



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT

Titel der Masterarbeit

"Exhibiting Byzantium:

The Image of Byzantium in Major Exhibitions, 1977-2010"

verfasst von

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angestrebter akademischer Grad

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, September 2014

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 066 835

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

Masterstudium Kunstgeschichte UG 2002

Betreut von:

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Lioba Theis

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of a number of friends and colleagues, who have helped me along the way. My gratitude goes first and foremost to my academic advisor, Univ.-Prof. Dr. Lioba Theis, who first suggested the idea for this study to me in 2010. I am thankful for her guidance, support and especially for her patience.

I am also indebted to a number of colleagues at the Department of Art History of the University of Vienna for their critical remarks and moral support, among them Dr. Galina Fingarova, Mag. Fani Gargova, Ulrike Unterweger, Dr. Verena Widorn, and Mag. Verena Ziegler. I also wish to thank Aurora Graldi for helping me through the Italian literature.

Thanks are also due to Prof. Margaret Mullett for her encouragement during the presentation of preliminary results at the Byzantine Studies Conference in Chicago in 2011, and to Prof. Karin Krause, Prof. Ingela Nilsson, Prof. Matthew Savage, and Prof. Alicia Walker for their willingness to share their recent work and to provide me with hard-to-find literature.

Finally, I would also like to thank my family and Amir Taklimi, who have remained supportive and optimistic throughout the entire process.

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1. Introduction

In October 2010 an informal survey of 484 art history students at the University of Vienna was conducted to find out what their perceptions of the Byzantine Empire were.¹ Asked freely for their primary associations, the top response was geographic - Constantinople/Istanbul - along with other geographic markers such as Turkey, "Orient"/"the East", and Ravenna, followed by particular monuments and artistic media, such as the Hagia Sophia, icons, mosaics and gold. Only two names, the emperors Constantine and Justinian, accompanied historical socio-political categories like the Eastern Roman empire, Christianity, and iconoclasm. The students' expectations of an exhibition about Byzantine art were accordingly framed: a historical overview was secondary to icons, mosaics, gold and jewelry. Most astonishing, however, was the number of blank questionnaires and the few who with brave honesty responded, "no clue".²

Several reasons for this general lack of knowledge about Byzantium in Western Europe have recently been proposed, most concisely by Averil Cameron in her article "The Absence of Byzantium."³ Inspired by current political attempts to compare the European Union to the Roman empire, she takes as a starting point Pope Benedict XVI's misguided quotation of the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaiologos' treatise against Islam to demonstrate Western ignorance of Byzantine culture. The root cause may be found in the fact that the history of the Byzantine empire is generally not taught in school

¹ The survey was conducted by the author, with the prior consent of Professor Lioba Theis, during two lecture courses: the general lecture course on Byzantine art "Phos - Lux - Licht" on 21 October 2010 with 244 respondents, and the introductory "Propädeutikum" on 25 October with 240 respondents. Possible duplicates were not excluded and the age and nationality of students was not asked. The average student was at the beginning of the third semester of art history studies, and according to their own assessment had learned "little" to "barely mentioned" about the Byzantine empire during secondary school. Not considering the results of questionnaires that were gathered in the "Propädeutikum," which is a mandatory course for all first semester students, 100 of 244 students had previously attended a course on Byzantine art history; 172 students decided to attend the general lecture on light in Byzantine architecture because they were interested in the topic, 162 because it fulfilled a distribution requirement of the major, and 129 because of scheduling (multiple answers were possible). Of these students only four indicated that they had previously visited an exhibition about Byzantine art.

² The questionnaire asked for three associations; 64 were returned without any response to this question and many more with only one or two terms. Of those mentioned above, the responses were as follows: Constantinople (162) / Istanbul (48), Turkey (19), "Orient" or "the East" (17 and 15), Ravenna (14); Hagia Sophia (113), icons (72), mosaics (51); gold (33); emperor Constantine (30), Justinian (21); Eastern Roman empire (50), Christianity (23), and iconoclasm (21).

An open field was left for free responses to the question about what one would expect to see, hear or feel at an exhibition about Byzantine art. All participants in the general lecture provided at least one answer, whereas 136 beginning students in the "Propädeutikum" - over half of this group - did not respond to this question at all. The top responses for both groups were: icons (68), mosaics (36) and gold (24), then a historical overview (22), followed by jewelry (11), architecture (eight), and various religious categories ("religious context", seven, "Christian art", six, "sacral art", five, "sacral architecture", four).

³ Cameron 2008.

for a number of reasons. Because it defies the neat historical categories developed for the western European experience, the Byzantine empire occupies an "uncertain place in current historiography:" its periodization does not fit the standard tripartite model of Antiquity, Middle Ages, and Modernity as it flows across all three; its territorial borders fluctuated massively; the empire was ethnically diverse and has been received very differently in modern histories of its many successor nations; it is linguistically isolated as Byzantine Greek differs from the classical Greek that is more widely taught; and its religion, Orthodox Christianity, is not traditionally shared by many in Western Europe.⁴ Because of these differences, and due to the fact that its immediate successor state, the Ottoman empire, is traditionally positioned as the Muslim archenemy of Christian (Catholic) Europe, the Byzantine empire has been rendered barely accessible, and when it is mentioned it is in a negative light, constructed as an antithesis to the secular nations of Western Europe.⁵ This is of course not the case in countries such as Greece, Russia, Ukraine, Serbia and Bulgaria, which all claim direct links with the Byzantine empire either through territory or especially Orthodox Christianity and have integrated Byzantine heritage into their own national cultural histories. However, ideological differences and political turmoil in these areas throughout the 20th century have further reinforced the idea of alienness and separation from Western Europe.⁶

The veritable "absence" of Byzantium in the common consciousness of Western Europeans and North Americans is an issue not only for university departments and specialists in Byzantine studies, or policy makers exploring pre-national models for the future of Europe, but also for curators of exhibitions about Byzantine art, who are charged with the task of bringing a seemingly foreign, exotic, even strange culture to a

⁴ Cameron 2008, esp. 22-24 and 38-40.

⁵ Cameron 2008, 18-20. The lack of clarity has also allowed for a second "softer" approach to Byzantium as an exotic, mystic and spiritual - inherently anti-modern - refuge; this aspect will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

In her introductory essay to *Byzance en Europe*, Marie-France Auzépy explains that "Byzance paraît *a priori* étrangère à l'Europe. Byzance est en effet ressentie comme un empire oriental qui ne fait pas parti de l'héritage européen... Cette orientalisation de Byzance est renforcée par le fait qu'elle eut pour successeur un empire qui fut dans ses débuts un grand ennemi de l'Europe et qui fit craindre à celle-ci de disparaître dans un ensemble politique centré sur l'Asie Mineure et dans un ensemble religieux centré sur l'Arabie" (Auzépy 2003, 7). This construction invites comparison with Said's concept of Orientalism, which has been undertaken by Averil Cameron (Cameron 1992; Cameron 2003).

⁶ These views are summarized in Harrer 2010. An early investigation of different historiographies, here very much in the context of the Cold War, can be found in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* XV (1966). On the development of Moscow as a Third Rome and keeper of Orthodoxy after the fall of Byzantium, see: Alar Laats, "The Concept of the Third Rome and its Political Implications," *Estonian National Defence College Proceedings 12/2009*, Tartu: Tartu University Press, 2009, 98-113, with bibliography. Volumes have been written on the reception of Byzantium in Greece; a comprehensive overview is provided by David Ricks and Paul Magdalino (eds), *Byzantium and Modern Greek Identity*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.

broad public audience that knows little about the Byzantine empire.⁷ The goal of this thesis is to investigate how five major comprehensive exhibitions of Byzantine art held in New York, London and Bonn from 1977 to 2010 have presented Byzantium through objects, how the image created engages with preconceived notions of the Byzantine empire in the West that have developed during a long reception history, and in what way the ambiguity surrounding Byzantium can allow objects to be chosen, adapted and interpreted in varying contexts to highlight certain ingrained notions of the Byzantine empire such as richness and opulence, decadence, and (Orthodox) Christian spirituality.⁸

Following this short introduction, the second chapter will sketch chronologically the reception history of Byzantium in West Europe and North America, highlighting certain points of interest for the reception of Byzantine art objects. The third chapter will open with an overview of the history of Byzantine art exhibitions from ca. 1900 to the present day, followed by brief descriptions of the content of five major exhibitions - *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (1977), *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261* (1997), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (2004), all at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, *Byzantium: 330-1453* at the Royal Academy of Arts, London (2008), and *Byzanz: Pracht und Alltag*, at the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bonn, Germany (2010) -, and it will close with a comparative analysis of the image of Byzantium as revealed through the objects presented in these recent exhibitions. Although the visual presentation of objects can greatly influence the viewer's perception and photographs of the exhibition rooms exist for all of these shows, the arrangement of the exhibits cannot be taken into consideration here since interior photographs are not readily available and because of the highly subjective nature of viewing.⁹ A case study of a silver gilt censer kept in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice, which has been displayed in different contexts in three of the five exhibitions discussed, will be introduced in the fourth chapter to illustrate the ambiguity surrounding objects considered Byzantine art and how one object can be interpreted in

⁷ The several roles that a major exhibition may be expected to fulfill will be addressed again in the conclusion. While the role of modern politics in exhibitions of Byzantine art cannot be denied, and political motives and implications are often explicitly mentioned in forewords of catalogues, this aspect will not be a main line of inquiry in this study. Where relevant it will be noted how current politics have had an impact on the content of a certain exhibition but only to the extent that objects from that country were made available for display or not.

⁸ This issue has also been noted by Averil Cameron (Cameron 2013, 312-3).

⁹ The broad range of impressions, not only in regard to content but also to display, can be easily seen in the variety of responses found in the exhibition reviews. Had I been able to visit all the exhibitions, this aspect could have been taken into consideration to some degree; of the exhibitions discussed I personally saw *Faith and Power (1261-1557)* in May 2004 and *Byzanz: Pracht und Alltag* in March 2010.

multiple ways to different ends. The conclusion will consider how the few popular notions of Byzantium are challenged and, whether intentionally or not, simultaneously reinforced through recent major exhibitions.

