Lucy-Anne Hunt

The Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII (1261-1282) and Greek Orthodox/Melkite-Genoese Cultural Agency in a Globalised World: Art at Sinai, Behdaidat, of the *pallio* of San Lorenzo in Genoa, and in Mamluk Egypt

This paper brings an art historical perspective to bear on the issue of cultural brokerage between the Byzantine emperor, the Latin Crusader States and the Muslim world during the later thirteenth century [1]. Attention is focused on the early years of the reign of the emperor Michael VIII (1261-1282), and specifically the time of the re-establishment of Constantinople as the capital of the Byzantine Empire in 1261 and its immediate aftermath. Michael VIII is known to have associated himself personally with stimulating artistic activity which reinforced the resurgence of Constantinople as the capital. But where did the artists come from, and where and how did they operate?

A vibrant visual culture, attributable to the monk/ecclesiastic-merchant-artist paradigm, can be perceived in Latin Syria at exactly the same moment, in the early 1260s. The question to be addressed here, then, arguably might be further refinded: can any linkages and networks be identified between Constantinople and Latin Syria in artistic practice, and if so who were the facilitating agents? This paper argues that Constantinople under Michael VIII was indeed culturally, politically and commercially related at this time to Latin Syria, as well as Italy, Mamluk Egypt, and the Mongol world. Ecclesiastical networks, especially those generated by the patriarch of Antioch, contributed to facilitate major artistic projects which demonstrate this. Case studies in icon painting, wall-painting, and textile manufacture are considered here which specifically propose the role of Patriarch Euthymios, Greek Orthodox patriarch of Antioch between 1260-c.1263, as a key cultural agent who facilitated these connections.

Discussion here focuses first on Michael VIII's tactics to re-establish himself as Byzantine emperor. Second, attention is turned to Latin Syria, drawing out the implications and consequences of the appointment of Euthymios as Greek

Orthodox patriarch of Antioch, already in post at the time of Michael VIII's retaking of Constantinople. Third, the case is made for associating three artistic projects with the reign of Euthymios as patriarch of Antioch in his coordinating role between Constantinople and the Levant. These are: selected thirteenth-century icons at St Catherine's monastery, Mt Sinai; the Syrian-style wall-painting programme at the church of Mar Tadros (St Theodore) at Behdaidat (Baḥdaydāt) in northern Lebanon; and the *peplos/pallium* (*pallio* in Italian), a ceremonial outer robe now in the Museo di Sant'Agostino in Genoa, which was given by Michael VIII to the Genoese Commune for display in the cathedral of St Laurence in Genoa.

The attribution of these works of art to Greek Orthodox/Melkite artists working in conjunction with Latins is associated here with Michael's policies to consolidate his position in Constantinople and his strategising via intermediaries and proxies. It is argued that the *peplos/pallium* was produced as a manifestation of Michael's strategy to revive and stimulate the traditional role of the Byzantine emperor as protector of the sites of the Holy Land and the Middle Eastern Christians who maintained them, especially the Melkites. Through the materials used it also demonstrates how Melkites provided access to trading networks with the Mongol and Mamluk worlds. The production of this *peplos/pallium* by Melkite artists, with inscriptions added by Latins, can be associated with his plan to mollify the Papacy and neutralise Michael's enemies through negotiations over Church union between the Byzantine and Latin Churches.

Viewing these three artistic projects within this politically-charged international, indeed global, environment adds a new dimension to art historical debates around »Crusader« and »Palaiologan« Byzantine art in the thirteenth century by proposing a major contribution by Greek Orthodox/Melkite

artists not only in Latin Syria but also in Byzantine Constantinople itself, the West, as well as Mamluk Egypt and the Mongol world.

Historical Context: Constantinople: Michael VIII's Personal Identification with the Imagery of Greek Orthodoxy

The emperor Michael VIII ceremonially entered Constantinople in procession on foot, following an icon of the Hodegetria, on the Feast of the Dormition of the Virgin on 15 August 1261, thereby ending Latin rule of the city (1204-1261)[2]. The emperor subsequently identified himself with particular works of art which aimed to secure and enhance his status as the Byzantine emperor of Constantinople and the Greek Orthodox *oikoumenē*. This had far-reaching associations. The icon of the Hodegetria, to which victory was attributed, provided a focal point, with its emblematic Orthodox iconography[3]. In Constantinople the monastery of the Hodegon was the *metochion* (dependant monastery) of the Antiochene Patriarchate: since the end of Byzantine rule in 1084 the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Antioch invariably resided here[4]. This association is highly relevant to the present argument of the linkage between Constantinople and Latin Syria which is a main concern of this paper. In the case of Latin Syria Euthymios, the Greek Orthodox/Melkite patriarch of Antioch, whose second period of office spanned 1260-1263 (?), emerges as a key organising and influential intermediary. This raises the issue of the extent of the artistic engagement of Levantine Christians with Michael's strategy to secure his position as Byzantine emperor in Constantinople.

Foremost amongst the works of art associated with Michael VIII in Constantinople after 1261 is the *Deēsis* panel in mosaic in the south gallery of the Church of St Sophia (fig. 1). The mosaic has been assumed to date from the time of the reconsecration of the church of St Sophia in the autumn of 1261. Robin Cormack suggested that the space at the bottom of the panel may have included a small figure, presumably Michael himself[5]. If so – and it is plausible – this would suggest Michael's personal identification with the revival of Byzantine art and liturgy as practised prior to the Latin occupation of the city. It would not be without precedent. An unidentified monastic or lay figure prostrate before Christ was depicted in the *Deēsis* image in the early twelfth-century Psalter Menologion in Harvard University Library, which

Jeffrey Anderson and Stefano Parenti associated with »the ancient cathedral rite … still surviving at Hagia Sophia, but already in the late eleventh century … influenced by hagiopolite practices indicated by Stoudite monasticism«[6]. It is surely consciousness of this tradition that Michael is raising in depicting himself before Christ in the mosaic. He is associating himself directly and personally with the *Deēsis* as the major scene of the restoration of Greek Orthodoxy and liturgical practice tied to the Holy Land through the Stoudite link. He is also thereby reiterating the ninth-century *Deēsis* mosaic panel at St Sophia over the southwest vestibule which bears the same connotation[7].

In her discussion of Michael's restoration of Constantinople, Alice-Mary Talbot considered that the time between Michael's entry into the city on 15 August 1261 and the reconsecration of the church during the Autumn (date unknown) would have been inadequate to produce the mosaic[8]. Following this argument and redating the mosaic to shortly after mid-1262, the time of the correspondence of Michael VIII with the Pope, puts back the date of the mosaic for a year and widens the scope for discussing it in the context of Michael's policy of church union, pursued with the aim of consolidating his position politically.

The end point of Michael's procession into Constantinople was the monastery of the Stoudion, dedicated to St John the Baptist, where he deposited the Hodegetria icon after which he went to St Sophia. The monastery of St John Stoudios had been damaged by the Latin Crusaders in 1204[9]. Perhaps the memory of the Middle Byzantine anti-Iconoclast imagery in the apse at the monastery church, and the ambition to restore it, could have been present in Michael's mind. The image, originating in the Cappadocian monastic environment of Asia Minor, represented the Orthodox, anti-iconoclastic perspective, as Warren Woodfin has noted[10]. The impact of the Holy Land monastery of Mar Saba and of Basilian Palestinian liturgical practice is relevant to the discussion here, with the reforms of Theodore of Stoudion in the ninth century. The *Deēsis* image itself was taken up in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the Psalter of Queen Melisende, dated between 1131-43, demonstrating the fusion of Greek Orthodox/Melkite and Latin theology, art and politics in Jerusalem[11]. The *Deēsis* can, then, be seen as the emblem of the Greek Orthodox/Melkite community and the revival of Greek Orthodox liturgy in the capital in 1261. Standing as the potent image of Orthodoxy in Byzantium itself, its depiction in the Holy Land and the Latin East came to play a part in the ecumenical

2 Macrides, Constantine 13 f. with n. 2; Talbot, Restoration 243; Shepard, Constantinople 73; Akropolities, History 383 f.
3 Angelidi/Papamastorakis, Hodegetria.
4 Todt, Christen 56.
5 Cormack, Mosaics 145 f. with pl. 7.
6 Anderson/Parenti, Office 351 f.
7 For this panel see Cormack, Mosaics 138, 145 with fig. 2.
8 Talbot, Restoration 252 n. 63.
9 Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 150. It was later reconstructed in 1293 by a brother of Andronikos II.

10 Woodfin, Majestas. For just two examples of the *Deēsis* image in late tenth to early eleventh-century Cappadocia see Jolivet-Lévy, Églises 149 f. with pl. 94 (Church no. 3, Ak kilisse, Ürgüp) and 141. with pl. 89 (the paraclesion of Kiliçlar kilisse).
11 Thomas, Stoudios 86-88. For the Melisende Psalter (London, B.L. MS Egerton 1139) fol. 12v see British Library, Melisende Psalter with colour reproduction. This is considered in this context in Hunt, Greek Orthodox/Melkite-Latin Artistic Interaction.

dealings with the Latins in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. This raises the issue of the relationship of the Byzantine emperor himself to the Holy Land, arguably exploited by Michael. After all, in 1261 the Byzantine return to Constantinople was hailed as the return to New Jerusalem[12]. A direct Antiochene association can be mentioned. The Russian pilgrim Anthony of Novgorod, recorded seeing a thumb relic of St John the Baptist at the Stoudion monastery in c. 1200 which had been removed from the right arm relic in the palace chapel of the Virgin of the Pharos. This relic had originally been taken from Antioch, a point to be returned to below. Michael would have been aware of the potency of this thumb relic in the church of St John in the monastery of the Stoudion[13].

Michael envisaged himself as the new Constantine and reinforced this image through art, ecumenism, and a return to Komnenoi values. He followed in Constantine's footsteps in adopting the church of the Holy Apostles as a *locus* for public art. He erected a bronze sculpture of himself kneeling before a huge statue of his namesake, the archangel Michael, on a column outside the main door of the Church of the Holy Apostles. The church of St Sophia was also central to him. The historic mosaic image of Constantine presenting the city to the Virgin, located in the vestibule, opposite Justinian offering the church itself, was Michael's key reference point in St Sophia in this respect[14]. He was also portrayed as the »New Constantine« on a *peplos,* the ceremonial robe commissioned by the patriarch Germanos III in 1265-1266 and displayed in St Sophia[15]. Equating the emperor Michael VIII with Constantine was one strand of imperial propaganda at this time[16]. Finally, the image of the emperor in the wake of the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 has also been viewed as a return to Komnenoi aristocratic values of family and ethnicity with the city of Constantinople itself in an emblematic role[17].

Euthymios I, the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch (1260-c.1263), as an Agent between Constantinople and Greater Syria

It was through diplomacy between the Byzantine court at Nicaea and that of the great khan Mongke that Euthymios had been reinstalled as patriarch in 1260[18]. This Byzantine entente with the Mongols had begun in the 1220s and was to continue through to the fourteenth century[19]. Following

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12 Angelov, Ideology 99.
13 Kalavrezou, Hands 69 with n. 68.
14 Talbot, Restoration 260 with n. 122.
15 Talbot, Restoration with n. 61, 260 with n. 123.
16 Angelov, Ideology 87, 89 f. The emperor Andronikos II later also identified himself with Constantine.

17 Angelov, Ideology 114.
18 Hamilton, Church 325; Harris, Byzantium 197.
19 The Byzantine entente which began during the time of John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222-1254) and his successor Theodore II Laskaris (1254-1258) lasted into the fourteenth century: Langdon, Byzantino-Mongolica.

Hetoum I of Cilician Armenia's submission to the Khan in 1254, Hetoum and his son-in-law Bohemond VI, prince of Antioch, allied themselves to Mongke's brother Hülegü in his campaign against the Muslims in Syria[20]. This benefited Bohemond in the short term, as was evident in Bohemond's successful campaign with Hülegü's Christian general Kitbogha, a member of the Church of the East. The much-coveted region of the River Orontes and the Damascus area – both regions in which significantly the red dye plant of madder was produced – were recaptured, and the three allies entered Damascus in triumph in 1260[21]. The celebrations were short-lived. On 3 September 1260 the Mongols were defeated at ʿAyn Ǧalūt with dire consequences for Christians, especially the Eastern Christian community, living in the city. But 1263 is also the date when Bohemond was thought to have ousted Euthymios from the Antiochene patriarchate[22]. Although the tide was turning in 1263, this highlights the particular years of Euthymios' patriarchate, 1260-c.1263, and his role. This, I suggest, included coordinating the activities of artists.

Euthymios' earlier career has bearing on the crucial period of 1260-c.1263. He had held the position of bishop of Tripoli before his elevation as the Greek Orthodox/Melkite patriarch of Antioch[23]. The post of the bishop of Tripoli in the early twelfth century has been described as that of an agent of the Byzantine emperor, with the Melkite community in general looking to the Byzantine emperor as their protector[24]. Whether or not Euthymios I was himself dependant on the emperor's favour in the ongoing tenure of his post is unknown[25]. However, it is likely that the protector-client/agent relationship continued during the reign of Michael VIII, embracing both trading interests and extending to support for the Melkites in their struggle alongside their Latin feudal overlords and Genoese business partners against Muslim military incursions during the early 1260s. Support by Michael of these activities, through Euthymios, as former bishop of Tripoli and the incumbent patriarch of Antioch from 1260, could well have been indirect. If so it would have enhanced Michael's prestige and position as a principal among Christian rulers and may even have given him a bargaining chip with the pope. Such diplomatic and political manoeuvring is not unprecedented in Michael's operations elsewhere. He maintained involvement in several conflicts early in his reign, eschewing direct military action in favour of engagement through third parties, especially local, indigenous militias[26].

