehe Kat. Thessaloniki 1997, 264-265 Nr. 8.1 (N. Nikonanos). Dort werden die Maßwerkmotive erstaunlicherweise nicht als »westlich« benannt und auch nicht weiter thematisiert.

⁴ Heute in der Archäologischen Sammlung der Paregorëtissa in Arta, Inv.-Nr. 313, 314; siehe Kat. New York 2004, 78-79 Nr. 34A, 34B (V. N. Papadopoulou).

⁵ Ebenda.



Abb. 1 Kirche des Klosters Pantanassa, Mystras (Morea/Peloponnes), geweiht 1428, Ansicht von Osten. – (Foto B. J. Capper).

Kreta, die Ägäis, Euböa und Teile der Peloponnes; die Genuesen besaßen Pera (das heutige Galata) – die Schwesterstadt Konstantinopels am Goldenen Horn –, Chios und zahlreiche Orte in der Levante; Rhodos gehörte seit 1309 dem Johanniterorden, Athen ab 1311 den Katalanen, 1388 abgelöst von den Florentinern; in Zypern bestand von 1191/1192 bis 1489 ein Kreuzfahrerstaat unter der Herrschaft der südfranzösischen Adelsfamilie der Lusignan. Entsprechend waren die verbliebenen bzw. nach 1261 zurückeroberten byzantinischen Herrschaftsgebiete um Konstantinopel, Thessaloniki und der Morea auf der Peloponnes von – zumindest in den herrschenden Oberschichten – westlich geprägten Kulturräumen umgeben, zu deren »fränkischen« Herrschern dann auch mittels Eheschließungen dauerhafte Verbindungen hergestellt wurden. Über diese aufgezeigten, vielfältigen Vermittlungswege konnten leicht Kenntnisse über den Geschmack und über die Gestaltungsformen des westlich geprägten Kunsthandwerks gewonnen werden.

6 Nationalmuseum Damaskus, Inv.-Nr. 29312; siehe Ulbert, Silberschatz 42-50.

7 Zu Herleitung und Symbolik der daraus gebildeten Vielpässe Ulbert, Silberschatz 45-46.

Jenseits des hier umrissenen byzantinischen Kulturraums im östlichen Mittelmeer besaßen auch die vom Byzantinischen Reich aus christianisierten und somit für die Orthodoxie gewonnenen slawischen Großreiche Serbien und Russland durch ihre geographische Nähe und durch Handelsbeziehungen vielfältige Austauschmöglichkeiten mit dem lateinischen Westen.

Im Folgenden sollen verschiedene Ausprägungen der Aufnahme und Einbindung westlich-lateinischer, also gotischer Gestaltungsformen im spätbyzantinischen Kulturraum vorgestellt werden.

Westliche Importstücke

Ein westliches Importstück der Kreuzfahrerzeit bildet die Patene aus dem Hortfund von Resafa in Syrien, dem antiken Sergiupolis, der 1982 ausgegraben wurde⁶. Die als flacher Teller von 13 cm Durchmesser angelegte silberne Patene (**Abb. 3**) zeichnet sich durch den aufwändigen Dekor in Form von zehn gestuften und zusätzlich gravierten, vergoldeten Halbkreisbögen mit verbindenden Blattspitzen sowie dem zentralen, gravierten, teilvergoldeten Zierfeld mit der segnenden Hand Gottes, hinterfangen von einem Kreuz, aus. Während sich das Motiv der als flache Stufe angelegten Kreisbögen grundsätzlich auch auf byzantinischen Patenen findet (erinnert sei nur an den liturgischen Diskos von Halberstadt, s. u.), wobei es dort in der Regel acht und nicht zehn Bögen⁷ sind und diese auch einen größeren Durchmesser besitzen, erweist sich das zentrale Motiv der *Dextera Dei* als völlig unbyzantinisch und deutet auf einen Import aus dem Westen, wo das Motiv v. a. auf den Patenen von Grabkelchen in Bischofsgräbern des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts, aber auch auf nicht als Grabsausstattung gedachten Patenen des 13. Jahrhunderts zahlreich überliefert ist⁸. Unter den westeuropäischen Patenen mit Vielpass-

8 Ulbert, Silberschatz 46-47 gibt einen sehr guten Überblick der in Mittel- und Nordeuropa überlieferten Beispiele und verweist auf die grundlegenden Überblicksarbeiten von Elbern, Kelch und Skubiszewski, Bildprogramme.



Abb. 2 Keramik-Ikonen von der Basilios-Kirche in Arta, Ende des 13. Jhs., Archäologische Sammlung der Kirche der Hagia Paregorëtissa Arta. – (Nach Kat. New York 2004 Nr. 34a-b).

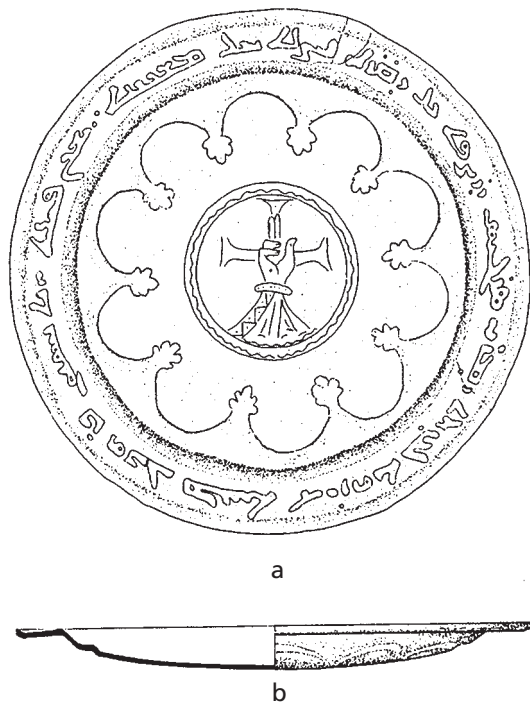


Abb. 3 Patene aus dem Hortfund von Resafa/Sergiopolis (Umzeichnung), 12./Anfang des 13. Jhs., Nationalmuseum Damaskus. – (Nach Ulbert, Silberschatz 43 Abb. 29a-b).

Dekor stellt die um 1360 zu datierende Patene aus Buldern (Abb. 4), heute im Westfälischen Landesmuseum in Münster, mit ihren ebenfalls zehn Halbkreisbögen mit Blattspitzen die engste formale Parallele dar⁹.

Neben der Größe, die nur für die lateinische Messliturgie geeignet war, erweisen auch die ikonographischen und stilistischen Vergleiche die Patene von Resafa als westeuropäisches Importstück, das im Zusammenhang der Kreuzzüge ins heutige Syrien gelangt sein dürfte bzw. – alternativ – dort von einem europäischen Goldschmied für die liturgischen Notwendigkeiten der lateinischen Messliturgie des die Kreuzfahrer begleitenden römisch-katholischen Klerus angefertigt wurde. Später gelangte sie in den Besitz eines Einheimischen, der sie als reine Votivgabe an die Grabeskirche des hl. Sergios in Sergiopolis/Resafa schenkte, worüber die nachträglich eingravierte Inschrift in Altsyrisch Auskunft gibt: »Gestiftet hat diese Patene Hasnön, der Sohn des verstorbenen Häbël, der Edessener, der Kirche des Mar Sergios von Resafa. Jeder, der (das) liest, möge für den Stifter beten«¹⁰. Der genannte



Abb. 4 Patene aus Buldern, Westfalen, um 1360, LWL-Museum für Kunst und Kultur Münster. – (Nach Kat. Münster 2012 Nr. 165).

Hasnön könnte mit einem 1227 verstorbenen Arzt in Edessa zu identifizieren sein, was mit dem stilistischen Befund der Patene, der auf das 12. oder frühe 13. Jahrhundert deutet, überein gehen würde¹¹, ebenso wie mit dem *terminus post quem* für die Niederlegung des Hortfundes von frühestens 1243 (Münzfunde, geprägt zwischen 1243 und 1259)¹².

Ein eindeutiges Importstück aus dem lateinischen Westen stellt ein Reliquiar in Form eines montierten Bergkristall-Gefäßes (Abb. 5) dar, das sich im Schatz des Klosters Vatopaidi auf dem Athos erhalten hat und der Überlieferung nach als Geschenk von Andronikos Palaiologos, Despot von Thessaloniki (reg. 1408-1423), gilt¹³. Sowohl das eigentliche Dekkelgefäß aus mehrseitig geschliffenem Bergkristall als auch die silbervergoldete Fassung sind eindeutig venezianische Arbeiten. Letztere besteht aus dem Achtpassfuß, der einen Ring als Halterung für den Fuß des Kristallgefäßes stützt und von dem wiederum zwei weit ausschwingende, zudem floral verzierte Drachenhenkel ausgehen und sich mit der oberen Fassung des Gefäßes verbinden. Diese ist von einem Blattrand begleitet, der – nun auf dem Kopf stehend – auch als Fassung des Deckels wiederkehrt. Der besondere Akzent liegt auf der Gestaltung des Fußes: Er besitzt eine Zarge aus durchbrochenen Vierpässen, die Passfelder des Fußes sind spitz ausgezogen und vollständig mit freischwebenden Weinranken bedeckt, deren silberne Weinblätter ehemals mit

⁹ So bereits Ulbert, Silberschatz 45-46; Münster, LWL-Museum für Kunst und Kultur, Inv.-Nr. T-5 LM; dazu zuletzt: Kat. Münster 2012, 328 Nr. 165 (H. Kempkens; mit weiterführender Literatur).

¹⁰ Zitiert nach Ulbert, Silberschatz 42.

¹¹ Die Gravur der *Dextera Dei* spricht für eine Datierung ins 12., frühe 13. Jh., was auch mit den entsprechenden Darstellungen auf den überlieferten Grabpatenen überein geht. Ulbert, Silberschatz 50 erwägt darüber hinaus aufgrund des Umstandes, dass der spätere Besitzer/Stifter Hasnön aus Edessa stammt, eine mögliche Herkunft von dort und demzufolge eine Entstehung der Patene

vor 1144, dem Untergang des Kreuzfahrerstaates von Edessa. Dies wäre jedoch stilistisch sehr früh. Ulbert zieht aber darüber hinaus auch die genannte Identifizierung mit dem 1227 verstorbenen gleichnamigen Arzt aus Edessa in Betracht, der dann auch auf anderem Wege in den Besitz der Patene gelangt sein könnte, sodass diese auch erst später, zu Ende des 12. oder zu Beginn des 13. Jhs., entstanden sein könnte.

¹² Ulbert, Silberschatz 5.

¹³ Athos, Kloster Vatopaidi; siehe Kat. Thessaloniki 1997, 331 Nr. 9.33 (A. Balian). – Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 334-335.



Abb. 5 Bergkristallreliquiar mit silbervergoldeter Fassung, Venedig, um 1400, Kloster Vatopaidi Athos. – (Nach Kat. Thessaloniki 1997 Nr. 9.33).

transluzidem Email überzogen waren¹⁴. Die schon deutlich spätgotischen Stilformen und deren charakteristische Ausbildung legen eine Entstehung des Bergkristall-Reliquiars aus dem Kloster Vatopaidi zu Ende des 14. oder zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts in Venedig nahe.

Aufgrund der Formsprache, insbesondere des virtuellen Umgangs mit gotischen Maßwerkmotiven, kann auch ein Weihrauchfass im Johannes-Kloster auf Patmos (**Abb. 6**) zweifelsfrei als westeuropäisches Importstück angesprochen werden¹⁵. Das sechseckige Gefäß besitzt einen pyramidalen Fuß mit Zinnenkranz und Krabbenbesatz, die halbkugelige Schale ist sechsseitig beschnitten. Der ebenfalls sechseckige Deckel verfügt über einen reichen, dreifach gestuften architektonischen Aufbau aus durchbrochenen Maßwerkbändern, krabbenbesetzten Bögen und Wimpergen sowie Fialen. Er endet in einer von Blättern umhüllten Kugel. Der hier ablesbare spätgotische Formenapparat spricht für eine Entstehung im ersten Drittel des 15. Jahrhunderts¹⁶, die geschlossene Gestaltung von Schale und Fuß sowie der souveräne Umgang mit der Maßwerkarchitektur könnte auf eine Fertigung des Weihrauchfasses im norditalienischen Raum weisen. Die



Abb. 6 Weihrauchfass, Norditalien (?), 1. Hälfte des 15. Jhs., Johannes-Kloster Patmos. – (Nach Durand, *Innovations gothiques* Abb. 2).

Figurenapplikationen auf der Gefäßwandung scheinen hingegen örtliche byzantinische Hinzufügungen zu sein, um das Weihrauchfass den heimischen Vorstellungen anzupassen.

Ein Kelch aus einer Kirche in Kleinasien (**Abb. 7**), heute im Benaki Museum in Athen¹⁷, weist ebenfalls unverkennbar westlich-gotische Stilformen in Gestalt und Dekor auf: Etwa eine parabelförmige Kelchkuppa, einen Schaft mit Kielbogen-

14 Anna Ballian verwies in Kat. Thessaloniki 1997, 331 Nr. 9.33 auf ältere Wurzeln der Fassung in der venezianischen Goldschmiedekunst der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jhs. und benannte als Vergleichsstücke die Fassungen zweier byzantinischer Steingefäße im Schatz von San Marco in Venedig, die ebenfalls von Rankenwerk dominiert werden: Venedig, Tesoro di San Marco, Inv.-Nr. 66. 82; Siehe Kat. Köln 1984, 294-307 Nr. 41-42 (jeweils D. Gaborit-Chopin). Ersteres,

ein Kelch, besitzt Henkel aus geflügelten Geparden(?), die möglicherweise als Vorläufer der Drachenhenkel anzusprechen sind.

15 Kominis, Patmos 242 Nr. 2. – Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 335.

16 So bereits Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 335.

17 Athen, Benaki-Museum; Siehe Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 338 (Lit.).



Abb. 7 Kelch aus einer Kirche in Kleinasien, Ende des 15. Jhs., Benaki Museum Athen. – (© Benaki Museum Athen).



Abb. 8 Kelch aus den Sammlungen des Moskauer Kreml, Alpenraum, 1. Hälfte des 14. Jhs. und Nowgorod, Anfang 16. Jh., Kreml Museen Moskau. – (Nach Kat. Paris 2010 Nr. 121).

dekor¹⁸, einen Nodus mit Rotuli aus emaillierten Medaillons, dazu den Sechspassfuß mit zwischengeschalteten Spitzen sowie den Flammendekor unterhalb des Schaftansatzes. Diese benannten Formen sind insbesondere bei Kelchen aus Frankreich und Italien aus der Zeit um 1500 bekannt und weisen auf eine entsprechende stilistische Herkunft des Stücks¹⁹. Der Kelch trägt jedoch eine griechische Inschrift, welche die Tochter eines Verwalters namens Zacharios nennt und die somit auf eine Verwendung des Kelches in einer orthodoxen Kirche verweisen dürfte. Hier stellt sich nun die Frage, ob es sich um ein im lateinischen Westen gefertigtes Importstück handelt oder um die Arbeit eines westlichen Goldschmiedes, der in den von den Lateinern beherrschten Gebieten (wie Kreta, Rhodos, Zypern) tätig war und bei dem der Kelch erstanden wurde²⁰.

18 Ein zweites Schaftstück oberhalb des Nodus, wie es üblicherweise bei gotischen Kelchen anzutreffen ist, scheint heute zu fehlen.

19 So bereits Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 338. Er verweist in Anm. 33 auf zwei Kelche in Solothurn/CH und L'Argentière (Hautes-Alpes/F), jeweils mit weiterführender Literatur.

»Mischobjekte« – heimische Produktion unter Einbeziehung westlicher Elemente

Ein Kelch aus den Sammlungen des Moskauer Kreml (**Abb. 8**)²¹ erweist sich als »Komposition« aus Elementen unterschiedlicher Herkunft: Die Kupa, die mit der üblichen Inschrift mit dem Zitat der Einsetzungsworte Jesu sowie mit emaillierten Medaillons mit der Kreuzigung, einer fünfteiligen Deesis-Gruppe und den anbetenden Aposteln Petrus und Paulus verziert ist, wurde zu Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts wohl in einer Nowgoroder Werkstatt in traditionellen russisch-byzantinischen Formen gefertigt. Fuß und Schaft erweisen sich hingegen als zweitverwendete westlich-gotische Goldschmiedearbeit. Der Sechspassfuß mit maßwerkdurchbrochener Zarge ist aufwändig mit dreipassigen Email-

20 So bereits Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 338.

21 Moskau, Kreml-Museen, Inv.-Nr. MP-1164; siehe Kat. Paris 2010, 290-291 Nr. 122 (I. A. Bobrovnikskaia / J. Durand).



Abb. 9 Panagiarion aus der Sakristei der Sophienkathedrale in Nowgorod, Nowgorod, Meister Ivan Arip 1435, Staatliches Museum Nowgorod. – (Nach Kat. Paris 2010 Nr. 122).

plättchen geziert, die mariologische Szenen zeigen; gravierte Felder mit Heiligen unter gotischen Wimpergarkaden leiten zum emaillierten Schaft über, den ein Nodus unterbricht, dessen sechspassige Zapfen Emails mit Maria und Propheten zeigt. Die Stilformen weisen auf eine Entstehung in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts im Alpenraum.

Ein weiteres, markantes Komposit-Objekt stellt das Panagiarion des Meisters Ivan Arip dar (**Abb. 9**), das aus der Sakristei der Sophienkathedrale in Nowgorod stammt und heute ebendort im Staatlichen Museum verwahrt wird²².

Die umlaufende kyrillische Inschrift auf dem Deckel nennt das Entstehungsjahr 1435, die Stiftung unter der Herrschaft des Großfürsten Wassili II. Wassiljewitsch dem Blinden (reg. 1425-1462) durch den Erzbischof von Nowgorod Evtimii [Euthymios] II. (amt. 1429-1458) und die Herstellung durch Meister Ivan Arip²³. Das Panagiarion diente dazu, das der Muttergottes (griech. »Panhagia«, »Allheilige«) geweihte Brot zum Festmahl der hochrangigen Priester zu bringen, wo das in der Rus' seit dem 12. Jahrhundert überlieferte Ritual der »Panha-

gia«, der Elevation des Marienbrot, stattfand. Auf die Gebete der Brotsegnung bezogen ist auch die Ikonographie des Panagiarion: Auf der Deckplatte ist die Himmelfahrt Mariens in Form eines gegossenen Reliefs dargestellt, im Inneren finden sich als Gravuren Darstellungen der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit in Gestalt der drei Engel sowie eine Maria Orans (Blacherniotissa bzw. Muttergottes vom Zeichen). Das aus zwei Tellern gebildete eigentliche Gefäß wird hier ungewöhnlicherweise von vier atlantenartigen, gegossenen Engelfiguren getragen, die auf schreitenden Löwen knien. Sie fußen auf einem Sockel aus Kupfer, bestehend aus einem Achtpassfuß mit Zarge, die als Stäbchenfries gestaltet ist, einer achteckigen Wandung mit vierteiligen Durchbrüchen sowie einem runden, nicht passgenau aufgesetzten, gegossenen Blattkranz. Während die Darstellungen auf dem Gefäß, die tragenden Engel sowie der Filigrandekor auf deren Nimben und am Rand des Deckels der heimischen russisch-byzantinischen Tradition folgen, weist die ungewöhnliche Sockelzone eindeutig westlich-mitteleuropäische Formen auf, die ihre nächsten Parallelen in der zeitgenössischen deutschen Goldschmiedekunst finden: Der Fuß folgt dabei einem weit verbreiteten spätgotischen Schema, der Blattkranz erweist sich anhand der Ausbildung der alternierenden großen und kleinen Kreuzblätter gar als zu hundertprozentig in westlich-gotischen Formen gearbeitet – daher ist anzunehmen, dass dieses Element entweder direkt aus dem deutschen Kulturraum importiert oder zumindest mit einer importierten Gussform hergestellt wurde.