Before proceeding with this topic it is necessary to establish a few working definitions for this study: What is meant by Byzantium, the Byzantine empire and Byzantine art? The *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* begins its entry on the term by defining, "Byzantium, or Byzantine Empire, [as the] conventional name of a medieval state that existed for more than one thousand years."¹⁰ Equating the two terms Byzantium and Byzantine empire in accordance with common usage, this vague introduction reveals the artificial nature of this historical construction: "Byzantium" was derived from Byzantion, the name of the ancient Greek settlement now below Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul, and was first used by the humanist scholar Hieronymus Wolf (1516-1589) to refer to a specific culture that was distinct from, but based in, antiquity.¹¹ The name of this strategically located city has thus been retroactively applied to a historical phenomenon defined by three cornerstones: "Roman political concepts, Greek culture and the Christian faith."¹² Referring to themselves as *Rhomaioi*, Romans, and from the early 9th century to their ruler as *basileus Rhomaíōn*, "emperor of the Romans," the Byzantines saw no break with the Roman empire even after the translation of the capital from old Rome to *Nova Roma* (Constantinople) and the adoption of Christianity in the 4th century, and despite the use of Greek as its administrative language from around the 7th century. Like the Roman empire, throughout its history the Byzantine empire was multi-ethnic; however, as its territory decreased over time it became increasingly Greek linguistically and culturally.

Long referred to as the Eastern Roman Empire, scholars have yet to reach an absolute consensus concerning the beginning of the Byzantine empire for lack of a clear turning point. Following a political approach, its origin is often cited as 330, the year that Constantinople was consecrated, and the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453

¹⁰ "Byzantium," *ODB* 1991, 344.

¹¹ *Ibid.* and Rapp 2008, 129. In this the thesis, the two terms "Byzantium" and "Byzantine empire" will be used interchangeably in reference to the cultural construct rather than a political unit, as is the case in most art historical literature on the topic and in exhibition catalogs. All given dates are A.D. according to the Gregorian calendar.

¹² This triad was set forth by George Ostrogorsky in 1940 and subsequently reiterated by scholars; see: George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969, 27, cited in Rapp 2008, 134 and discussed in some detail on the following pages.

is generally accepted as the end date of the empire.¹³ This span of over 1,100 years is conventionally sub-divided into three periods:

- Early Byzantium designates a period beginning ca. 300 AD and ending somewhat after 600 with the great territorial losses of the 7th century. This stage has also been termed the "late Roman Empire," which conforms to the long-held model of the slow decline of the Roman empire, and "late Antiquity," which emphasizes cultural and religious aspects. However both of these terms are being supplanted by the notion of "long late antiquity," a framework that highlights continuities and transformations from ca. 200 AD to 800 AD, thus placing the end of the first stage of Byzantium in the "Dark Ages" of the Iconoclastic controversy (726-843 AD);¹⁴

- The Middle Byzantine period begins with the resolution of the debate over images in religious worship in 843, includes the adoption of Orthodoxy by various other peoples, most notably the Bulgarians, the Kievan Rus', and the Serbians, the lost of Anatolia to the Seljuk Turks in 1071, and ends with the conquest of Constantinople by the armies of the Fourth Crusade in 1204;

- The Late Byzantine period spans the roughly 250 years from the Latin Occupation (1204) to the loss of all Byzantine-held territories in the mid-15th century. Dominated by the dynasty of the Palaiologoi, this stage is characterized by the political fragmentation of the empire into three Byzantine successor states - the Despotate of Epiros, the Empire of Trebizond and the Empire of Nicaea, which recaptured Constantinople in 1261 -, the increased importance of strategic neighbors such as Venice, Bulgaria and Serbia, and ultimate territorial losses to the swiftly expanding Ottoman Empire.

This study will adhere to this commonly accepted periodization firmly established in art historical literature.

Geographically, the borders of the Byzantine empire fluctuated from the eastern Mediterranean in the early 4th century (*fig. 1*), to the entire Mediterranean basin and eastward to the Caucasus in the 6th century (*fig. 2*), before shrinking to a few city-states in the "Byzantine heartland" of modern Greece and Turkey by the 15th century (*figs 4, 6, 7*). Because of the challenge of defining territorial boundaries at any given time, scholarship in the fields of art history and cultural history tend to speak of a Byzantine

¹³ This end date is accepted despite the fact that the Despotate of Morea, ruled by the Byzantine imperial Palaiologos family, and the Byzantine Empire of Trebizond, ruled by the heirs of the middle Byzantine Komnenos dynasty, held out until 1460 and 1461 respectively ("Byzantium", *OBD* 1991, 344).

¹⁴ Haarer 2010, 17-18. Haarer's article touches on many other issues of Byzantine historiography from a Western European perspective. The popularization of the "late antiquity" model can be attributed to Peter Brown's *The World of Late Antiquity*, published in 1971; see: Haarer 2010, 15, and Kimmelfield 2014, 276.

cultural sphere (*figs 3, 5*), which encompasses not only the core Greek-speaking territory of the empire but also bordering kingdoms and principalities allied with the Byzantine empire, generally through diplomatic marriages and Orthodoxy as a common religion, and as well as post-Byzantine heritage in these areas.¹⁵

As has been discussed by Antony Eastmond, what is generally considered Byzantine art is not restricted to works produced within the borders of the Byzantine empire; rather Byzantine art encompasses objects and architectural structures created within its cultural sphere. For Early Byzantium the geographic extent and Romanized character of this area is easily traceable, but in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods they become more difficult to define. This is complicated by the fact that the roots of modern nations and national artistic styles - which in some cases evolved from and directly overlapped with artistry from Constantinople and other major Byzantine artistic centers - have been sought in these formative centuries. Nevertheless, by convention works such as the mosaics of 12th century Venice and Sicily, the 13th century frescos of Serbia, and the icons of Mount Sinai have been included as "intermediaries" in order to fill gaps in the narrative of Byzantine art, which, also by convention, focuses on the artistic production of the capital city, and largely its imperial and ecclesiastical commissions.¹⁶

In the context of recent exhibitions it is also important to consider the double function of the objects on display: on the one hand, as an art object, removed from its original and possibly later contexts and evaluated according to the established formal criteria of art history; and on the other hand, as a piece of material culture that carries with it inherent historical, social and in many cases religious meaning.¹⁷ Troubled by

¹⁵ The term Byzantine Commonwealth was coined in 1971 by Dimitri Obolensky to describe the areas that had been converted to Orthodox Christianity by Byzantine missionaries and to the present day have maintained Byzantine liturgical and cultural traditions to varying degrees; it includes modern Belarus, Bulgaria, FYR Macedonia, Georgia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Russia, Serbia, and Ukraine; see: Dimitri Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500-1453*, New York: Praeger, 1971. This construct has since been debated and will not be discussed in this thesis; it is nevertheless a useful paradigm to bear in mind, especially for the discussion of recent exhibitions. Also in the exhibition context Antony Eastmond has justly noted the insufficiency of modern labelling based on the idea of nation states and their application to describe the "medieval reality of fuzzy frontiers and dispersed populations" (Eastmond 2008, 314).

¹⁶ Eastmond 2008, 315-321, esp. 317-318. It is obvious from the composition of the exhibitions that curators also adhere to the "broad definition" of Byzantine art, which will be revisited in chapter 3.3. Eastmond's contribution to the *Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* on "The Limits of Byzantine Art" provides a concise description of choices faced when attempting to define Byzantine art, such as geographic boundaries, the movement of artists and questions of center versus periphery, whether Byzantine religious art encompasses only that produced for Orthodox or also non-Chalcedonian churches, and whether there is a coherent canon of Byzantine art.

¹⁷ This question is raised in Cameron 2013, which considers art history, material culture and the integral role of visual and material evidence in writing Byzantine history today. For a short overview of leading

similar issues of categorization as its historiography, Byzantine art history has until very recently been systematically excluded from the canon of European art history. Awkwardly located in art history surveys between Antiquity and Medieval periods, Byzantine art is presented in a narrative developed parallel to Western art that includes Islamic, Asian and other "Non-European" art histories.¹⁸ Theories and practices of Modernism also categorized Byzantine art together with primitivism, African, Mesoamerican and folk art as something foreign to the Western art historical tradition. This placement privileges the formalist and structuralist approaches of the small field of "Early Christian and Byzantine art history" before the turn to cultural studies. Whereas early exhibitions of Byzantine art were guided by these principles, the recent exhibitions that will be analyzed bear an obvious interest in using the same objects to narrate the cultural history of an influential, but little-known, empire.

One could easily ask why conduct a study of exhibitions about Byzantium and the image created of this culture; why not another period, empire or culture with a complex reception history in the West? Overall, Byzantium occupies a unique position through its complex relationship with "Europe" - geographically a part of it and yet historiographically long portrayed as an "Eastern" or "Oriental" counterpart to it. Although it cannot be investigated here, the presentation of Byzantium can and has taken on political dimensions, both in countries that claim a direct historical link and those that do not. The primary impetus for this study is the quantitative boom in the past 20 years of exhibitions on Byzantine art, particularly religious art, and the increasing number of large-scale shows at high-profile institutions. Regardless of the reasons behind this, through these shows Byzantium has been thrust into public view in countries where a clearly-formed image of this historical entity does not exist. These exhibitions are thus inherently educational and formative. Viewed against the background of its reception history, an investigation of the status quo of Byzantium's depiction in temporary exhibitions can shed light on advances in scholarship as well as the possible confirmation of established historical stereotypes.

figures of Byzantine art history and the long dominance of formalism in the discipline, which only in the late 1980s opened up to contextual and other methodologies of cultural studies, see: Leslie Brubaker, "Critical Approaches to Art History," in: Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon and Robin Cormack (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008: 59-66.

¹⁸ On the categorical exclusion of Byzantine art history from the Western art historical tradition in American art history textbooks and their roots in the earliest German-language art history surveys, themselves reflections of Hegelian aesthetics and philosophy of history, see: Robert S. Nelson, "Living on the Byzantine Borders of Western Art," *Gesta* 35/1 (1996): 3-11, and Mitchell Schwarzer, "Origins of the Art History Survey Text," *Art Journal* 54/3, *Rethinking the Introductory Art History Survey* (Autumn 1995): 24-29. The recent introduction of global art history surveys has taken some steps to rectify this imbalance.