Patriarch Euthymios at Antioch would, therefore, have been in close touch with Constantinople. I would also argue that this extended to economic involvement in trading. He was one of those, alongside the lord of Tyre, the Mongol khan, the king of Cilician Armenia and the prince of Antioch, investing in indigenous merchants from Damascus, Acre and Lajazzo/Ayas, who were sailing in a ship with a valuable cargo when they were attacked by a Genoese ship outside Corycos off the coast of Asia Minor in 1263. Massive compensation was paid in 1268 by the Commune in Genoa[27]. This was no doubt as the Genoese did not want to jeopardise trading agreements and, arguably, negotiations over Church union. Perhaps Euthymios' negotiations with the Genoese in the interests of the emperor Michael and the commissioning of such an important work of art as the embroidered *peplos/pallium* of San Lorenzo in Genoa caused resentment on the part of Bohemond VI, count of Tripoli, and contributed to Bohemond's expulsion of Euthymios from Antioch. Bohemond must have felt completely outmanoeuvred: after all he – Bohemond – was the ally of the Venetians. Bohemond's sufferance of Euthymios was effectively condoning the downfall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople and the mercantile hegemony of the Genoese[28]. I will argue below that Euthymios would surely have advised on local circumstances, the appropriateness of the imagery, as well as the practical matters of passing on the workmanship of the *peplos/pallium* to the textile workers who would have been from the community represented at the painted programme at Behdaidat. It is likely that the patriarch himself financed the embroidery with trading activity.

There is further political evidence that supports the suggestion that Euthymios would have been in close contact with Constantinople and directly with the emperor himself. Euthymios supported Michael in the face of opposition. He was censured by Arsenios, patriarch of Constantinople until 1264, and a critic of Michael VIII[29]. Euthymios was also trusted by Michael as a diplomat: he was one of two Greek Orthodox ecclesiastics who, after his ejection from Antioch, was sent from Constantinople in 1265 to the Mongol khan accompanying Michael's illegitimate daughter Maria Palaiologina to marry Hülegü[30]. The other, leading the delegation, was the monk Theodosios of Villehardouin, later Euthymios' successor as patriarch of Antioch (1278-1283)[31]. In the event, Maria married Hülegu's son Abaqa[32]. Amongst the presents she took with her to the Mongol court was a tent chapel of

20 Hamilton, Church 234.
21 For the association of madder with Damascus and the Orontes valley see Heyd, Commerce 1,179. On madder more widely see Chenciner, Madder.
22 Hamilton, Church 325.
23 Jabre-Mouawad, Témoin 140.
24 Jabre-Mouawad, Témoin 140 with n. 19f.
25 Todt, Patriarchen 168.
26 Wilksman, Conflict 89, 90f. for discussion of Michael's tactical involvement elsewhere, including with the Slavs, and in the southeast Peloponnese.
27 Riley-Smith, Nobility 798 with n. 105f.
28 By c. 1263 Bohemond would have wanted instead to concentrate on having his own excommunication by the Latin Church lifted, as argued by Hamilton, Church 325.

29 Hamilton, Church 325 n. 6.
30 PLP, no. 6267.
31 PLP, no. 7181.
32 Hamilton, Church 326. Teteriatnikov, Monastery esp. 193-200 for Maria, Mary of the Mongols, who not only patronised the church of St Mary of the Mongols in Constantinople, but was depicted as the nun Melania praying to the *Deēsis* group in the mosaic in the *narthex* of the church of the Monastery of the Chora (Kariye Djami) of c. 1315. Preiser-Kapeller, Tabriz 270f., with references, returning to the issue of bishops as intermediaries in Byzantine-Mongol diplomatic activity, ibidem 273 n. 57.

silk »embroidered in gold and with the figures of saints«[33]. Perhaps this was commissioned from the same Greek Orthodox/Melkite craftspeople in which case it can be envisaged as being similar to the Genoa embroidery in appearance. It is also quite possible that the »Church of the Greeks« built by her during her time at the Ilkhan court, until 1282, was decorated in the style of Behdaidat. This would fit with the Byzantine policy of encouraging local styles to be used. The painters stayed on to be employed by the Maphorian Bar Hebraeus to decorate a monastery in 1285. As will be seen at Behdaidat, this recognisably Syrian style would have been particularly suitable for the multicultural environment of the silk roads. Furthermore, features of Eastern Christian art found their way into Ilkhanid art through such interactions[34]. It is telling that Maria was eventually, as the nun Melania, depicted in mosaic in Constantinople praying to the *Deēsis* in the church of the monastery of the Chora (Kariye Camii)[35].

Major ecclesiastical, economic and artistic drivers intersected in Syria where they were in place prior to Michael's entry into Constantinople in 1261. Michael's alliance with the Genoese, already established by the Treaty of Nymphaion earlier in 1261, facilitated the direction of Byzantine economic policy in the later thirteenth century. Genoese interests in Latin Syria, Cilician Armenia and the Black Sea trade to both the Mongol and Mamluk empires further developed in the second half of the thirteenth century. In taking up the traditional imperial Byzantine role of protector of the Christians of the Holy Land, Michael worked through Greek Orthodox/Melkite ecclesiastical connections. The patriarch of Antioch, alongside those of Alexandria and Jerusalem, also provided an invaluable channel with the Mamluk world[36]. The Byzantine emperor routinely after 1261 used the establishment of bishoprics in outlying areas to establish Byzantine »suzerain« authority[37]. The same can be said for his relations with the Mongol world, with bishops appointed by the patriarch of Antioch to Central Asian sees, whether active or titular, during the Late Antique and medieval periods[38]. The material surveyed here offers a new perspective on the visual imagery attached to the role of patriarchs and other ecclesiastics, and merchants. Furthermore, the participation of individuals and the communities they represented can be identified, especially through portraiture, which can be shown to extend beyond the purely personal into the political domain. I argue, however, that this was not a passive one-way relationship with the Melkites merely as pawns. Drawing on the imperial ideal suited the purposes of the Melkites in Syria, reinforcing their own international agenda to maintain Holy Land shrines and trading activity. It also facilitated their role as mercantile intermediaries along traditional Byzantine trading routes.

Fig. 2 Istanbul, Hagia Sophia. South Gallery. Mosaic. Deēsis panel (detail), John Prodromos. – (Photo E. Ritter. Courtesy of Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C.).

Connecting Constantinople Artistically with the Levant, Latin Syria and Egypt

Recent scholarship has played down the likelihood of direct artistic contact between the Latin East and Constantinople around the time of the restoration of Constantinople to Byzantine rule in 1261. In attributing the panel painting of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria, depicted with angels (known as the Kahn Madonna) in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., to Constantinople, Jaroslav Folda points to the comparison of the Virgin with that in the St Sophia *Deēsis*, differentiating the painting style from that found in Crusader icons of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria attributed to Acre or from Sinai[39]. He concludes of the painter of the Kahn Madonna, that it »seems likely that this artist was from Italian origin, a Crusader artist who does not appear to have travelled to the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and who was possibly

33 Preiser-Kapeller, Tabriz 271 with n. 51.
34 The Annunciation in the illustrated manuscript in Edinburgh of al-Biruni's Chronology of Ancient Nations, dated 1307-1308, shows the Virgin spinning, for example Soucek, Chronology 147 f. with fig. 22.
35 Teteriatnikov, Melania; Zervou Tognazzi, Interpretazione 411 with fig. 9. See above, n. 32.

36 Pahlitzsch, Mediators 36.
37 Shepard, Commonwealth 22.
38 Parry, Melkites.
39 Folda, Chrysography 121.

Fig. 3 Monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai. Icon, Deēsis. – (Photo Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai).

working for an Italian Crusader patron in Constantinople«[40]. Detaching the work of the Italian artist from its accrued Crusader art historical moorings in this case is one approach. But another is more persuasive. The St Sophia *Deēsis* mosaic has also been set alongside a Crusader-era iconostasis beam from the Monastery of St Catherine's on Mount Sinai with saints, including military saints, centred on the *trimorphon*, in liturgical consideration of the *Deēsis*[41]. Enquiry can also be extended beyond Acre to Tyre and Tripoli and Egypt to take account of more fluid cross-Mediterranean, Latin-Greek collaborations in the artistic as well as the mercantile sphere. Looking to the figure of St John in the St Sophia *Deēsis* mosaic (**fig. 3**), further comparison with icon painting from the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai does seem feasible. The face of St John in the mosaic has wracked lines on the left cheek in the manner of an ascetic, a feature similar to that found in icon painting with Venetian connections at Sinai. An example is that of the Descent into Hell on one side of a bilateral icon[42]. This feature is also visible in the etched ovals of St John on an icon of the *Deēsis* at Sinai (**fig. 3**)[43]. Tripoli can be introduced into the equation because of the strength of the Venetian community here, with its trading interests and the favourable treatment the community received from its ruler Bohemond VI, as well as the connection between its cathedral of St Mark and that of Venice. But the style should be associated with the city itself rather than with any single Italian community exclusively. The main Italian association in Constantinople in the early 1260s was, of course, with Michael's allies the Genoese and not with his enemies the Venetians. The multicultural character of Tyre, Tripoli and

Antioch also cuts across this divide between »Venetian« and »Genoese« and offers a point of departure for considering artistic, commercial, theological and political links with Constantinople. Shared interests also provided the basis for interaction with the Mongol and Mamluk worlds.

The Monastery of St Catherine's, Mt Sinai: Portraits on a Nativity / Adoration Scene on an Iconostasis Beam and the Situation in 1260

The iconostasis beam with the Annunciation/Nativity (**fig. 4**) at St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, is probably dateable to 1260, which is the year Euthymios was reinstated as patriarch of Antioch. It is arguably a product of the Greek Orthodox Church in a coordinating role between the Byzantine Empire, Cilician Armenia, Latin Syria and the Mongols. The image gives a portrait of the three allies in 1260 approaching the Virgin and Child at Bethlehem. This introduces the role of Eastern Christians as agents and artists and the significance of the Holy Land shrines, specifically Bethlehem, as the kneeling older magus has been identified as Hetoum I, king of Cilician Armenia. He is shown here with his son-in-law Bohemond VI, prince of Antioch and count of Tripoli, in the centre looking to a Mongol figure behind him who has been associated with Kitbogha, a member of the Church of the East, who was believed to have been descended from the Magi, behind him[44]. It therefore probably dates to before the death of Kitbogha at the battle of ʿAyn Ǧalūt later the same year. It has been

40 Folda, Chrysography 121. Corrie, Kahn and Mellon Madonnas 294 points to the closeness of the chrysography between the *Deēsis* mosaic at St Sophia and the Kahn Madonna. She attributes the Kahn panel to the same workshop as the Mellon Madonna and considers both panels as Byzantine not Italian. She judges (299-300) the artists to have been »trained at Constantinople or Thessaloniki, and that these two panels were never in Italy«.
41 Zervou Tognazzi, Interpretazione 407 with figs 5 and 6. This beam is attributed to a »Franco-Byzantine Crusader« style by Folda, Art 436-438 with figs 256-261. For discussion of some of the issues of icon painting in this period see Corrie,

Sinai, Acre, Tripoli. Corrie (421-423) endorses the view that icons at Sinai were made in Syria and Lebanon and summarises debate about the icon at Kaftoun.
42 Weitzmann, Painting 65 referred to the »unusually haggard« appearance of Adam and Eve on the icon of the Anastasis, which he compared with that of St Andrew on a panel in the Museo Correre in Venice: Weitzmann, Painting 64 with fig. 26 compared with fig. 25.
43 Parpulov, Painting 347 with fig. 108 attributes this icon to c. 1230-1250.
44 Weitzmann, Painting 336-368 with figs 22-24.

suggested that this beam was painted for a former Byzantine church in Damascus, which was recaptured and turned over to Latin use when the allied army took Damascus[45]. Viewed in the wider perspective of the monk-merchant-artist dynamic, however, it is more likely that it was painted by a Greek Orthodox/Melkite artist at the monastery of St Catherine at Sinai[46]. The monastery itself had its own interests in Damascus, with jurisdiction over a church of St George in the city[47]. The presence of western or »Crusader« features in the icon is far from incompatible with Greek Orthodox/Melkite craftsmanship: it should not be forgotten that the monastery enjoyed the protection of the Papacy and was granted the status of a bishopric[48]. Furthermore, Pope Clement IV had asked Hetoum to intervene to assist the Hospitallers in their defence against Baybars' attacks[49]. The Mongol figure might be interpreted not only as a portrait of Kitbogha, and representative of Mongol overlordship over Hetoum, but also as a symbol of the wider belief in the Mongol rulers as the descendants of the Magi and worthy allies in the defence of the holy shrines, here the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.