Das Aufgreifen westlicher Ornament- und Gestaltungsmotive

Als ein besonders markantes Beispiel für die Adaption westlicher Ornamentformen kann das silbervergoldete Kreuz in der Staurothek des Kardinals Bessarion in Venedig (**Abb. 10-11**) gelten²⁴. Diese entstand im dritten Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts in Konstantinopel und gelangte 1472 als Schenkung des seit 1439 in Italien ansässigen griechisch-orthodoxen Erzbischofs von Nicäa und lateinischen Kardinals Bessarion (um 1399/1408-1472) nach Venedig. Das Herzstück der Staurothek bildet dabei ein älteres, zwischen 1347 und 1354 entstandenes silbervergoldetes Kreuz (**Abb. 12**), das den Eindruck eines Reliquienkreuzes erweckt, jedoch selbst keine Kreuzreliquien enthält. Es ist vorder- und rückseitig mit einem Flächendekor aus feinen Filigrandraht-Spiralen überzogen, in den – vornehmlich an den Kreuzbalkenenden – Monogramm-Medaillons in »Pseudo-Email« auf Harzbasis eingefügt sind. Auf der Vorderseite des Kreuzes ist zudem ein plastischer Corpus mit einem (später hinzugefügten) edelsteingeschmücktem Nimbus appliziert. Die Flanken des Kreuzes zierte ein

²² Nowgorod, Staatliches Museum, Inv.-Nr. ДРМ / НГМ 1108; siehe Kat. New York 2004, 129-130 Nr. 66 (N. V. Gormina). – Kat. Paris 2010, 290-291 Nr. 122 (N. V. Gormina).

²³ Ebenda jeweils vollständige Wiedergabe und Übersetzung der Inschriften.

²⁴ Venedig, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Inv.-Nr. S19; zur Staurothek zuletzt: Klein/Poletto/Schreiner, La Stauroteca di Bessarione. – Kat. Venedig 2018, 200-207 Nr. 7.2 (A. Bosselmann-Ruickbie / H. Kempkens); zur vorliegenden Thematik grundlegend: Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Bessarion Cross.

Abb. 10 Staurothek des Kardinals Bessarion, Konstantinopel, 3. Viertel 14. Jh., Gesamtansicht mit geöffneter Lade, Gallerie dell'Accademia Venedig. – (Nach Kat. Venedig 2018 Nr. 7.2).



Kreuzbogenfries (Abb. 13), dessen nach oben gerichtete Spitzen abwechselnd in Lilien und Doppelpalmetten enden. Während der Filigrandekor der Kreuzfronten völlig im Kontext der zeitgenössischen spätbyzantinisch-mediterranen Goldschmiedekunst steht, kann der Kreuzbogenfries seine west-

liche Herkunft nicht verleugnen²⁵: Er gehört zum klassischen Formenrepertoire der Hochgotik und begegnet sowohl in der Monumentalarchitektur – erinnert sei hier nur an den (in der heutigen Form nach originalem Vorbild erneuerten) Firstkamm des 1322 geweihten Kölner Domchores – als auch

²⁵ Siehe dazu die Diskussion bei Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Bessarion Cross 187-201 und 202-207.



Abb. 11 Schiebedeckel der Staurothek des Kardinals Bessarion, Konstantinopel, 3. Viertel 14. Jh., Gallerie dell'Accademia Venedig. – (Nach Kat. Venedig 2018 Nr. 7.2).

in den »Kleinkünsten«, etwa der Buchmalerei und der Goldschmiedekunst, wo er zahlreich als Einfassungselement begegnet, so etwa auch beim Reliquienkreuz von St. Nikolaus in Bad Kreuznach, das um 1330/1340 entstanden sein dürfte²⁶.

Der Kreuzbogenfries des Filigrankreuzes findet dabei noch einen bemerkenswerten Reflex im nur wenig jüngeren, silbervergoldeten Ikonenbeschlag des Schiebedeckels der Staurothek (Abb. 11), wo seine Gestaltung am Übergang von oberem Besatzstreifen zur eigentlichen Ikone imitierend aufgegriffen wird.



Abb. 12 Filigrankreuz aus der Staurothek des Kardinals Bessarion, Konstantinopel, um 1347-1354, Gallerie dell'Accademia Venedig. – (Nach Klein/Poletto/Schreiner 2017 Taf. 8).



Abb. 13 Filigrankreuz aus der Staurothek des Kardinals Bessarion, Konstantinopel, um 1347-1354, Detail: Flanken des Kreuzes mit Kreuzbogenfries, Gallerie dell'Accademia Venedig. – (Nach Klein/Poletto/Schreiner 2017 Taf. 4b).

26 Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst* 200 Nr. 114-115. – Detailabb. in Bosselmann-Ruickbie, *Bessarion Cross* 223 Abb. 21.



Abb. 14 Kelch des Nowgoroder Erzbischofs Moses, Nowgorod, 1329, Kreml Museen Moskau. – (Nach Kat. Paris 2010 Nr. 110).

Zu erwähnen sind außerdem zwei russische Kelche: Sie besitzen einerseits in byzantinischer Tradition jeweils eine Kupa aus rotem Jaspis bzw. Hartstein, gefasst von Metallspangen, welche eine Verbindung zwischen dem Schaft und dem metallenen Kupperand mit den in kyrillischer Schrift eingravierten Einsetzungsworten Jesu herstellen. Andererseits lassen sie in der Formgebung von Fuß und Schaft deutlich das Aufgreifen westlich-gotischer Gestaltungsmotive erkennen: Der erste (**Abb. 14**), 1329 datiert, entstand im Auftrag des Nowgoroder Erzbischofs Moses (amt. 1324-1330)²⁷. Hier folgen insbesondere die Ausbildungen von Fuß und Schaft, deren glatten Flächen unmittelbar ineinander übergehen, und



Abb. 15 Kelch des Großfürsten Wassili II. Wassiljewitsch für das Dreifaltigkeits-Sergius-Kloster in Sergijew Possad, Moskau, Goldschmied Ivan Fomine 1439, Staatliches Museum Sergijew Possad. – (Nach Kat. Paris 2010 Nr. 152).

der Nodus mit seinen edelsteinverzierten Rotuli »westlichen« Modellen. Besonders deutlich zeigt sich dies zudem bei der durchbrochenen Fußzarge, welche die Arkadendurchbrüche westlich-gotischer Kelche imitiert. Der zweite, rund ein Jahrhundert jüngere Kelch (**Abb. 15**) entstand laut Inschrift 1439 im Auftrag von Großfürst Wassili II. Wassiljewitsch dem Blinden (reg. 1425-1462) als Stiftung für das Dreifaltigkeits-Sergius-Kloster in Sergijew Possad durch den Moskauer Goldschmied Ivan Fomine²⁸. Während der feine Filigranrankendekor unterhalb der Inschrift am Kupperand unmittelbar an Hauptwerke der russisch-byzantinischen Goldschmiedekunst wie etwa den Ikonenbeschlag (Thringion/Oklad) der Muttergottes von Wladimir, gestiftet vom Moskauer Patriarchen Photios (amt. 1408-1431) zwischen 1410 und 1431²⁹, anzuschließen ist, folgt Ivan Fomine in der Motivik des unmittelbar darunter angrenzenden Kreuzblattfrieses westlich-gotischen Formen. Auch die Formgebung des Schaftes mit melonenförmigem Nodus sowie der Achtpassfuß mit breitem Standing und Stäbchenfries an der Zarge, der sich am Schaftansatz wiederholt, folgt zeitgenössischen gotischen Gestaltungsformen des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts.

27 Moskau, Kreml-Museen, Inv.-Nr. ΔΚ-17; siehe Kat. Paris 2010, 276-277 Nr. 110 (I. A. Sterligova).

28 Sergijew Possad, Staatliches Museum für Kunst und Geschichte, Inv.-Nr. 325-IXO; siehe Kat. Paris 2010, 354-355 Nr. 152 (G. P. Tcherkachina).

29 Moskau, Kreml-Museen, Inv.-Nr. M3-1149; siehe Sterligova, *Byzantine Antiquities* 157-169 Nr. 17 (L. A. Ščenikova / I. A. Sterligova).



Abb. 16 Katzion, byzantinisch, 2. Hälfte des 13. Jhs., Benaki Museum Athen – (© Benaki Museum Athen).

Das Aufgreifen westlicher Goldschmiedetechniken

Neben der Integration aus dem westeuropäischen Bereich importierter Goldschmiedewerke in eigene Arbeiten oder zumindest deren Imitation tritt auch die Übernahme typischer westlicher Goldschmiedetechniken. Dies zeigt sich etwa bei einem Katzion (Weihrauchgefäß) aus der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts (Abb. 16), heute im Benaki Museum in Athen³⁰. Sein breiter Griff ist mit Darstellungen der Soldatenheiligen Theodoros und Demetrios verziert, die den konventionellen Darstellungsformen mittelbyzantinischer Zeit folgen. Hier weist jedoch die Herstellung die Rezeption westeuropäischer Techniken auf: Die gravierten Darstellungen der Soldatenheiligen stehen vor einem emaillierten Grund in Grubenschmelztechnik. Die Verwendung von Kupfer als Trägermetall verbindet sie mit zeitgenössischen Emailarbeiten

³⁰ Athen, Benaki-Museum, Inv.-Nr. 11469; siehe Buckton, *Byzantine Enamel* 47-49. – Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 347-348. – Kat. New York 2004, 128-129 Nr. 65 (A. Ballian). – Kat. Schallaburg 2018, 230 Nr. 192 (A. Drandaki).



Abb. 17 Liturgischer Diskos des Thomas Preljubović, letztes Drittel des 14. Jhs., Kloster Megisti Lavra Athos. – (Nach Durand, *Innovations gothiques* Abb. 8).



Abb. 18 Liturgischer Diskos des Thomas Preljubović, letztes Drittel des 14. Jhs., Kloster Vatopaidi Athos. – (Nach Kat. Athen 2013, 151 Abb. 70).

aus Limoges³¹, die damals europaweit exportiert wurden. Daher verwundert es auch nicht, dass über die technischen Gemeinsamkeiten hinaus auch Gestaltungselemente von diesen übernommen werden: So findet sich auf den Limousiner Emailarbeiten seit den 1220er Jahren das Gestaltungsprinzip, die größeren Freiflächen der Emailgründe durch Blattranken

³¹ Aus der vielfältigen Literatur sei hier nur auf folgende Publikationen verwiesen: *Les émaux limousins* und Kat. Paris/New York 1995.



Abb. 19 Kelch des Thomas Preljubović, letztes Drittel des 14. Jhs., Kloster Vatopaidi Athos. – (Nach Kat. Athen 2013, 151 Abb. 70).

zu strukturieren – Jannic Durand verwies unter den zahlreichen erhaltenen Objekten zum Vergleich u. a. auf eine Stifterdarstellung auf einem 1267 datierten Tragaltar, heute im Nationalmuseum in Warschau³².

Die Übernahme zweifelsfrei westlicher Goldschmiedetechniken lässt sich für das 14. Jahrhundert beispielhaft



Abb. 20 Kelch des Papstes Nikolaus IV., Guccio di Mannaia um 1288/1292, Schatz von San Francesco in Assisi – (Nach Callori di Vignale/Santamaria, Calice 16 Abb. 1).

belegen anhand zweier liturgischer Diskoi, die von Thomas Preljubović an die Athos-Klöster Megisti Lavra und Vatopaidi gestiftet wurden. Preljubović (griechisch: Thomas Komnenos Palaiologos) übernahm 1366 als Gouverneur die Verteidigung von Ioannina, der Hauptstadt des serbischen Despotats von Epiros, und regierte dieses bis zu seiner Ermordung 1384. Die beiden Diskoi können somit in die Zeit zwischen 1366 und 1384 datiert werden. In ihrer Grundanlage mit acht Halbkreisbögen folgen beide der traditionellen Form der liturgischen Diskoi aus mittelbyzantinischer Zeit, wie ihn besonders markant der Halberstädter Diskos aus der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts vertritt³³. Der Bilddekor auf dem Diskos im Kloster Megisti Lavra (**Abb. 17**)³⁴ ist lediglich graviert und ziseliert und folgt den überlieferten byzantinischen Bildformeln: Die Darstellung des Schmerzensmannes im zentralen Sechspass entspricht dem Ikonentypus »Akra Tapeinosis«, wie ihn u. a. die Ende des 13./Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts entstandene spätbyzantinische Mosaikikone von Santa Croce in Jerusalem in Rom vertritt³⁵. Der zweite Diskos des Thomas Preljubović im Kloster Vatopaidi (**Abb. 18**)³⁶ zeigt hingegen

³² Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 347-348, dazu Abb. 24.

³³ Dazu grundlegend Hecht, Halberstadt.

³⁴ Loverdou-Tsagarida, *Objets précieux*. – Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 339-341, dazu Abb. 8. – Ballian, *Implements* 118-119 (Lit.).

³⁵ Kat. New York 2004, 221-222 Nr. 131 (H. C. Evans). – Kat. London 2008, 260-261 (Abb.) und 437 (Text) Nr. 228.

³⁶ Loverdou-Tsagarida, *Objets précieux*. – Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 339-341, dazu Abb. 7. – Ballian, *Implements* 118-119. – Kat. Athen 2013, 151 (H. Kempkens).



Abb. 21 Kelch und Patene, Perugia, Cataluccio da Todi, um 1375, Galleria nazionale dell'Umbria Perugia. – (Nach Rossi, Goldschmiedekunst Tafel XV).

emaillierten Bilddekor: Im Zentrum eine Darstellung der Be-
weining (Threnos) und in den Halbkreisen trauende Engel,
auch hier jeweils in den traditionellen byzantinischen Bildfor-
meln – gefertigt jedoch in der aus dem Westen über Venedig
importierten Technik des transluziden Tiefschnittemails (*émail
translucide sur basse-taille*); es wird sogar erwogen, dass die
Ausführung möglicherweise in den Händen westlicher, aus
Venedig oder Dalmatien geholter Goldschmiede lag³⁷. Die
Technik des transluziden Tiefschnittemails tritt zuerst in Italien
auf, als frühestes heute noch fassbares Zeugnis gilt der Kelch
des Papstes Nikolaus IV. (amt. 1288-1292) im Schatz von
San Francesco in Assisi (Abb. 20), gefertigt von Guccio di

Mannaia (tätig 1288-1322)³⁸. Diese innovative Emailtechnik
gelangte über Siena um 1325 nach Venedig³⁹ und von dort
weiter in den östlichen Mittelmeerraum.

Die Emailtechnik wurde – das sei hier besonders betont –
in Italien auch zur kostbaren Ausgestaltung von Patenen
verwendet, wie das Beispiel der um 1375/1380 entstandenen
Patene des Goldschmiedes Cataluccio da Todi (um 1340 bis
um 1419) aus San Domenico in Perugia (Abb. 21), heute
in der Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia, belegt⁴⁰.
Ihre starkfarbigen Emails zeigen im Zentrum eine vielfiguri-
ge Kreuzigung, in den Medaillons auf dem Rand weitere
Passionsszenen.

37 So Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 341.

38 Dazu grundlegend: Callori di Vignale/Santamaria, *Calice*.

39 Gauthier, *Émaux* 206-226. – Mariani Canova, *Smalto*. – Ballian, *Implements* 119.
Vgl. auch Morozzi, *Smalti* und Cioni, *Scultura e smalti*.

40 Dazu u. a. Rossi, *Goldschmiedekunst* 18 und Tafel XV. Zu Cataluccio da Todi:
Schepers, da Todi.

Die Übernahme westlicher Techniken in Kombination mit dem Aufgreifen westlicher Gestaltungsformen

Der zur genannten Patene gehörige Kelch des Cataluccio da Todi (Abb. 21) stellt zudem ein gutes Vergleichsbeispiel für den ebenfalls um 1370/1380 gefertigten Kelch des Thomas Preljubović im Kloster Vatopaidi (Abb. 19) dar⁴¹. Hier ging der Goldschmied gegenüber den beiden Patenen einen Schritt weiter: Neben der Übernahme und Anwendung westlicher Techniken tritt hier auch ein Aufgreifen westlicher Gestaltungsformen auf. Wie die Gegenüberstellung mit dem Kelch des Cataluccio da Todi zeigt, greift der Kelch des Thomas Preljubović die – in vielen weiteren Beispielen belegte – Grundform eines zeitgenössischen italienischen Kelches der Gotik auf: Ein Sechspassfuß mit zwischengeschalteten Sternspitzen, ein ebenfalls sechseckiger Schaft, darin eingefügt ein gedrückter Kugelnodus mit vortretenden Rotuli, sodann ein separater, dekorierte Kuppel-Korb, in dem eine parabelförmige Kuppel ruht. Ihr – bei westlichen Kelchen nicht üblicher – Deckel ist von einem Kranz aufrechtstehender Kreuzlilienblätter eingefasst, wie er bei gotischen Goldschmiedearbeiten häufig anzutreffen ist, so auch bei venezianischen Werken⁴². Hinzu kommt der figürliche Dekor: die vollplastische Figur des thronenden Christus auf der Deckelspitze, als Flachreliefs angelegte halbfigurige Engel-Appliken mit italienischen Zügen unterhalb des Schaftansatzes, außerdem an Fuß, Schaft, Kuppel-Korb und Deckel angebrachte transluzide Tiefschnittemails mit Einzelfiguren und szenischen Darstellungen. Diese werden an Fuß und Kuppel-Korb eingefasst von Rahmungen aus aufgestifteten Perlen nach venezianischem Muster, wie sie aber auch das ebenfalls von Thomas Preljubović und seiner Frau Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina gestiftete Diptychon (Abb. 22), heute im Schatz der Kathedrale von Cuenca in Spanien, zur Einfassung der zentralen Darstellungen Christi und Mariens zeigt. Dessen Malereien und die zweifellos gleichzeitige, rein byzantinische Fassung aus silbervergoldeten Beschlägen mit Edelsteinbesatz dürften vermutlich zwischen 1382 und 1384 wohl in Konstantinopel, eventuell aber auch in den Meteora-Klöstern entstanden sein⁴³.

Aufgreifen und eigenständige Adaption westlicher Gestaltungsformen

Ein Aufgreifen und eine darüber hinaus gehende eigenständige Adaption westlicher Gestaltungsformen lässt sich hervorragend an einer der bekanntesten Goldschmiedearbeiten

aus palaiologischer Zeit aufzeigen, am Kelch des Manuel Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (Abb. 23)⁴⁴, den dieser dem Vatopaidi-Kloster auf dem Athos gestiftet hat. Manuel war ein Sohn von Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakouzenos (reg. 1347–1354, gest. 1383) und regierte von 1349 bis 1380 das Despotat von Morea mit Sitz in Mystras.

Die Kuppel des Kelches besteht aus poliertem Jaspis, dem ein Schutz vor vergifteten Getränken nachgesagt wurde, so dass angenommen wird, es könnte sich ursprünglich um ein profanes Gefäß gehandelt haben; dieses dürfte italienischen, vielleicht venezianischen Ursprungs sein. Auf der schmalen Montierung des Gefäßrandes sind die Einsetzungsworte gemäß der Liturgie des hl. Basilios wiedergegeben. Auf dem achteckigen Fuß finden sich vier Monogramme, gebildet aus jeweils kreuzförmig angeordneten Buchstaben. Dabei können die Buchstaben $\text{M} \Delta \text{K} \Pi$ zu »Manuel Despotēs Kantakouzenos Palaiologos« aufgelöst werden⁴⁵. Die vier übrigen Medaillons enthalten Halbfiguren der vier Hierarchen Athanasios, Basilios, Johannes Chrysostomos und Gregor von Nazianz. Diese folgen ikonographisch den traditionellen byzantinischen Darstellungsmodi. Den Nodus zieren spiralförmige Blattranken sowie Medaillons mit alternierenden Kreuzblattformen und mythologischen Tieren. Nodus und Kuppel-Rand verbinden elegant geschwungene Drachen, deren Schwänze ebenfalls in kleinen Drachenköpfen enden.