2. The Reception of Byzantium in the West

The image of the Byzantine Empire in the Western European cultural sphere¹⁹ is founded on a history of direct interaction and mediated reception going back centuries. Beginning with the growing cultural divide in the early medieval period, Byzantium was perceived by the West as an "Other" in regard to politics, tradition, Christian dogma, language, and art. While aspects of Byzantine culture, such as Orthodoxy, may have been preserved in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, two areas are of particular significance for the reception of Byzantium in the West: first, intensive contact with Greek historical and theological writings; and second, Byzantine visual culture. Both these primary sources spurred scholarship in the field of Byzantine studies, making possible various receptions and revived interests from the 16th, and especially from the 19th, century on. Nevertheless, the overall reception of the Byzantine empire and culture in Western Europe has until very recently been overtly subjective, serving the personal or institutional interests of contemporary investigators, and subject to the historiographical tradition of defining the Eastern Roman empire as a steady period of decline in light of an overwhelming affinity of post-Enlightenment Western scholars for the Greco-Roman antique past. This chapter will sketch major intellectual currents in the history of Western scholarship and trends in the arts as they have contributed to the popular image of Byzantium in the West. Although they would provide insightful comparisons, investigations of modern countries that claim direct inheritance from Byzantium, foremost Russia and Greece, must for now be left out.

2.1. State of research

Studies on the general reception of Byzantium are rare, and in part due to the volume of potential material and approaches an overarching, East-West comparative study has yet to be undertaken.²⁰ However, in recent years a number of conferences and a growing body

¹⁹ This imprecise designation is meant to include English-speaking countries outside of Europe.

²⁰ This is still the situation despite the fact that Averil Cameron thematized the issue of multiple receptions in her Inaugural Lecture as Chair of the Late Antique and Byzantine Studies at King's College, London, in 1990 (Cameron 1992), and in the late 1990s Ihor Ševčenko pointed to reception history as a promising avenue for the further development of Byzantine studies (Ševčenko 2000, 19).

While composing this chapter, it came to my attention that a research project "Transformations and Adaptations of Byzantine Heritage in Modern Europe 1500-2010" has been initiated by Przemysław Marciniak at the University of Silesia and funded by the National Programme for the Development of Humanities, Poland. Unfortunately, the project website (www.byzantium.pl, last accessed 6 April 2014) does not include more information about the span of the project or its activities. According to the project leader, a volume co-edited with Dion Smythe and entitled *The Reception of Byzantium in European Culture since 1500* is currently under contract with Ashgate Publishing (https://www.academia.edu/6457035/The_Reception_of_Byzantium_in_European_Culture_since_1500, accessed 6 April 2014).

of scholarly literature have begun to deal with specific topics concerning the perception of the Byzantine Empire, its reception history in the West, and its political, theological, cultural and artistic legacy throughout Europe to the present day. In addition to short mentions in general histories of Byzantium and brief entries in more recent handbooks to Byzantine studies as an academic discipline,²¹ three proceedings volumes have addressed the topic: *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes*, Papers from the Twenty-Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (King's College, London, March 1995); *Byzance en Europe*, published following the XXth International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Paris, August 2001); and *Wonderful Things: Byzantium Through its Art*, Papers from the Forty-Second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies (London, March 2009).²² The essays in the first two volumes form a basis for the discussion of national patterns of Byzantine reception in Germany, France and the United Kingdom, while the most recent volume deals exclusively with art objects and exhibitions. In addition, some specific studies of roughly the past 20 years have looked at the reception of Byzantine art and architecture in Europe and North America during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the fascination with Byzantine personalities as models of decadence in literary and performing arts at the same time, and since the transition from Communism in Eastern and Southeastern Europe the issue of political continuities, ingrained hegemonic ideologies, and the role of history in shaping national identities in those states.²³ These investigations, which reflect a resurgent interest in Byzantium and its renewed assessment, presuppose a longer occupation with Byzantine material heritage. Therefore, it is necessary to look at West European art historical and historiographic trends, in addition to the socio-political situation of former Byzantine areas, in order to locate the roots of the prevailing popular image of Byzantium in the West.

²¹ For example: Cyril Mango (ed.), *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002; Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, Robin Cormack (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; Jonathan Shepard (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c. 500-1453*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009; Paul Stephenson (ed.), *The Byzantine World*, Oxon-New York: Routledge, 2010 and Liz James (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantium*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010; as well as the list in Schreiner 2011, 237-239.

²² Published as: Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys (eds), *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes*, (Papers from the Twenty-Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, King's College, London, March 1995), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000; Marie-France Auzépy (ed.), *Byzance en Europe*, Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 2003; Antony Eastmond and Liz James (ed.), *Wonderful Things: Byzantium through its Art* (Papers from the Fourth-Second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, London, 20-22 March 2009), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013.

While this thesis was being written a fourth volume resulting from a conference held on 26-28 October 2011 at The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities in Stockholm was in preparation (Nilsson and Stevenson 2014). I am thankful to Ingela Nilsson for making this work known to me and providing me with a pdf copy of the volume as it was going to print.

²³ On architecture and the arts, see below. On political aspects, see the literature listed in fn. 5 and 6.

2.2. Middle Ages to the Enlightenment

The reception of Byzantine culture in the West began in the Middle Ages. Considering the firmly established linguistic and cultural division between "Greek East" and "Latin West," and with the groundwork already laid by the initial administrative partition of the Roman Empire in 293, the collapse of the Western Roman Empire in 476, and mounting tensions between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Papal Church of Rome - which reached a pinnacle in 800 with the coronation of Charlemagne as Holy Roman emperor²⁴ -, the rulers of Western European states by the 9th-10th century perceived themselves as different and distinct from the rulers in the East. Although probably given undue weight in modern scholarship, Luitprand of Cremona's vitriolic *Embassy*²⁵ clearly recognizes the cultural otherness of the (Western) Roman Empire and the (Eastern) Roman Empire. Almost as if cataloguing future associations with the word 'B/byzantine', Luitprand contrasts the Byzantine emperor and the German king:

*"The king of the Greeks is long-haired, tunic-wearing, long-sleeved, hooded, lying, fraudulent, merciless, fox-like, haughty, falsely humble, cheap, greedy, eating garlic, onions, and leeks, drinking bath-water; by contrast the king of the Franks is nicely shorn, in attire that differs from women's clothing, hat-wearing, truthful, guileless, quite merciful when appropriate, strict when necessary, always humble, never cheap..."*²⁶

While some of the characteristics listed may be ascribed to the conventional literary topos of a "bad king" and a "good king" and not necessarily to historical fact, such negative attributes are a recurring theme in Western writing on the Byzantine empire. This general characterization of the Byzantines was widespread especially following the East-West

²⁴ In the West the coronation of Charlemagne was seen as the moment of *translatio imperii*, since the throne of the Roman Empire in Constantinople was occupied by the *Empress* Irene, therefore deemed vacant, and Charles I, King of the Franks, had captured Rome, the traditional seat of the Roman empire. This ideology would be invoked by the crusaders in 1203-4 to justify taking Constantinople from schismatic Christians and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 by the Habsburg, Valois, and Bourbon royal houses (Grégoire and Auzépy 2001, 16).

²⁵ It appears not to have been widely read in Ottonian times and no medieval copy of *Embassy* survives, the only one known having been lost since the production of the first edition in 1600 (Luitprand/Squatriti 2007, 29-30).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 263. Aside from general rudeness - especially by the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros (r. 963-969) who refused to acknowledge the German emperor with his proper title - Luitprand, who had been sent by Otto I to broker a political marriage for his son with a Byzantine princess, remarks on the poor etiquette, boorish manners, stinking old vestments and haughty arrogance of the court as well as their military impotence. (Such remarks are scattered sparingly throughout the text; here, *ibid.* 240, 245, 246-248, 256.) An alliance for Otto II was secured only on a return mission in 971-2 (*ibid.*, 5-6), and princess Theophanu is generally seen as having ushered in a period of "byzantinizing" at the Ottonian courts, tangible today in preserved liturgical objects and reliquaries as well as miniature painting.

Although different yet allied, Luitprand uses the metaphor of the Byzantine lion and the 'Frankish' cub against the 'Saracen' wild donkey, remarking that, "Although both may be men, just as both the lion and the cub are animals, nevertheless they are as distant in customs, I do not say as one species is from another, but as tangible things are from intangible ones" (*ibid.*, 263).

Schism of 1054 and leading up to the Fourth Crusade in 1203-4, and can even be traced in recent popular histories.

While questions of authority surrounding the title of Roman emperor and ecclesiastical controversy marked the relations between the Byzantine empire and the Holy Roman Empire for centuries, many objects of Byzantine provenance - and some from even farther East that passed through Byzantium - made their way into safely guarded royal and church treasuries in Western Europe, where some served as inspiration for artists, while others were ritually interred within graves and reliquaries. In addition to numerous manuscripts, famous examples of "decorative" art include ivory pyxes and plaques, carved stone vessels, silks, enamel work, gold jewelry and reliquaries of mixed media. Often these objects already possessed or were brought into a religious context.²⁷ In addition to their sheer material value, such objects embodied both spiritual and political authority because of their "exotic," Eastern provenance. For exactly this reason numerous Byzantine art objects, and particularly relics, were removed from Constantinople during the period of Latin rule (1204-1261) and in the West became the foci of new cults under royal patronage.²⁸ Until artistic documentation and excavation began in the 19th century, these portable objects served as the primary visual reference for Byzantium in the West.²⁹

South of the Alps, in Italy, economic and cultural contacts continued largely uninterrupted throughout the medieval period despite diminishing Byzantine influence and definitive territorial losses to the Normans by 1071. As the Ottomans gained ground in the later 14th and early 15th centuries, and with the fall of Constantinople in 1453, a

²⁷ On diplomatic gifts in this context, see the articles by Cormack, Muthesius and Lowden in: Jonathan Shepard (ed.), *Byzantine Diplomacy* (Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990), Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 1992.