These same allies had much to gain financially from collaboration. According to a document of 1268, indigenous merchants (»Mosserins«) of Ayas/Lajazzo, Tyre and the Mongol Empire, together with others from Acre and Damascus, were part of a trading consortium operating along the coast to Ayas/Lajazzo in 1263[50]. Amongst the jurisdictions covered, that of the patriarch of Antioch is listed separately from that of the prince of Antioch, indicating that Greek Orthodox/Melkite business interests were independent of the state. The individuals involved are documented as receiving compensation from the Genoese for the seizure of a ship outside Corycos, near the trading centre of Ayas/Lajazzo on the Cilician Armenian coast. Tyre became the centre of Genoese activity in Syria after their ejection from Acre in 1258 following their defeat by the Venetians and Pisans during the so-called War of Mar Saba (1256-1258). Several members of the consortium were from Acre. This means that indigenous merchants, as intermediaries, were able to continue to trade in both Tyre and Acre, despite animosity and rivalry between the Venetians and the Genoese themselves. One of those from Acre was Saliba, a Syrian Melkite who is known to have been a *confrater* of the Hospitallers, who made his will in Acre in 1264[51]. Trade controlled by Eastern Christians, especially Melkites, with their historic Byzantine mercantile connections, provided an intermediate, »neutral« space despite continuing conflict and warfare.
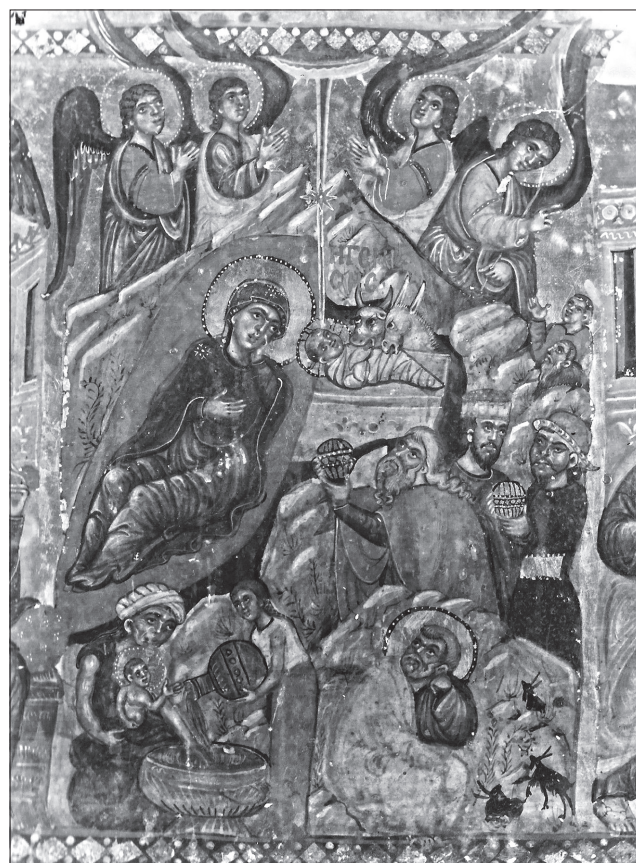
Fig. 4 Monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai. *Iconostasis* Beam. Detail, Nativity/Adoration. – (Photo reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai).

The Church of Mar Tadros, Behdaidat: Melkite Agency in Action and the Indirect Intervention of Michael VIII

The hand of the Greek Orthodox/Melkite Church at the time of Euthymios, the patriarch of Antioch, is arguably again in evidence in the recently-conserved programme of the Church of Mar Tadros at Behdaidat near Gibelet (modern Jubayl) on the Lebanese coast north of Beirut (**figs 5-6**)[52]. I have argued that this programme be attributed to the Greek Orthodox/Melkite Confraternity of St George (Lydda) and Bethlehem, with imperial intervention and in collaboration with the Latins[53]. The Syrian style of its wallpainting has been well-recognised by scholars[54]. I suggest that the church can be interpreted as a military chapel decorated and used by the Melkite Confraternity of St George and Bethlehem in the early 1260s and

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45 Based on the account of the so-called »Templar of Tyre«: Folda, Realities 323-329 with fig. 10.
46 Hunt, Jerusalem 341 f. for this suggestion.
47 Claverie, Honorius 229.
48 Claverie, Honorius 226 f.
49 Hamilton, Armenian Church 82 with n. 103.
50 de Mas Latrie, Histoire 74-77; Riley-Smith, Nobility 79 with n. 106. For comment on the »Mosserins«, see Irwin, Trade 74 f.; Jacoby, Acre 103 (written at a time when scholarship erroneously associated these merchants particularly with the »Nestorians«).

51 Hospitaller Cartulary. Cf. Riley-Smith, Nobility 79 f.
52 The Conservation project was led by Isabelle Doumet Skaf and Giorgio Capriotti under the aegis of ICCROM-ATHAR: see Doumet-Slaf/Capriotti/Hunt, Mural Paintings. I am grateful to Isabelle Doumet-Skaf for the invitation to join this project and for permission to reproduce photographs of the wallpaintings at Behdaidat here.
53 Hunt, Behdaidat for this argument. For this Confraternity see Richard, Confrérie 451 f.
54 For comment on the Syrian style of the programme at Behdaidat see Cruikshank Dodd, Painting 343; Nordiguian/Voisin, Châteaux 212; Immerzeel,

specifically in late 1262-early 1263, in tandem with Michael's ecumenical policy and in response to the threat to Christians posed by Sultan Baybars' attack on the Holy Land shrines of Bethlehem and Nazareth preceding that on Antioch in 1263[55]. The painted programme (**fig. 5a**) can be demonstrated to have been dedicated to self-sacrifice in imitation of Christ, prayer and salvation. The figure shown supplicating the military saint George (**figs 10-11**) can be viewed as a *confrater* representative of a textile–producing community trading and defending itself militarily under the aegis of the Hospitallers and working with politically powerful Genoese traders in the Genoese enclave of Gibelet. As such, he functions as an agent,

Puzzles 320 (index); Ter Haar Romeny et al., Formation 32; (with the wider proposed dating of 1243/1261-1262); Hélou, Patrimoine 183, 185. For the preliminary report on the art history of the programme since its conservation, with the bibliography from 2004-2009, see Hunt, Wallpainting. For further discussion of the wallpainting programme in the final report of the conserva-

tion project see Hunt, Behdaidat. A fragmentary inscription referring to the patriarch of Antioch in the wallpainting programme at the Church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus at Kaftoun in Northern Lebanon is also relevant here: see Waliszewski et al., Kaftun 317.

55   For Baybars' action see Richard, Crusades 416.

expressing a dual Melkite-Latin identity through his clothes and gestures. This is expressed in the form of the taking of the oath of loyalty and fealty to St George himself as a *turcopole* soldier, in the knowledge of sacrifice and in view of the Last Judgement imagery of Christ in Majesty and the intercession of the Virgin and St John[56]. By taking the oath as a *confrater*, the supplicant seals his dual Melkite-Latin identity, hence personalising the emperor's policy of church union.

The painted programme points to the accommodation of Melkite and Latin worship. The apocalyptic image of Christ in Majesty, in its traditional form, is the focus of the apse, combined with the *Deēsis* (**fig. 5**)[57]. The Gospel book held by Christ is open at the text of the Gospel of John 8:12 in Syriac, but with the first word in Greek[58]. This indicates the continuing ancient Antiochene use liturgies of St Basil and St John Chrysostom, although celebrated in Syriac and Greek[59]. At the same time Latin worship is accommodated with the depiction of alternating Greek and Latin blessings by the apostles depicted in the apse[60]. The emphasis is on healing the rifts in the universal church caused by the outcomes of the Council of Chalcedon of 451. The specifically Greek Orthodox monastic origins of the apse image in Asia Minor – as well as its presence at the Stoudion monastery church documented in the tenth century, as mentioned above – would have resonated with Syrian Melkite Christians with family connections and trading links with that area. The link with Constantinople was surely cemented with reference to major relics from the Antioch area with historic associations with the Melkite community in Syria. The relics, which had subsequently been housed in Constantinople, bestowed blessings and protection to the emperor himself.

The *Deēsis* shows the Virgin and St John the Baptist interceding with Christ on behalf of those worshipping and oath-taking in the church. St John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, was a central figure for the Greek Orthodox/Melkites, for the Hospitallers as the patron saint of the Order of the Knights of St John, and also for the Genoese. He extends his bare arms which are painted with hairs. This is to demonstrate his embodiment of the monastic ideals of Elijah, who was the archetypal monastic figure in both east and west[61]. Elijah is usually depicted in Byzantine art with a fur mantle and here that appearance is transferred to John himself and internalised by him. The imagery is rooted in the Holy Land. Elijah was believed to have ascended in his fiery chariot from Mount Hermon near the site of Christ's Baptism in the Jordan

valley at which the Melkite monastery of St John Prodromos was sited[62]. This monastery had been restored by Manuel Komnenos in the later twelfth century[63]. The relics of the hand and left arm of St John were kept at this monastery and had been translated sometime after 1187 from Sebaste, where he had been martyred[64]. The right hand, with which St John had baptised Christ, had been taken from Antioch to Constantinople by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in 956 and kept in the Great Palace at Constantinople where it played an important role in imperial court ceremonial, as Ioli Kalavrezou has shown[65].

In Constantinople itself, in the tenth century the presence of the relic of the hand of St John the Baptist, brought to the city from Antioch by Constantine VII in 956, has been interpreted as validating the legitimacy of the emperor in Constantinople at that time through divine intercession[66]. The emphasis on the depiction of the hand with bare arms of St John the Baptist in the wall-painting at Behdaidat (**fig. 5b**) arguably references the relic itself. This can be seen as transferring back the protection afforded by the relic through its prior location in Antioch and through the person of the emperor.

St Stephen the protomartyr of Jerusalem is shown in the Behdaidat wall-painting programme, standing on the south side at the base of the triumphal arch facing the nave (**fig. 5a**), opposite Daniel, on the north, who is an image of salvation. But St Stephen also has an imperial connection with Constantinople through the translation of his relics. These were brought to Constantinople, to the Church of St Stephen in the imperial palace, at the instigation of Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II, in the early fifth century[67]. Ioli Kalavrezou speculated that the emperor can be associated with St Stephen in certain instances of Byzantine art, identifying the role of deacon with the intermediary position occupied by the emperor between the lay and ecclesiastical ranks[68]. This observation can be applied here at Behdaidat. The figure of St Stephen is both richly-dressed and is censing as in his liturgical role. His association with Jerusalem serves to highlight Michael's binary role as New Constantine and Protector of the Christians and Holy Places of the Holy Land.

The pilgrim Anthony of Novgorod recorded seeing the right arm of St John the Baptist in the palace chapel of the Virgin of the Pharos in 1200 with other relics[69]. As already mentioned, he also saw the thumb from this hand in the church of St John in the monastery of the Stoudion[70]. The depiction of John's bare arms and hands at Behdaidat draws

56 Hunt, Behdaidat for this argument.
57 Hélou, Déisis-Vison for this iconography.
58 I am grateful to Professor Rifaat Ebied of Sydney University for his comments on the text.
59 See Pahlitzsch/Baraz, Communities 211 for prevailing assumption of the imposition of these liturgies. For the liturgical position in Jerusalem see Galadza, Byzantinization. Continuity in Antiochene art and liturgy can now be emphasised: see Hunt, Greek Orthodox/Melkite-Latin Interaction. The Greek Orthodox/Melkite community took the Behdaidat church over from the West Syrian Miaphysite community: it is known that a priest from the latter denomination had previously been appointed to the church from Tripoli in 1256: see Hunt, Wallpainting 74.

60 Cruikshank Dodd, Painting 341 f.
61 Jotischky, Solitude 159.
62 Pringle, Churches 2, 241.
63 Pringle, Churches 2, 240-244.
64 Pringle, Churches 2, 241 f.
65 Kalavrezou, Hands.
66 Kalavrezou, Hands 76-78.
67 Kalavrezou, Hands 57, 59.
68 Kalavrezou, Hands 66.
69 Kalavrezou, Hands 78 f. For the relics at the Pharos Church see Magdalino, Reliques.
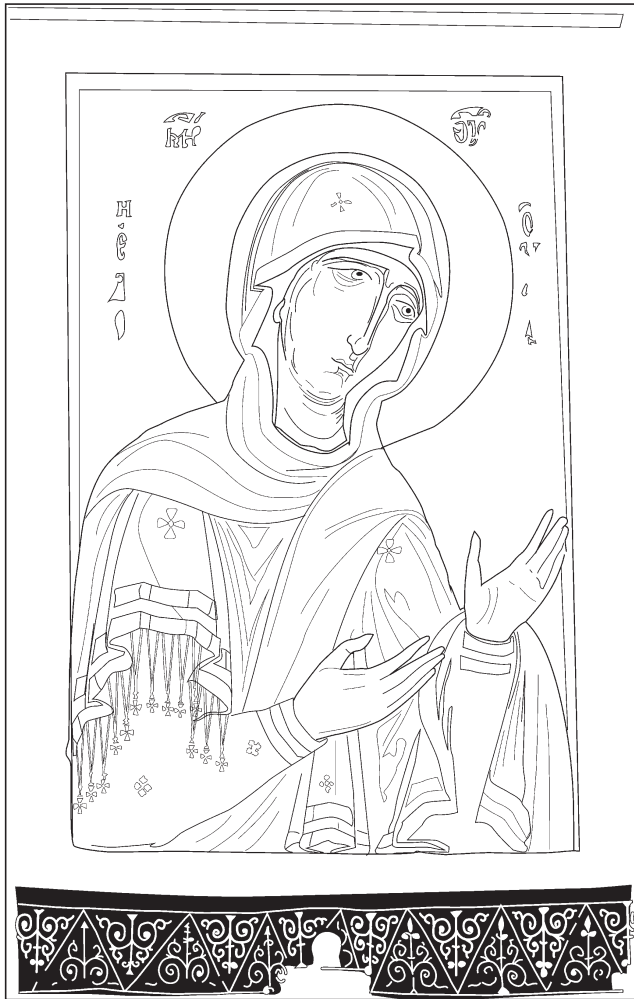70 Kalavrezou, Hands 69 with n. 68. See above, n. 13.