Wie bereits angedeutet, lässt sich an diesem Stück eine eigenständige byzantinische Adaption westlicher Gestaltungsformen beobachten. So folgt der Grundaufbau westlichem Muster: Achtseitig angelegter Fuß und Schaft mit Nodus, darauf die runde Kuppel, deren metallener Rand wie bei gotischen Goldschmiedewerken auf der Außenseite durchbrochen gestaltet ist; auch die Drachenhaken sind westeuropäischen, wohl venezianischen Ursprungs. Dafür spricht der Vergleich mit dem bereits vorgestellten, um 1400 gefertigten venezianischen Bergkristall-Gefäß mit Drachenhaken (Abb. 5), das ebenfalls im Kloster Vatopaidi verwahrt wird (s. o.). Byzantinischen Gestaltungsmodi entsprechen hingegen die kräftigen, fast harten Formen von Fuß, Schaft und Nodus, die Oberflächengestaltung, bei der glatte und reich ornamentierte Bereiche kontrastierend nebeneinander stehen, außerdem – wie bereits angesprochen – das ikonographische Programm mit den vier Hierarchen wie auch die Platzierung der Monogramme des Stifters. All dies macht den Jaspis-Kelch des Klosters Vatopaidi zu einem Hauptwerk der Goldschmiedekunst der Palaiologenzeit.

Anzuschließen ist hier ein weiterer Kelch mit dem seltenen Motiv der Drachenhaken, der jedoch erst etwa 150 Jahre später entstanden ist: der Kelch des Hegumenos Paul in Niko-

41 Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Minor Art* 279. – Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Objets précieux*. – Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 339–340, dazu Abb. 6. – Ballian, *Implements* 119–120 (Lit.).

42 Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 340 verweist zum Vergleich auf eng verwandte venezianische Arbeiten wie die Krone im Franziskanerkloster in Trogir (dt. Trau) und diejenige des Simeon-Reliquiars in Zadar, beide in Kroatien.

43 Cuenca, Diözesanmuseum; siehe Bermejo Díez, *Reliquien-Diptychon*. – Kat. New York 2004, 52–53 Nr. 24c (A. Weyl Carr; Lit.). – Ballian, *Implements* 120.

44 Athos, Kloster Vatopaidi; siehe Kat. Thessaloniki 1997, 302–303 Nr. 9.14 (K. Loverdou-Tsigarida; Lit.). – Durand, *Innovations gothiques* 338–339, dazu Abb. 5, 20. – Ballian, *Implements* 119–120 (Lit.).

45 Vgl. die Monogramme Manuels in der von ihm gestifteten Hagia Sophia in Mystras. Siehe dazu Chatzidakis, *Mistra* 69–71.



Abb. 22 Diptychon des Thomas Preljubović und der Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina, Konstantinopel oder Meteora, um 1382/1384, Diözesanmuseum Cuenca/E. – (© Alamy Ltd.).



Abb. 23 Kelch des Manuel Palaiologos Kantakuzenos, byzantinisch, um 1350/1380, Kloster Vatopaidi Athos. – (Nach Kat. Thessaloniki 1997 Nr. 9.14).

sia (**Abb. 24**)⁴⁶. Dieser wurde laut der umlaufenden Inschrift auf dem Nodus 1506 von dem Hieromonachos (Priestermönch) und Hegoumenos (Abt) Paul einem Kloster des hl. Mamas, wohl demjenigen in Morphou auf Zypern, gestiftet. Der Stifter ist auf einem Medaillon rechts zu Seiten des Klosterpatrons dargestellt, sein Pendant bildet eine Darstellung des ausführenden Goldschmiedes Paschalis, was von einem gewissen Selbstbewusstsein zeugt. Der Kelch besitzt einen steilen Sechspassfuß mit Sternspitzen, der sechseckige Schaft wird von einem mächtigen Kugelnodus unterbrochen, darüber folgt die parabelförmige Kuppel. Zwei zierliche, detailliert durchgearbeitete geschwungene Drachen verbinden diese mit dem Fuß. Dessen Medaillons zeigen neben der bereits erwähnten Dreiergruppe aus Kirchenpatron, Stifter und Goldschmied als weitere Dreiergruppe eine Deesis. In den Rankendekor des Nodus sind zwölf Medaillons mit den Aposteln eingefügt. Die gravierte und ziselierte Kuppelwand zieren vier von Flechtbändern gerahmte Medaillonfelder mit christologischen Darstellungen, die auf die Eucharistie Bezug nehmen: Kreuzabnahme, Auferstehung, den Melismos (Christus als Kind auf dem Opferaltar) sowie das Christkind im Kelch, angebetet von Engeln. Unter dem Kuppelrand verläuft auch hier die bei orthodoxen Kelchen übliche Inschrift mit den Einsetzungsworten Jesu. Die in griechischer Sprache und Schrift verfassten Inschriften weisen eindeutig auf den orthodoxen Kontext des Kelches, ebenso das Bildprogramm. Dieses folgt dabei teilweise jedoch westlichen Darstellungsformeln, so etwa bei der Auferstehung anstelle der im orthodoxen Bereich üblichen Anastasis mit der Höllenfahrt Christi. Auch beim Gesamtaufbau und den Details wie der Gestaltung des Fußes mit den Sternspitzen und der durchbrochenen Zarge sowie dem sechseckigen Schaft folgt der Goldschmied westlichen Mustern. Dennoch scheint es weniger wahrscheinlich, dass der Goldschmied Paschalis ein zugewanderter »Franke« war, sondern eher ein einheimischer Zypriot, dem jedoch die Techniken und Gestaltungsformen der westlich-gotischen Goldschmiedekunst vertraut waren, was sich auch in der Verwendung der Flächenornamente zeigt, die zwar die westlichen Vorbilder erkennen lassen, diese jedoch nicht exakt reproduzieren. Diese hier angenommene Rezeption westlicher Gestaltungsmuster durch einheimische Kunsthandwerker ist im ehemaligen Kreuzfahrerstaat Zypern, seit 1489 unter venezianischer Herrschaft stehend, auch nicht weiter verwunderlich, wo es bis zur osmanischen Eroberung 1571 zu einem regen kulturellen Austausch zwischen der herrschenden lateinischen Oberschicht und der griechischen Urbevölkerung gekommen ist – dies zeigt sich auch in anderen Kunstgattungen jener Zeit wie etwa der Wand- und Ikonenmalerei⁴⁷.



Abb. 24 Kelch des Hegoumenos Paul, Zypern, Goldschmied Paschalis 1506, Byzantinisches Museum Nikosia. – (Nach Kat. Paris 2012 Nr. 175).

Ein weiteres markantes Beispiel für die Adaption westlicher Gestaltungsideen bildet das Aufgreifen des im lateinischen Westen entstandenen Reliquiartypus der »Redenden Reliquiare«, also der körperteilnachbildenden Reliquienbehälter, wodurch die Unversehrtheit des Heiligenleibes wiederhergestellt und zumeist die darin enthaltene Reliquie in besonderer Weise veranschaulicht werden soll. Die am weitesten verbreiteten Reliquiarformen bilden dabei Büsten- und Armreliquiare⁴⁸. Ihre Adaption in der spätbyzantinischen Goldschmiedekunst soll hier anhand zweier Armreliquiare aus Sis und Genua aufgezeigt werden. Das heute in Antelias im Libanon verwahrte Armreliquiar des hl. Nikolaus (**Abb. 25**) wurde laut Inschrift 1325 (oder 1315?) gestiftet⁴⁹. Es stammt aus

46 Nikosia, Byzantinisches Museum der Stiftung Erzbischof Makarios III., Inv.-Nr. BMIAM.301; siehe Ballian, *Implements* 119. – Kat. Paris 2012, 366–367 Nr. 175 (I. Eliades).

47 Siehe dazu zuletzt die einzelnen Beiträge im Kat. Paris 2012.

48 Immer noch grundlegend dazu: Braun, *Reliquiare* 380–458. – Einen Überblick über byzantinische Armreliquiare gibt Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Helping Hands*. –

Siehe zu mittelalterlichen Reliquiartypen allgemein Beuckers/Kemper, *Typen mittelalterlicher Reliquiare*; zu den Armreliquiaren insbesondere den dortigen Beitrag von Klein, *Apostel-Armreliquiar*.

49 Armenisches Katholikosat des Großen Hauses von Kilikien, Antelias, Libanon; siehe Kat. New York 2004, 136–137 Nr. 72 (A. Ballian; Lit.).



Abb. 25 Armreliquiar des hl. Nikolaus aus Sis, Kleinarmenien, 1325, Katholikosat der Armenischen Kirche Antelias. – (Nach Kat. New York 2004 Nr. 72).

dem Sophienkloster in Sis, der Hauptstadt des Armenischen Königreichs von Kilikien, genannt Königreich Kleinarmenien. Die unterhalb des Handgelenkes umlaufende armenische Inschrift benennt die Entstehung unter dem Regenten Oschin von Kyrikos (reg. 1320-1329) und die Stiftung durch den Katholikos von Kilikien, Konstantin IV. (amt. 1323-1326), der ein Anhänger Oschins war. Das heute existierende Armreliquiar wurde 1926 aus Fragmenten verschiedener armenischer Reliquiare zusammengesetzt, dennoch ist der Kernbestand aussagekräftig. Auch die Hand mit der Medaillondarstellung des hl. Nikolaus auf dem Handrücken ist authentisch. Zu betonen ist, dass die Hand – wie bei westeuropäischen Armreliquiaren – realistisch gestaltet ist mit einer detaillierten Angabe von Fingernägeln und Hautfalten.

Das zweite Beispiel, das Armreliquiar der hl. Anna, befindet sich im Domschatz zu Genua (**Abb. 26**)⁵⁰. Bis 1810 gehörte es dem Franziskanerkloster Nostra Signora del Monte in Genua. Dorthin gelangte es 1461 aus Pera, der genuesischen Schwesterstadt Konstantinopels am Goldenen Horn, deren Kirchenschätze noch rechtzeitig vor der osmanischen Eroberung in Sicherheit gebracht werden konnten. Das Reliquiar besteht aus der vollplastischen, aber nicht allzu detailliert durchgearbeiteten Hand und dem Arm von ovalem Querschnitt und gleichbleibender Breite. Dieser wird – einen Stoffärmel andeutend – auf der Innenseite von edelsteinbesetzten Schmuckbändern eingefasst und weist einen aufwändigen reliefierten Flächendekor aus einem Rapport von Palmetten, begleitenden Spiralranken und Flechtbandmotiven auf. Die Außenseite hingegen wird fast völlig von einer verglasten Schauöffnung eingenommen, die die Armreliquie der hl. Anna vollständig sichtbar macht. Die Unterseite des Armes ist mit einem Medallion mit sternförmigen Flechtbanddekor verziert und ist zudem gewölbt, sodass das Armreliquiar, anders als seine westlichen Vorbilder, nicht aufgestellt werden kann! Dies zeigt an, dass das Armreliquiar zwar offenbar zum Segnen verwendet wurde, jedoch nicht, wie in der lateinischen Kirche üblich, während des Gottesdienstes gut sichtbar auf den Altar gestellt wurde.

Mit westlichen Armreliquiaren verbindet das Annen-Reliquiar die große Schauöffnung, die hier wie dort vom im 14. Jahrhundert verstärkt aufkommenden Schaubedürfnis der Gläubigen und Pilger zeugt. Die Dekoration hingegen entspricht völlig den Gestaltungsmerkmalen der spätbyzantinischen Goldschmiedekunst, wie ein Vergleich der reliefierten Flächendekore des Ärmels mit dem Ikonenbeschlag (Thringion) einer Ikone der Maria Hodegetria in der Tretjakow-Galerie in Moskau belegt⁵¹. Dieser wurde Ende des 13./Anfang

⁵⁰ Genua, Museo del Tesoro di San Lorenzo; dazu grundlegend Ameri, Reliquiario.

⁵¹ So bereits Ameri, Reliquiario 178. Zur Hodegetria-Ikone: Moskau, Tretjakow-Galerie, Inv.-Nr. 22722, OS 118; siehe Kat. New York 2004, 28-30 Nr. 4 (E. Gladysheva). – Kat. Paris 2010, 347-348 Nr. 146 (E. K. Gousseva).

des 14. Jahrhunderts in Konstantinopel gefertigt. Aufgrund dieses und weiterer Vergleiche kann auch für das Armreliquiar der hl. Anna in Genua eine Entstehung zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts angenommen werden. Gianluca Ameri mutmaßt zudem eine Verbindung zu Johanna von Savoyen (um 1306-1365), seit 1326 als Gemahlin des nachmaligen Kaisers Andronikos III. Palaiologos (reg. 1328-1341) und unter dem Namen Anna Palaiologina byzantinische Kaiserin (1341 bis 1347 Regentin für ihren Sohn Johannes V.). Die Herstellung in einer im »lateinischen« Pera (Galata) ansässigen Goldschmiedewerkstatt, die in westlichen und byzantinischen Formen arbeiten konnte, wie sie Ameri vorschlägt⁵², erscheint hingegen wenig wahrscheinlich in Anbetracht der völlig byzantinischen Ausgestaltung aller Details und der Tatsache, dass das Armreliquiar nicht aufgestellt werden kann – ein Umstand, den ein westlich geschulter Goldschmied zweifellos vermieden hätte.

Aufgreifen westlicher Gestaltungen bei der Herstellung von Schmuck

Neben sakralen Goldschmiedearbeiten wie liturgischem Gerät und Reliquiaren gehören auch die besonders mobilen und zudem stärker den wechselnden Moden unterworfenen profanen Goldschmiedearbeiten aus dem Bereich des Körperschmucks zu denjenigen Arbeiten der Goldschmiedekunst, bei denen ebenfalls eine deutliche Adaption westlicher Gestaltungsmodelle in byzantinischen Werken zu beobachten ist. Beispielhaft dafür seien hier zwei Fingerringe aus dem Schmuck-Hortfund von Thessaloniki in der Sammlung Stathatos, heute im Nationalmuseum Athen, angeführt, die im 12. oder frühen 13. Jahrhundert entstanden sein dürften⁵³. Der eine besitzt eine sechseckige Platte mit leicht eingeschwungenen Seiten, deren Oberfläche einen Dekor aus niellierten Spiralranken und Fächerblättern besitzt. Ringtypus und Details sind dabei auch von französischen Gestaltungsmustern inspiriert. Dasselbe gilt für den zweiten Ring, dessen achteckiger pyramidalen Ringkopf einen niellierten Dekor aufweist, der gotische Dreipässe rezipiert. Die Vermittlung dieser westlichen Schmucktypen und ihrer Gestaltungen dürfte hier über die seit 1204 auf vormals byzantischem Territorium bestehenden Kreuzfahrerstaaten erfolgt sein.

52 Ameri, Reliquiario 191. 196.

53 Athen, Nationalmuseum, Sammlung Stathatos, Inv.-Nr. Στ 474, Στ 470. – Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck 317 Nrn. 200 u. 239. – Grundlegend dazu Bosselmann-Ruickbie, A 13th-century Jewellery Hoard.



Abb. 26 Armreliquiar der hl. Anna, Konstantinopel, 14. Jh., Domschatz Genua. – (Nach Ameri 2009 Abb. 1).



Abb. 27 Kelch des Patriarchen Theoleptos II., postbyzantinisch/osmanisch, Goldschmied Rizas um 1580/1590, Kanellopoulos Museum Athen. – (Nach Kat. New York 2004 Nr. 271).

Ausblick

Ein abschließender Ausblick in die nachfolgende post-byzantinische Zeit führt vor Augen, dass es in dieser Periode, die nicht mehr von einer eigenständigen byzantinischen Staatlichkeit geprägt war, im fortgeführten sakralen Kunstschaffen auf dem Gebiet der Goldschmiedekunst zu einem Verschmelzen von Gestaltungsformen aus allen drei im östlichen Mittelmeerraum prägenden Hochkulturen kam: der griechisch-byzantinischen, der westlich-lateinischen und der osmanisch-orientalischen. Dies zeigt beispielhaft der Kelch des Patriarchen Theoleptos II. (amt. 1583-1587) aus dem Kloster Saga auf Naxos (**Abb. 27**), der um 1580/1590 von dem Goldschmied Rizas gefertigt wurde⁵⁴: Byzantinisch ist die Verwendung umfangreicher griechischer Inschriften, westlich die Grundform nach gotischem Gestaltungsschema (Achtpassfuß mit breitem Standring und durchbrochener Zarge, Schaft, Nodus, Kuppa-Korb, Kuppa), osmanisch sind schließlich die feinen ornamentalen Flächengestaltungen, insbesondere Halbpalmetten (sog. Rumi), an Fuß, Nodus und Kuppa.

Dieses symbiotische Zusammenführen von Gestaltungselementen unterschiedlicher kultureller Herkunft in einem Werk bildet somit den konsequenten Schlusspunkt einer zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts beginnenden Auseinandersetzung mit westlich-lateinischen Formen in der spätbyzantinischen Goldschmiedekunst, die über den Import lateinischer Goldschmiedewerke und das Aufgreifen von westlichen Techniken zu einer Adaption und Aneignung westlich-gotischer Gestaltungsformen führte, die auch über den Untergang der byzantinischen Teilreiche hinaus fortgeführt wurden.

⁵⁴ Athen, Paul and Alexandra Kanellopoulos Museum, Inv.-Nr. 1015; siehe Kat. New York 2004, 446-447 Nr. 271 (A. Ballian).

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On the Reception of Latin Goldsmiths' Works in the Late Byzantine Cultural Sphere

The reception of Gothic forms from Central Europe in Late Byzantine art, which has not been studied exhaustively yet, is presented here for the area of goldsmiths' works. Due to the increased presence of Western-Latin culture after the conquest of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the emerging Crusader states, more Western artefacts entered territories under Byzantine cultural dominance. They transported information on aesthetics and design of Western arts and crafts in these areas.

Different levels of reception, adaptation and appropriation can be noted: the first and most immediate form of reception are represented by objects imported from the West, which were adopted mostly unchanged for use in the Orthodox liturgy (figs 3-7). A particularly significant group are the »mixed objects«, i. e., objects of domestic production incorporating Western elements. In this case, single elements, such as a Western-style base of a chalice and late Gothic leaf wreaths, were integrated into locally made objects (figs 8-9).

In the next stage, Western ornaments and motifs were adopted in producing local goldsmiths' works, such as Gothic tracery friezes as ornament or the shape of Gothic chalices' bases (figs 10-15).

Beyond this purely formal imitation, however, the adoption of Western goldsmithing techniques can be noted, which reveals a deeper level of cultural exchange, for example, the adoption of the enamel techniques of *émail champlevé* in the style of Limousin enamels and the translucent *émail en basse taille* imported via Venice (figs 16-21). In addition, both of the aforementioned phenomena can be observed in the adoption of Western techniques in combination with the adoption of Western design forms, such as in chalice designs based on Italian types with translucent *émail en basse taille* (fig. 19). Next to them is a group of objects that show an independent adaptation of Western design elements, for example, chalices (figs 23-24) and arm reliquaries (figs 25-26).