On Christian relics in general including Byzantine examples in Western medieval collections, see most recently: Martina Bagnoli, Holger A. Klein, C. Griffith Mann and James Robinson (eds), *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011, and Cynthia Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400-circa 1204*, University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012.

²⁸ For example, Sainte-Chapelle, consecrated 1248, was built by Louis IX of France to house relics of Christ's Passion which he had purchased from Baldwin II, Latin Emperor of Constantinople in 1239; the Doges of Venice also actively tried to establish cults of Constantinopolitan relics in San Marco. On Louis IX and Sainte-Chapelle, see: Jannic Durand and Marie Lafitte (eds), *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2001. On Venetian cults and the transfer of objects to Italy, see: Debra Pincus, "Christian Relics and the Body Politic: A Thirteenth-Century Relief Plaque in the Church of San Marco," in: David Rosand (ed.), *Interpretazioni veneziane: Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, Venice: Arsenale editrice, 1984, 39-57, and Anthony Cutler, "From Loot to Scholarship: Changing Modes in the Italian Response to Byzantine artifacts, ca. 1200-1750," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians, 13th-15th Centuries) (1995): 237-267.

²⁹ Many of these objects in Western European collections are precisely those with a long history of exhibition; see section 3.3. and the provenance of objects listed in Appendix B.3.

great wave of learning made its way, often via Crete and mediated by the Republic of Venice, to the budding Renaissance centers of Italy. The fleeing Byzantine elite brought with them collections of manuscripts, some of which form the core of important manuscript collections today and were the first to be studied by early Western scholars of Byzantium. During the Renaissance, however, the focus for Western intellectuals of Italy and their newly founded "academies" of Greek learning was on the literature and scientific texts of classical antiquity, whereas German humanists looked toward the Church Fathers and church histories for support in contemporary religious debates surrounding the Reformation. Byzantine texts in themselves were viewed only as (faulty) vehicles for these traditions; as a result they tended to be printed in excerpts, and in Latin translation, according to the prevailing interests of the scholarly community at the time.³⁰

The propensity to investigate specifically Byzantine texts in light of current socio-political developments continued into the 16th and early 17th centuries, particularly in territories of the Holy Roman Empire. With Roman imperial continuity broken, the Byzantine empire became for Western European rulers "un horizon idéologique et parfois fantomatique ... und sorte de réservoir de légitimité ... (pour) leurs prétentions impériales;" the collection of manuscripts by Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs as well as Francis I should be seen in this context of contributing to their imperial standing.³¹ As the Ottomans encroached further westward into Europe, interest in the history of the Byzantine Empire as a window onto the successor Ottoman state, considered both a military threat and a trading partner, was piqued. Heads of leading commercial firms in the free imperial city of Augsburg, who were able to obtain additional Greek manuscripts while on embassy in Ottoman territory, commissioned the first systematic Latin editions of Byzantine chronicles.³² After the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) the center of continental European scholarship, and with it interest in Byzantine texts, shifted to Paris.

³⁰ Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350/5-1415), an ambassador of Manuel II Palaiologos who arrived in Florence in 1397, is considered the first great teacher of Greek in Renaissance Italy. Other scholars and their Italian pupils amassed great collections that still exist to this day, for example, the library of Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472) which formed the core of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. A more detailed discussion and specific examples of early Italian and German textual studies are included in Reinsch 2010, esp. 436-437.

³¹ Auzépy 2003, 13. Charles V, Ferdinand I and Rudolf II purchased many unique manuscripts, some now kept in the Spanish National Library and the Austrian National Library, among them the famous illustrated *Vienna Dioscurides*. To demonstrate the volume of collecting and copying, largely through Italian sources, under Francis I the collection of Greek manuscripts at the Bibliothèque royale de Fontainebleau grew from 37 in 1518 to over 700 by 1550 (Grélois and Auzépy 2001, 17).

³² Reinsch 2010, 438-439. Anton Fugger of Augsburg ordered Hieronymus Wolf (1516-1580) to prepare editions of Zonaras' world chronicle and Niketas Choniates' *Historia*, making him "the father of German Byzantine studies" (Beck 1984, cited in Reinsch 2010, 438). Wolf coined the term "Byzantine" to refer to

In France the interest in with Byzantine historiographical texts stemmed from the investigation of their "own" history, particularly the (rather tenuous) connection through Baudouin of Flanders to the throne of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-1261).³³ Du Cange, a philologist best known for his dictionaries of medieval, as opposed to classical, Latin (1678) and Greek (1688), was integral in editing Byzantine texts, and his prefaces draw clear lines connecting the medieval Latin rulers of Greece with the then king of France.³⁴ War against the Ottomans was justified by a "rightful claim" of Louis XIV to the throne of Constantinople, a title asserted openly into the 17th century, and certain Byzantine-style flatteries became part of the imperial ideology of the Sun King, including the adoption of elements of court ceremony, costumes, and rhetoric surrounding the God-ordained, absolutist king, even instituting a reconstructed Greek liturgy at the abbey of Saint-Denis.³⁵ Moreover, further manuscripts and art objects were purchased at this time as a component of this carefully orchestrated state propaganda. While imperial ideology was not the only driving force behind early studies of the Eastern Roman Empire - one must also consider debates surrounding the Church and a general boom in intellectual and scientific pursuits at the time - the subsequent image of Byzantium became tinged by associations with certain structures of absolutism, such as the unrestricted power of an illustrious monarch, caesaropapism, and exorbitant spending at court solely for the promotion of the ruler's glory.

The nomenclature employed by scholars and translators in 17th century France reveals that "Byzantium" was not yet a clearly defined historical category, and the "history" of the later Roman Empire was not yet synonymous with decline.³⁶ This radical shift occurred in the second half of the 18th century based on the perspectives of Enlightenment philosophy that a legitimate government derives its power from the people

the Eastern Roman Empire to 1453, even if this term was not to supersede "Eastern Roman empire" in scholarly and common usage until the 19th century.

³³ Believing that understanding the history of the Byzantine Empire could support the imperial aspirations of France, the first systematic corpus of Byzantine texts, the *Corpus Byzantinae Historiae* (also known as *Byzantine du Louvre* and *Corpus Parisiense*), was sponsored by Louis XIV, and 28 volumes were published between 1648 and 1688 based on manuscripts that had been collected for the Royal Library. For the contemporary sources on the topic see: Grégoire and Auzépy 2001, esp. 18, 35-38, 65-92.

³⁴ Spieser 2000, 200-202. To what extent some of the claims of the greatness of the king were merely rhetorical devices and formulaic flattery, as well as du Cange's early contributions to what would later be called Byzantine studies in the context of 17th century French imperial ideology, are also discussed here.

³⁵ Ibid., 206 and Grégoire and Auzépy 2001, 17 and 100-101. For understanding the necessary weight of these early activities in the history of Byzantine studies I owe credit to a lecture course delivered by Johannes Preiser-Kapeller at the University of Vienna during the summer semester 2010, entitled "Das andere Mittelalter: Grundzüge der Geschichte und Geschichtsbilder des Byzantinischen Reiches."

³⁶ Spieser 2000, 208-210.

and that Church and State should be separate. As Angelov argues: "The Enlightenment, in turn, brought about an almost universal condemnation of Byzantine civilization which was thought to embody exactly what the Age of Reason opposed: an authoritarian political system; a culture permeated by blind religious belief; and a society fervently hostile to any notion of reform."³⁷ While not entirely new, this view was propagated by the French historian Charles Lebeau in *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (1767-1786) and in the English-speaking world most famously by Edward Gibbon's multi-volume bestseller *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (published 1776 to 1788).³⁸ Covering the period from the 2nd century AD to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Eastern Roman Empire is for Gibbon a thousand-year narrative of decay, stagnation, and religious superstition that Voltaire called "a disgrace for the human mind."³⁹ This perception of the Byzantine Empire as a manifestation of "oriental despotism" and the ideological opposite of what budding, secularist Western European states aspired to colored the prevailing image of Byzantium in intellectual discourse and artistic reception in Western Europe and the United States throughout the 19th century.

2.3. Pluralism of the 19th and 20th centuries

Despite such universal condemnation, historical and ecclesiastical texts continued to be edited,⁴⁰ and thanks to early studies of medieval Greek architecture, by the second half of the 19th century the visual culture of Byzantium had entered the vocabulary of Western patrons and artists, and certain popular personalities drawn from Byzantine history were reinterpreted in literary and performing arts.⁴¹ However, rather than being a broader

³⁷ Angelov 1999, 1. In this insightful article Angelov identifies two main components of "Byzantinism" that have dictated the perception of the Byzantine empire and Byzantine culture since the time of the Enlightenment and became prominent in the 19th century in order to construct Byzantium as "the other 'within'" Europe: first, "a traditional set of stereotypes and images" that is rooted in Western animosity surrounding the religious schism of 1054 and the Crusaders' portrayal of the Byzantines as perfidious and effeminate; and second, "a reductionist approach to Byzantine society and civilization a methodology which applies simplistic analytical categories derived from western experience to an essentialized Byzantium" (4). While Byzantinism is not Byzantium, this main tendency dominated the Western intellectual tradition of Byzantium well into the 20th century when new approaches entered scholarship and in the popular image even until today.

³⁸ Schreiner 2011, 124. This idea was introduced by Montesquieu in *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* (1734), which also provides an early periodization of European history into Antiquity, Middle Ages and Renaissance.

³⁹ Voltaire, *Le pyrrhonisme de l'histoire*, chapitre XV. Quoted after Angelov 1999, 5.

⁴⁰ In Germany, where the modern study of history was developing, Barthold Georg Niebuhr initiated the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (a.k.a. *Corpus Bonnense*) in 1828. The series enjoyed wide distribution, but it is generally considered of poor editorial quality having been prepared by classical scholars who openly abhorred the 'inferior' post-antique material (Schreiner 2011, 124-125).