Fig. 6 Paphos, Monastery of St Neophytos. Templon icon of the Virgin. – (Drawing after Papageorgiou, Icons fig. 19).

on the connection with Constantinople to »remotely« reclaim the relic and accentuates its Antiochene origin. This thumb – or perhaps a small section of a finger – had been removed when the relic was still in Antioch where, according to one miracle, it had been used to kill a dragon by choking and so enable the rescue of a young girl by her father[71]. Various narratives exist concerning the right arm after 1204. One is that it was taken from Constantinople in 1261 by Baldwin, emperor of Latin Constantinople and acquired by Eudes de Circons, lord of Charistos and then given to the Monastery of Cîteaux in 1264[72]. Another was that it was taken to the Peribleptos Monastery of the Virgin[73]. Thereafter it was kept at the monastery of St John the Baptist at Pera in Constantinople until the end of Byzantine rule[74]. A reliquary of the fourteenth/early fifteenth century in the Topkapi Sarayi Mu-

seum is also thought to hold the relic[75]. What is important at Behdaidat in the early 1260s is the evocation of the power of the relic, once in Greek Orthodox hands in Antioch and now shared with the Latins, to protect and give victory to the joint Syrian Melkite-Latin military defence of the loyalty against attack by the forces of Sultan Baybars.

The presence of the relics in pre-1204 Constantinople had contributed an ecumenical dimension to the holiness of the city itself[76]. At Behdaidat the evocation of the relics of the Holy Land and of Antiochene origin provides an ecumenical basis for prayer and a legitimacy for the Greek Orthodox/Melkite-Latin, especially Genoese and Hospitaller parties, united here. In the case of the Greek Orthodox/Melkite Christians, Antioch as the place of origin of the relics underlines the legitimacy of their patriarch and their cause to protect the Holy Places and in turn to be protected. For the Genoese, relics of St John had first been acquired by the Genoese founder of the seigneurie of Gibelet after the First Crusade and taken to San Lorenzo in Genoa[77]. For the Hospitallers, it was an endorsement by their patron saint of their leadership in the defence of the Latin kingdom[78].

The economic basis of the Greek Orthodox/Melkite community was arguably the production of textiles, which appear throughout the programme. Several of these are elevated to the status of textile relics, especially the cloths striped in red and black on which Christ in the apse (**fig. 5b**) and the Virgin of the Annunciation (**figs 7a-b**) are seated. The same can be said for the cloth around the neck of the young man from Mytilene riding pillion, being rescued by St George (**fig. 10**), which takes the form of the cloth used to wipe the eucharistic chalice. These were probably of cotton or linen, a major industry in the areas of Antioch and Tripoli at the time. Cotton fabric is featured in the narrative images on an iconostasis beam at Sinai depicting the miracles of St Eustratios with a *Deēsis* image, which Nancy Ševčenko has provisionally attributed to Antioch[79] Given the present discussion and the centrality of Tyre and Tripoli to the textile industry, the County of Tripoli can also be proposed as a place of manufacture of an icon such as this, and the production of the type of the textiles it depicts. The beam could well have been placed above an iconostasis screen in a church such as Behdaidat. Striped cloth appears in thirteenth-century wallpaintings elsewhere in present-day Lebanon[80]. At Behdaidat the Virgin holds a red thread (**fig. 7b**), representing that with which the temple veil is woven, accessing the rich Greek Orthodox iconography of the Annunciation and veiling[81]. Maria Evangelatou has referred to the miracle which took place every Friday at the Blachernae in Constantinople when the veil in front of the

71 Sinkević, Hand 128 with n. 12.
72 Kalavrezou, Hands 68 with n. 62.
73 Sinkević, Hand 130.
74 Majeska, Travelers 341.
75 Kalavrezou, Hands 69f.; Qantara, Relic.
76 Majeska, Pilgrims 95, 101.
77 Epstein, Genoa 29; Gorse, Family 315.

78 The right arm subsequently became their most valued possession of the Knights of Rhodes: Sinkević, Hand 131f.
79 Ševčenko, Beam 281f., in which the dress streaked in pink and blue to the right of scene 4 – described 270 with colour plate 9 – is considered to be ikat.
80 An example is that depicted in the southern apse of the chapel at the east end of the Church of Mar Girgius at Rashkida: Dodd, Painting 273 with pl. 14.4.
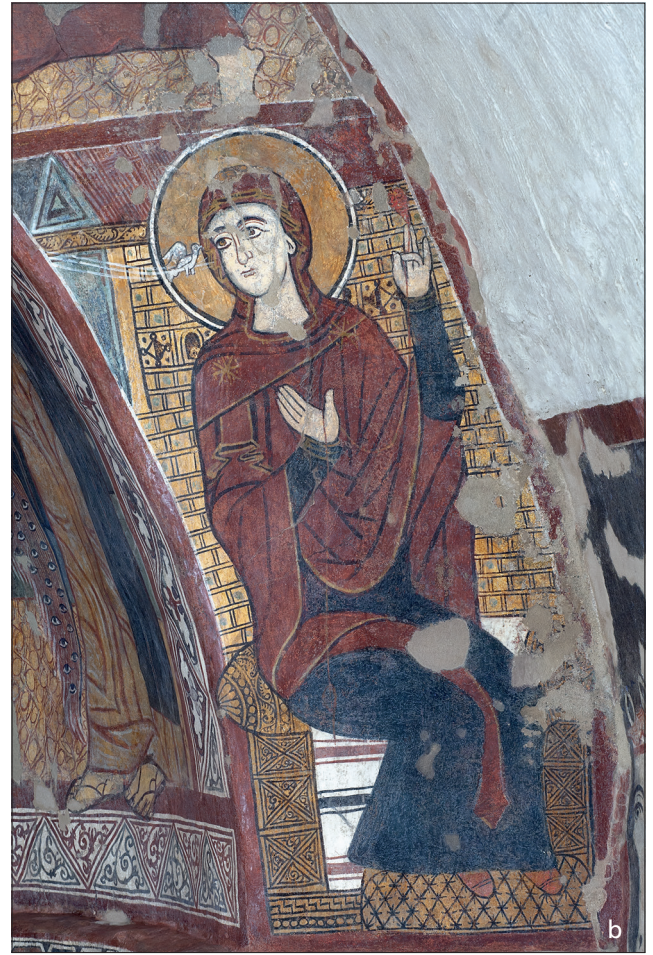81 See Evangelatou, Thread.

Fig. 7a-b Behdaidat, Church of St Theodore. Triumphal Arch. Annunciation. – (Photos I. Doumet-Skaf).

icon of the Virgin and Child lifted itself revealing the holy image[82]. This veil represents Christ's material being, the form in flesh which he derived from the Virgin and with which he was clothed at the Incarnation[83]. Here at Behdaidat the patterning at the base of the apse is identical to such a veil depicted below an early thirteenth-century icon of the praying Virgin Eleousa from St Neophytos near Paphos on Cyprus (**fig. 6** drawing)[84]. This icon is closely related to others with wavy lines on the back depicting fabric which is surely the hallmark of the manufacture by Greek Orthodox/Melkites in the cloth industry, including the Confraternity.

Similar artistic and commercial activities can be shown to extend to Mamluk Egypt with comparable work identifiable in Miaphysite Coptic churches. A related work in Old Cairo is the icon of the Virgin and Child in the Church of St Barbara (**fig. 8a**), which depicts striped cloth on the throne both behind the Virgin and decorating that on which she is seated[85]. The column painting of the Virgin with the Child before

the main sanctuary in the Church of St Mercurius in Old Cairo similarly shows the Virgin holding thread in her hands (**fig. 8b**)[86]. This demonstrates that Genoese commercial activity also involved Miaphysite communities, operating along trading routes, including that through the port of Alexandria.

This depiction of textiles can be seen alongside that of other materials characteristic of the trading activity of the Confraternity, including gems and pearls and the material means to produce colours, including the madder of red and alum with which to set the colours. I argue that the young man being rescued from Mytilene represents the island of Mytilene (Lesbos) itself, needing protection from Turkish attack. The island had been in Latin hands (those of Baldwin of Flanders) after 1204 but was reconquered by the Byzantine emperor of Nicaea John III Vatatzes after 1224[87]. It therefore demonstrates the recovery of the traditional Byzantine resources needed for the successful textile trade in the County of Tripoli. Arguably this does not just offer up these materials

82 Evangelatou, Thread 264.
83 Evangelatou, Thread 264 with references.
84 Papageorgiou, Icons fig. 19; Mouriki, Hodegetria 413 f. with fig. 3.
85 Skalova/Gabra, Icons 176-179 with plates.
86 For both the Virgin and Child icon with striped cloth in the Church of Sitt Barbara and the column painting of the Virgin holding the thread in the Church

of St Mercurius see Hunt, Interchange 52-54 with references and, respectively, figs 5 and 4. I pursue the Egyptian connections further in a larger forthcoming study.
87 Gregory, Lesbos. See Hunt, Behdaidat for this argument.

Fig. 8 a Old Cairo, Church of Sitt Barbara. Icon of the Virgin and Child. – **b** Virgin and Child. Column painting before the sanctuary, Church of St Mercurius, Old Cairo. – (Photos L.-A. Hunt).

but also gives their exploitation a spiritual value, thereby bestowing legitimacy on the commercial activities of the community. Greek Orthodox/Melkite agency gives these arguments form and life. This underlines the position of the community as a textile-producing one with trading links to the Arab world, especially through Tyre, and to the Mongol east, and to the West and Byzantium itself.

The Virgin receives the word of God from the dove in the Behdaidat Annunciation (**figs 7a-b**) in exactly the same way as she does in the scene on the beam at Sinai with the Nativity discussed above[88]. This and other evidence of the close relationship between the painting here and icons at Sinai suggests that there was an iconostasis screen at Behdaidat with such a beam above. Furthermore, the close comparison

between the Annunciation at Behdaidat (**figs 7a-b**) with a pair of painted doors of the Annunciation at Sinai (**fig. 9**) points to the likely former presence of similar doors here at Behdaidat[89]. This focuses attention on the Virgin as door, further cementing the link with imperial Byzantine ceremonial as at St Sophia in Constantinople. This was symbolised by the imagery of the lunette mosaic, mentioned above, over the vestibule portal doorway of the second half of the tenth century showing Constantine with the city, and Justinian the church before the Virgin and Child as intercessor[90].

88 Reproduced in Folda, Art 318 with fig. 164.
89 Cat. Los Angeles 2006, 179 no. 22 with colour plate (S. E. J. Gerstel).

90 Dagron, Emperor 99 with pl. 2.

Fig. 9 Monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai. Sanctuary Doors with the Annunciation. – (Photo reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai).

Fig. 10 Behdaidat, Church of St Theodore. South wall. St George with the young servant boy from Mytilene, and supplicant. – (Photo I. Doumet-Skaf).

The salvational theme sets the tone for the painting on the upper part of the triumphal arch and cascades down the registers of painting, to the military saints on the nave walls. The image of the Sacrifice of Isaac on the north side has the last-minute rescue of Isaac, prefiguring the sacrifice of Christ. The ram on the barrel vault to the left of the scene (just visible at the top left of **fig. 5**) stands, for the Latin worshipper, for the Lamb of God and Christ's sacrifice as an inspiration for martyrdom. Christ is shown as a bust portrait in a jewelled roundel at the top of the triumphal arch. The whole is directed from God at the apex through the hands of God extended on either side from the former window. These hands of God from heaven indicated by eight-pointed white stars above. The word of God is handed down in written form to Moses. In the apse below are the apostles, alternating Greek and Latin blessing gestures, reflecting the dual Greek Orthodox / Melkite-Latin worship in the church.

The military saints are both defenders and each has the function of a *diasoritēs*, a term meaning safe-keeping and de-

rived from a monastery in Asia Minor[91]. It can be argued that St George (**figs 10; 12a**) represents the interests of the Greek Orthodox / Melkite community working in collaboration with the Latins, while St Theodore (**fig. 13**) represents the County of Tripoli. St George's shield is decorated with a prominent chequerboard design, which reappears in more fragmented form on his saddle guards as well as on St Theodore's surviving front guard. The same design is shown on the central panel of the painted triptych at Sinai often referred to as the »Acre Triptych«, where it depicts a floor-covering, likely a textile one, covering the low platform on which the enthroned Virgin and Child are seated, extending forward in perspective. On this triptych the chequerboard design has been regarded as a western feature[92]. However, its origins can be regarded as Byzantine, used as a military symbol, as it appears as a heraldic design on Byzantine flags from the tenth century[93]. This might well have implications for a possible reattribution of the triptych itself to the County of Tripoli. Furthermore, the Behdaidat St George figure displays another imperial symbol, that of a single-headed eagle looking to its right on a red ground worn on the saint's left legging, next to his horse's red and white chevron girth (**fig. 12a**). This is inherited from the Roman military past[94]. Viewing the eagle symbol as an indication of the intervention of Michael VIII as imperial protector refers back to its appearance on the dalmatic of St Stephen visible on a column at the Church of the Nativity in the late 1160s at the time of the intervention of Manuel Komnenos. This had arguably been painted at the time of his father and predecessor the emperor John II Komnenos before the latter's death in April 1143 and had retained its imperial associations and relevance (**fig. 12b**)[95].

91 For the *diasoritēs* term see Grotowski, George 57 with n. 1; Puech, Aristocracy 70 with Map 80.
92 Folda, Chrysography 13, with colour plate 2, who notes its use in Tuscany by Guido da Siena.

93 Babuin, Standards 41.
94 Babuin, Standards 41.
95 Bagatti, Betlemme 99 with fig. 22; Kühnel, Painting 64-69 fig. 3, no 11, pls XX-XXI. For this dating see Hunt, Greek Orthodox / Melkite-Latin Interaction.

Fig. 11 Behdaidat, Church of St Theodore. North wall. Detail, St George's suppli-cant. – (Photo L.-A. Hunt).