In the production of jewellery, Western design elements can also be detected. These secular objects were much more open to changes in fashion. A perspective on the post-Byzantine era reveals a fusion of design elements from all three cultures that characterised this period in the Eastern Mediterranean: Greek-Byzantine, Latin-Gothic and Turkish-Ottoman (fig. 27).

Zur Rezeption westlich-lateinischer Goldschmiedekunst im spätbyzantinischen Kulturraum

Die in der Forschung bisher immer noch zu wenig thematisierte Rezeption westlich-gotischer Formen in der spätbyzantinischen Kunst wird hier für den Bereich der Goldschmiedekunst vorgestellt. Durch die vermehrte Präsenz westlich-lateinischer Kultur infolge der Eroberung Konstantinopels während des Vierten Kreuzzuges 1204 und den in der Folge entstehenden Kreuzfahrerstaaten kamen verstärkt westliche Artefakte in den byzantinischen Kulturraum, durch die leicht Kenntnisse über den Geschmack und über die Gestaltungsformen des westlich geprägten Kunsthandwerks gewonnen werden konnten.

Dabei zeichnen sich verschiedene Ebenen der Rezeption, der Adaption und Aneignung ab: Die erste und unmittelbare Form der Rezeption stellen westliche Importstücke dar, die zu meist unverändert in den Gebrauch der orthodoxen Liturgie übernommen wurden (Abb. 3-7). Eine besonders signifikante Gruppe bilden die »Mischobjekte«, also Objekte heimischer Produktion unter Einbeziehung westlicher Elemente. Hier werden einzelne Elemente westlicher Produktion wie Kelchfüße und spätgotische Blattkränze in die vor Ort gefertigten Objekte integriert (Abb. 8-9).

In der nächsten Stufe folgt das formale Aufgreifen westlicher Ornament- und Gestaltungsmotive in einheimischen Goldschmiedewerken, so von gotischen Maßwerkfriesen als ornamentales Motiv oder das Kopieren westlich-gotischer Kelchfüße (Abb. 10-15).

Über diese rein formale Imitation hinaus lässt sich jedoch auch ein Aufgreifen westlicher Goldschmiedetechniken nachweisen, was einen tiefergehenden kulturellen Austausch erkennen lässt, so die Übernahme der Emailtechniken des Grubenschmelzes in der Art Limousiner Emails und des über Venedig importierten transluziden Tiefschnittemails (Abb. 16-21). Daneben lassen sich auch beide vorgenannten Phänomene gemeinsam beobachten in der Übernahme westlicher Techniken in Kombination mit dem Aufgreifen westlicher Gestaltungsformen, so etwa bei Kelchen nach italienischem Vorbild mit transluziden Tiefschnittemails (Abb. 19). Daneben steht eine Gruppe von Werken, die eine eigenständige Adaption westlicher Gestaltungsformen erkennen lassen, etwa bei Kelchen (Abb. 23-24) und Armreliquiaren (Abb. 25-26).

Auch bei der Herstellung von Schmuck lässt sich ein Aufgreifen westlicher Gestaltungen beobachten, somit bei stärker der Mode unterworfenen profanen Goldschmiedearbeiten. Ein Ausblick in die postbyzantinische Epoche lässt schließlich zu jener Zeit ein Verschmelzen von Gestaltungsformen aus allen drei im östlichen Mittelmeerraum prägenden Hochkulturen erkennen: der griechisch-byzantinischen, der lateinisch-gotischen und der türkisch-osmanischen Kultur (Abb. 27).

14th-Century Gold Pendilia on a Byzantine Icon of the Hodegetria from the Moscow Kremlin Museums

The gold ornaments that survive from the Late Byzantine period are unique items. Among them are the pendilia that adorn the Byzantine icon of the Mother of God Hodegetria (fig. 1). This icon in the Cathedral of the Annunciation, the domestic church of the rulers of Moscow, was painted in the first third of the 14th century. It is still covered with the silver revetments made at the same time as it was painted in Constantinople or Thessaloniki, and various gold ornaments from the 14th to 16th centuries »added« to it by the grand princesses of Moscow¹. The pair of pendilia attached to Mary's crown were published with the attribution »Byzantium or the Balkans, 15th century«²; however, reasons to revise this have since come to light.

Pendant elements made of precious materials, attached to the headdress and derived from Byzantine pendilia, were an essential part of the ceremonial dress of Russian noblewomen and were known as *rjasy*³. Their artistic peculiarities and typology⁴ are known from archaeological finds of the Pre-Mongolian period (i. e., before the Tatar invasion in the 1230s). We know almost nothing about *rjasy* from the second half of the 13th century to the 15th century, and the *rjasy* of the 16th and 17th centuries belong to a completely different tradition, both in their construction and in the materials used.

An important link, allowing us to bridge the gap in the history of these ornaments, is provided by the *rjasy* of the Kremlin icon, which, judging by repairs to its cover and an exact Russian copy from the last quarter of the 15th century, was already venerated by the princes of Moscow in the 15th century. The gold *rjasy* (fig. 2) are an even earlier witness to this veneration. They are 9.5 cm long⁵, and their upper parts are formed of openwork figures of eagles, the sides of these being formed of broad ribbons, with very fine twisted wires welded onto the outlines, and the details of the figures made of similar wire. In the middle of the birds, there are openwork hemispheres made of segments of dou-

bled twisted wire, which are surmounted by tiny gold balls and each surrounded by a row of pearls. Attached to three loops at the bottom of the eagles' wings and tails are strings of pearls interspersed with rings made of gold balls welded together, and long openwork tubes; the *rjasy* end in tassels of complex strings of pearls.

There is nothing analogous to the luxurious *rjasy* of the Kremlin icon in Byzantine art, only partial parallels to the hemispheres in the middle of them, found in adornments of the Middle Byzantine period⁶, and likewise in Old Russian ones from the 13th century⁷ and those from the Golden Horde from the 14th century⁸.

There are no tubular elements in the Old Russian gold and silver tassel-shaped *rjasy* of the Pre-Mongolian period; in them the pendant chains alternated with beads in the form of spheres, teardrops, crescents, rosettes and circles (fig. 3). Both the upper parts and the beads of these *rjasy* were decorated with very fine wire, but there were no three-dimensional details made only of wire, and pearls are known to have been used only in one gold pendant found in 1958 in Černihiv⁹. There were no zoomorphic elements in the composition of these *rjasy*, which were typical of the *rjasy* of the 16th and 17th centuries, which often have their upper part in the form of a bird (a »little eagle«), and also little birds in their strings of pearls, as a result of which *rjasy* or earrings of this type came to be known as *orlički* or *orliki* (»little eagles«). There has been no research on the origin of this type of jewellery. Depictions of birds are among the most ancient motifs for earrings and pendilia, and we find such depictions in Byzantine earrings. However, three-dimensional openwork figures of birds are typical of the jewellery of the Middle East and Mongol Empire, as are other openwork three-dimensional elements of very fine twisted wire.

There are exact parallels to the details of the *rjasy* of the Kremlin icon in archaeological finds. Two gold openwork

1 Moscow Kremlin Museum, inv. no. Ж-1759/1-2. Dimensions 38 cm × 29.52 cm. For the description and bibliography of the icon and its adornments see: Sterligova, Kremlin Museums 340-346 no. 82.

2 Ibidem 340.

3 In the literature they are often called *rjasny*, but in Medieval documents only *rjasy*.

4 Rjabceva, Drevnerusskie ženskie 207.

5 The *rjasy* are slightly damaged, and the right-hand one has a hole with a loss of metal; the pearls were re-threaded in 1980.

6 Bosselmann-Ruickbie, Byzantinischer Schmuck cat. no. 217, 220. – Albani, Elegance 207 pl. 24.

7 The golden headband from the first third of the 13th c. found in 1988 in the grounds of St Michael's Monastery in Kiev: Pekarska, Jewellery Kiev 213 pl. 8.3.

8 Dated to the first half of the 14th c. See Sokrovišča Zolotoj Ordji: Katalog vystavji 309 no. 403-409.

9 Zolota skarbničia Ukraini 157 no. 105 (dated »12th-early 13th century«).



Fig. 1 Mother of God Hodegetria, icon with chased cover, Byzantium, first third of the 14th century, Moscow Kremlin Museums. – (© Moscow Kremlin Museums).

beads in the form of tubes of fine twisted wire (fig. 4) were found in Novgorod in a 14th-century stratum¹⁰. Each consists of six loops radiating from the rings at the ends and forming a sort of rosette, between which there are four rows of tiny rings, which, on the larger bead, are further separated by horizontal rows of wire. The carefulness of the work and the high quality of the welding, which allowed the artistic effect to be achieved with little expense of metal, show them to be the work of a highly skilled jeweller. The tubes of the Kremlin *rjasy* are analogous in form to those from Novgorod, but the »rosettes« at the end are formed of eight loops and between them there are three rows of figures of eight separated by horizontal rows of filigree. The similarity of technique and style leaves no doubt that the Novgorod tubes were part of a similar ornament, made at the same centre as the Kremlin *rjasy*.

Very similar to the *rjasy* of the Kremlin icon is a gold pendant in the form of a bird (fig. 5) and an openwork tube (fig. 6) found in the Volga region, in the territory of the Volga Bulgar *ulus* of the Golden Horde, from the 2010 Bulgar hoard, which is firmly dated to 1310-1380¹¹. They are also made of fine wire, but smooth, not twisted, and of gold ribbons, like the ribbons on the sides of the »little eagles« of the Kremlin, though executed less carefully than the latter, and they also have loops for attaching strings of pearls. Like the two tubes from Novgorod, the Bulgar gold details have no parallels among the products of local jewellers and were imported from the East: unregulated trade and the absence of borders within the Golden Horde stimulated the flow of Eastern jewellery into Volga Bulgar territories. It is not clear where these imports came from, but the Mongol viceroys at Bulgar acquired much jewellery from Central Asia and Iran. All that is clear is that the Kremlin icon *rjasy* make it possible to reconstruct the original appearance of the ornaments of which the pieces found at Bulgar formed a part.

The unique and fragmentary character of all these finds leaves open the question of the precise origin of the *rjasy* of the Kremlin icon. The typology of later Russia pearl pendilia quite definitely indicates a fashion that appeared and became widespread in Rus' while it was subject to the Golden Horde. Here, as in other countries conquered by the Juchids, there was quite a swift change in the leading elements of elite fashion. In the 14th century, the princes of Rus' became part of the elite of the Golden Horde and spent long periods at the Khan's encampment. Belonging to the aristocracy of the Horde clearly defined their external attributes: a tributary ruler was issued with a charter, which was confirmed by the Khan's grant, expressed in the gift of a quiver, sword or sabre, headdress, robe or kaftan, and belt¹². Female ornaments were also included in these gifts. High-status Old Russian



Fig. 2 Mother of God Hodegetria icon. Detail: gold *rjasy*, Middle East or Central Asia, 14th century. – (© Moscow Kremlin Museums).

jewellery from as early as the second half of the 13th century has been discovered among archaeological finds from the territory of the Volga Bulgars, conquered by the Mongols. Researchers connect its appearance there with the visits of Russian princes to the encampment of Batu Khan¹³. Similarly, jewellery from the Horde found its way to Russian territories. The sources record 69 journeys to the Horde by 26 princes in the first half of the 14th century; six marriages between Russian princes and noblewomen from the Horde are also known¹⁴. Pearl pendilia may have been part of the Khans' gifts.

At this time, the fashion for earrings and pendilia abundantly decorated with pearls, which had been introduced

10 Novgorod Museum and Heritage Site, no. КП 40618-19 and no. КП 45652-172, measuring 2.2 cm × 0.6 cm and 1.6 cm × 0.5 cm.

11 Rudenko, *Bulgarskoe srebro* 110 fig. 209; 222 fig. 366. I am very grateful to Konstantin Rudenko for providing me with photographs.

12 Seleznev, *Russkie knjaz'ja* 178.

13 Makarova, *Drevnej Rusi* 109-110 no. 299-307.

14 Seleznev, *Russkie knjaz'ja* 153.



Fig. 3 Centre: reconstruction of pendilia from beads. Left and right: 11th- and 12th-century gold *rjasy* found in Novgorod, Novgorod Museum, inv. no. КП. 25295-268, КП 26518-532, КП 33174/15, КП 33174/16, КП 25293-160 (© I. A. Sterligova).

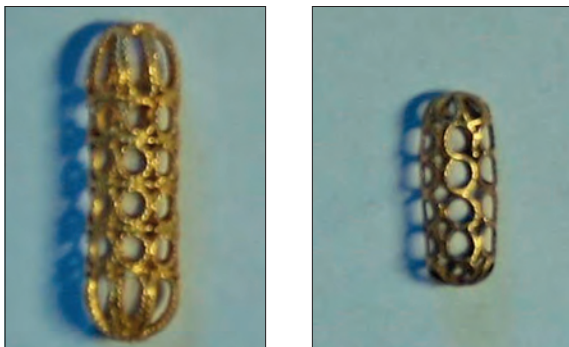


Fig. 4 Gold tubiform beads found at Novgorod, 14th century, Novgorod Museum and Heritage Site, inv. nos КП 40618-19, КП 45652-172. – (© Novgorod Museum and Heritage Site).



Fig. 6 Gold filigree bead found in 2010 at Bulgar, Bilär State Historical and Art Museum and Heritage Site, inv. no. 1342/412 apx. – (Photo K. A. Rudenko).



Fig. 5 Details of gold pendant ornaments found in 2010 at Bulgar, Bilär State Historical and Art Museum and Heritage Site, inv. no. 1341/412 apx. – (Photo K. A. Rudenko).



Fig. 7 A Mongol empress. Miniature from 14th-century China, Yuan Dynasty. National Palace Museum Taipei, Taiwan. – (From Cat. Bonn cat. no. 348).



Fig. 8 Gold *rjasy* from an unknown icon of the Mother of God, 14th century, Moscow Kremlin Museums, inv. no. MP-2643/1-2. – (© Moscow Kremlin Museums).



Fig. 10 Gold *rjasy* from an Old Russian icon of the Mother of God Hodegetria, 14th century, Moscow Kremlin Museums, inv. no. MP-9026/1-2. – (© Moscow Kremlin Museums).



Fig. 9 Gold *rjasy* from an Old Russian icon of the Mother of God Bogoljubskaja, 14th-15th century, Moscow Kremlin Museums, inv. no. MP-6200/1-2. – (© Moscow Kremlin Museums).

from China, was becoming widespread in the Golden Horde. They are believed to be derived from the symbolically significant ornaments of the Chinese empresses. The wearing of earrings and of pendilia on their headdresses of the empresses of the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) is reflected in the miniatures painted by Chinese artists at that time (fig. 7)¹⁵. Small golden *rjasy*, like those depicted in the miniature, adorned one of the icons in the Cathedral of the Annunciation¹⁶, the domestic church of the princes and tsars of Moscow, for several centuries (fig. 8). Regarding the technique, their openwork beads are close to the beads of the *rjasy* of the Hodegetria, and to the beads from Novgorod and from the Bulgar hoard. There are similar ones taken from the small 14th-century Kremlin icon (no longer extant) of the Mother of God Bogoljubskaja¹⁷ (fig. 9). A few extremely similar tubular beads are preserved as part of the small gold *rjasy* that used

to adorn a no longer extant icon of the Mother of God from the Cathedral of the Annunciation¹⁸ (fig. 10). Judging by the description of the adornments of this revered icon¹⁹, they may have been made in the 14th century. Both the beads and the heads of the *rjasy* from this icon, like the beads of the *rjasy* from the Byzantine icon, are decorated with »figures of eight« made of fine wire. All these *rjasy* were adornments added to a votive icon of the Mother of God belonging to the Muscovite princely family, which had been transferred to the church from their chambers, and had originally served as pendilia on the princesses' crown, indicative of their status.

The pendilia of the Kremlin icon are thus a surviving example of the 14th-century gold ornaments that were in fashion from Iran or Central Asia. They were imported into Rus' in the Mongol period and were the starting-point for the distribution of pearl *rjasy* in Muscovy.

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¹⁵ Cat. Bonn 2005, cat. no. 348.

¹⁶ Moscow Kremlin Museums, inv. no. MP-2643/1-2, length 11 cm; MP-6200/1-2, length 9 cm.

¹⁷ Moscow Kremlin Museums, inv. no. MP-6200/1-2, length 9 cm. See Carskij chram: Svjatyni Blagoveščenskogo sobora v Kremlje 104 no. 12.

¹⁸ Moscow Kremlin Museums, inv. no. MP-9026/1-2, length 10.5 cm; see ibidem 126-127 no. 23.

¹⁹ The inventory books of the Cathedral of the Annunciation in Moscow, 17th c., published in Archiv, second pagination, 12.

Summary / Zusammenfassung

14th-Century Gold Pendilia on a Byzantine Icon of the Hodegetria from the Moscow Kremlin Museums

This chapter concerns the attribution of golden pendants (*rjasy*) fixed on the crown of a Byzantine Hodegetria icon formerly belonging to a Muscovite Great Princess. Analogous details of gold decorations were found in Bilär (Volga Bulgaria) and Novgorod the Great that are dated to the 14th century from the archaeological context. This allowed a change in the dating of the pendants and connects this type of decoration with an oriental fashion spread in Rus' in the period of the Golden Horde. Furthermore, it fills the gap in the history of the development of ancient pendilia (*rjasy*) as a ceremonial headdress and changes the dating of several pearl pendants in the collection of the Moscow Kremlin Museums.

Goldanhänger des 14. Jahrhunderts an einer byzantinischen Hodegetria-Ikone im Moskauer Kremlin Museum

Dieser Aufsatz ist der Einordnung goldener Anhänger (*rjasy*) gewidmet, die an der Haube einer byzantinischen Hodegetria-Ikone befestigt sind, welche sich ursprünglich im Besitz einer Moskauer Großfürstin befand. Analoge Golddekorationen sind in Bilar (Wolgabulgarien) und Nowgorod gefunden worden und können aufgrund ihres archäologischen Kontexts in das 14. Jahrhundert datiert werden. Diese Funde erlauben eine Neudatierung der Anhänger und verbinden sie mit einer orientalischen Mode, die sich in der Rus' zur Zeit der Goldenen Horde verbreitete. Weiterhin füllen sie die Lücke in der Entwicklung der alten Pendilien (*rjasy*) als zeremoniellem Kopfschmuck und ändern die Datierung einiger Perlenanhänger in der Sammlung der Moskauer Kremlin Museen.

Beyond Jewellery: Archers' Rings in the Medieval Balkans (14th-15th Centuries)

At the command of the preceptor, the youthful Arjuna, equipped with leather protector for the finger, his quiver full of arrows, bow in hand, and wearing golden armour, performed the initial rites of propitiation and entered the arena like the evening cloud reflecting rays of the setting sun.
(Mahābhārata, Book 1. Ādi Parva)¹

Throughout the history of jewellery, certain types of rings had a particular function. It is especially true in the case of archers' rings – by their very form, they clearly point to a specific purpose². Yet, that is not all; there are different issues to be considered, especially when it comes to the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages. Although their appearance can be discussed in the context of military history, mainly the history of weapons and methods of warfare, the specific design and archaeological context in which examples are found may also reveal their social meaning.

Despite the complexity and the serious potential, archers' rings have not provoked great research interest, although specimens of rings were continuously published and, as a rule, properly identified (fig. 1). Therefore, the article of Anastassios Antonaras³ is very important and an inspiration for further study of these rings. Consequently, the aim of this chapter is to study the occurrence of this type of ring in a broader context, including its use and meaning in the Balkans, according to indications provided by archaeological findings. In this regard, the territory of Medieval Serbia is particularly illustrative due to its specific background, both political and cultural.