⁴¹ A number of influential histories and architectural books were published during the mid-19th century, among them: André Couchard's *Selection of Byzantine Churches in Greece* (1841); George Finlay's *Greece under the Romans* (1844) and *The History of the Byzantine Empire from 716 to 1453* (1853), a deliberate

cultural phenomenon, the reception history of the Byzantine Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries follows a few chosen monuments and historical figures⁴², and was dictated by the personal interests of a couple of key actors influential in public and private building programs, the fine and applied arts, literature, archaeology and collecting. Against the political background of the "Eastern Question" - the struggle of the Great Powers over the fate of fracturing Ottoman territories - this wave of interest in Byzantine culture carried into the first decades of the 20th century, which witnessed the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.⁴³ The evidence from Germany, France, Britain and to a lesser extent the United States reveals the persistent, lurking legacy of Enlightenment-era prejudice, despite the varied and highly subjective interpretations of what contemporary Western Europeans perceived Byzantium to have been and to represent in their own time.

2.3.1. Germany and Austria: Imperial vision to Vienna Secession

Aligned with the grander, 19th century historicizing love of everything medieval, elements of Byzantine architecture, including the medium of mosaic,⁴⁴ were rediscovered and applied in secular and religious architecture throughout Western Europe, where the 'Byzantine Revival' style came to signify different attitudes in different social circumstances.⁴⁵ Exposure to Byzantine architecture was predominantly through Italian

attempt by a Philhellen to challenge Gibbon's history; John Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* (1851-1853); Wilhelm Salzenberg's *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel* (1854); James Fergusson's *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* (1855); and Owen Jones' *Grammar of Ornament* (1856), which contained an extensive 'Byzantine' section. (Bullen 2003, 131-135)

⁴² Namely: Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, San Marco in Venice, churches of Ravenna and Sicily as well as emperors Constantine, Justinian and Theodora, and Constantine VII Porphyrrogenetos.

⁴³ On the Eastern Question, see: Matthew S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question, 1774-1923: A Study in International Relations*, London: Macmillan, 1966; as well as the more recent survey by Alexander Lyon Macfie, *The Eastern Question, 1774-1923*, London: Routledge, 1996.

⁴⁴ On the very interesting story behind the rediscovery of mosaic in German imperial commissions, which had to be cut for length, see: Barbara Schellewald, "'Le byzantinisme est le rêve qui a bercé l'art européen dans son enfance.' Byzanz-Rezeption und die Wiederentdeckung des Mosaiks im 19. Jahrhundert," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 52/1 (2008): 123-148.

⁴⁵ One must be careful with the designation "Byzantine," as architectural elements and decorative motifs termed Byzantine were also referred to as "Moorish," "Oriental," or "Romanesque." The seemingly vague terminology of architectural Historicism was already criticized by the contemporary art historian James Fergusson (Bullen 2003, 135) and does not necessarily correspond with the categories as defined and accepted by art and architectural historians now. I am thankful to Fani Gargova for this insight. This tendency is also applicable to decorative arts and painting; see for example the brief discussion of Gustave Moreau's painting *Salome Dancing before Herod* (1876) as described by Huysman in his book *Against Nature* (1884). While Huysman identifies a "Muslim" or "Byzantine" style interior, Bullen remarks: "In fact there is very little in the architecture which might identify it precisely as Byzantine, and in the syncretic arrangement of the decorative objects surrounding the figures Julius Kaplan notices objects from Egypt, Persia, India and Rome" (ibid., 99, fn. 104).

While Bullen's book is not without certain problems and factual errors, it is to my knowledge the only study thus far to investigate the phenomenon of the "Byzantine revival" architectural style in a socio-

examples relayed in the eyewitness observations of Western European travel writers, who described and sketched the religious Byzantine monuments found in Venice and Torcello, Ravenna, Palermo, Monreale, and Cefalù.⁴⁶ With the exception of Hagia Sofia in Istanbul, which was praised more as a technical feat of engineering than for its aesthetic merits, few other Byzantine buildings were deemed worthy of mention in architectural study books of the time, which were slow to break with Neoclassical sensibilities.

The first Byzantine-inspired building to be built in modern Western Europe was commissioned by Ludwig I of Bavaria shortly after his ascension to the throne in 1825. Inspired by a trip to Sicily where he attended mass at the Cappella Palatina in Palermo (the court chapel of Roger II of Sicily from the mid-12th century), he constructed the Court Church of All Saints (*Allerheiligen-Hofkirche*) at his residence in Munich.⁴⁷ The choice of this style for a royal commission reflects not only Romantic nostalgia for the Middle Ages, but also a perceived political connection with this medieval king and is indicative of Ludwig's personal philhellenism and that of his extended family.⁴⁸ For his brother-in-law, Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia, "Early Christian"-Byzantine Revival became nearly a state style, a conscious element of the reconstruction program of Prussia following the Napoleonic wars; it was chosen to embody both the physical and spiritual awakening of the state and reflect the monarch's wish to reform the German Protestant church and return it to "a purer, truer form of Christianity."⁴⁹ For Ludwig II of Bavaria, the interest in Byzantine-inspired architecture was highly personal, fantastical and self-aggrandizing in its aspiration to reflect the divinity of kingship; nevertheless his

cultural context, and incorporate a range of contemporary textual sources, across multiple Western European and North American countries.

⁴⁶ For example: Lord Lindsay's *Sketches of the History of Christian Art* (1847), in which for the first time Byzantine art is valued as a "Period of Preparation" for Western Medieval Art; Robert Curzon, a British aristocrat who in the 1830s had travelled to Egypt, the Holy Land and Mount Athos, where he collected Greek manuscripts now in the possession of the British Museum, and published *Visits of Monasteries in the Levant* in 1849. Ruskin even adopts this mode of writing for his exhaustive observations of Byzantine-Venetian architecture in *The Stones of Venice*. See: Nelson 2004, 53-56; on Ruskin, 56-72.

⁴⁷ The church was completed in 1837 by the court architect, Leo von Klenze, who is still more widely known for his strict neoclassical style, seen in other buildings commissioned by Ludwig I. For more on Ludwig I of Bavaria's "self-conscious programme of archaism," see: Bullen 2003, 18-23, and Nelson 2004, 37.

⁴⁸ Moreover, Ludwig I's son Otto was elected the first king of Greece in 1832.

⁴⁹ Sørensen 2014, 172. Friedrich Wilhelm IV (r. 1840-1861) built the Protestant Church of Peace (*Friedenskirche*) in Potsdam (1845-1848). This was modelled on the 12th century basilica of San Clemente in Rome and outfitted with the original apse mosaic from San Cipriano in Murano, dated to around 1230. On Friedrich Wilhelm's "Early Christian" building program in Prussia, see also: Bullen 2003, 24-33, and Nelson 2004, 39-45, with further literature. He was also responsible for sending the architect Wilhelm Salzenberg to Constantinople to record the Hagia Sophia, which was being restored by the Fossati Brothers from 1847-1849, among other Early Christian and Byzantine buildings. His surveys and collections of plates were published in 1854 as *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel vom V. bis XII. Jahrhundert*. On the cultural context of its commission and wide influence as the first scholarly publication of the monument, see: Nelson 2004, 33-36; also Bullen 2003, 27.

obsession, that manifested in Neuschwanstein Castle, contains the internationally best-known example of German "Early Christian"-Byzantine Revival architecture today.⁵⁰

Elements of Byzantine architecture were also employed in the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867-1918) on private and public projects, especially for religious buildings and in imperial commissions such as the Arsenal (1848-1856), as well as those along the Vienna Ringstrasse (1860s-1880s). Many of these eclectic public buildings were designed by the Danish architect Theophil Hansen, who had been instrumental in modelling Athens in Neoclassical style as a new state capital in the 1840s-1850s and again in the 1880s.⁵¹ Rejecting the ornament of Historicism, the clear forms and spatial sense of Byzantine architecture were adopted by architects of the *Jugendstil* movement and can still be seen today, for example, in the Church of St. Leopold at Steinhof (1903-1907) by Otto Wagner. Decorative artists of the Wiener Werkstätte and Secessionist painters, such as Gustav Klimt, were inspired by typically Byzantine materials, colors, patterns and iconography but by the turn of the century these elements had also been secularized and sexualized in the context of their works.⁵²

2.3.2. France: Spirituality and Oriental depravity

In mid-19th century France, budding research and the sparse implementation of Byzantine architectural forms and designs was seen in the context of an aesthetic quest to rediscover the nation's own early Christian, "Romano-Byzantine" heritage.⁵³ Accordingly, and lacking the support of royal patronage of the sort enjoyed in Germany, the Neo-Byzantine Revival style was deemed appropriate for religious architecture, and a few prominent churches were constructed in this style during the 'Catholic renaissance' of

⁵⁰ The throne hall of Neuschwanstein Castle (1869-1892) was completed in a Byzantine-revival style. Ludwig II also commissioned plans for several other monumental residences including Linderhof, which was intended to reflect the imperial palace in Constantinople. On Ludwig II of Bavaria and his Byzantine projects, see: Albrecht Berger, "Les projets byzantins de Louis II de Bavière," in: Marie-France Auzépy (ed.), *Byzance en Europe*, Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 2003, 75-85 and plates I-VII; also Bullen 2003, 34-45. A significant body of German language literature focusing on the Byzantine Empire and historical persons, some more fictional and some more scholarly, was produced during the 19th and early 20th century, but it cannot not be dealt with here.

⁵¹ Much research has been done particularly in Austria on Theophil Hansen and his designs; see most recently: Cornelia Reiter and Robert Stalla (eds), *Theophil Hansen - Architekt und Designer: Ausstellung anlässlich des 200. Geburtstages* (Ausstellung des Kupferstichkabinetts der Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, exhibit, 20. September bis 10. November 2013), Weitra: Verlag Bibliothek der Provinz, 2013.

⁵² For a brief overview of the Byzantine Revival and its interpretation by early Modern architects and artists in Austria, specifically Vienna, see: Bullen 2003, 46-53.

⁵³ Kampouri-Vamvoukou 2003, 90. Among the most prominent of these early works is Félix de Verneilh's *L'Architecture byzantine en France. Saint-Front de Périgueux et les églises coupoles d'Aquitaine*, Paris 1851.

mid-19th century France;⁵⁴ it was again recalled in a stripped-down Modernist fashion during the interwar period. Even though several Protestant churches and synagogues built in France were in an eclectic Romano-Neo-Byzantine style, it became closely associated with the Catholic Church, and it is therefore not surprising that the highly factionalist political climates of the Second Empire (1851-1870) and the Third Republic (1870-1940) precluded its widespread adoption.