The observations here about the community in this area being a textile-producing one opens up the question of whether this community was also responsible for the sur-viving *peplos/pallium*, the ceremonial outer robe now in the Museo di Sant'Agostino in Genoa, which was given by Michael VIII to the Genoese Commune for display in the cathedral of St Laurence. The logical conclusion is that this embroidered *peplos/pallium* was indeed made by this same community of textile workers in the County of Tripoli, co-ordinated through the agency of Euthymios, patriarch of

Antioch. This is supported by the strong imperial elements in the embroidery.

A comparable scenario, I suggest, can be seen in the south conch of the *narthex* of the Church of the Phorbiot-issa at Asinou on Cyprus. Here praying laypeople are shown supplicating the Virgin of Mercy wearing dual-coloured gar-ments[96]. These reflect the dual-coloured clothing of the St George supplicant at Behdaidat (**fig. 11**) who, as men-tioned, I argue is a *confrater* between the Greek and Latin Churches and a member of the Confraternity of St George (Lydda) and Bethlehem. In the same *narthex* at Asinou the painting of St George, currently dated to the late twelfth century, has been termed a »Diasorites in all but name«[97]. However, I would date this painting to the thirteenth century, alongside Behdaidat, and argue the artists to be members of the same Confraternity. Artistically there are several par-allels to link the two. Just one is the hexagonal design of the Asinou St George's halo which appears in the lower part of the apse at Behdaidat (here **fig. 4**). His shield depicts eight-pointed stars with the cross and star and crescent motif. This betokens a link with Latin Tripoli that is also the case at Behdaidat.

The military saint Theodore at Behdaidat (**fig. 13**) can be identified with Latin Tripoli through the presence of red eight-pointed stars which are also shown in the sky on either side of the saint's head[98]. Eight-pointed stars appear in the star denier coinage of the County of Tripoli of the mid-thirteenth century. The motif is thought to have been derived from the cross and crescent design which appeared on the coinage of Raymond V (1148-1194), count of Toulouse, when he held the County of Tripoli. It was subsequently adopted into the County of Tripoli, probably during the reign of Bohemond IV[99]. This symbolism had been used to build up the aura of Count Raymond III of Toulouse (1197-1249), especially his identity as a model of *paratge,* or peerage, and moral virtue. The Oc-citanian system of values were constructed around allegories of heraldry and epic poetry of the victory in the First Crusade and the gain of Antioch[100]. Furthermore, its origins have been attributed to Eastern Christology[101]. One can go further in suggesting that the stellar iconography has a Bethlehemite aspect to it. The binary sun/moon juxtaposition that is a part of it also occurs at Behdaidat, associated with Christ at the top of the triumphal arch (**fig. 4**), with eight-pointed stars, this time in white, expressive of light. Christ is thereby author-izing St Theodore. The linkage of the sun and moon imagery to the Count's coinage is also about power and economics. Tripoli's fortunes had risen, with its port providing coastal ac-cess. Conversely, those of once-great Antioch, now cut off by Muslim-held territory from the County of Tripoli to the south

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96 Kalopissi-Verti, Murals 127 f. with fig. 5.10.
97 Nicolaïdès, Murals 101 with fig. 4.1 and detail opposite 93 in colour.
98 Hunt, Wallpainting fig. 59.
99 Schlumberger, Numismatique 104 for this suggestion; Bedoukian, Coinage 121 with n. 37 and figs. For this coinage in the County of Toulouse, see Macé, Raymond VII 151.

100 Macé, Raymond VII 137 refers to a »hierarchy of values« around princely propaganda.
101 Macé, Raymond VII 151.
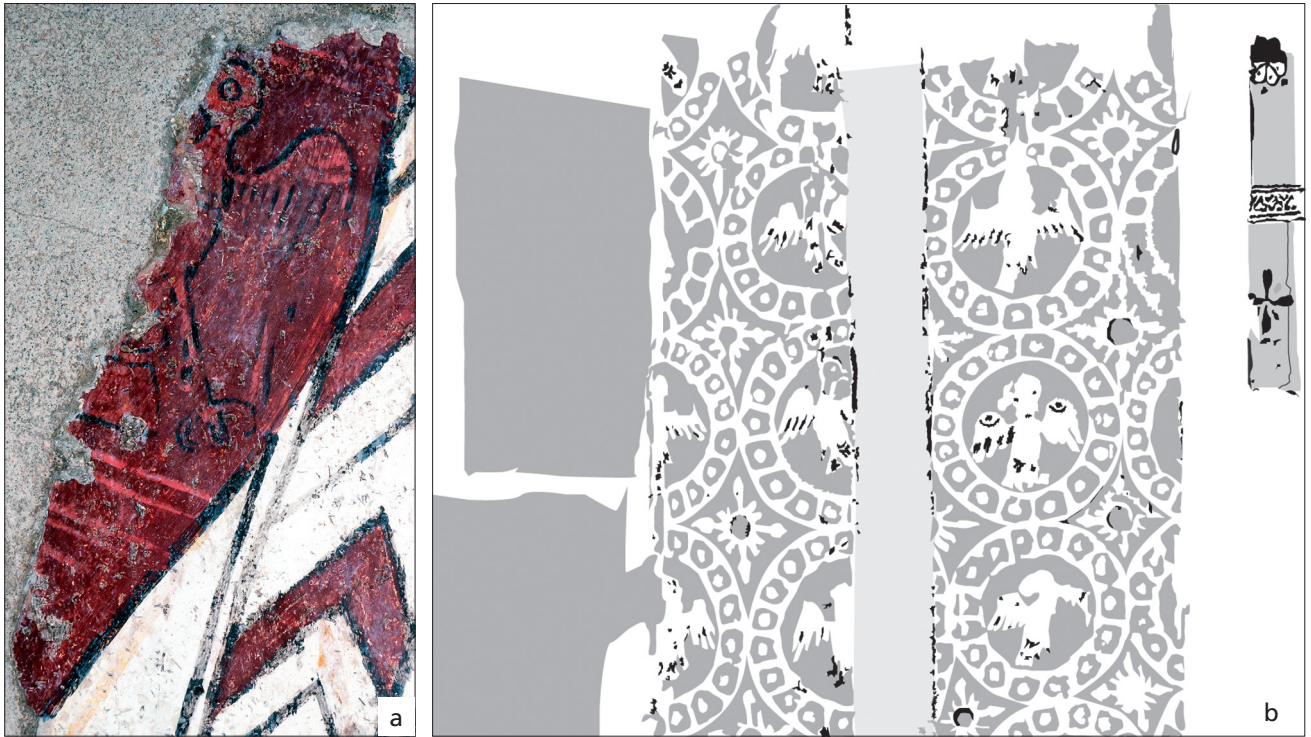
Fig. 12 **a** Behdaidat, Church of St Theodore. South wall. St George. Detail of legging, eagle. – **b** Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity. Column painting of St Stephen. Detail of dalmatic, eagle design. – (a Photo L.-A. Hunt, b Drawing after Kühnel, Painting pl. 21 fig. 34).

of it, had declined[102]. In taking on the role of Christian protector, Tripoli has taken on the attributes of Constantinople including its spiritual authority through the presence of relics depicted at Behdaidat and the willingness to defend Antioch and its patriarchate. Baldwin II, the last Latin emperor of Constantinople (1228-1261), identified with such a Greek-Latin fusion when he depicted himself as the equestrian emperor Constantine on his seal, inscribed in Greek, as Cécile Morrison has recently emphasised[103].

The Military Saints' Supplicants

The portraits of the supplicants indicate their intermediary position between the Latins and the Byzantine emperor. They point to a date after late 1262, when Michael VIII had suggested union to the Pope and before Euthymios left office, believed to be during 1263. The scene represents an oath taking[104]. The St Theodore supplicant (**figs 13-14**) wears the dark garment of a procurator / administrator and merchant, with a vertical red stipe which identifies him as a member of the Confraternity. He prays with his hands extended in the western manner and is therefore a Latin-rite Christian. His prayer mirrors that of an icon at Sinai showing the kneeling

figure of George Parisis praying (the Greek inscription uses the word *Deēsis*) before St George Diasorites with St Theodore Stratelates[105]. This supplicant is arguably in command on behalf of the Genoese. As the leader of the local commander he could well have been indigenous-born[106]. He fixes his gaze on the St George supplicant opposite (**figs 10-11**)**,** who raises his hands in prayer in the *orans* eastern manner. This supplicant is on the point of making his oath of allegiance to the saint, and to the Hospitaller Order to become a warrior *confrater*. The latter's role is as a sergeant to the saint. His *mi-parti* blue- and red-coloured garment shows that he had dual affiliation, as a Melkite and as a Latin feudatory, and as the latter he enjoyed feudal protection. The frontispiece in a Cilician Armenian manuscript of the *Assizes* of Antioch, dated to 1331, shows a *confrater* appealing over the head of his overlord to the king, in this case Levon IV[107]. This is relevant to Behdaidat. The *confrater* system bypasses Bohemond VI. It offers, then, an alternative feudal structure at a time of weakness or conflict with the feudal lord of the Principality. Count Guy of Gibelet had fought alongside the Genoese against the Venetians and Pisans, against the orders of Bohemond VI, his feudal overlord, during the War of Mar Saba at Acre (1256-1258). The *confrater* system used here benefited, then, the Genoese, the Hospitallers and the Communes, in which the

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102 Bedoukian, Coinage 122.
103 Morrison, Identities 162 with fig. 8.14.
104 This, and the art history of the painted programme as a whole, is described and discussed in greater detail in Hunt, Behdaidat.

105 Cat. New York 2004, 376 no. 231 (J. Folda).
106 Riley-Smith, Nobility 52-56, 90 f.
107 MS Venice, Mekhitarist Library 107; Der Nersessian, Painting 159 f. with fig. 648; Cat. Venice 2011-2012 no. 26 (A. Sirian).

Confraternities had a place, against the increasingly weak central state. In the present context, it gave a structure within which a Melkite could retain his identity at the same time as fighting under the aegis of the Hospitaller Order in the inter-

ests of his community and Greek Orthodox / Melkite shrines. The authority of the Hospitallers is marked with patriarchal crosses painted near the entrance to the church. St George accepts the allegiance of his supplicant, touching him with the lance. This can be associated with the relic of the lance of Antioch[108]. The protection of Antioch was bound up with the sacred past of the Melkite community as well as its politics.

The point holds good concerning the dress worn by administrators and merchants. While it is true that the St Theodore supplicant at Behdaidat is operating within the Genoese-held seigneurie of Gibelet, his headgear identifies him more generally as an Italian official, especially one involved in trade. It could well indicate business interests in both Tyre and Tripoli. Tripoli was also the location of the court of Bohemond, prince of Antioch, ally of the Venetians. The War of Mar Saba had polarised the Genoese and the Venetian communities, and resulted in the ejection of the Venetians from Tyre (1256) and then the Genoese from Acre (1258). Tyre became the local centre of Genoese operations, especially for trade with Damascus and the Islamic world. Tripoli would also have been important, given its position on the major coastal trading route between the coastal cities and Ayas/Lajazzo in Lesser Armenia. This coastal route also performed an important role linking Antioch itself with its dependencies, cut off by the Islamic-held territory in between. While the lord of Gibelet was in conflict with his liege-lord Bohemond, a figure such as the St Theodore supplicant at Behdaidat could have acted as a go-between for business and legal concerns[109].

One aspect of the Behdaidat programme paintings that remains to be discussed is its relationship to Palaiologan art. This can be addressed through the St Theodore supplicant portrait (**figs 13-14**). The hat worn by the St Theodore

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108 For the lance, see Morris, Visions.

109 Richard, Comtes.

supplicant is his badge of office and an indicator of the merchant's wealth and status. It has a lining of white cloth which widens into a kind of flap just above the ear. This is shared with prominent individuals in the mosaic of the Prayers for the Discovery of the Body of St Mark in the south transept of San Marco in Venice (**figs 15-16**)[110]. These men represent the governing élite, distinguished from the clerical group at the base of the scene and the general populace on the left. As with the Behdaidat supplicant they turn at a two-thirds angle towards the viewer. The way that the left praying figure of the two extends his hands in prayer is also particularly comparable with the Behdaidat supplicant. On historical grounds Otto Demus dated this (and the other Apparition scene), between 1253, when Doge Raniero Zen came to power, and 1266[111]. The Venetians were trading in Tyre, where such white cloth was produced, until they were ejected in 1256, and the recycling of mosaic cubes from Tyre in Venice is documented. It was this Doge who ratified an agreement in 1255 whereby the church of St Mark's in Tyre was declared independent of the bishop and subject only to Venice itself[112]. This growth in Venetian power was what prompted Philip de Montfort, the Latin lord of Tyre, to expel the Venetians in the first place. Ejected merchants and artists could have returned to Venice. There are stylistic features in common with the Behdaidat image too, including the linear approach and »realistic« character to the scene as well as the strong use of colour.

Fig. 15 Basilica di San Marco. Interior, mosaics. South Transept, West wall. Gallery level, lower register. Prayers for the discovery of the body**.** Detail: head and hands of the praying »councillor« in a blue cloak. – (Photo E. Ritter. Courtesy of Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C).

Fig. 16 Basilica di San Marco. Interior. Mosaics. South Transept, West wall. Gallery level, lower register. Discovery of St Mark's relics: Prayers for the discovery of the body, detail, northern half. – (Photo E. Ritter. Courtesy of Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C.).

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110 Demus, Mosaics 2,27-44 with colour pls 7, 33; Demus/Kessler, Decoration 110.
111 Demus/Kessler, Decoration 110. For the presence of mosaic cubes from Tyre and elsewhere in the Levant, see Demus, Mosaics 1,29.