The Issues of Origin and Use

Creation of an archer's ring was in connection with the invention of a composite (reflex) bow; its origin is, most probably, in Central Asia during the 2nd-3rd centuries⁴. Contact with the Sarmatians and Alans around the Black Sea region may have been crucial to counter the Romans with the composite bow, which was much more efficient compared to the Roman long bow⁵. Composite bows are commonly

associated with the Scythians and Huns, then the Arabs and Avars, then through the late centuries of the Middle Ages with the Cumans and Mongols, and finally with the Ottoman Turks⁶. In these societies, skill in handling weapons was expressed in both warfare and hunting. In addition, it has been suggested that in Avar society the hunt was the privilege of the higher social strata and acted as a kind of military training⁷; the same can be presumed for all other mentioned horse archers. Such a status is confirmed by the visual data: in Persian iconography, the ruler is often represented hunting on horseback with a bow⁸.

There are some advantages that composite bows provide, particularly the longer range and higher speed of fire relative to other types of bow. According to some data, a skilled archer could successfully reach a distance of 300m with the composite bow, although the effective range would be c. 230m⁹. Since the bow is »loaded« from the right side and held in front of the chest (not to the shoulder as in the case of the long bow), the arrow follows a direct, shorter and flawless path to the string. With these two major advantages, the steppe horsemen gained superiority in archery.

The use of the composite bow meant a special pull-and-release technique where the major work is done by the thumb while the other fingers of the hand are involved in reinforcing the hold – hence the name »thumb release«. Since the thumb suffers the greatest pressure, a special protection was created. The term »archer's ring« should more precisely be »thumb ring« or »drawing ring«, because of the way it is worn, especially the position on the finger, and its function¹⁰. However, the term archer's ring occurs more often, and it always refers to the thumb ring, hence, »the thumb ring is the most important accessory required by the Turkish archer, for without it he is unable to shoot«¹¹.

1 The Mahābhārata 25.

2 This chapter results from the research project of the Institute of Archaeology Urbanisation Processes and Development of Mediaeval Society (no. 177021) funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

3 Antonaras, Archers' Rings.

4 Bivar, Cavalry Equipment 285; Nicolle, Medieval Warfare 34; Chiriac, Arcului reflex.

5 Bivar, Cavalry Equipment 283.

6 Bivar, Cavalry Equipment 282-283. – Klopsteg, Turkish Archery 19-20.

7 László, Avars 153-158.

8 Grotowski, Warrior Saints 83 (including references), and figs 10. 85.

9 Bivar, Cavalry Equipment 283. – Klopsteg, Turkish Archery 15-32.

10 Klopsteg, Turkish Archery 67.

11 Klopsteg, Turkish Archery 68.

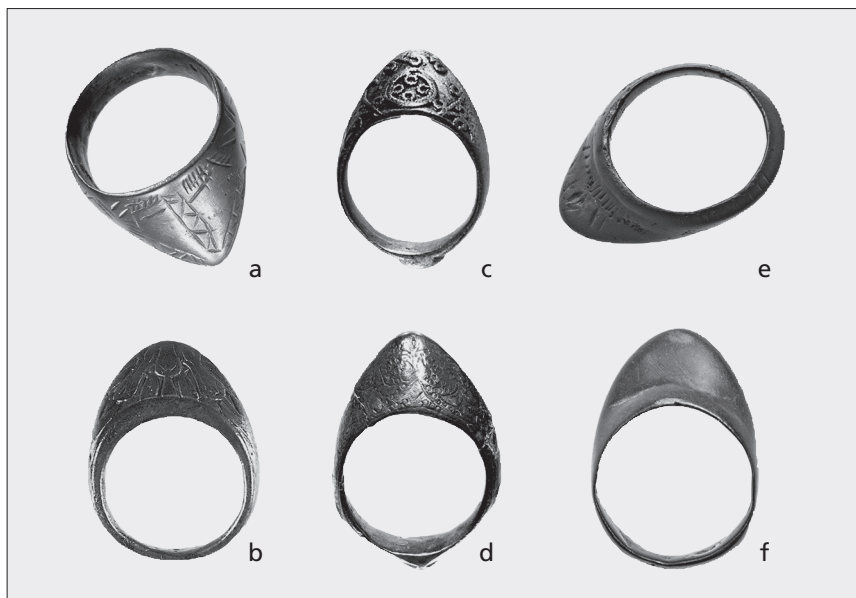


Fig. 1 Archers' rings from museum collections, 14th-15th centuries: **a-d** National Museum, Belgrade, inv. nos 344. 528. 1409. 1908; **e-f** Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade, inv. nos 165. 163. – (© Documentations of National Museum, Belgrade, and Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade).

There is no archaeological data on wearing protection for the thumb in Roman times or in the Early Middle Ages; the probable reason is the decay of the material, from which such a protection was made. The famous Arabic manuscript »Arab Archery« (presumably from c. 1500), describes these materials and the requirements for the rings:

»Thumb-tips are often made of the skin of horses or goats, or of other kinds of tanned hides, as well as of silver, copper, iron, bone and horn. The last variety is made b(y) taking a fine horn, large enough to hold the thumb, and cutting it down to the right size; then a piece is carved out to expose the nail and the knuckle of the thumb, and groove for the string is marked on the face of it. The same process is followed in making tips of silver or other metals.

The best thumb-tips, however, are made of leather of moderate thickness, neither too thick lest they interfere with the efficiency of shooting, nor too thin lest they fail to protect the thumb against the action of the string.

Leather tips are superior to those of silver and the other metals because they are soft and flexible and interfere least with the accuracy of shooting. Some archers, however, hold that tips of silver or of other metals are better than tips of leather in competitive and distance shooting. Tāhir al-Balkhi said that for distance shooting thick tips are better, while for accurate target shooting thin tips are superior. This is, in fact, correct¹².

There is no doubt that the statements of the citation emphasise the use of leather as the base material for archers' rings. According to the Turkish tradition, it was made of ram's horn¹³. Nevertheless, the rings made of metal, especially of silver, were very popular during the late Medieval period.

Some pieces are highly decorative and some are oversized, thus having merely decorative purpose, as on the famous depiction of Sultan Mehmed II smelling a rose (c. 1480)¹⁴. The circumstances under which the composite bow, as well as the thumb ring, reached the Balkans are unclear. Most theories are based on indirect data from the composition of the army and the types of weapons used in Byzantium and related states. Warfare with the enemies of the Empire and the engagement of foreign troops significantly influenced the Byzantine army, which embraced different weapons very early; confirmation of which can be found in the contexts of the 6th century and later¹⁵. As the standard archery weapon, the composite bow appeared in Byzantium in the 11th century (fig. 2), as the result of the multi-ethnic composition of the Byzantine army. Among foreign soldiers, the Seljuk, Pecheneg and Cuman horse archers are the ones associated with the use of the composite bow¹⁶. Thumb rings were used rarely until the 11th century¹⁷.

On the other hand, the composite bow and the bow case with arrows occur as attributes of some martyr-warriors. Although depictions of martyr-warriors entered Byzantine iconography in the Early Byzantine period, they gained increasing popularity during the Macedonian dynasty (from the mid-9th to mid-11th centuries) due to its expansive military politics¹⁸. As common attribute, the composite bow became current in the iconography of holy warriors in the Palaiologan period (1261-1453). One cannot be sure what instigated the representation, but it could be in connection with both the actual weapons of the Byzantine army of the time and representations in the art of the Crusades¹⁹. St Demetrios was often depicted with the composite bow, as

12 Arab Archery XLII.

13 Klopsteg, Turkish Archery 67-68.

14 Carboni, Venice and the Islamic World 296.

15 Haldon, Some Aspects 65-79. – Grotowski, Warrior Saints 369-371.

16 Haldon, Byzantium at War 51.

17 Nicolle, Medieval Warfare 74.

18 Marković, O ikonografiji 571-585.

19 Grotowski, Warrior Saints 371-374.



Fig. 2 The Siege of Amorium by the Arabs in 838. Illuminated manuscript of the History of John Skylitzes, 12th century. – (© Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Vitr. 26-2, image no. 77, <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?pid=d-1754254>).

well as SS Merkurios and Theodor²⁰. In Medieval Serbia, these depictions – taken from Byzantine iconography – were especially popular during the reign of King Milutin (1282-1321), due to his offensive policy in the Balkans and expansion of the Serbian state to the south, at the expense of Byzantium²¹. Particular significance to the holy warriors was given in the paintings of the Morava school: in the Ravanica church – the endowment of Prince Lazar, built between 1376-1377 and 1380-1381 – sixteen of them are depicted²². The main reason for emphasising the significance of the holy warriors in the iconographic programme of the late 14th century was the threat of Ottoman invasion, which became a reality after the battle of the Maritsa River in 1371.

The occurrence of the composite bow in Serbia is most likely related to the Turks who were mercenaries in the service of Serbian rulers, as well as in direct contact with them from the end of the 14th century²³. Another route could have been from nearby Hungary. As a weapon used in the Serbian region, the »Hungarian bow« (a long composite bow) is mentioned in Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th centuries²⁴. As an official weapon, the composite bow entered the Serbian army at the end of the 14th century²⁵. Their manufacture was organised in villages, where the wooden parts were made, while the components were assembled into the final product in fortresses and fortified towns²⁶. Unfortunately, composite bows are completely lacking in the archaeological record.

The composite bow was also used in tournament competitions and in hunting. These were the essential pastimes of the Medieval nobility, especially in the 14th-15th centuries in the Balkans. Bertrandon de la Broquière – a famous Burgundian spy and pilgrim – recorded that he found Despot Djuradj Branković (1427-1456) in the hunt, along with three of his sons and about fifty horsemen, in a field by the river near the town of Nekudim, in the area of his capital Smederevo²⁷. During the hunt, bow and arrows were used, and findings of archers' rings undoubtedly indicate their use. Also, these rings were worn by men of all ages, as corroborated by their different sizes; although they are mainly massive, with diameters of about 2.5 cm, a few examples are of smaller diameter, probably made for boys²⁸.

Archers' Rings from Medieval Serbia

From the data presented so far, it is reasonable to assume that the use of the bow in Serbia stems from contact with the Ottomans – but whether the same can be an automatically assumed for the rings is less certain. In other words, can all such rings be considered to be necessary accessories rather than jewellery? Bearing in mind the traditional interaction between Serbia and Byzantium, what is the role of Byzantium in this phenomenon? In the core of the Byzantine Empire,

20 Marković, O ikonografiji 600-625.

21 Marković, O ikonografiji 604-607.

22 Marković, Sveti ratnici 192-195.

23 Petrović, Balkansko oružje 41.

24 Petrović, Balkansko oružje 41.

25 Petrović, Balkansko oružje 31.

26 Petrović, Balkansko oružje 31.

27 Brokijer, Putovanje 131-132. – Krstić, Grad Nekudim 102-103.

28 Premović-Aleksić, Latinska crkva 64.



Fig. 3 Map showing the distribution of archers' rings in Medieval Serbia (14th-15th centuries). – (From Popović, *Cosmopolitan Milieu* fig. 88, mapping by U. Vojvodić).

thumb rings occurred during the 14th to the middle of the 15th centuries in different contexts²⁹, including grave findings, thus suggesting a particular importance for the owner in life. Within the same chronological frame, the rings occurred in Medieval Serbia, where they were certainly used in the same way.

The distribution map of archers' rings is quite eloquent (fig. 3). It is important to point out the equal distribution of findings both in south and central regions, as originally Byzantine territories, and the north region, which is, in a polit-

ical, economic and cultural sense, orientated towards Europe, especially at the beginning of the 15th century. Unfortunately, most examples of archers' rings come from private collections, therefore, the precise sites and the contexts of findings are unknown. They are indicative to some extent, mainly due to their quantity, which testifies to their routine use. With due carefulness, the greater concentration of archers' rings can be assumed in the southern part of the Central Balkans. It seems that in western areas, as well as in Medieval Bosnia, the intensity of findings also decreases; however, this could

29 Antonaras, *Archers' Rings* 59-61. – See also the 14th-century Venetian ring from Aigion, Peloponnese, in the British Museum (Spier, *Late Byzantine Rings* 51).

be a consequence of the low level of archaeological excavations in the region.

Archaeological findings of archers' rings originate mainly from fortified towns, including mining centres. According to available records, metal rings prevail; however, there are number of examples made of bone, such as from Belgrade (fig. 4)³⁰ and Novo Brdo, Serbia³¹, Thessaloniki³², and Vodoča near Strumica, North Macedonia³³. With the exception of pieces from Thessaloniki and Vodoča, the bone rings are usually very simply made and undecorated. Moreover, the latter two could be from the same workshop, judging by the unique design of the motif.

In contrast, rings made of bronze and silver are usually decorated (figs 1. 5-7). The decoration is of a rather uniform style, consisting of floral motifs on the head, mostly tulips and foliage, and linear motifs around the edges; unfortunately, many pieces are worn and, the complexity of the decoration cannot be fully perceived³⁴. Motifs are executed in different ways, thus revealing different workshops. Due to a combination of Turkish ornamentation, Gothic ivy leaf and a stylised snake, Bojana Radojković suggested that the ring from Golubac, Braničevo District, Serbia (fig. 6), could be the work of a local goldsmith³⁵. According to the style, but not in the detail as well, the decoration of the ring has similarities with a group of rings called »Verkantung«, which are all found in the area of southern Serbia and in the region of Skopje (nowadays North Macedonia)³⁶. The other example with medallions made of twisted filigree wire (fig. 1c) also points to a specific style of decoration whose elements in the technique of engraving one can recognize on a ring from the vicinity of Skopje (fig. 1d)³⁷. There is also a group of rings that have the same floral motifs, but they are relatively large and simply made, without excessive details (figs 5d-f)³⁸. In terms of design and overall craft expression, among them stands out a piece from the collection of S. Simonović, which was supposedly purchased somewhere in Kosovo (fig. 7)³⁹.

The simultaneous appearance of archers' rings in Byzantium and in the Balkan states of Serbia and Bulgaria, which inherited the Byzantine artistic expression, indicates a process of cultural transfer, which led to the adoption of models into art and artistic crafts. The composite decoration of these rings fully reflects the artistic patterns of that time: a unique mixture of motifs, containing the Byzantine decoration as a base, traditional in the region, which is refreshed with Islamic-Ottoman elements and Central European decoration, such as Gothic leaves and heraldic motifs. That is why it is very



Fig. 4 Bone ring from the Belgrade fortress, 15th century. – (© Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade).

difficult to differentiate the imported pieces, including the Byzantine works, from locally made items.

As for the jewellery workshops in Medieval Serbia, our knowledge stems from written documents and analyses of items, especially their decoration. At that time, the jewellery was made in Dubrovnik, Kotor (Adriatic coast of Montenegro) and Venice, as well as in inland, next to mines and fortified towns, such as the Serbian towns Brskovo, Brvenik, Trepča, Rudnik, Novo Brdo, Prizren, Skoplje, Smederevo⁴⁰. Workshops were differentiated on the basis of the method of jewellery making in general and also of chosen motifs. Thus, the jewellery from Kosovo and the Metohija region skilfully combine oriental and Gothic motifs, while elements of Byzantine art, primarily from Thessaloniki, can be recognised more clearly further southwards, in Macedonia⁴¹. Judging by the presented distribution of motifs and designs, archers' rings confirm the craft trends. For examples made of bronze, it can be assumed that production took place either in local

30 Popović/Bikić, *Mitropolija* 97-98 fig. 57/68.

31 Zečević, *Nakit* cat. no. 93.

32 Antonaras, *Archers' Rings* 50.

33 Cvetanov, *Vodoča* sl. 4.

34 Radojković, *Nakit* sl. 151. – Bajalović Hadži Pešić, *Nakit* cat. no. 659. – Milošević, *Nakit* cat. no. 181-187. – Ivanić, *Prstenje* sl. 24. – Đurović, *Srednjovekovni nakit* cat. no. 81-82.

35 Radojković, *Nakit* 207-208.

36 Milošević, *Nakit* cat. no. 118-122.

37 Milošević, *Nakit* cat. no. 184. 187.

38 Milošević, *Nakit* cat. no. 185. 186. – Ivanić, *Prstenje* cat. no. 84 sl. 24. – Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade, unpublished, inv. no. 10184.

39 Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade, unpublished, inv. no. 4439.

40 Radojković, *Nakit* 55-56.

41 Radojković, *Nakit* 55.



Fig. 5 Archers' rings from museum collections, 14th-15th centuries: **a-b** National Museum Kragujevac; **c** Belgrade City Museum (inv. no. I 2120); **e-f** Museum of Applied Art (inv. no. 164, 10184). – (© Documentations of National Museum Kragujevac, Belgrade City Museum, and Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade).



Fig. 6 Archer's ring from Golubac, Serbia, late 15th century. Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade, inv. no. 4438. – (© Documentation of Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade).

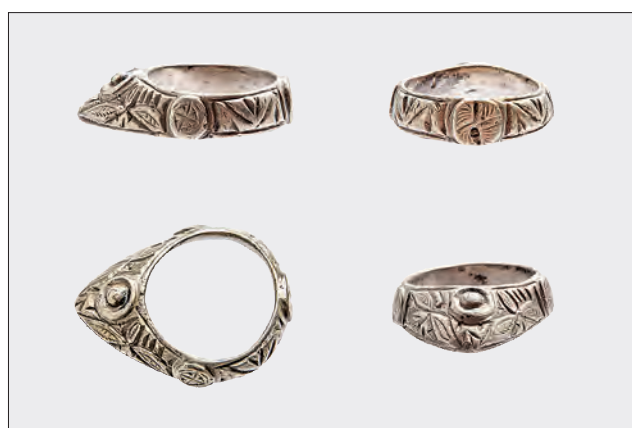


Fig. 7 Archer's ring, late 14th-early 15th century. Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade, inv. no. 4439. – (© Documentation of Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade).

workshops or by travelling goldsmiths. These could have been made by sample, where greater attention was paid to the shape, rather than decoration. One of them with linear decoration (fig. 1a) is very similar to the group of rings from north-west Bulgaria, possibly indicating the region of production⁴².

Status Symbol of the Nobility

Everything said so far leads to the question, what meaning did the archer's ring have in the late Medieval Balkans? From the above, it appears clear that archers' rings represent a unique mixture of elements: the Byzantine cultural milieu, with all its manifestations, and the chivalric culture of central Europe, and oriental elements, that is the transformation of the old motifs of Islamic art in the Ottoman Empire (which

is the force that conquered the Balkans in the 14th and early 15th centuries). In a sense, the archer's ring illustrates current trends in the arts and crafts; at the same time, it reflects the multi-ethnic and multicultural society of the late Medieval Balkans.

Besides artistic style and craftsmanship, this kind of ring carried a certain social message. There are examples in both fresco painting and archaeological data that eloquently testify to this. There is quite a remarkable depiction of rings on a fresco in the church of the Monastery of Veluče near Trstenik (central Serbia) which was erected in 1377-1378 and was decorated with frescoes shortly afterwards⁴³. It shows a young man holding a composite bow in his left hand and a quiver of arrows in his right hand; the picture is completed with four rings that are painted with hoops facing outside (fig. 8). Although the male figure is depicted in the style of the martyr-warriors, he is actually a nobleman called De(j)an.

42 Milošević, Nakit 130.

43 Todić, Prilog 73-75.

Fig. 8 Monastery Veluće (1377/78), portrait of young nobleman on the north wall of narthex. – (Photo M. Marković).



As one of four sons of the patron of the monastery, his high socio-economic status is represented by the lavish clothes that he wears⁴⁴. In such a context, the four rings certainly indicate his superb archery skills. One can perhaps go a step further and recognise in such a depiction an aspect related to the

representation of a ruler or nobleman – the Persian model, which is transferred via Byzantium into Serbian society.