While Western architects and architectural historians were traveling to Italy, Greece, Constantinople and elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean to document extant medieval, and not only antique, monuments, some French artists and writers began to refine the Orientalist⁵⁵ image of Byzantium as a romantic territory, exotic and forgotten to time. Through this new information and photographic material,⁵⁶ which allowed for both exoticism and familiarity, Byzantium was invoked as a source of inspiration in French fiction and drama. Composed with the occasional participation of early Byzantinists such as Gustave Schlumberger or by selectively interpreting the works of Charles Diehl, these stories are characterized by their atmosphere, intrigue, and recurrent constituent themes: violence; gnosis; holiness; female sexuality, especially when animal,

⁵⁴ Notably the Cathedral of Sainte-Marie-Majeure (1852-1893) and Notre-Dame de la Garde (1853-1864) in Marseilles along with Sacré-Coeur at Montmartre (1876-1919). Kampouri-Vamvoukou (2003) investigates the rebirth of the Romano-Byzantine style in France in connection with contemporary scholarly endeavors to record Byzantine monuments, while Bullen (2003, chapter 2, 56-98) offers a socio-political interpretation of these monuments and the symbolism behind the appropriation of supposedly "Byzantine" figures in the visual arts.

⁵⁵ The term "Orientalism" had been used in the literary and visual arts long before the introduction of the concept by Edward Said (1978). Although Said's argument is based principally on British and French historical literary sources to demonstrate persistent cultural prejudices which purposefully constructed "The Orient," in his work specifically Arab-Islamic peoples, as an antithesis to "The West," his general premise and method, not without critique and qualification, have been convincingly applied to the Balkans by Maria Todorova (*Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1997; updated edition 2009). Dimiter Angelov (1999; 2003) has built upon these approaches to expound the constructed concept of Byzantinism, the often negative real or imagined heritage of the Byzantine Empire in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. Therefore, the term "Orientalist" here is applicable in both its older art historical and newer socially constructed meanings, especially in the sense that in the 19th century Byzantine visual culture was not clearly delineated and often subsumed under the umbrella of "Oriental" - not surprising in light of the fact that at the time the former Byzantine territories were to a large extent under the influence of the Islamic Ottoman Empire.

⁵⁶ Théophil Gaultier's *Constantinople* (Paris, 1853; English translation, London 1854) is worth mentioning for its popular lively style and the inclusion of engravings based on photographs of major monuments in the city and its inhabitants, many reflective of an Orientalist ethnographic mindset. A collection of these images appeared as a separate picture book with multi-lingual captions, and enjoyed wide circulation at the outbreak of the Crimean War (1854-1856). On bringing Constantinople closer in the consciousness of Western Europeans through these images and through increased ease of travel following the completion of the Orient Express rail line in 1878, see: Nelson 2004, 73-82. On the photographic documentation of Constantinople during the radical process of urban renewal by European photographers, most famously Sébah and Joaillier, during the second half of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century, see: Nelson 2004, 79-104.

malicious or incestuous; and Christian occultism.⁵⁷ In this body of works Byzantine history served as a parallel, fantastic world populated by stock figures; an attempt to integrate Byzantine visual references constituted the only tangible historical connection. For both the contemporary public and for modern scholars,⁵⁸ the most popular example of the prevailing tendency to associate Byzantium with decadence - as moral decline and an artistic movement - is the drama *Théodora* by Victorien Sardou (1884). An attempt at authenticity was made by incorporating elements from Byzantine sources, such as Procopius' *Anekdota* and the mosaics in Ravenna as models for costumes and scenery, but that is where the contribution of scholarship ends.⁵⁹ Taking the name of the historical Byzantine empress, played by Sarah Bernhardt, the most famous stage actress of her day, and the Nike Revolt in 532 as a historical backdrop, Sardou created a completely fictional story surrounding the quintessentially Byzantine *femme fatale*, lustful, power-hungry and treacherous.⁶⁰

Ironically some Symbolist writers and visual artists had first embraced Byzantine iconography for its perceived spiritual purity, and toward the end of the century a small group of soon-to-be influential artists and critics in France was beginning to view Byzantine art in positive formalist terms. The multitude of simultaneous receptions reveals that despite the increased knowledge available Byzantium was perceived more as a sense, a mental territory, rather than a commonly defined geographical territory or

⁵⁷ Delouis 2003, esp. 117-132. For an overview, see: Nikè Koutrakou, "L'image de Byzance dans la littérature fantastique et policière," in: Marie-France Auzépy (ed.), *Byzance en Europe*, Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 2003, 193-213, which surveys French and English language fiction published through 2000. On the quarrel between the playwright Victorien Sardou and Diehl, see in the same volume: Silvia Ronchey, "La 'femme fatale', source d'une byzantinologie austère," 153-175, esp. 163-165 (Originally published in Italian in: S. Ronchey (ed.), *La Decadenza*, Palermo: Sellerio, 2002, 19-43).

⁵⁸ In recent years much has been published about this play; while certainly influential for the public image of Byzantium at the end of the 19th century, it is worth reevaluating how much attention recent scholarship has focused on this one example, possibly at the expense of other well-received plays and novels with Byzantine-inspired themes or characters.

⁵⁹ Delouis 2003, 131. Stathakopoulos offers a summary of the characters and plot followed by an analysis of the inconsistencies stemming from the use of Procopius' *Anekdota*, which had recently been translated and published, as the main historical source in the mode of late 19th century Orientalism; see: Dionysios Ch. Stathakopoulos, "La Décadence? Anmerkungen zu Victorien Sardous *Théodora*," in: Wolfram Hörandner, Johannes Koder, Maria A. Stassinopoulou (eds), *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik. Beiträge zum Symposium Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien im Gedenken an Herbert Hunger* (Wien, 4.-7. Dezember 2002), Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004, 430-444.

⁶⁰ This motif was already well established thanks to Théophile Gautier, who is credited with having popularized the idea of *l'art pour l'art*, when he wrote of the mosaic image of Salome in San Marco: "Dressed in long dalmations fringed with fine fur, she brings to mind those dissolute empresses of Constantinople, those great courtesans of Byzantium, Theodora, for example, lustful, lascivious and cruel." (Gautier, *Voyages en Italie* (Paris 1852), quoted in Bullen 2003, 99, endnote 100.) The symbolist painter Gustave Moreau picked up on this Biblical character and transforms her in his paintings into a "*femme fatale* across time" to express the intrinsic danger of femininity (Bullen 2003, 101). This is a concern of late 19th century France and not necessarily of the Byzantine Empire.

historical entity. In literature as in popular photography, it appeared as Constantinople, an erotic, urban, multi-ethnic and polyglot city like Paris; in architecture and painting, Byzantium was received as both piously ascetic and extremely decadent.⁶¹ Again the lack of clear definition allowed for the embodiment juxtapositions of extremes - culture and barbarism, Christianity and paganism, mysticism and luxury - and the transposition of contemporary concerns onto a little-known past.

2.3.3. Britain: Aesthetic visions

Without a direct historical link and largely because of the influential work of one individual, who himself never travelled farther East than Venice, the reception of Byzantine art and architecture in Anglophone countries took a decidedly different path than in Germany or France.⁶² John Ruskin, in his more general work *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and his three-volume *The Stones of Venice* (first published 1851-1853), exposed an English-speaking audience to his praising, yet exceedingly romanticized vision of Venetian-Byzantine accomplishments, the pinnacle of which was the heavenly, bejewelled Church of San Marco.⁶³ Drawing a parallel between the Republic of Venice at its height and England, both independent, mercantile and maritime island states, Ruskin disavowed the colorless austerity of Renaissance architecture and celebrated the medieval architectural ornament, polychromy, and gold-ground mosaics of San Marco.⁶⁴ However, also due to his observations of form, Byzantine architecture -

⁶¹ Delouis 2003, 118-120; Bullen 2003, 105. Rather ironically it is exactly the subjectivity - the personal, the private and the obscure - often associated with Symbolism that characterizes the image (or lack of a uniform image) of Byzantium toward the end of the 19th century in France. To deem that *décadence* is something necessarily perceived as negative, as is now often the case, is also to apply a culturally and personally specific set of values that might not reflect the intentions and associations of the author or other audiences.

⁶² Nelson 2004, 57-8.

⁶³ Ruskin described San Marco as: "a vision out of the earth... a multitude of pillars and white domes ... a treasure heap, it seems, partly of gold, and partly of opal and mother-of-pearl, hallowed beneath into five great vaulted porches, ceiled with fair mosaic, and beset with sculpture of alabaster, clear as amber and delicate as ivory, - sculpture fantastic and involved, of palm leaves and lilies ..., and birds clinging and fluttering among the branches, all twined together into an endless network of buds and plumes; and in the midst of it, the solemn forms of angels....And round the walls of the porches there are set pillars of variegated stones, jasper and porphyry, and deep-green serpentine spotted with flakes of snow, and marbles...- a confusion of delight, amidst which the breasts of Greek horses are seen blazing in their breadth of gold strength, and the St. Mark's lion, lifted on a blue field covered with stars, until at last, as if in ecstasy, the crests of the arches break into a marble foam, and toss themselves far into the blue sky in flashes and wreaths of sculptured spray." E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (eds), *The Works of John Ruskin*, 39 vols. (London, 1903-12), here vol. 10, 352, quoted in Nelson 2004, 61-63.