112 Pringle, Churches 4,164.

Otto Demus identified the scene of the Prayers for the Discovery of the Body of St Mark as »early Palaeologan art« [113]. As such it is contemporary with Behdaidat. Indeed, the Behdaidat parallel can be considered as filling the gap identified by Demus, who judged that »…we do not have in San Marco a single work that could be regarded as a forerunner of the style of this mosaic« [114]. Behdaidat, then supplies the missing link, and the County of Tyre and Tripoli, may well be this source for artists to San Marco in Venice. Demus attributed the *Deēsis* at San Marco (**fig. 17**) to the same workmanship as the scene of the Prayers for the Discovery of the Body of St Mark. It shows Christ with a stripe down the side of his garment, depicted as the member of a Confraternity. This mosaic work could well be attributed, then, to displaced Venetians following the upheavals of the War of Mar Saba and the ejection of the Venetians from Tyre between 1256 and 1277. Tyre in particular was a centre of glass manufacture [115]. Beirut, Acre and Antioch can be added to the list [116].

But should the style of this »early Palaiologan art« be considered exclusively Venetian? Here we need to look more closely at the interlocking mercantile activity along the Syrian coast. Doge Raniero Zen was himself in possession of a *sandal* silk from Tripoli which was documented amongst his effects when he died in 1268 [117]. Much of the trade in Tripoli was in the hands of Italian merchants, with the Genoese and Pisans outnumbering the Venetians. Trade was undertaken directly both with Europe and also locally between Tripoli and Antioch, with the luxury goods of cloth and spices being particularly important [118]. These goods would be produced, or handled, by indigenous communities. Given the cultural mix in Tripoli and Tyre this »early Palaiologan« style should, then, instead be identified with Latins as merchants and administrators in Latin Syria sponsoring Greek Orthodox/Melkite artists alongside Latin ones. The »Venetian« element in the face of St John in the *Deēsis* mosaic in St Sophia in Constantinople referred to earlier (**figs 1-2**) could just as well reflect Genoese-Greek Orthodox/Melkite artistic activity. Style presently attributed to Venice could just as easily, then, be applicable to Genoa, with implications for the *Deēsis* panel in St Sophia. The style, then, should be detached from mutually-exclusive »Venetian« or »Genoese« interests.

113 Demus/Kessler, Decoration 284 f. with n. 143.
114 Demus/Kessler, Decoration 113. For general discussion on questions raised by the mosaics of San Marco, see James, Mosaic.
115 Boas, Archaeology 151; Jacoby, Function 164.
116 Jacoby, Function 164.
117 Jacoby, Materia 43 f. with n. 143.
118 Vorderstrasse, Tripoli esp. 100.

The Mid-Thirteenth-Century Embroidered Pallio (*peplos/pallium*) of the Museo di Sant'Agostino in Genoa

The *peplos/pallium* of San Lorenzo has received considerable attention from scholars, concentrating on the Byzantine and Italian sources, the structure and the narrative, epigraphy, and historical aspects[119]. Exploring my proposal that the embroidery was made by Greek Orthodox/Melkite artists from the County of Tripoli, the intention here is to propose some further observations on the relationship between the Greek Orthodox/Melkites of this area and the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII. This links Michael's policy in Constantinople and his ambition to be seen as a second Constantine with his role as the protector of Greek Orthodox/Melkite Christians in the Latin Crusader states in Syria. Michael follows Manuel Komnenos as the new Constantine. Michael was shown depicted as the new Constantine in a *peplos* that the patriarch Germanos had made to honour him and which was hung in St Sophia in Constantinople[120]. An official portrait of the emperor was apparently included on one of two *peploi* that were sent to Genoa at the time of the Treaty of Nymphaion in 1261; this cloth was requested as »a firm defence against our foes«[121]. Michael himself used the title of Constantine in his correspondence[122].

Mention of Michael's artistic patronage positioning himself as the heir to the Komenene dynasty is a useful way of introducing discussion of the Genoa *peplos/pallium* as it points up the issue of Byzantine trading concerns. Michael restored Komnene monuments in recently-reconquered territories and supported monasteries and their abbots in the process of consolidation, as Sophia Kalopissi-Verti has shown[123]. He celebrated his victory over the Angevins at the Battle of Berat in 1280-1281 in wall-paintings at the Blachernae palace in Constantinople which must have been viewed as pendant pieces to the images of Manuel Komnenos' celebration of his military victories there in the later twelfth century[124].

He also revived Komnene policies. The Treaty of Nymphaion acknowledged the trading rights that Manuel Komnenos agreed in 1155[125]. Here, out of the need for allies and the protection afforded by the Genoese navy, the Byzantine emperor acknowledged Italian maritime might. By the mid-thirteenth century the authority of the Crusader monarchy was curtailed and its power dissipated. Crusader leaders were making their own, independent agreements with Baybars[126]. Michael VIII took advantage of the power vacuum to assert himself politically in the seigneurie of Gibelet, through the suzerain system, not only to protect the Greek Orthodox/Melkite community but also to safeguard Byzantine trading interests. He was also trying to forestall the ambitions of Charles of Anjou, who went on to buy the crown of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1277, probably at the instigation of the pope, who thought at the time that this gave the Kingdom the best chance of survival.

The embroidery depicts scenes focusing on the life and martyrdom of St Laurence, with two other martyrs, Sixtus and the gaoler Tiburtius Callinicus. They are arranged in two rows of ten scenes each. The overall theme of the narrative was that of the fight of Christian martyrs[127]. In approaching the embroidery from the standpoint of artistic and cultural agency, a major role is argued here for Greek Orthodox/Melkites both as manufacturers of the embroidery and as those who delivered Michael's strategy on the ground. This is to take a different approach from the current scholarship on the embroidery, which has done so much to open up discussion of this object. Cecily Hilsdale has supported the view of several other scholars in suggesting that the piece was made in Nicaea at the time that Michael was planning to retake Constantinople and given to the Genoese as part of the Treaty of Nymphaion, at which trade concessions were also granted to the Genoese to seal their alliance[128]. Ida Toth has also supported the long-held view that it was directly associated with the signing of the treaty and was produced in Nicaea[129]. She supports the view that Manuel/Maximos Holobolos, monk and teacher of rhetoric (*rhētōr*) in the Patriarchal School in Constantinople had »possible direct involvement« in its preparation[130]. Ioli Kalavrezou argued that it was made in Constantinople, having been masterminded by Holobolos, and handed to the Genoese as they left Nymphaion[131]. She believes that this precious gold-embroidered silk textile was a one-off special gift from Michael to the Genoese commune, observing that it is a much more valuable textile than those mentioned in the treaty[132].

Penelope Johnstone had earlier suggested that the embroidery was made in Constantinople either in 1262 or 1267, when Michael approached the pope about church unity[133]. Developing the ecumenical line of argument, I would like to suggest that, in common with the paintings at Behdaidat,

119   See, selectively, Johnstone, »Pallio«; Falcone, »Pallio«; Calderoni Masetti, Considerazioni; Paribeni, Pallio; Hilsdale, Image with bibliography 152 f. n. 5 and colour plates; Hilsdale, Diplomacy 31-87; Kalavrezou, Peplos; Toth, Fabric, who considers the work (92) as »a unique object« and (107) as an »idiosyncracy«.
120   Macrides, New Constantine 22 f.
121   Macrides, New Constantine 35; Shepard, Constantinople 64 with n. 15.
122   Macrides, Constantine 24.
123   Kalopissi-Verti, Aspects 44.
124   Setton, Papacy 137; Kalopissi-Verti, Aspects 41.
125   Lopez, Silk 40.
126   Holt, Diplomacy 13-15.
127   As pointed out by Kalavrezou, Peplos 241.

128   Hilsdale, Image 194; 193 with n. 146 for mention of the commercial privileges. For one earlier view that the *pallio* was made at Nicaea see Schreiner, Denkmäler 257.
129   Toth, Fabric 92 with n. 9, discusses silk production in Nicaea earlier in the century (ibidem 99).
130   Toth, Fabric 102.
131   Kalavrezou, *Peplos* 224; 240 for the argument that the embroidery was produced under the supervision of Holobos.
132   Kalavrezou, *Peplos* 218.
133   Johnstone, »Pallio« 101. Maxwell, Constantinople 178 cites this opinion in the context of Michael's willingness to discuss theological matters with westerners, something else he shares in common with Manuel Komnenos.
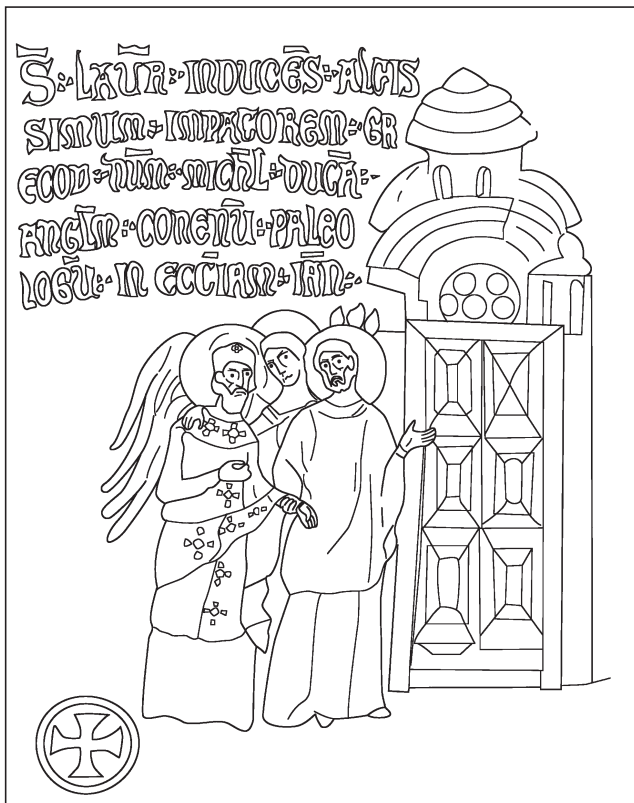
Fig. 18 Genoa, Museo di Sant'Agostino. Byzantine emperor with archangel and St Laurence. – (Drawing after Hilsdale, Image fig. 4).

the second half of 1262, the beginning of the negotiations towards the union of the Churches, is the correct date when the embroidery was made. I will make the case here that it was produced in the County of Tripoli, with the workmanship arranged with those with Syrian contacts, especially Euthymios, patriarch of Antioch, working with Theodosios Villehardouin, then a monk in Constantinople. Both, themselves Greek Orthodox, would have had western and Frankish contacts, especially among the Genoese, which would account for the presence of the Latin texts accompanying the narrative scenes. In carefully considering the Latin inscriptions of the *peplos/pallium* Ida Toth points to their close dependence on the Greek text of the *synaxarion* for the narrative of the life of St Laurence[134].

Let us look at two scenes in the *peplos/pallium,* both from the point of view of the Church union agenda and the role of Greek Orthodox/Melkite agents delivering the strategy on the ground. A prominent scene is that at the centre of the upper register, which shows Michael being led »into the church of Genoa«, according to the Latin inscription by St Laurence himself, accompanied and protected by his namesake the archangel Michael, who is shown behind, enveloping the emperor

with his wing (Drawing, **fig. 18**)[135]. Michael is shown wearing a minimal crown and bowing in humility. The Latin inscription gives Michael's title as *Imperator Grecorum*, the emperor of the Greeks, rather than the usual imperial title of »emperor of the Romans«[136]. Hilsdale has suggested that the triad of figures demonstrates a »diplomatic pact«, whose depiction derives from Byzantine iconography of a marriage union[137]. This is seen to be endorsed by Holobolos' encomium referring to the love between the Genoese and the Byzantines[138]. This seems perfectly reasonable, but does interpretation need to be limited to a single »ceremonial conclusion of the particular treaty« (that of Nymphaion)[139]? The imagery should instead, I argue, be read in conjunction with his correspondence with the pope of 1262. The humility he displays could indeed be read as his conciliatory initiative towards the Latin Church. This chimes with Michael's second diplomatic approach to Urban IV in the summer of 1262, which is known from the summary and record of the Pope's second reply of 18 July 1263, following an interim one also in the summer of 1262[140]. Michael's letter laid out a proposal for union based on universal Christian charity[141]. Based on Christian love between Latins and Greek, the letter hinted that in the event of such a union Michael would support the pope against the Hohenstaufen Manfred of Sicily. The pope took the bait. He addressed Michael as illustrious emperor of the Greeks, *Imperator Graecorum illustris*, thereby expressing willingness to recognise Michael's claim to Constantinople, if union were to take place, provided that the rest of the former imperial territories remained in Latin hands. The pope thereby recognised the Byzantine emperor's control over the eastern empire while denying his claim to be universal emperor, the ideal originally pursued by Manuel Komnenos the century before, in the 1160s. This recognition was crucially important to Michael in the face of the threat of Charles of Anjou, who aimed to regain Constantinople for the Latins. However, at the same time Michael was using this terminology to his advantage to intervene in northern Syria on behalf of Syrian Melkites in the seigneurie of Gibelet, under effective Genoese control, thereby asserting his universal imperial stature by another route.

Michael's gift of the embroidery to the Genoese commune is arguably a way of putting the local Christians in the care of the Genoese, while retaining overall Byzantine suzerainty. The Genoese thereby became part of Michael's Holy Land agenda. The move asserted the seigneurie of Gibelet as a subject state of Byzantium. The Genoese seem to have acknowledged this status: they requested a portrait of Michael, recognising its power in offering »a firm defence against our foes«. The price paid was trading rights. The archangel Michael's halo in the embroidery scene (**fig. 18**) on the viewer's left side is not

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134 Toth, Fabric 101 with n. 66-67 and 109 Appendix 1.
135 Macrides, New Constantine 35; Hilsdale, Image 167 with fig. 4 in colour; Hilsdale, Diplomacy 63-75 with fig. 1.3; Kalvrezou, Peplos 229f. with fig. 4; Hilsdale, Image 181 with n. 113 gives the inscription, taking account of its abbreviations, giving its translation as »Saint Lawrence [*sic*] leads the Most High Emperor of the Greeks Lord Michael Doukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos into the church of Genoa«; Toth, Fabric 92.