Archaeological indicators of the social status of persons who wore archers' rings are also very clear and they are related mainly to the funeral contexts. In a church in the area

⁴⁴ Petković, *Manastir Veluće* 49 sl. 8. – The remains of the gilded clothing were confirmed in graves in the church narthex: Ljubinković, *Manastir Veluće* 123.



Fig. 10 Archer's ring from the site of the Latin Church in Postenje, 14th-15th century. – (From Premović-Aleksić, *Latinska crkva*, T. V/3, 4).



Fig. 9 Archer's ring from Rudnik, 14th-15th century. – (From Radičević/Bulić, *Prilog*, T. 5/4).

of the mining town of Rudnik (Central Serbia), a male was buried with an archer's ring (**fig. 9**). As such, it was an item that describes his hunting skills in a proper way. According to the grave position – in the western part of the nave – it is presumed that he was the founder and one of the benefactors of the church⁴⁵. A similar funeral context is noted in a church at the site Postenje near Novi Pazar (southwest Serbia). A boy buried in a garment embroidered using golden and silver threads had an archer's ring on each hand (**fig. 10**); both rings are small, made to fit someone of his age, and made of silver, with one additionally being gold plated⁴⁶. It should also be noted that one of the previously mentioned bone rings was positioned on the left side of the chest of the deceased⁴⁷.

In such a context, it should be recalled that according to King Dušan's »Code« (1349), there are four main symbolic possessions of the Serbian nobleman: his horse, his weap-

ons, his surcoat and his belt⁴⁸. However, archaeological data indicate an additional phenomenon, which is the burial itself (position and type of construction of the grave/crypt), as well as related items, especially clothing, jewellery and vessels, primarily those made of silver and gold⁴⁹.

The issue of archers' rings is very complex and cannot be considered independently of the history of weaponry; however, there are indications that one can go beyond that to think about the ideal image of the warrior ruler. The aforementioned ring of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II, with its excessive size, sends a clear message about his »military achievements and his skill as a hunter«⁵⁰. The same message can be read from the examples of rings and their archaeological context from the Balkan sites. Consequently, it is not a coincidence that this image, transposed into the programme of holy warriors, becomes topical during the reign of Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović (1372-1389) and also of his son and successor to the throne, Stefan Lazarević (prince 1389-1402, despot 1402-1427)⁵¹, due to the close and immediate threat from the powerful (Ottoman) conquerors.

On the other hand, the overall appearance of archers' rings indicates their wider significance, not only in arts and crafts, but also in social and symbolic terms. The archaeological contexts of graves of members of the Medieval Serbian nobility unambiguously favour such a conclusion. Archers' rings can be considered as one of the symbols of nobility, primarily as an item that has a clearly defined use and meaning, and as jewellery whose decoration reveals the aesthetic criteria of the nobility. Hence, it becomes a recognisable symbol of the Medieval society of the Balkans.

45 Radičević/Bulić, *Prilog* 126. 130 T. 5/4.

46 Premović-Aleksić, *Latinska crkva* 60. 64 T. V/3, 4.

47 Cvetanov, *Vodoča* 123.

48 Dušanov zakonik 85. 166.

49 Popović, *Ktitorske sahrane* 44-45.

50 Carboni, *Venice and the Islamic World* 296.

51 Marković, *Sveti ratnici*.

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Beyond Jewellery: Archers' Rings in the Medieval Balkans (14th-15th Centuries)

Characteristic rings for the thumb were the archers' rings, especially designed for the pull-and-release technique of a composite bow. They have a long history, but also a different meaning for various peoples who have used them. For nomadic horsemen, it was just a utilitarian object; its shape and material (mainly bone and leather) were adapted to protect the thumb from the strong friction which occurs when the bowstring is released. Later on, during the Middle Ages, such rings were made of silver and bronze, and decorated with various motifs, thus becoming items that carried enhanced social and cultural meaning.

The distribution map points to a greater concentration of archers' rings in the southern part of the Central Balkans, as originally Byzantine territories. However, several examples were found in the north region, along the Danube River, which is politically, economically and culturally regarded as orientated towards Europe, especially at the beginning of the 15th century. The composite decoration of these rings reflects the artistic patterns of that time: it is the unique mixture of Byzantine motifs, traditional in the region, with the Islamic-Ottoman floral elements and Central European decoration, such as Gothic leaves and heraldic motifs. Given that the composite bow was used in tournament competitions and in hunting, archers' rings are interpreted as one of the characteristics of the Serbian nobility in the 14th-15th centuries. The different sizes of the rings indicate that they were worn by men of all ages, including young boys. Depictions on frescoes corroborate their role as status symbols.

Jenseits von Schmuck: Bogenspannringe auf dem mittelalterlichen Balkan (14.-15. Jahrhundert)

Charakteristische Ringe für den Daumen waren die Bogenspannringe, welche speziell für die »pull-and-release«-Technik von Kompositbögen entwickelt worden waren. Sie haben nicht nur eine lange Geschichte, sondern auch unterschiedliche Bedeutungen für die verschiedenen Nutzer. Für nomadische Reiter waren sie nur ein Gebrauchsobjekt; so waren Form und Material (zumeist Knochen und Leder) angepasst an ihre Funktion als Schutz des Daumens vor hoher Reibkraft, welche beim Lösen der Bogensehne entsteht. Im weiteren Verlauf des Mittelalters wurden solche Ringe aus Silber und Bronze gefertigt und mit verschiedenen Motiven verziert, wodurch sie zu Objekten mit einer gesteigerten sozialen und kulturellen Bedeutung wurden.

Die Verbreitungskarte deutet auf eine höhere Konzentration von Bogenspannring im südlichen Teil des mittleren Balkans hin, welcher ursprünglich byzantinisches Gebiet war. Jedoch wurden mehrere Beispiele in der nördlichen Region entlang der Donau gefunden, das in politischer, wirtschaftlicher und kultureller Hinsicht nach Europa orientiert war, besonders im frühen 15. Jahrhundert. Die zusammengesetzte Dekoration dieser Ringe spiegelt die künstlerischen Motive jener Zeit wieder: eine einzigartige Mischung von byzantinischen Motiven, traditionell für diese Region, sowie islamisch-osmanischen floralen Elementen und mitteleuropäischer Dekoration wie gotischem Blattwerk und heraldischen Motiven. Da Kompositbögen bei Turnieren und auf der Jagd verwendet wurden, werden die Bogenspannringe als ein Merkmal des serbischen Adels im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert verstanden. Die verschiedenen Größen der Ringe deuten darauf hin, dass sie von Männern aller Altersklassen getragen wurden, einschließlich junger Knaben. Darstellungen in Fresken bestätigen die Rolle der Bogenspannringe als Statussymbole.

»The Incredulity of Saint Thomas« on a Byzantine Sapphire from the Cheapside Hoard, London: A Proposal for a New Dating to the Palaiologan Period

The news of the spectacular archaeological find of a wooden box containing a collection of precious stones and gems made headlines in 1912. The treasure was discovered in a rental house in the London district of Cheapside, the city's former centre of the gold and precious stones industry. This unique collection, dubbed the Cheapside Hoard¹, comprises more than 400 items dating back to the late 16th and early 17th centuries. High-quality processed jewellery and rich adornments with exquisite gems, such as rings, earrings, chains, broaches and scent bottles, etc., are featured among them. The collection also includes a host of carvings and reliefs, as well as various precious stones from all over the world. Speculation abounds about who the owner of these priceless articles was: a goldsmith or a jeweller's syndicate? A jeweller dealing with illegal merchandise and thus attempting to keep his treasure concealed, cannot be ruled out, either; or even a wealthy collector planning to embark on a long journey and looking for a safe place to stash his fortune during his absence could be part of the equation. The origin of most of the treasure still remains shrouded in mystery.

An Ear Pendant with a Byzantine Gemstone

This collection is today on exhibition in the Museum of London. One of its pieces, a precious drop-shaped ear pendant, which was assembled in the 16th century, encloses a carved Byzantine gemstone, a sapphire (fig. 1). Set in gold, this piece of jewellery boasts high-quality enamel adorned with floral motifs on the reverse side. The pendant itself is decorated with a pearl, which most likely came from the Persian Gulf². The eyelet on the bottom is indicative of some early ornament, which may have fallen off the pendant. The stone, measuring 33 mm × 22 mm × 5 mm, is a pale, light blue, translucent sapphire, with a biblical motif etching on one of its sides. The upper part of the stone had been shaped to

fit the setting. The gemstone was set with its relief facing the inside, therefore, the 16th-century jewel had a flat and smooth surface, showing the 16th-century jeweller's (or commissioner's) wish to use the stone without an interest in the carved scene. It is possible that the female owner was not deeply religious, or perhaps the visual appeal of the brilliant lustre of the precious stone was better expressed by a polished surface. Because the relief is only visible in reverse and through the stone, relevant data such as the relief height and the carving technique are difficult to judge, and it would be necessary to dismount the setting before conducting the analysis. Because of the flatness of the stone, it is more likely that the scene is engraved (intaglio), but it cannot be excluded that the stone is carved in low relief. Nevertheless, it is clear that the carving is Byzantine due to the Greek inscription and the iconography.

Previous Dating Estimates for the Gemstone

Up to now, various attempts have been made to establish the gemstone's age. Initially, the Cheapside Hoard catalogue placed the gemstone's origin in the 3rd century AD³. In an internet video interview, the curator of the Cheapside Hoard, Hazel Forsyth, suggested that the 6th or 7th century could also be possible⁴. In 1978, art historian Hans Wentzel had suggested an even later date of the 10th century for this tantalising piece of jewellery⁵.

One circumstantial argument for an early dating for this cut stone was the fact that in the Late Antique and Early Byzantine period, discoveries were numerous and well documented, thus offering much comparison. By contrast, reliable information in the field of Byzantine gemmology is scarcely available for the Middle Ages. No overarching directory or a comprehensive compilation has ever been assembled, rendering the task of tracing the stones' sources based on compar-

1 The History and Collections of the Cheapside Hoard, see Cat. London 2013 with additional literature.

2 References see Dirlam/Weldon, Pearls.

3 Cat. London 2013, 179 (H. Forsyth).

4 The Museum of London's Extraordinary Cheapside Hoard, www.gia.edu/gems-gemmology/FA13-cheapside-hoard-weldon (23.03.2016).

5 Wentzel, Kameen 915.

Fig. 1 Ear pendant with Byzantine sapphire, setting from the 16th century, Museum of London, inv. no. A14158. – (© Museum of London, Reproduction Licence Order no. 3746).



ative examples nearly impossible⁶. Only a few Late Byzantine gemstones have had their age consistently determined, so that for the majority of them the task of tracking down their origin by and large still appears to be elusive⁷. By the same token, relevant insights into their style evolution and iconography are also limited, mainly on the grounds that many items are scattered among different collections or often held privately.

The New Testament Scene on the Gemstone

The gem must be turned back-to-front in order to provide an accurate interpretation of the scene depicted. Unfortunately, the reverse-order setting blurs the contours and the inner design. A scene reconstruction was made by the author for a better understanding (fig. 2). There is no doubt that the episode in question portrays a post-Easter scene from the New Testament. It shows the risen Christ and the Apostle Thomas according to St John's Gospel 20, 19-29: the resuscitated Christ enters through a house's locked door and appears to his disciples. Thomas, who had not been present at Christ's first appearance, expresses doubt about his identity and was, therefore, urged to look at the nail stigmata in His hands as well as touch the wound in Christ's side as evidence of His rising from the dead. The English text⁸ is as follows:

19 When it was evening on that day, the first day of the week, and the doors of the house where the disciples had met were locked for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood among them and said, »Peace be with you.« **20** After he said this, he showed them his hands and his side. Then the disciples rejoiced when they saw the Lord. **21** Jesus said to them again, »Peace be with you. As the Father has sent me, so I send you.« **22** When he had said this, he breathed on them and said to them, »Receive the Holy Spirit. **23** If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven them; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained.« **24** But Thomas (who was called the Twin), one of the twelve, was not with them when Jesus came. **25** So the other disciples told him, »We have seen the Lord.« But he said to them, »Unless I see the mark of the nails in his hands, and put my finger in the mark of the nails and my hand in his side, I will not believe.« **26** A week later his disciples were again in the house, and Thomas was with them. Although the doors were shut, Jesus came and stood among them and said, »Peace be with you.« **27** Then he said to Thomas, »Put your finger here and see my hands. Reach out your hand and put it in my side. Do not doubt but believe.« **28** Thomas answered him, »My Lord and my God!« **29** Jesus said to him, »Have you believed because you have seen me? Blessed are those who have not seen and yet have come to believe.«

⁶ Also according to the following works of Hans Wentzel: Wentzel, *Mittelalterliche Gemmen*. – Wentzel, *Byzantinische Kameen*. – Wentzel, *Kameen Kassel*. Standard reference works for Early Christian gems, see Spier, *Gems*. An up-to-date essay on Middle and Late Byzantine gemstones regrettably is not yet available. The dissertation of Harrison, *Byzantine Carved Gemstones*, is still unpublished.

⁷ See Zazoff, *Antike Gemmen* 376.

⁸ Cited from REB; Greek text from NA28: **19** Οὕτως οὖν ὁψίας τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτων καὶ τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων ὅπου ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· εἰρήνη ὑμῖν. **20** καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἔδειξεν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῖς· ἐχάρησαν οὖν οἱ μαθηταὶ ἰδόντες τὸν κύριον. **21** εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς [ὁ Ἰησοῦς] πάλιν· εἰρήνη ὑμῖν· καθὼς ἀπέσταλκέν με ὁ πατήρ, καὶ γὰρ πέμπω ὑμᾶς. **22** καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἐνεφύσησεν

καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον· **23** ἃν τινων ἀφῇτε τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀφένονται αὐτοῖς, ἃν τινων κρατῇτε κεκράτηνται. **24** Θωμᾶς δὲ εἰς ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα, ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος, οὐκ ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν ὅτε ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς. **25** ἔλεγον οὖν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄλλοι μαθηταί· ἑώρακαμεν τὸν κύριον. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ἔὰν μὴ ἴδω ἐν ταῖς χερσίν αὐτοῦ τὸν τύπον τῶν ἥλων καὶ βάλῃ τὸν δάκτυλόν μου εἰς τὸν τύπον τῶν ἥλων καὶ βάλῃ μου τὴν χεῖρα εἰς τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω. **26** Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ πάλιν ἦσαν ἔσω οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Θωμᾶς μετ' αὐτῶν. ἔρχεται ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων καὶ ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ εἶπεν· εἰρήνη ὑμῖν. **27** εἶτα λέγει τῷ Θωμᾷ· φέρε τὸν δάκτυλόν σου ὧδε καὶ ἴδε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ φέρε τὴν χεῖρά σου καὶ βάλε εἰς τὴν πλευρὰν μου, καὶ μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος ἀλλὰ πιστός. **28** ἀπεκρίθη Θωμᾶς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου. **29** λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ὅτι ἑώρακάς με πεπιστευκάς· μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες.



Fig. 2 Byzantine sapphire with St Thomas scene: rotation and reconstruction. – (Reconstruction M. Horn).

The Description of the Scene's Image

The illustration captures St Thomas standing on the left side of the scene with his back slightly hunched and his legs astride. His head is surrounded by a halo and he is wearing a long tunic and a pallium. His right hand is reaching out and his index finger is pointing towards Christ's bare side wound. His downwards hanging left hand holds a rolled-up *rotulus*. St Thomas's head is slightly elevated and leaning sideways, depicting a three-quarter profile. Next to him, the bearded Christ stands facing forwards with a cruciform halo, also wearing a tunic and a pallium. He is angling his head towards the apostle and bending his right arm along his head, raising it upwards. He is showing his outstretched hand, where most probably the stigmata were inflicted, but the scars are not detectable in the carved illustration, probably due to the reverse arrangement of the stone⁹. His fingers are touching both his halo as well as Thomas's. With his left hand, Christ pulls his robe open across his right torso, so as to have the side with the visible wound exposed. Thomas's hand points to this spot.

The Scene's Greek Inscription

The image features Greek carved characters shown in capital letters on the top and middle of the picture, as well as behind the apostle Thomas (fig. 3). However, during the repurposing of the pendant, some letters were damaged, causing the original text to become blurred and sketchy.

Christ is portrayed with the usual overhead ligature for Jesus Christ: IC XC[C]. The *sigma lunatum* on the right-hand side is severed. The inscription related to the Thomas scene is depicted below it, along the middle of the image. The corners on the top were somehow truncated, thus having left only the four middle letters ΛΑΦΗ intact. Three letters are lacking on each side. The remaining part of the existent inscription is vertically etched between the two persons: TOV ΘΩΜΑ. The TOV is written as an abbreviation. Therefore, based on these premises, a reconstruction of the full engraving can be achieved with the addition of the missing letters Η ΨΗ to the left of ΛΑΦΗ and CIC to its right, thus presumably reproducing its original text »Η ψηλάφησις του Θωμά«, i.e., the touch of Thomas. In the Painter's Manual of Dionysius of

⁹ The implied stigmata in the scene reconstruction emphasise this hypothesis.



Fig. 3 The Greek inscription on the sapphire, Museum of London, inv. no. A14158. – (© Museum of London, Reproduction Licence Order no. 3746).



Fig. 4 Byzantine sapphire with St Thomas scene, Museum of London, inv. no. A14158. – (© Museum of London, Reproduction Licence Order no. 3746).

Fournā, the full inscription is regarded as a compulsory title component for the scene depicting the doubting Thomas¹⁰. Visible behind the apostle are a few more letters, also ver-

tically engraved, suggesting an eventual loss of the stone's outer left edge, which may have also come about during the reworking. This flaw renders the letters rather unsuited for a meaningful interpretation. Possible options to consider for what may have filled the gaps are the full name of the Apostle Thomas, a bible quote or even the invoking of some patron or donor. This is tantamount to saying that quotations from St John's Gospel or references to philanthropists are definitely out of the question. The letters are not all clearly identifiable. In addition, this effort is further compounded by a crack in the stone, which probably ensued during restoration works. Hence, a designation such as »the Incredulity of Saint Thomas« would seem to constitute a sensible solution, this being the result of combining the ΘΜC ligature with the word ΑΠΙCΤΟC. It is possible that the word »Hagios« (saint) had been carved on the top of the picture.

Stylistic Remarks

The picture's surface is amply shared by the two protagonists (fig. 4). They seem to be amalgamating into each other through layered arm holdings and an inwards swinging motion of their robes, as if building an intrinsic unity. The figures are well proportioned and tend to be more on the slim than stocky side. Their sleek head shapes seem to be morphing into a somehow oval-like elongation. Owing to the carving's reverse setting the inner design of both faces is not clearly discernible. The beams of the cruciform halo are jutting out somewhat and seem to be randomly filled with ornaments in the interstices. The contours of the arched and full-figured bodies are prominently outlined through the robe folds en-

¹⁰ Papadopoulou-Keramos, *Hermeneia* 116, §106. – *Malerhandbuch* 101 no. 314.

veloping them. Thomas's right leg, with its vigorous muscles vividly bulging under the slightly ruffled pallium, is lingering in a step posture. The skilfully elaborated drape is not particularly detailed or arranged in a strictly linear fashion, but rather harmoniously deployed in light undulations as it swirls around the aesthetically shaped bodies. In the middle of the picture, the extremities of the garment are sort of tapering off to function as a frame for the inscription grooved between them. The figures are not portrayed in a passive manner, rather they seem to be strongly interacting, thus creating an almost intimate atmosphere between them. Thomas is captured leaning slightly forwards to Jesus, while the latter is depicted touching Thomas's halo with his arm. At the same time, he is placing his thumb on his own halo, inducing his hand to forge a sense of bonding between the two characters. The way their faces are portrayed seems to be suggesting that there is eye contact. Overall, these elements of communication help to enhance the narrative, elevating it to an intimate level.