⁶⁴ Nelson 2004, 59. In this point Ruskin displayed a new aesthetic appreciation contrary to prevailing taste of the time; however Théophile Gautier had also noted the "sensuousness of Byzantine colour and the Oriental nature of Byzantine design in architecture and mosaic" (Bullen 2003, 98). The two men had otherwise rather different subjective impressions of the church of San Marco, Ruskin believing in its

treated as an aesthetic concept and divorced from any real religious practice and meaning - was interpreted in the 19th century 'Battle of the Styles' as open, vigorous, robust and manly.⁶⁵ Thus by the turn of the 19th to 20th century Byzantine architecture was praised in Britain by two schools of thought both stemming from Ruskin's aesthetic rediscovery of Veneto-Byzantine monuments: one for its "Oriental irrationality" and fantastical imagination; the other for its rational design and integrity.⁶⁶

Parallels, as well as the unity of these two ideas, can be found in other media. Although Byzantine-inspired buildings were few, the appropriation of Byzantine motifs and principles of design in the British decorative arts became exceedingly popular. Often interpreted as a reaction against industrialization, one of the leading forces behind the Arts and Crafts Movement, William Morris, propagated interest in Byzantine artistic monuments and supported the adoption of the style based on the belief that Byzantine society was one of social unity and equality. Its art functioned socially as "the work of collective rather than individual genius," in which artists were free to create beauty and personal happiness.⁶⁷ Social idealism and the personal pursuit of the spiritual and sublime through art, and specifically the appropriation of Byzantine themes for this purpose, is a leitmotif that first appeared in Symbolist works and was assumed with vigor in Modernist painting and poetry.

"exuberant purity," Gautier its "excess verging on decadence", calling it a "vast pile of riches and works of art ... a pile which assaults and overwhelms the senses" (Gautier quoted in Bullen 2003, 99, endnote 99).

⁶⁵ Bullen 2003, 137; Nelson 2004, 58. Comfortably rooted in the hallowed Middle Ages, throughout the 1850s and 1860s the Veneto-Byzantine architectural style became modern as Victorian aesthetic taste shifted. The style gained added legitimacy in 1862 when Queen Victoria built a mausoleum for Prince Albert that was strikingly reminiscent of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna (Nelson 2004, 71-2 and Bullen 2003, 140-1).

From 1858 to 1894, the interior of St. Paul's Cathedral, a Baroque church designed by Christopher Wren and consecrated in 1697, was decorated by Salviati's Venetian Enamel-Mosaic Works with modern designs branded as "barbarous, anachronistic ... Byzantine mosaics". (On Salviati the entrepreneur in England, see: Bullen 2003, 142-145; on the theological, political and aesthetic issues surrounding the St. Paul's project, 146-151.) Shortly thereafter Westminster Cathedral, the largest Catholic church to be erected in England since the Reformation, was built in a basilican "Early Christian Byzantine" style from 1896-1903. Bullen 2003, 173-176, interprets the choice of style as a symbolic attempt to recolonize the Christian past and historically trump the Gothic style associated with Protestantism.

⁶⁶ Interestingly both attitudes or approaches were not mutually exclusive, as one might be inclined to believe today; a prominent example is the work of the architectural historian and architect William Richard Lethaby, who published *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth* (1891), a late Romantic, universalist take on architectural symbolism, and the first scholarly monograph on the Hagia Sophia, *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople A Study of Byzantine Building* (1894). This work inspired not only the architect of Westminster Cathedral, but also a number of young British architects and artists to investigate further Byzantine monuments. On Lethaby's multifaceted perception of Byzantium and his influence, see Bullen 2003, 168-172, and Nelson 2004, 112-119.

⁶⁷ Morris, "The Art and the Beauty of the Earth" (lecture), 1881, quoted in Bullen 2003, 165; see also: Nelson 2004, 108-110. For members of the Arts and Crafts Movement this was the ultimate goal of art.

Pre-Raphaelite artists such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones, as well as William Morris, had personal connections to members of the Phanariot community in England, who supplied them with photographs of Constantinople and its monuments; one of them, Constantine Coronio, subsequently donated his art collection to the Victoria and Albert Museum (Nelson 2004, 106-108).

At the same time, while extravagant spectacles such as Bolossy Kiralfy's *Constantinople, or, The Revels of the East*, a hodgepodge of Byzantine, Ottoman and Persian romantic-Orientalist stereotypes, were being performed in London, the foundations of modern Byzantine studies as a discipline were being laid in Cambridge and Oxford.⁶⁸ Publications of the Byzantine Research Fund, founded in 1908, aimed to provide accessible academic studies of individual extant monuments, and O.M. Dalton, curator at the British Museum and reluctant Byzantine art historian, sought to rectify the imbalance of previous interest in architecture in favor of Byzantine art objects.⁶⁹ British excavations in territories of the disintegrating Ottoman empire were driven by interested artists, collectors, as well as scholars, and yielded new Byzantine source materials. Nevertheless, because of historical and geographical distance still relatively little was known, and significant room was left for interpretation.

2.3.4. United States: Unencumbered design

The issue of distance is no more strongly felt in the reception history of Byzantium than in the United States. Linked historically and by a common language, Britain provided initial impressions in the 19th century, but by the early 20th century American collectors, art dealers and research institutions had established bases in Greece and Turkey and sponsored missions to gain firsthand knowledge of Byzantine material heritage.⁷⁰ Only a generation before, the first widespread popular exposure to Byzantine heritage came from Mark Twain, who described the Hagia Sophia as "the rustiest old barn in heathendom."⁷¹ Notwithstanding Twain's hyperbole, during the church building boom of the last decades of the 19th and early 20th century American architects produced some remarkable buildings that incorporated Byzantine forms and decoration in what may be called a Neo-Byzantine Revival style. Often conflated with Romanesque, "Byzantine" was one of many style choices within medieval revivalism and, lacking Europe's historical baggage,

⁶⁸ Bullen 2003, 169-170, for more on early Byzantine scholarship and archaeology in Britain see the collected papers in Cormack and Jeffreys 2000.

⁶⁹ Nelson 2004, 119. The preface to his *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford 1911) explicitly states this goal. Dalton published several catalogs of objects from the British Museum beginning in 1901. For more on Dalton, his career and contributions to the early study of Byzantine art objects, see: Christopher Entwistle, "O.M. Dalton: Ploughing the Byzantine Furrow," in: Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys (eds) *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes* (Papers from the Twenty-Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, King's College, London, March 1995), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, 177-183.

⁷⁰ American acquisition of Byzantine artifacts is presented in some detail in Paul Stephenson, "Desiring and acquiring Byzantine artefacts in the USA," in: Ingela Nilsson and Paul Stephenson, *Wanted Byzantium: The Desire for a Lost Empire*, Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2014, 257-273. Kourelis 2007 offers a detailed account of the Corinth excavations, which, seen in connection with Modernism, is an interesting case study itself in the reception history of Byzantium.

⁷¹ *The Innocents Abroad; or, The New Pilgrim's Progress* (1869), quoted in Nelson 2004, 52.

in the United States it was not associated with a particular state ideology or denomination (being early Christian and therefore predenominational) and unburdened by other historical connotations.⁷² Byzantine forms, designs and color schemes were again lumped together with other cultures of the East as free, unencumbered sources for modern design.⁷³ This was also the case for the American designer Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848-1933), who drew from Japanese, Chinese, Persian, North African and Byzantine design traditions to create interior architecture and decorative objects for wealthy American patrons, regardless of their personal religious leanings.⁷⁴ Byzantinizing elements became popular due to their exoticism, ascribed sense of religious dignity, splendor, and potential to create environments of imaginative escapism.

2.3.5. Modernism: A source for the transcendental quest of the artist

While the discourse may be little-known to non-specialists nowadays, it is worth recalling the symbolic meaning ascribed to Byzantium and how its artistic formal language was received among post-Impressionist and Modernist artists and critics. Like some examples of religious architecture, for which a Neo-Byzantine style was chosen to express spiritual authority, formal elements of Byzantine visual art were also adopted in the fine arts to convey a spiritual message. The French painter Maurice Denis (1870-1943) viewed Byzantine works as "the most perfect type of Christian art" because it was perceived - in line with other genres of "Primitive art" - as an expression of hieratic, unadulterated spiritual and non-material values, a formal style that expressed divine essence and permanence. Thus its adoption could be seen as a reaction to the materialist, morally depraved and swiftly changing modern world.⁷⁵ Focusing on its formal characteristics

⁷² Notable examples include: Trinity Church in Boston (interior 1874-1847, porch facade 1897), designed by Henry Hobson Richardson; the Church of St. Bartholomew, New York (1916-1917, interior completed 1930), and the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Washington DC (completed only in 1921). Many synagogues were erected in a loosely defined Romanesque-Byzantine-Moorish Revival style, see: Sam Gruber, *American Synagogues: A Century of Architecture and Jewish Community*, New York: Rizzoli, 2003.

For the discussion of specific architects, artists and prominent examples of their work, see: Bullen 2003, 188-225. Nelson focuses less on Byzantine impulses in the historicizing vein of American architecture and more on Modernism, providing American examples commissioned by Catholic, Protestant and especially Greek Orthodox congregations from 1900 through the 1950s (Nelson 2004, 187-213).

⁷³ Bullen 2003, 188-199.

⁷⁴ According to the art historian Robert Koch, who popularized Tiffany's work in the 1950s after it had fallen out of favor, Tiffany's interest in Byzantine aesthetics had been particularly inspired by a performance of *Théodora*, which he saw in New York in 1886. It is also possible that he was influenced by the Middle Byzantine objects in J.P. Morgan's collection in New York (Bullen 2003, 201 and 210).

⁷⁵ For a short explanation of Denis' writings and own 'iconic' paintings in the context of Symbolist and Primitivist painters, see Bullen 2003, 103-105. Parallel reactionism can also be observed in the Arts and Crafts Movement (mentioned above), especially in the idealized image of the unity of Byzantine art,

and the lack of similarity to Western art after the Renaissance, the art critic and theorist Roger Fry identified Byzantine art as the only historical precedent of Post-Impressionism, proclaiming the break from Impressionism to Post-Impressionism as "the greatest revolution in art (that) had taken place since Graeco-Roman impressionism became converted into Byzantine formalism."⁷⁶ Accordingly, the work of Henri Matisse was praised for formal elements analogous to those found in Byzantine art - namely flatness, lack of perspective, use of shapes, surfaces, and color - which create a purity of form with a higher meaning. Because of its aesthetic formalism Byzantine art was extolled as "a paradigm of formal and spiritual vitality, of renewed artistic *life*," and paradoxically it was celebrated by others, such as the poet and critic T.E. Hulme, for the mechanical qualities of rigidity, impersonality, and geometry that made it appear lifeless.⁷⁷ Subjectivity and the variety of interpretations of Byzantine artistic culture characterized its reception during the early decades of the 20th century. For English and American recipients the historical distance of Byzantium paired with direct access to newly-published and newly-excavated primary evidence of Byzantine culture removed its receptions from any national-historical discourse and fostered the understanding of Byzantium as an aesthetic of exoticism, spirituality, and formalism.