136 Kalopissi-Verti, Aspects 50.
137 Hilsdale, Diplomacy 73.
138 Hilsdale, Image 187.
139 Hilsdale, Diplomacy 49.
140 Geanakoplos, Emperor 146 with n. 31. This is eulogistic: Holobolos was, of course, an anti-unionist.
141 Geanakoplos, Emperor 146f.

clearly delineated, suggesting a blurring, or sharing of sanctity between the archangel and the emperor. As the winged emperor Michael, therefore, takes on the protective attributes of Michael the archangel. Indeed Holobolos reported in his encomium (of 1265) that the Genoese ambassador addressed Michael thus: »You are an angel, an Angel of Light, a Benevolent Angel« [142]. The archangel's presence in the embroidery, with St Laurence, provided legitimacy for Michael VIII's rulership [143]. Michael VIII attributed the recovery of Constantinople to God, through the intermediary of St Michael. This chimes with the *typikon* of the Monastery of Kellibara which declared that »Your right hand raised me on high, and established me as lord of all« [144]. The emperor Michael is adapting this winged emperor imagery from the coinage of Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195, 1203-1204) and that of the successors of the Angelos dynasty in the states of Thessalonike and Epiros, as Cécile Morrisson has shown [145]. He is thereby not only proclaiming angelic approval and protection for himself but asserting his rights to succeed as Byzantine emperor in Constantinople over the Byzantine states with pretensions to regain the city after its loss to the Latins in 1204.

The embroidery image arguably works by using proxies, or deputies. Everyone represented steps up a level. Depicting the emperor as the ruler of the Greeks means Michael VIII stands as the representative of that community, that of the Greek Orthodox/Melkites. He steps up to protect them, deputising for »becoming« St Michael. The community in turn steps up to stand in for to »become« him. The Genoese step up to deputise for »becoming« St Laurence. On the face of it, and according to the Latin inscription, the emperor, protected by St Michael, is being led into the Cathedral of St Laurence at Genoa by St Laurence. However, beneath the surface the Greek Orthodox/Melkite community is being entrusted to the care of the Genoese, with Michael VIII as overall protector/suzerain. This interpretation is consistent with the observation that when the Byzantines agreed to a foreign state or church acquiring precious textiles these were effectively »on loan«. As Robert Sabatino Lopez has written: »the Basileus did not intend to recognise them as equals. They merely consented to share temporarily with them some of the power and prestige which were vested in the Byzantine state and church, and which, to a smaller extent, were a common patrimony of the whole Byzantine nation« [146].

The materials of the *peplos/pallium* too work by proxy, including the silver and gold thread which would have been imported by the Genoese from Europe [147]. These metallic threads are worked into the cloth dyed with what is assumed to be the murex porphyry, destined for exclusively imperial use [148]. Murex originated in Tyre and so represents the value and preciousness in all senses of this region [149]. But it is not only imposing an imperial stamp. This is spreading, as it were, the »gold dust« of the embroidery over those participating in the agreement. Conservation work is currently underway on the *pallio* [150]. Should the results of this work, when available, happen to show that it is coloured with madder instead, this root dye would itself be »standing in« for the imperial purple dye. With the interaction of precious materials, in the hands of the expert Greek Orthodox/Melkite craftspeople, the textile reunites and fuses the two to form a union. And this fusion/union, I would suggest, was wrought by advisors close to Michael in Constantinople who saw the benefits of East-West Church union.

The Latin inscriptions address the different, Latin, audience in parallel with the Greek Orthodox/Melkite one which is addressed visually through the narrative structuring of the scenes: Kalavrezou noted that a »rather sophisticated hybridity is in play that respects both traditions« in this regard [151]. On one level this is the case. But it is not necessarily the case that the embroidery was simply handed over for the inscriptions to be added unilaterally [152]. The Syrian Melkites working on the embroidery spoke Latin, since they lived under Latin rule, and could well have been working alongside the Latin, probably Genoese, embroiderers, in Tripoli, who worked the inscriptions as part of the project under the control of the patriarch of Antioch. The presence of the inscriptions in Latin shows that the Genoese are signing up to their part in Michael's agenda. The assumption has been that in the Latin reading of the text of the emperor Michael entering into the Church of St Laurence (**fig. 18**) it is the church of St Laurence in Genoa that is referred to and for the Greek Orthodox viewers the Church of St Sophia in Constantinople [153]. But the proposal of Syrian manufacture introduces a different dynamic, that of Constantinople/Holy Land, and County of Tripoli/Genoa, with the Church of St Laurence in Tripoli instead as the focus.

In terms of Constantinople the most appropriate reference point would be the Church of the Holy Apostles as being the burial place of martyrs. For Michael himself this would have had direct personal resonance, as he hoped to be buried there [154]. It will be recalled that he had erected a column before the main door of the Church of the Holy Apostles with

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142 Hilsdale, Image 188 with n. 130.
143 As pointed out by many scholars including Kalopissi-Verti, Aspects 50 with n. 61.
144 Morrisson, Authority 77 with n. 44. Hebrews 1:13 makes reference to an angel sitting on the right hand of God. The power bestowed on Michael VIII by St. Michael here can be viewed in similar terms to that accorded to Justinian in the sixth century as universal emperor by the archangel: see Wright, Justinian and an Archangel.
145 Morrisson, Identities 161 with n. 32. In turn, Andronikos II referred to himself in the image of St Andronikos at the church at the Chora Monastery, which appears with the military saints George and Demetrios: Nelson, Allies.
146 Lopez, Silk 1 f.

147 Jacoby, Thread 103-105 gives instances of the import of gold and silver thread to the Levantine coast and Egypt by the Genoese in the thirteenth century, pointing out that its production was linked to silk manufacture in western centres, including Lucca and Marseilles.
148 Kalavrezou, *Peplos* 240.
149 Haubrichs, Pourple.
150 Taddei, Pallio.
151 Kalavrezou, *Peplos* 232.
152 Kallavrezou, *Peplos* 241 attributes the addition of the Latin to a westerner.
153 Hilsdale, Diplomacy 66 f.
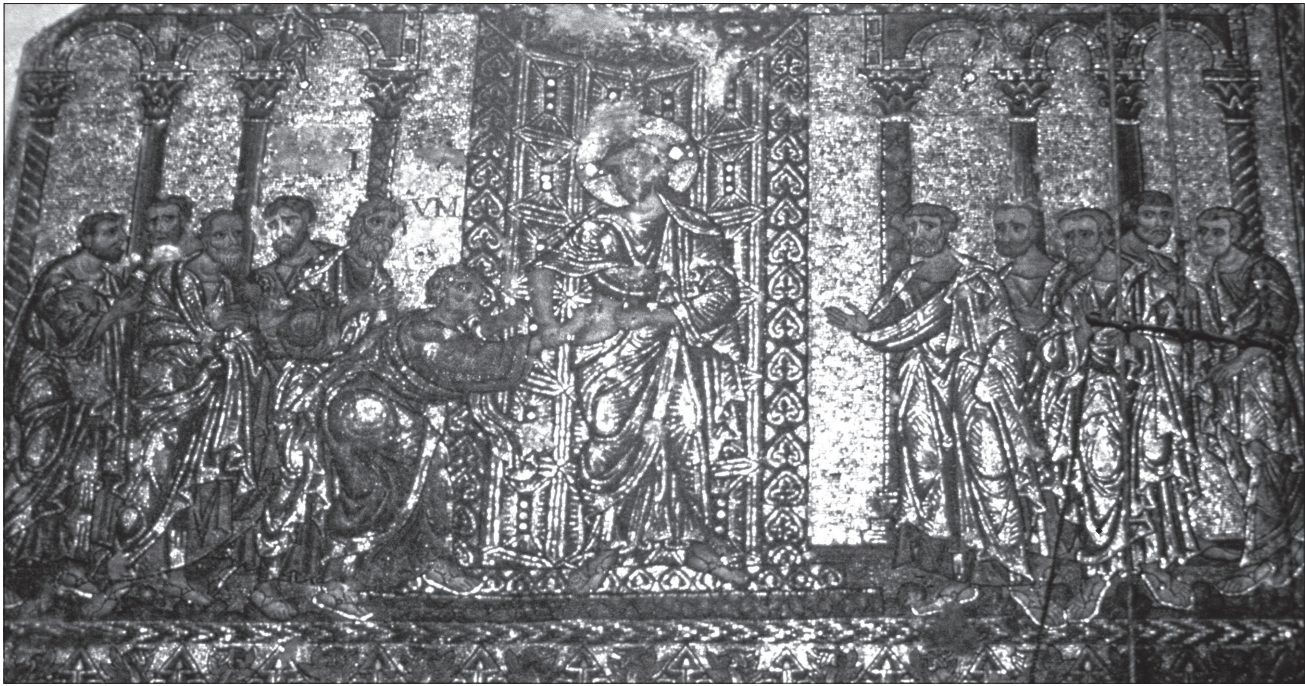154 Talbot, Restoration 255.

Fig. 19 Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity. North transept, east wall. Mosaic, Incredulity of Thomas. – (Photo L.-A. Hunt).

a large statue of the archangel Michael and himself praying before it[155]. But a local Syrian association is present too, with memories of the image of Constantine's golden domed cathedral at Antioch in the mosaic of the Council of Antioch at Bethlehem of shortly before 1169[156]. Furthermore, the golden door of the *peplos/pallium* image is reminiscent of the golden door in the Incredulity of Thomas mosaic at the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem (**fig. 19**), the holy shrine to the protection of which the Confraternity was dedicated. This, then, is a call to protect the holy shrines, the patriarchate of Antioch and its dependencies, especially Tyre and Tripoli, and to be willing to die for them. Michael's claim to be the new Constantine dovetails with the justification traced back to the early Christian Antiochene church, its dependencies and the empire of Constantine. The message that the Eastern Christian embroiderers are absorbing as they work on the *peplos/pallium* is to put their faith in the Genoese and the policy of the Greek Orthodox/Melkite union with the Latins, thereby saving Antioch, with its Greek Orthodox/Melkite Church leader the patriarch. They create the piece in their own local style, giving them ownership. They even interpret the building as in the local style. This is the architecture of the Syrian coastal towns, especially Tripoli. Tripoli cathedral had internal gilded doors[157]. Another church in Tripoli, that of St James, had Gothic-style rose windows, and one can be see above the door of the church in the *peplos/pallium*

scene (**fig. 18**). Rose windows in the church of St James accompanied a sculpture of the western Lamb of God, with the inscription »Ecce Agnus Dei«[158]. This can be linked to the theme of Christ's sacrifice and its example to martyrdom at the apex of the apse at Behdaidat and the funerary association of the dome in the *peplos/pallium* scene. It is clear, then, that elements of the Genoese former churches of St Laurence in Tyre, or more likely Tripoli, were incorporated. This would explain why the image lacks the distinctive striped architectural appearance of the exterior of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa itself. The emperor Michael is envisaged as being present entering the church of St Laurence at Tripoli itself through his portrait in the *peplos/pallium*, which was destined for its namesake, the cathedral in Genoa.

There is therefore a blending, a duality, of eastern and western in the *peplos/pallium* expressive of the policy of union. We should think not in terms of the juxtaposition of Latin and Greek viewpoints, but a complementarity. The *peplos/pallium* is peppered with crosses in roundels; the portrait of Michael has one at the bottom. This represents Christ and the True Cross. Such roundels, which are common throughout the embroidery, also appear liberally in the wallpainting in the Coptic monastery church of St Antony's on the Red Sea, which was being decorated at this time, also arguably with Greek Orthodox/Melkite artistic involvement. They probably have an apotropaic, protective function[159]. They too refer to

155   Talbot, Restoration 258-260; Morrisson, Authority 77 with n. 43.
156   See colour photo in Bacci, Cave pl. 44.
157   Mouawad, Témoin 144.
158   The church of St James: Mouawad, Témoin 142, n. 31. The dome over the church represented in the *peplos/pallium* offering a funerary association can be paralleled in the centrally-planned octagonal structure attached to the

Church of the Holy Sepulchre (consecrated 1106) in the castle at Tripoli (Mont Pèlerin) suggested by Denys Pringle to have been a funerary crypt for the founder and his family: Pringle, Tripoli, with conclusion 175 f.
159   For the apotropaic function of the cross in early Christianity see Llewelyn, Documents 166 f. For an example of the crosses at St Antony's monastery see the image of the Three Hebrews: Bolman, Visions 121 f. with figs 7.31-34.

the Holy Land agenda and again demonstrate the activity of the Greek Orthodox/Melkite community in Mamluk Egypt[160].

The *peplos/pallium* Scene of Sixtus the Archbishop Instructing Laurence to Sell the Church Vessels

The scenes to the viewer's right of the emperor on the *peplos/pallium* elucidate the role of the indigenous Syrian Greek Orthodox/Melkites as agents. These scenes also identify them as the manufacturers of the embroidery, who completed their work before the addition of the Latin inscriptions[161]. The first shows Sixtus the archbishop, instructing St Laurence to sell the church vessels and give the proceeds of the sale to the poor, with the next scene showing St Lawrence complying[162]. In the second scene merchants are depicted. These are the intermediaries who exchange the vessels – the material property of the community – for money which is then distributed to the poor and the needy. This is a crucial scene from the point of view of the church hierarchy and the relationship between deacon and the pope and bishop. This would have resonance for contemporary relationships and the processes of agency and deputisation.