The Iconography of the Doubting Thomas

The Early Byzantine Period

The scene of the incredulous Thomas¹¹ pertains to the rarer examples of Early Christian art depictions (fig. 5). Dating the carving of the sapphire back to the 3rd century can be broadly discarded, since in those times there are no chronicles of art history dealing with the questioning of Thomas. The earliest available evidence emerges in three sarcophagus fragments from the 4th and 5th centuries. There, the portrayal is built into an abbreviated scene in a sequence of various healing and salvation paradigms, which was how early Christian funeral art¹² was usually represented in those days. A few samples are found on the sarcophagus of Celsus in Milan¹³ (fig. 5a), on a remnant in Ravenna¹⁴, as well as on a sarcophagus fragment made from African onyx, originally found in the Sant'Afra Church of Brescia's Angela Merici Abbey¹⁵. Still another instance depicting Doubting Thomas is on an ivory-carved panel in the Museum of London (fig. 5b), originating from Northern Italy. It features the Passion and post-Easter scenes (420-430)¹⁶. Trying to establish a reliable interpreta-

tion for a scene engraved on a wooden door in the Church of Santa Sabina in Rome (around 432) remains difficult¹⁷.

A few known images can be *de facto* traced back to the 6th and 7th centuries, among them are a Jerusalem pilgrim flask in Monza¹⁸ (around 600) (fig. 9a), a gold sheet in Berlin¹⁹ (6th-7th centuries), the mosaic cycle in the Church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (around 520) in Ravenna²⁰ (fig. 5c) and another gemstone from Gadara²¹ (6th-7th centuries) (fig. 5d). For the 8th and 9th centuries, testimonial evidence is present on a partially destroyed fresco in the Church of Santa Maria Antiqua (705) in Rome, on an ivory diptych (9th-10th centuries)²² in Milan and on a silver casket for a gemstone cross in the Vatican²³ (around 820). This is tantamount to saying that during the Early Byzantine period and before the advent of Iconoclasm, the pictorial theme of Doubting Thomas was not included in the standard repertoire of New Testament scenes. Rather, this honour is more often bestowed on post-Easter scenes depicting the women standing at the grave.

The Middle and Late Byzantine Periods

It is not until the 10th century that the Doubting Thomas theme increasingly begins to find favour in all different types of art genres (fig. 6). As it becomes widely known, the phenomenon reaches its heyday during the »Palaiologan Renaissance« when it experiences ever-growing popularity. The emergence of the Dodekaorton (Greek, »twelve feasts«) in the Orthodox Church rituals during the Middle Byzantine era paves the way for the Doubting Thomas scene to be enshrined in the circle of the great celebrations. This feast day of Doubting Thomas is called »Antipascha« in Greek and falls on the first Sunday after Easter. Developing out of these Twelve Feasts was the pictorial canon that would serve as a base for the decoration of churches and icons. Documentary proof in this respect is encountered on an ivory diptych from Constantinople²⁴ (end of 10th century/beginning of 11th century) (fig. 6b), as well as on a single ivory plate²⁵ (mid-10th century). Together with other preserved panels, this artefact shows a section of an icon portraying the entire cycle of the Great Twelve Feasts. Both ivory plates associate the Doubting Thomas scene with the Twelve Feasts of the Liturgical Church Calendar. The

11 For iconography of the Doubting Thomas, see Colwell, *Gospels of Karahissar* 415-421. – Réau, *Iconographie* 568-570. – Wessel, *Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen* 371-388. – Red., *Thomaszweifel* 301-303. – Schiller, *Ikongraphie* 108-114. – Schunk-Heller, *Ungläubiger Thomas*, with further bibliography.

12 See Engemann, *Frühchristliche Bildwerke* esp. 106-121.

13 For representation, see Dresken-Weiland, *Repertorium* 250 pl. 84.

14 For representation, see Kollwitz/Herdejürgen, *Sarkophage der westlichen Gebiete* cat. B2 pl. 26, 6.

15 In the museum of Santa Giulia in Brescia, MR5852; refer to Morandini, *Brescia*.

16 For representation, see Spier, *Picturing the Bible* 231 no. 57D.

17 See Jeremias, *Holztür S. Sabina*.

18 For representation, see Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* no. 9 pl. XV; and an additional fragment no. 10; Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* 63 f. fig. 43. Another pilgrim flask with a similar conservative iconography is on exhibition at the British Museum in London; due to stylistic reasons a dating between the 11th and 13th cen-

turies was ascribed to it (Buckton, *Byzantium* 188 f. no. 203); attributed to the Early Byzantine period by Wessel, *Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen* 376.

19 Effenberger, *Berlin* 144 no. 56. The gold sheet bears resemblance to the pilgrim flask from Monza and could hence be seen as a local pilgrim souvenir it could be credited to Palestine.

20 Fiorentini/Orioli, *Apollinare Nuovo*.

21 Henig/Whiting, *Gems from Gadara* 3 and 41 no. 451 – Spier, *Gems* 127 no. 714 fig. 101.

22 For representation, see Schunk-Heller, *Ungläubiger Thomas* fig. 29.

23 For representation, see Schiller, *Ikongraphie* 447 fig. 345.

24 In the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg, for representation see *Cat. New York* 1997, 149 fig. 94C.

25 In Dumbarton Oaks, for description and representation see *DOCat III*, 43-48 fig. 21 and pl. 4. – *Cat. New York* 1997, 145 fig. 91.



Fig. 5 St Thomas scene in the Early Byzantine period: **a** San Celso Sarcophagus, Milan (c. 400). – **b** Panel from an ivory casket (420-430), British Museum, London, inv. no. 1856,0623.6. – **c** Mosaic, Basilica of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (c. 520). – **d** Gem from Gadara (carnelian) from Sa'd Collection, Gadara/JOR (6th-7th centuries). – (a www.santamariadeimiracoliesancelso.it/tl_files/immagini/sarcofago020.jpg [23.03.2016]; b British Museum Creative Commons 4.0; c <https://05varvara.wordpress.com/?s=Apollinare#jp-carousel-807>; d from Henig/Whiting, *Gems from Gadara* no. 451).

scene is also featured within the mosaic cycles in the principal churches (katholikon) of the Monasteries at Daphne²⁶ and Hosios Loukas dating back to the 11th century²⁷. Further evidence is provided in the 12th century by the Monreale²⁸ Cathedral in Sicily (fig. 6c) and by the San Marco²⁹ Cathedral (around 1190) in Venice. From the 9th century onwards, the

biblical Thomas episode also appears in several manuscripts in the form of illuminations. Only three masterpieces of Byzantine book illustrations figure prominently in this anthology: the Trebizond Lectionary³⁰ (fig. 6a), dating from the 10th century and both the closely related Palaiologan scriptures of the Karahissar Tetra Gospels³¹ (end of the 13th century) and the

26 Lazarides, Daphne 26.

27 In the crypt there is another fresco depicting the doubting Thomas next to the mosaic in the katholikon; for representation see Chatzidakis, Hosios Loukas 36 no. 23; 82 no. 83.

28 For representation see Chierichetti, Monreale 42.

29 Demus, *Mosaics of San Marco* 208.

30 Cod. Gr. 21 in the National Library of Saint Petersburg (Zakharova, *Trebizond Lectionary*).

31 Leningrad Gr. 105 in the National Library of Saint Petersburg; refer to Colwell, *Gospels of Karahissar*. – Willoughby, *Four Gospels of Karahissar*. – Bank, *Peinture* 91-101.



Fig. 6 St Thomas scene in the Middle Byzantine period: **a** Trebizond Lectionary, Cod. Gr. 21, National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg (10th century). – **b** Ivory diptych with twelve scenes from the life of Christ, Constantinople, The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (10th-11th centuries). – **c** Mosaic, Cathedral of Monreale, Palermo, Sicily (12th century). – (a www.nlr.ru/manuscripts/images/Sector_rus/6_21/6_21_06.jpg [23.03.2016]; b from Cat. New York 1997 no. 91; c from Chierichetti, Monreale 42).

Nikomedia Gospel³² (13th century) (fig. 14a-b). In the Late Byzantine period, the cherished Thomas image starts appearing on numerous murals and also frequently on icons, as it rides a wave of increasing popularity, as shown on the famous icon from Ohrid³³ (fig. 7). Entering the 13th century, numerous examples of minor arts and monumental wall painting de-

picting the doubting Thomas are unearthed in the dominion's Byzantine area of influence. Two of those murals are related to Greece, one in the Church of Mother of God Peribleptos at Mystras³⁴ (fig. 8a), and the other one in the Church of Apostles at Lithines, Crete³⁵ (fig. 8b). In the Serbian Empire, the Thomas scene was an integral part of the ecclesiastical

32 Both belong to the Chicago-Karahissar Group (Nelson, Paris Gr. 117, 1-22); for the manuscripts, see Bank, *Peinture* 94 f. – Fonkič, *Rukopisi*. – Mokretsova, *Nikomedia*.

33 Radojčić, *Icons from South Eastern Europe and Sinai*.

34 Dated about the end of the 14th century, for representation see Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Mistra* 72 fig. 65.

35 Dated 1415, for representation see Spatharakis, *Wall Paintings of Crete* fig. 150.



Fig. 7 Icon with the Doubting Thomas from the Church of the Mother of God Peribleptos (St Clement's), Ohrid, painted by Michael and Eutychios (1295-1317). – (public domain).

pictorial programme of the Palaiologan period³⁶. However, in terms of gemstones, there are only two pieces featuring the Thomas motif, namely the one on the London gemstone and the other one on the Gadara gemstone.

Evolution of the Pictorial Formula

A standard pattern for the Thomas scene was devised in line with the Bible text early on.

Christ

Apart from a few abbreviated versions of the scene on sarcophagi, the key figure of Christ always takes centre stage in the portrayal. Presenting evidence of his physical rising from the dead remains the picture's main theme. This is verified by

the wound mark resulting from the Roman centurion's spear thrust to the side of his body (John 19:33f), as well as the hands and feet stigmata caused by the crucifixion. In the early depictions, there are different art concepts for the position of both the arm and hand to show the side wound. The arm of Christ – often the left one – is raised, angled or crossed. Then in the aftermath of Iconoclasm, the slightly bent posture of his exposed right arm becomes established as the standard picture model as the hand is pointing towards heaven highlighting the scars from the nailing to the cross. Christ is using his left hand to bare his chest at the right side of his robe in order to reveal to Thomas the wound mark inflicted by the spear.

Thomas and the Disciples

Surrounding Thomas on both sides is a gathering of disciples, who are frequently laid out in a symmetrical arrangement. In

³⁶ Such as in the katholikon in the Monastery of Sopoćani (1272-1276), in the Monastery of Žiča (13th-14th c.), in the Church of the Apostles (around 1250) and in the Church of Hodegetria (14th c.), both at the Patronate of Peć, in the Church of Hagios Niketas in Čučer (around 1320), in the Church of Hagios

Georgios in Staro Nagoričane (1318), in the Church of Mother of God Peribleptos in Ohrid (1294/1295), in the Monastery of Dečani (14th c.); refer to Wessel, *Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen* 384.



Fig. 8 St Thomas scene in the Late Byzantine Period: **a** Church of the Mother of God Peribleptos (St Clement's) Ohrid (1294/1295). – **b** Church of Hodegetria, Patronat of Peć (14th century). – **c** Church of the Mother of God Peribleptos, Mystras (14th century). – **d** Church of the Apostles, Lithines, Crete (1415). – (a Photo M. Horn; b Photo BLAGO Archives, Patriarchate of Peć, Church of the Virgin Hodegetria: www.srpskoblago.org/Archives/Peć/ [23.03.2016]; c from Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Mistra* fig. 65; d from Spatharakis, *Wall Paintings of Crete* fig. 150).

the beginning, the number of disciples varies. In the Middle Byzantine period, eleven apostles occur, but subsequently a total of twelve gains currency as the standard. Although a few exceptions spring up during the Early Christian years, Thomas is usually seen approaching from the left side and moving toward Christ's right in the process. Straddling his legs, with his body somehow stooped and his head bowed, the Apostle Thomas is seen striding in awe toward Jesus. At this stage, the halo of Thomas, such as the one depicted

on the gemstone, is only sporadically represented. A common trait encompassing all images is Thomas' extended and slightly elevated right arm with the index finger reaching out. Either the finger is directly poking into the wound, as rendered on the London sapphire, or it stops shortly before actually touching Christ's side. The options selected for the position of the left arm are multifarious, among them is the raised position toward Christ, or keeping the arm close to his breast or even holding an unfolded scroll containing



Fig. 9 Greek inscriptions: **a** Pilgrim flask from Monza (c. 600). – **b** Ivory with the »Doubting of Thomas«, mid-10th century, Byzantine Collection Dumbarton Oaks Museum, Washington, D.C., inv. no. BZ.1937.7. – **c** Mosaic, Katholikon of Hosios Loukas Monastery (11th century). – (a © Museo e Tesoro del Duomo di Monza, Foto P. Pozzi; b from DOCat III no. 21; c from Chatzidakis, Hosios Loukas no. 23).

the confession text from St John 20:28. The furred *rotulus* (scroll) in his left hand, symbolising his apostolate, as shown on the sapphire, is encountered throughout, such as on the London ivory from the 5th century (fig. 5b). The scroll is often regarded as a complementary element evoking the past in the »Palaiologan Renaissance«, as it is featured, both on the stone, and in the Apostles' Church fresco in Peć, Kosovo.

The Background

The background scene portraying Christ's appearance through closed doors is mostly fashioned according to St John's description in 20:26. During the Middle Byzantine period, the focus of the door motif is shifted to the middle of the picture, a good example being the mosaic in the Monreale Cathedral

Fig. 10 Church of Protaton (Koimesis), Karyes on Mount Athos, 1295. – (From https://iconreader.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/cathedral-protata_kars_athos13c.jpg [23.03.2016]).



(1179-1182). The Palaiologan wall paintings era then sees the emergence of an illusionistic backdrop combining urban architecture with gates; this scene is depicted in the Church of Mother of God Peribleptos in Ohrid (1294/1295)³⁷.

Summing up, one can say that the period ranging from the 10th to the 11th centuries is marked by a growing continuity in the application of the same pictorial formula and a consolidation of the iconography without, however, fully curtailing the freedom of adding additional details at the artist's discretion. During the Palaiologan era, the theme of Doubting Thomas sees a tremendous surge in popularity and dissemination.

Inscriptions in the Thomas Scenes

Earlier depictions of Thomas up to the 10th century are generally devoid of inscriptions. Neither the names of the protagonists nor the title of the scene are included. There are two specific exceptions to this general rule. The references to Thomas' confession according to John's Gospel 20:28 *ὁ κύριος μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου* (»My Lord and my God«) are found

on the Jerusalem pilgrim flask (fig. 9) and on the gold sheet in Berlin³⁸, thus avowing the pilgrim's belief³⁹. In the Gadara gemstone (see below) neither the portrayal nor Christ or Thomas are assigned a title or name⁴⁰. The scene receives an inscription for the first time in the 10th century on the Dumbarton Oaks ivory (fig. 9b) and the mosaic of Hosios Loukas (fig. 9c). With the inscription *ΤΩΝ ΘΥΡΩΝ ΚΕΚΛΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ* (»about the closed doors«), which is quoted from St John (20:19, 20:26), Christ's wondrous appearance to the disciples is described. In the Greek-speaking territories, this scene title remained the usual standard for the 10th to 12th centuries. The readable lettering *Η ΨΗΛΑΦΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΘΩΜΑ* (»the touching or palpation of Thomas«), which is etched on the London gemstone and also recorded in the Painter's Manual from Mount Athos, can only be tracked down to the Palaiologan era, but not before the 13th century. This is also consistent with the Thomas fresco in the Protaton Church at Karyes on Mount Athos (about 1300, fig. 10), where the title is clearly shown in the upper pictorial space, as well as in the Nikomedia Gospel illumination from the 13th century (fig. 14b). The scene inscription on the sapphire strongly suggests that it originated in the Late Byzantine period.

³⁷ For the wallpaintings see Kornakov, Ohrid.

³⁸ See above, p. 169, nt. 19.

³⁹ Literature see note 18 and 19.

⁴⁰ Another exception was made with the inscription »Apostoli« above the heads of Jesus's disciples in St Maria Antiqua, see Schunk-Heller, Ungläubiger Thomas figs 26-28.



Fig. 11 Steatite icon from Kievan Rus' or Byzantium, National Museum of Warsaw, inv. no. MNW SZM 7055 (formerly 32455), 12th-13th centuries, 37.4 mm x 25.5-27.6 mm x 6.4 mm. – (© National Museum of Warsaw).

Comparisons

The Gadara Gemstone

Since there is an absolute dearth of pieces allowing direct comparison to the unique Cheapside Hoard gemstone, a match with other artefacts featuring similar stylistic and iconographic traits can be utilised in a bid to deduce the dating. Basically, the Cheapside Hoard gemstone's scene reflects the classical canonical pictorial formula. With the omission of the other disciples – justified by a lack of space – the picture is solely confined to two protagonists: the Apostle Thomas and Christ. This shortened version is also reproduced in the Gadara gemstone (dated to the 6th or 7th centuries), although the two characters are standing next to each other in a taut posture showing no signs of any contact (**fig. 5d**). From the pictorial space, both are looking towards the viewer, while in the London gemstone the characters' mutual devotion,

presence and expressiveness help conjure up an image of an almost intimate atmosphere of togetherness between them. These two disparate renditions run counter to the assumption that the origin of both gemstones is concomitant. This is further substantiated by iconographic differences in the background layout. For example, a linear shape of a door-frame behind Christ and a cross behind Thomas are visible in the Gadara image, whereas no backdrop is present in the Cheapside Hoard gemstone, probably because both protagonists fully occupy the whole pictorial space. Furthermore, the surrounding inscriptions might explain the lack of architectural backdrop. Likewise noteworthy is the distinction in the stylistic execution. In the Gadara gemstone, flat and linear drapes cover the body and skewed figures with false proportions come to the fore. By contrast, in the London version the drapes are perceived to impart soft contours to the bodies as their vivid, space-filling and harmonically shaped frames seem to float gracefully in the air. Hence, it is fair to say that there must be a wide time gap between the two gemstones in terms of iconography and style.

Dating the gemstone to the aftermath of the Iconoclastic period, when the pictorial scheme became firmly entrenched, seems to be extremely likely. Making the most sense would be an association with the Palaiologan era as the Thomas theme becomes widely disseminated as its popularity increased.

A Steatite Icon from Warsaw

Supporting this claim is a small Byzantine steatite icon pendant, which is also dedicated to the Thomas theme and which is deemed to share a significant iconographic affinity with the Cheapside Hoard gemstone⁴¹ (**fig. 11**). Its origin can be traced back, either to the late 12th, or to the early 13th century. The London gemstone and the steatite icon boast a similar layout, with the characters filling the entire space and in exactly the same positions, although without an architectural backdrop. Compatible with each other are also Thomas' head and body postures, including the halo and Christ's lean and frontal frame with his head angled slightly sideward. With his arm raised and bent at the elbow, Christ is even touching Thomas' face. These striking similarities forge a close time relationship between these two objects⁴². In terms of style, however, an earlier dating of the steatite icon would be called for. The agitated curly folds reflect the late Komnenian style. With its jagged edges, giving it a somehow restive and curvaceous rhythm, the steatite icon's drape does not quite stack up against its London peer, which seems to exude a calmer, elegant and a more »easy-flowing« form.