Archbishop Sixtus, as explained in the *Passio* on the martyrdom of St Laurence by St Ambrose, entrusted the responsibility of the church for three days when he was in prison prior to his martyrdom, into to the hands of the first deacon, Laurence[163]. This is highly relevant to the situation in Antioch: when the patriarch was absent in Constantinople, or elsewhere, the proto-deacon took on responsibility. The burden on his shoulders is enshrined in his role, and the obedience which is due to his superior. His duty could involve the extreme of martyrdom, as it does in Laurence's case, indicated by the three flames rising from St Laurence's head in the portrait scene (**fig. 18**). The deacon's main service is to the eucharist and to the exercise of charity, and as such he acts in the image of Christ, taking on the attributes of Christ. Symbolising Christ, serving the church and the Bishop, together with liturgical responsibilities are all major activities of the deacon[164]. The selling of the church vessels here is surely a metaphor for the sacrifice of the riches of the Melkite community both in terms of manpower and materials that will be necessary in combating the Muslim armies of Sultan Baybars. This covers, then, their own commitment to defend their patriarchate in alliance and also the materials and skills involved in textile production and trading activities. It is by becoming

confratres, like the supplicant at Behdaidat, that the Melkite community as individuals commit to this policy and the action that will inevitably follow.

The materials are those of the local community, which handles precious silks, pearls, and gems, as depicted at Behdaidat. The *peplos/pallium* is assumed to have been dyed with Tyrian murex purple dye, the imperial purple so prized by the Byzantines[165]. David Jacoby has pointed out that the murex shellfish were not fished after 1204 off the coast of Syria, with imitation dyes, including madder, being used in its place, although the purple dye was still available from Thebes and Egypt[166]. Further technical information about the *peplos/pallium* itself will clarify this point, as if the colour is not murex it could well be madder, as suggested earlier[167]. Whatever the actual technical composition, the dye-colour of the *peplos/pallium* would have been believed to have been murex and as such constituted imperial authentication. It would also have represented Tyre and Tripoli themselves, with their ecclesiastical, political and trading significance.

The draftsmanship of the embroidery has been related to that of that of thirteenth-century illustrated Byzantine manuscripts. In particular scholars have pointed to its connection with the illustrated Greek manuscripts Mt Athos Vatopedi 602 and Mt Athos Iveron 5[168]. These manuscripts are both attributed to Palaiologan family patronage in the later thirteenth century[169]. They – or others like them – could have been consulted in Constantinople by Euthymios and others planning the *peplos/pallium*. A likely contact in gaining access to them in Constantinople could well have been the Greek Orthodox monk Theodosios of Villehardoun (later patriarch of Antioch between 1278-1283), who was himself at Nymphaion in 1261 accompanying the then-ailing patriarch of Constantinople Nikephoros II, as administrator and personal medical assistant[170]. Frankish by birth, from the Villehardouin princely family of Frankish Achaia, he had been a monk in north Syria in one of the Black Mountain monasteries, and probably also in Sinai and Jerusalem, before 1261. It is known that he then served as a monk in the monasteries of the Pantokrator and Hodegon in Constantinople until 1265, when he led the delegation, which included Euthymios, which accompanied Maria Palaiologina to the Mongol court[171]. He was, then, in an ideal position to liaise between the libraries of Constantinople, where these and other manuscripts would have been kept, and Euthymios, as patriarch of Antioch. Indeed it was Theodosios' Frankish background and implicit support for Church union which would have facilitated his appointment as patriarch of Antioch in succession to Euthymios. Theodosios then wrote a tract, in

160 For the Greek Orthodox/Melkite presence in Mamluk Egypt see Pahlitzsch, Networks. For its artistic presence in Mamluk Old Cairo see Hunt, Icon.
161 See above, n. 152.
162 Hilsdale, Image 168 with figs 5-6 in colour for these scenes; Kalavrezou, *Peplos* 229 f. with fig. 7 for the scene to the right.
163 Moraglia, Laurence.
164 Barnett, Deaconate 124 f.
165 Kalavrezou, Value 354-369 with fig. 17.2.
166 Jacoby, Silk 210-212.

167 Falcone, »Pallio« 347 n. 28 summarises investigations undertaken on the cloth before 1996, noting that it is thought to be samite and that »il colore dobrevve derivare da una tinctura porpora«.
168 Falcone, »Pallio« 340; Paribeni, Pallio 238; Hilsdale, Image 167 n. 102.
169 Maxwell, Constantinople 171 f. for MS Vatopedi 602, and 151 and 163. for MS Iveron 5.
170 PLP 418.
171 See above, n. 30 and 31.

conjunction with the patriarch of Alexandria, in support of Church union[172]. Thus, arguably the Syrian Melkite makers of the *peplos/pallium* would have had access to Constantinopolitan manuscripts via Euthymios and Theodosios. Perhaps copies were made and retained in the monasteries near Antioch. The actual production of the embroidery was, then, I suggest, undertaken in the County of Tripoli, probably in Tripoli itself.

The likelihood that Michael VIII himself made manuscripts available in the course of the preparation of the embroidery would not be without parallel. Kathleen Maxwell attributes the luxurious bilingual Greek-Latin Gospel book Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 54, to Michael's pro-unionist activities, associating it with the same Byzantine manuscripts, especially MS Mt Athos Iveron 5. This scholar, in dating the Paris Gospel book to the period between 1265-1282, expresses the view that it »may be the only surviving artistic evidence of Michael VIII's efforts to reunite the Greek and Latin Churches«[173]. However, a glance at the St Luke portrait, one of the evangelist portraits inserted into this Paris Gospel book, with its juxtaposition of Byzantine-style Evangelist and Eastern Christian mosaic-style decorative border, reveals some of the characteristics of manuscripts attributed to monasteries in the Antioch region[174]. This is also suggestive of the connections between Constantinople and Syria discussed in this paper in the context of Michael's engagement with Church union. While Maxwell considered MS. Paris gr. 54 to be the only survival, if my argument is correct, then the painted programme at Behdaidat and the Genoa *peplos/pallium* can also be attributed to the time of negotiation over Church union during Michael's reign. Furthermore, as Maxwell has also noted, Michael »appears to have a history of using manuscripts in diplomacy«: it was in 1269 that he signed the manuscript now in Paris, Bibl. Nat. Coislin 200, given as a gift to Louis IX, included his epithet of »new Constantine«[175].

Conclusion

This paper considers the role of the emperor Michael VIII as protector of the Christians and shrines of the Holy Land at the time of his re-establishment of Constantinople as the Byzantine capital in 1261 and his relationship with the Greek Orthodox Melkites on the one hand and the Genoese on the other. Special note is made of the Michael's personal imagery and his policy of union of the churches. It is argued here that his policy in the Levant, dependent on ecclesiastical networks especially that centred on the patriarch of Antioch, yielded important results in the artistic sphere.

The role of Euthymios, patriarch of Antioch (1260-c.1263), as an intermediary is given particular attention here. The application of the monk/ecclesiastic-merchant-artist paradigm to painted icons at Sinai, wall-paintings at the Church of Mar Tadros in Behdaidat in northern Lebanon is, with the manufacture of the embroidered *peplos/pallium* of San Lorenzo in Genoa, triangulated between Constantinople, Latin Syria and Mamluk Egypt in the early 1260s. What is revealed is a mechanism of interconnecting relationships through which imperial policy was engaged, from the upper echelons of diplomatic activity through the Greek Orthodox/Melkite ecclesiastical authorities to the lower clergy, merchants and soldiery. In the County of Tripoli the activity of the Confraternity of St George (of Lydda) and Bethlehem (the Church of the Nativity) arguably demonstrates how artistic partnerships involving individual agents were facilitated. This is viewed here as representative of a much wider network. The *confrater* system can, in addition, be shown to have been a particularly effective solution to the need for Greek Orthodox/Melkite-Latin collaboration. Mutual diplomatic and trading initiatives, as well as Crusading activity, drew in the Muslim and also the Mongol worlds.

Finally, the Greek Orthodox/Melkite art of Latin Syria can be seen to have contributed both to the development of thirteenth-century art in Palaiologan Constantinople and related art in Italy. Artistic endeavour reflected the community's priorities, which were the maintenance and protection of the Holy Land shrines, alongside mercantile activity. This conclusion has wide application and implications, including impacting on our understanding of the relationship between Byzantine, especially »Palaiologan«, and »Crusader« art.

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172 Hamilton, Church 327 with n. 5.
173 Maxwell, Constantinople 215, pointing out that it was unfinished at Michael's death.
174 Maxwell, Constantinople index 303 with colour plate XIX. Saminsky, Assimilation 230 refers to the »stylistic variety« of manuscripts from Antioch.
175 Maxwell, Constantinople 196 n. 126 refers to the scholarly debate on this manuscript.

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Summary / Zusammenfassung

The Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII (1261-1282) and Greek Orthodox/Melkite-Genoese Cultural Agency in a Globalised World: Art at Sinai, Behdaidat, of the *pallio* of San Lorenzo in Genoa, and in Mamluk Egypt

The role of artistic and cultural agency within the strategy of the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII to consolidate Constantinople as his restored capital, following the demise of the Latin Empire of Constantinople in 1261, is examined. Case studies of icons at Sinai, the wall-painting programme of the Church of St. Theodore in Behdaidat and of the embroidered *peplos/pallium* of San Lorenzo in Genoa propose artistic, ecclesiastical, diplomatic and mercantile links between the Greek Orthodox/Melkite communities under Latin and Mamluk and Mongol rule and Constantinople. Artistic activity functioned within networks operating between ecclesiastics and theologians in Constantinople and Greek Orthodox/Melkite patriarchs and bishops in the Near East. Arguably of particular significance is Michael VIII's relationship with Patriarch Euthymios of Antioch (1260-1263?) and Euthymios' role in stimulating Syrian Melkite artistic activity. The productivity of Syrian Melkites can be traced not only in icons at Sinai but also in wall-painting in the County of Tripoli, studied here in the painted programme at the Church of St. Theodore at Behdaidat, and in textile manufacture (the *peplos/pallium*). This exposes the participation and prosperity of the Syrian Melkite community in trading activity with their Byzantine and Genoese partners across geopolitical boundaries of the Mamluk and Mongol worlds and with the West. Michael VIII's activities through agents and proxies facilitated his diplomatic activity between incompatible allies. Thus, simultaneously with his involvement in the Near East, he negotiated with the Papacy for Church union. Michael's Melkite clients in the County of Tripoli arguably affiliated as *confratres* with the Hospitallers in the defence of Latin Syria, discussed through the painted programme at Behdaidat. Allusions to relics play an important role here emphasizing links between Constantinople and Antioch. Finally, this study questions the art historical categorisations of »Crusader« and »Palaiologan« art history, with wide implications.

Der byzantinische Kaiser Michael VIII. (1261-1282) und griechisch-orthodoxes/melkitisch-genuesisches kulturelles Schaffen in einer globalisierten Welt: Über die Kunst auf dem Sinai, in Behdaidat, im mamelukischen Ägypten und über das *pallio* in San Lorenzo in Genua

Die Rolle künstlerischen und kulturellen Schaffens in der Strategie des byzantinischen Kaisers Michael VIII., nach dem Untergang des Lateinischen Kaiserreiches im Jahr 1261 Konstantinopel als seine wiederhergestellte Hauptstadt zu konsolidieren, steht im Zentrum dieser Untersuchung. Fallstudien zu Ikonen auf dem Sinai, zum Programm der Wandmalereien der Kirche St. Theodor in Behdaidat und der gestickte *Peplos* bzw. das *Pallium* von San Lorenzo in Genua legen künstlerische, kirchliche, diplomatische und merkantile Verbindungen zwischen den unter lateinischer, mamlukischer sowie mongolischer Herrschaft stehenden griechisch-orthodoxen bzw. melkitischen Gemeinden und Konstantinopel nahe. Künstlerisches Schaffen geschah innerhalb von Netzwerken, die zwischen Geistlichen und Theologen in Konstantinopel sowie den griechisch-orthodoxen bzw. melkitischen Patriarchen und Bischöfen im Nahen Osten bestanden. Von besonderer Bedeutung waren wohl die Beziehung zwischen Kaiser Michael VIII. und Patriarch Euthymios von Antiochia (1260-1263?) und die Rolle des Euthymios bei der Förderung der melkitischen künstlerischen Tätigkeit. Die Beteiligung syrischer Melkiten kann nicht nur bei den Ikonen auf dem Sinai festgestellt werden, sondern auch bei der Wandmalerei der Grafschaft Tripolis, die hier anhand des gemalten Programms in der Kirche St. Theodor in Behdaidat untersucht wird, und in der Textilherstellung (*peplos/pallium*). Dies demonstriert die Beteiligung und den Wohlstand der syrisch-melkitischen Gemeinschaft am Handel mit ihren byzantinischen und genuesischen Partnern über die geopolitischen Grenzen der mamlukischen und mongolischen Welt und mit dem Westen. Diese von Michael VIII. durch Agenten und Stellvertreter betriebenen Aktivitäten erleichterten seine diplomatischen Initiativen zwischen ansonsten nicht miteinander in Kontakt stehenden Verbündeten. So konnte er etwa, gleichzeitig mit seinem Engagement im Nahen Osten, mit dem Papst über eine Kirchenunion verhandeln. Michaels melkitische Klienten in der Grafschaft Tripolis waren wohl als *confratres* der Johanniter an der Verteidigung des lateinischen Syriens beteiligt, wie eine Diskussion des gemalten Programms in Behdaidat zeigt. Anspielungen auf Reliquien spielen hier eine wichtige Rolle und betonen die Verbindungen zwischen Konstantinopel und Antiochia. Schließlich hinterfragt diese Studie mit weitreichenden Folgen die kunsthistorischen Kategorisierungen »Kreuzfahrer-« und »Palaiologen-Kunst«.