41 For data concerning the icon, which is kept in the National Museum in Warsaw, refer to Cat. Warsaw 2006, 89 II.77. It is assumed that this artefact was crafted by a Byzantine master due to its high manufacture quality, ibidem 89.

42 However, the steatite icon does not bear the inscription: Η ΨΗΛΑΦΗCΙC ΤΟΥ ΘΩΜΑ, only the characters' names are mentioned.

Fig. 12 Church of the Apostles, Patronat of Peć (c. 1260-1264). – (Photo BLAGO Archives, Patriarchate of Peć, the Church of the Apostles: www.srpskoblago.org/Archives/Pec/ [23.03.2016]).



Palaiologan Murals

The sapphire's pictorial style, characterised by plasticity, aesthetics and harmony, dovetails smoothly with the classicistic style of the »Palaiologan Renaissance«, which begins developing by around 1300. The Thomas scene in the Church of the Apostles in the Patriarchate of Peć (1260-1264)⁴³ provides a fine illustration of this »beautiful style«, which is how R. Hamann-MacLean⁴⁴ described it (fig. 12). The supple elegance, the fluid shape of the robe structure and the slight, modelled inclination of the bodies are also encountered in the London piece. Another example of this trend can be witnessed in the high-quality frescoes of the Parekklesion in the Chora Church (Kariye Camii, around 1320)⁴⁵ in Istanbul. They seem to go hand in hand with the sapphire's stylistic elements as capital city murals, following a more classicistic-»academic« approach, also begin to focus on a plastic and a subtly designed figure style showing harmonically proportioned body shapes clearly delineated under the garment.

Carved Gemstones and Book Illuminations

The peculiarity of the oval-shaped, yet delicate and lithe head type is another indication of dating the London gemstone

to the period around the year 1300⁴⁶. The same moulds are also represented in a sapphire cameo with a Maria Orans image⁴⁷, in a cameo with the depiction of Hagios Nikolaos in Moscow⁴⁸ and in another cameo with a half-length figure of Christ in the Louvre⁴⁹ (fig. 13a-c). In addition, two more contributions are recorded from the field of Palaiologan book illustrations: the Karahissar Four Gospels (fol. 210^v) and the Nikomedia Gospel (fol. 323^v) from the 13th century (fig. 14a-b)⁵⁰. Despite espousing diverse concepts in the composition of illustrative details, both these paintings share many iconographic analogies with the London gem⁵¹. Even the stylistic similarities in the figure pattern seem to be absolutely striking. The erect Christ frame, as well as the shape of the Thomas figure heavily underscoring his right leg side with the soft drape wrinkle, are also depicted in the cameo. One could almost say that the Thomas portrayal in the Nikomedia Gospel could have served as a painted template for the gemstone. All of these uncanny parallels have helped establish a place and time-related connection between all these three masterpieces of art. It is assumed that the Karahissar Codex was painted in a royal palace scriptorium in Constantinople⁵². By the same token, the cameo's exquisite craftsmanship reinforces the theory that the processing works were carried

43 For representation see: BLAGO Archives Patriarchate of Peć.

44 For the style description in the Church of the Apostles, see Hamann-Mac Lean, *Monumentalmalerei* 324-329; esp. 327.

45 For the frescoes see Weiss, *Chora-Monastery*. – Ousterhout, *Kariye Camii* 1-22.

46 Wentzel, *Kameen Kassel* 90.

47 Wentzel, *Kameen Kassel* 90 and fig. 82, dated to around 1300.

48 Cat. Moscow 2013, 231-233 no. 39, dated to the early Palaiologan period (I. A. Sterligova).

49 For a representation see Cat. Paris 1992, 439 fig. 331, dated to the 13th-14th c. (J. Durand).

50 Literature referring to the Gospels see note 31 and 32.

51 The Karahissar Codex also shows a haloed Thomas, but this does not apply to the other disciples.

52 Colwell, *Gospels of Karahissar* 4-5 f. – Bank, *Peinture* 92.

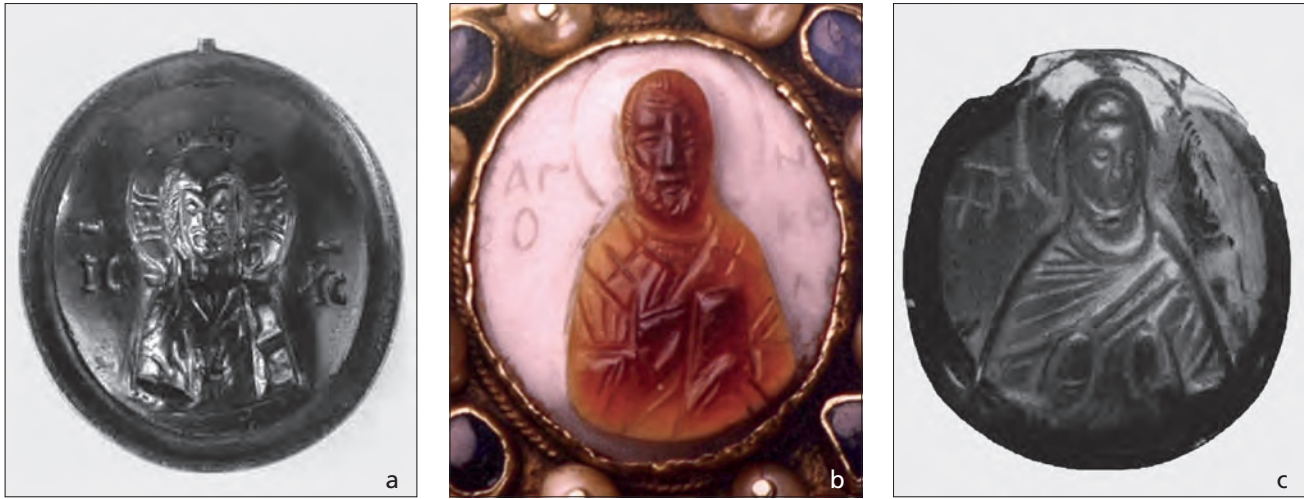


Fig. 13 Gemstones: **a** Jasper cameo with Blessing Christ, 13th-14th centuries, Musée du Louvre, Paris inv. no. MRR 220. – **b** Sardonyx cameo with Hagios Nikolaos, Constantinople, 13th-14th centuries, Kremlin Museum, Moscow. – **c** Sapphire cameo with the Mother of God Orans, c. 1300, private collection David Talbot Rice, Edinburgh. – (a from Cat. Paris 1992 fig. 339; b from Cat. Moscow 2013 no. 39; c from Wentzel, Kameen Kassel fig. 82).

out on the premises by an expert cutting master. Verifying this assumption once again is the gemstone's refined style, uniqueness and high esteem.

Proposal for a New Dating

The stylistic and iconographic findings of this review, as well as the chronology of the inscriptions, bear out the fact that the current valid dating for the gemstone's carving needs to be re-evaluated. It should be ascribed to the »Palaiologan Renaissance« somewhere between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century. Concerning the setting, the 16th century is the *terminus ante quem*. An allowance should be made for a longer hiatus between the gemstone's subsequent use as a pendant and the carving of the scene, though.

Sapphires in the Byzantine Glyptic

Precious gemstone types such as sapphires have been an extremely rare breed in the glyptic art domain⁵³. In view of their high value, the processing of the stones required continuous high-level expertise and was mostly performed in Constantinople⁵⁴ or alternatively in other capital cities. As

early as the 12th century, Theophilus Presbyter, a German monk who wrote about arts and crafts in the Middle Ages, emphasised how painstaking and intricate the task of cutting sapphires was⁵⁵. These difficulties notwithstanding, the Late Byzantine period left some pieces of cut blue sapphires, including cameos and intaglios, that have been preserved in scattered collections such as those in the Kremlin Museum in Moscow⁵⁶ and the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in Washington⁵⁷. The carved blue sapphires, the dating of which to between the 10th and 12th centuries is only tentative, tend to be regarded as a uniform group⁵⁸, but a light and transparent cut gemstone, such as the London piece, is no doubt a one-off specimen due to its size alone. No other similar artefacts exist. The unprecedented rarity and exquisiteness of this diaphanous sapphire could lead to the assumption that this is rather a re-utilisation of an old uncut stone perhaps coming from a crown, relic or some precious church adornment⁵⁹. The gemstone's donor, whoever he or she was, then proceeded to have the carving fashioned into the desired form, according to his or her own specifications. In any case, the 13th and 14th centuries saw the art of glyptic experience a renewed surge, not only in France and Italy, but also in Byzantium⁶⁰. In this period, many prestigious collections of Antique gemstones had their foundations laid as efforts were being focused on emulating classical traditions in the craft of carving and engraving.

53 Wentzel, Kameen Kassel 89. – Zwierlein-Diehl, Gemmen und ihr Nachleben 309.

54 Wentzel, Kameen Kassel 89.

55 In the second part of his »Schedula de diversis artibus« dealing with glass processing (Theophilus Presbyter, De diversis artibus 3,95). Reports on the hardness of diamonds and its processing with goats' blood, see Ohly, Diamant.

56 Cat. Moscow 2013. This is actually a sapphire cameo depicting a standing Christ Pantocrator from the 14th c., showing a resemblance with its figure style, although with a wider head shape. But the handicraft quality is not on a par with the London sapphire.

57 Bühl, Dumbarton Oaks 162-165.

58 Bank, Collections of Soviet Museums nos 153. 157. 160-161 or the blue sapphire cameo with Christ's half-length figure in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C. (inv. no. BZ.1936.17), dated to the 10th c.

59 For the re-use of gemstones see Kornbluth, Intaglios Oddly Set with listed examples.

60 Theophilus reported on highly skilled stone-cutters in Italy during this period; in Paris stone-cutters set up their own guild (Gebhart, Gemmen und Kameen 124-127).



Fig. 14 Manuscripts: **a** Gospels of Kaharissar, Leningrad Gr. 105, fol. 210^a, National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg, late 13th century. – **b** Gospel Book of Nikomedia, Cod. 25, fol. 323^b, V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kiev, 13th century. – (a from Colwell, Gospels of Karahissar pl. CXXXII = public domain, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015001985475;view=1up;seq=22> [23.03.2016]; b <http://redkayakniga.ru/biblioteki/item/f00/s00/z0000010/st033.shtml> [23.03.2016]).

The Use of the Gemstone

The particular theme might hint to the owner of the precious gemstone: St Thomas could have been the patron saint of a member of the Byzantine aristocracy, who either commissioned the scene's carving on the gemstone or received the gemstone as a gift from a patron. St Thomas' halo and the deep association with Christ add relevance to the St Thomas character. Placing the main focus on the two protagonists rather than moulding the scene into an architectural context conveys a sense of intimacy and trustworthiness to the rapport between Thomas and Christ. During the heyday of Western art, in the Quattrocento period, this motif became very fashionable⁶¹. During the Palaiologan era, scenes capturing the Apostle Thomas enjoyed prominent status among donors, especially in imperial and aristocratic circles. One such instance is the wall painting in the Church of Timios Stauros in Pelendri on Cyprus (before 1375), which depicts a pair of donors standing with imploring hands before Christ, who is pictured guiding the hand of the incredulous Thomas to his side wound⁶² (fig. 15a). Another one is an icon from the Metamorphosis Monastery in Meteora (1367-1384)⁶³ with a slightly altered image due to the inclusion of a female imperial sponsor and a male individual⁶⁴ within the pictorial scene behind the apostle Thomas (fig. 15b).

The Gemstone as a Protection and Salvation Icon

The Thomas motif bears testimony to the personal piety and belief of surmounting any doubts its owner or donor may have harboured. The depiction of the physical wounds of Christ risen from the dead implies a sense of identity between his pre- and post-Easter body. For the owner of the gemstone, this amounts to proclaiming his allegiance to the Orthodox doctrine against heretical views, thus accepting both natures of Christ as well as his physical resurrection. Hence, he identifies himself with the Apostle Thomas, who is cast in a role model as the conqueror of incredulity. Together with Thomas, the sapphire's owner joins Christ's inner circle, feeling encouraged to take part in the quest for God's salvation. The gemstone is also deemed to act as a soteriological beacon of hope for the eternal redemption of souls at the end of time, fully relying on the Apostle's support and intercession to achieve this goal. All these aspects serve to assert the fact that during the Middle Ages precious gemstones were thought to possess a magical effect or play a protection role as an *apotropaion* or »luck charm«⁶⁵. This fascination is unequivocally corroborated by the Warsaw steatite icon, which was worn as a »pendant icon«⁶⁶ around the neck and was considered a symbol of

61 Refer to Schunk-Heller, Ungläubiger Thomas 58-64.

62 Concerning church matters, see Zaras, Pelendri, illustration on 48 fig. 43. The donors were allegedly aristocrats: John of Lusignan, feudal lord of Pelendri between 1353-1374/1375 and his spouse, ibidem 49. – Pursuant to Stylianiou/Stylianou, Painted Churches of Cyprus 224.

63 Garova, Meteora Icon 369-381 with further literature.

64 These persons are most likely to have been Maria Angelina Palaiologina and her spouse Thomas Preljubović (Garova, Meteora Icon 369 f. – Likewise Agoritsas, Maria Angelina 171-185).

65 Zwiernlein-Diehl, Gemmen und ihr Nachleben 252. – Gebhart, Gemmen und Kameen 127-129.

66 Cat. Warsaw 2006, 89.



Fig. 15 Donors: **a** Church of Timios Stauros, Pelendri, Cyprus, before 1375. – **b** Icon from the Monastery of Metamorphosis, Meteora, 1367-1384. – (a from Zarras, Pelendri fig. 43; b from Garova, Meteora Icon fig. 1).



private devotion for the upper class⁶⁷. Another hypothesis is that the gemstone was possibly set in the middle of an encolpion or fitted into a pendant, such is the case with the steatite icon and others⁶⁸. The cameo might have been

highly valued as possessing magical powers like an amulet. The virtues embodied in the gemstone represent a guarantee of current protection, everlasting salvation and future redemption for the bearer.

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⁶⁷ The material deterioration of steatite was put into the right perspective by the analysis of Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner. Steatite was not a cheap imitation of ivory, rather its soft-green version was precious and highly appreciated, see Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Steatite Icons*.

⁶⁸ Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos/Pitarakis/Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Enkolpia nos 13. 15-16. 20-21. 24-25 and others*.

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»The Incredulity of Saint Thomas« on a Byzantine Sapphire from the Cheapside Hoard, London: A Proposal for a New Dating to the Palaiologan Period

One of the objects in the spectacular Cheapside Hoard of the 16th century, found in London, is a large Byzantine sapphire set in an earring of the 16th century. The New Testament scene of »Doubting Thomas«, accompanied by a Greek inscription, was carved into the stone, but it remains unclear whether it is a cameo with a low relief or an engraved intaglio because the stone was set into the earring in reverse.

The unique sapphire was previously dated to between the 3rd and 10th centuries. However, the examination of the iconographic and epigraphic development of the Thomas scene suggests a much later date. Diachronic comparisons in style, iconography and formal aspects with pieces of art from different genres, such as monumental painting, book illumination and minor arts, leads to a re-dating of the gem to the »Palaiologan Renaissance« around 1300.

The cutting technique and outstanding exquisiteness of the stone point to a metropolitan, probably aristocratic context in Constantinople. The function further corroborates the later date: in Late Byzantine times, the theme of »Doubting Thomas« was very popular among donors. Possibly placed in an encolpion worn around the neck, the gemstone attests to the piety of the wearer and his wish for protection and salvation.

»Der ungläubige Thomas« auf einem byzantinischen Saphir aus dem Cheapside Hoard, London: Vorschlag für eine Neudatierung in die Palaiologenzeit

Eines der Objekte aus dem spektakulären Cheapside Hoard des 16. Jahrhunderts, der in London gefunden wurde, ist ein großer byzantinischer Saphir, der in einem Ohrgehänge des 16. Jahrhunderts gefasst ist. Die neutestamentliche Szene des »Thomaszweifels«, die von einer griechischen Inschrift begleitet wird, ist in den Stein geschnitten worden. Jedoch bleibt unklar, ob es sich um einen Kameo mit Flachrelief oder ein graviertes Intaglio handelt, da der Stein mit der Schauseite nach innen im Ohring gefasst ist.

Der einzigartige Saphir war bisher zwischen dem 3. und 10. Jahrhundert datiert worden, die Untersuchung der ikonographischen und epigraphischen Entwicklung der Thomas-Szene erlaubt aber eine sehr viel spätere Datierung. Diachrone Vergleiche des Stils, der Ikonographie und formaler Aspekte mit Kunstwerken verschiedener Genres wie Monumentalmalerei, Buchillumination und Kunsthandwerk führen zu einer Neudatierung der Szene in die Zeit der »Palaiologischen Renaissance« um 1300.

Die Steinschneidetechnik und exquisite Qualität des Steins weisen auf ein hauptstädtisches, wahrscheinlich aristokratisches Umfeld in Konstantinopel. Die Funktion spricht ebenfalls für eine spätere Datierung: In der spätbyzantinischen Zeit war das Thema des »Thomaszweifels« sehr beliebt unter Stiftern. Vermutlich war der Edelstein ursprünglich in einem Encolpion gefasst und wurde am Hals getragen, war somit Ausdruck der Frömmigkeit des Trägers und seines Wunsches nach Schutz und Erlösung.

Sigles Used

ADelt	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον	DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique	GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
BHG	F. Halkin, Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca (Bruxelles ³ 1957)	IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
BOO	Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident. Veröffentlichungen des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz	JbRGZM	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz
BV	Byzantina Vindobonensia	JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift	Lampe	G. W. H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford 1961-1968)
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae	LBG	Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität
DeltChrA	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας	LCI	Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie
DOC	A. R. Bellinger / P. Grierson, Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection (Washington, D.C. 1966-1973)	LSJ9	H. G. Liddell / R.Scott / H. S. Jones et al., A Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford ⁹ 1996)
DOCat I	M. R. Ross, Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Vol. 1, Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting (Washington, D.C. 1962)	OC	Oriens Christianus
DOCat II	M. R. Ross, Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Vol. 2, Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period (Washington D.C. ² 2005)	ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
DOCat III	K. Weitzmann, Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Vol. 3, Ivories and steatites (Washington D.C. 1972)	PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris 1857-1866)
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers	PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit
		PmbZ	Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit
		RbK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
		RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
		TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini
		ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
		ZRVI	Зборник радова Византолошког Института – Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta

This volume comprises 13 papers from the conference »New Research on Late Byzantine Goldsmiths' Works (13th-15th Centuries)«, held at the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz in October 2015. The contributions primarily deal with the material culture of goldsmiths' works, such as crosses, reliquary caskets, jewellery, enamel works, and precious stones, spanning the wide geographical area of Byzantium and many of its neighbours, from Russia via Trebizond and Serbia to Crete. Furthermore, written sources on Byzantine goldsmiths, their craft and the provenance of precious metals provide evidence for goldsmithing in Byzantium throughout its history.

**Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident:
Veröffentlichungen des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz**

Die Reihe Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident wird vom Vorstand des gleichnamigen Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz, einer seit 2011 bestehenden Kooperation des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums und der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz sowie weiterer Kooperationspartner, herausgegeben.

Die Reihe dient als Publikationsorgan für das Forschungsprogramm des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus, das Byzanz, seine Brückenfunktion zwischen Ost und West sowie kulturelle Transfer- und Rezeptionsprozesse von der Antike bis in die Neuzeit in den Blick nimmt. Die Methoden und Untersuchungsgegenstände der verschiedenen Disziplinen, die sich mit Byzanz beschäftigen, werden dabei jenseits traditioneller Fächergrenzen zusammengeführt, um mit einem historisch-kulturwissenschaftlichen Zugang Byzanz und seine materielle und immaterielle Kultur umfassend zu erforschen.