The themes of the exotic, the spiritual, splendor and escapism recur in English-language prose and poetry, which for current British and American audiences have arguably created some of the most lasting recognizable impressions of Byzantium. During the early 19th century British historical fiction with Byzantine subject matter was dominated by the recent memory of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. Seen through the lens of Protestant Christian morality centered on charity, restraint, and the proper (sexual and domestic) conduct of women, this relatively small corpus reiterates and reinforces the

society and its craftsmen, with their methods of production running counter to the rationalization of industry.

Kourelis 2007, 393, summarizes quite succinctly: "The 20th century embraced Byzantium as a subversive precedent for modernity's historical rapture with tradition, incorporating a perceived aesthetic otherness, abstraction, and spirituality in its historical arsenal."

⁷⁶ Roger Fry, "Art and Life" (1917), quoted in Kourelis 2007, 416; the text is reprinted in J.B. Bullen (ed.), *Vision and Design*, London 1981, 1-11. Fry also wrote: "It is probably a mistake to suppose, as is usually done, that Byzantinism was due to a loss of technical ability to be realistic, consequent upon barbarian invasions. In the Eastern empire there was never any loss of technical skill; indeed, nothing could surpass the perfections of some Byzantine craftsmanship. Byzantinism was the necessary outcome of Impressionism, a necessary and inevitable reaction from it," and also "MM Cézanne and Paul Gauguin are not really Impressionists at all. They are Proto-Byzantines rather than neo-Impressionists." That label eventually gave way to Post-Impressionists. (Quoted in Bullen 2003, 181.)

⁷⁷ Lewis 2009; on the opposing interpretations of Fry and Hulme, 54.

dichotomy of "us" (the moral, manly Westerners) versus "them" (the depraved, effeminate Easterners).⁷⁸

However, by the end of the 19th century, a second major current was developing that came to dominate poetic uses of Byzantium in the 20th century, namely Byzantium as a symbolic backdrop for the personal spiritual quest of the artist.⁷⁹ In part inspired by the Pre-Raphaelites, the Irish poet W.B. Yeats (1865-1939) produced the most famous and lasting image of Byzantium in English-language literature.⁸⁰ With a library of the most recent scholarly works on Byzantine architecture, art and history,⁸¹ Yeats cultivated in "A Vision" (1925) a description of his own esoteric philosophical system, and the two poems "Sailing to Byzantium" (1927) and "Byzantium" (1930) narrate his personal artistic-spiritual quest for transcendence and artistic immortality through the metaphor of Byzantium.⁸² Not striving for historical accuracy, he depicts early Byzantium as a

⁷⁸ James 2000. Considering the larger 19th century discourse on gender and femininity, the connotations of the "female" and femininity ascribed to Byzantium and Byzantines at large, regardless of gender, are to be understood as negative and alienating attributes. Within the common framework of "good, masculine 'us' versus bad, feminine 'them'" a dominant theme is female sexuality, as discussed above, with no better example than the nefarious empress Theodora. One of the few published studies on the reception of the Byzantine Empire in English-language fiction, James (2000) provides a detailed analysis of the approaches to Byzantine women in English-language historical fiction from around 1830 to 1980; on Theodora in particular, 241-245.

Among other works of a similar vein, James cites Scott's historical romance *Count Robert of Paris* (1832): "The novel deals with the clash of ideologies, with what happens when these two worlds, cultured but corrupt Byzantium and stalwart but rustic Western Christendom, meet. The classical is in decay, capable of supporting itself through guile and conspiracy; the Crusaders, rude and unlettered, are upheld as a new chivalrous energy." Scott had revealed his historical sources to be Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Charles Mill's *History of the Crusades* and a Latin text of Anna Komnenos' *Alexiad* (James 2000, 238-239). The British corpus is of questionable current relevance, especially considering that its most famous proponent, Walter Scott, is hardly read anymore; see: Irving Howe, "Falling Out of the Canon: The Strange Fate of Walter Scott, *The New Republic* 207, (17-24 August 1992): 35-37. This question was already posed by the father of Virginia Woolf, Leslie Stephen, "Some Words about Sir Walter Scott," *The Cornhill Magazine*, (September 1871): 278-293, and his works were satirized by Mark Twain in several novels from the 1880s. Nevertheless, other novels by Walter Scott continue to be readapted for film (for example, *Ivanhoe*), and the literary genre of early 19th century Romantic historical medievalism continues to be rehashed in the television, film and video game industries.

⁷⁹ Nelson 2004, 129-131. Beginning with Ruskin, the notion of Byzantium and its material heritage became reflective of "the complex interrelationships between sexual and aesthetic experience," as Herbert J. Stern wrote in reference to the poem "Peter Quince at the Clavier" (1915) by Wallace Stevens; in: Irvin Ehrenpreis (ed.), *Wallace Stevens. A Critical Anthology* (Harmondsworth, 1972), 271-276; cited in Ricks 2010, 223-224.

⁸⁰ Again, it might appear imprudent to ascribe such influence to a particular work by one author. However, the poem "Byzantium" has continued to have resonance until today: it has been cited as an opening quotation in numerous scholarly works and exhibition catalogues; was set to music in the early 1990s; and has inspired subsequent literary and visual artists (Nelson 2004, 148-153). For a broader look at the sporadic appearances of "Byzantium" and "Byzantines" in English-language poetry from ca. 1850-1960, including Tennyson, Ezra Pound, and the influence of Cavafy in translation, see: Ricks 2010.

⁸¹ On his library, see: Nelson 2004, 132-134, and further literature cited.

⁸² The discussion of the symbolic meaning of Byzantium in these works represents an individual sub-field within studies of Yeats' poetry and other writings; see: Russell E. Murphy, *The Meaning of Byzantium in the Poetry and Prose of W.B. Yeats: The Artifice of Eternity* (Studies in Irish Literature, Volume 14), Lewiston-Queenston-Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2004; and Sjösvärd 2014, 237-245, with bibliography. On Byzantium, decadence and Byzantine escapism in the intellectual climate of late 19th

pinnacle in his cyclical construct of history, and in "Byzantium" specifically as an ideal state "in which religious, aesthetic and practical life are one",⁸³ a sentiment shared by the proponents of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Yeats' fantastical vision of "a wanted Byzantium"⁸⁴ employs what could be termed stereotypically Byzantine visual imagery - "the gold mosaic of a wall," "hammered gold and gold enamelling," the workmanship of other precious materials and fabrics, a drowsy Emperor and court being entertained - to describe the quest of the mortal artist for permanence, which ends in Byzantium, the "artifice of eternity." That Yeats' transcendental experience of Byzantium was reflected in the discourse surrounding minimalist art and Byzantium in the 1950s is demonstrated by Clement Greenberg, who explained that "(t)he Byzantines dematerialized firsthand reality by invoking a transcendent one."⁸⁵ Yeats and the foray of Modernist theorists into Byzantine art continued a spiritualist trend of Byzantine reception. The interaction between a modern viewer and Byzantine architecture or art objects is placed in a framework of self-reflection and self-discovery; Byzantium becomes an outlet and a projection surface for very subjective, aesthetically-defined spiritual endeavors.

2.4. Considerations at the turn of the 20th to 21st centuries

While new archaeological discoveries and major methodological breakthroughs in scholarship have occurred, thereby allowing a more comprehensive understanding of this distant empire, during the second half of the 20th century and up to today the idea of Byzantium has been loosely interpreted in popular media. In popular fiction the Byzantine Empire has served as a source of inspiration for historical and epic fantasy novels, such as the works of J.R.R. Tolkien and to a lesser extent George R.R. Martin,⁸⁶

century *l'art pour l'art* with examples from Cavafy and Yeats, see: Norman Vance, "Decadence from Belfast to Byzantium," *New Literary History* 35/4, (Autumn 2004): 563-572.

In 1931 Yeats commented on the symbolic meaning of his personal appropriation of Byzantium: "Now I am trying to write about the state of my soul, for it is right for an old man to make his soul, and some thoughts upon that subject I have put into a poem called 'Sailing to Byzantium.'" When Irishmen were illuminating the Book of Kells and making the jewelled croziers in the National Museum, Byzantium was the center of European civilization and the source of its spiritual philosophy, so I symbolize the search for the spiritual life by a journey to that city." Yeats in: John Stallworthy, *Between the Lines: Yeats's Poetry in the Making* (Oxford, 1963), 96-97, quoted in Nelson 2004, 142.

⁸³ Yeats cited in Sjösvärd 2014, 238.

⁸⁴ Sjösvärd 2014, 241.

⁸⁵ Greenberg 1958, 169. Taking the work of Jackson Pollock as an example, he wrote, "This new kind of Modernist picture, like a Byzantine gold and glass mosaic, comes forward to fill the space between itself and the spectator with its radiance."

⁸⁶ On Tolkien and his use of Byzantine history in the creation of the fictional kingdom of Gondor in the *Lord of the Rings* cycle, see: Miryam Librán Moreno, "'Byzantium, New Rome!' Goths, Longobards, and Byzantium in the Lord of the Rings," in: Jason Fisher (ed.), *Tolkien and the Study of His Sources: Critical Essays*, Jefferson: McFarland, 2011, 84-115 (not read by the author, as not available in Vienna).

which employ Byzantine historical material and visual references to create fantastic worlds that reinforce associations with exoticism and escapism. As in earlier English-language fiction the theme of "us vs. them" often recurs in contemporary English-language fiction about Byzantium, whereby outsiders appear to save the day and the Empire, such as in the historical fantasy novels of Harry Turtledove, who earned a PhD in Byzantine history.⁸⁷ The Byzantines' reputation for intrigue and power politics has work its way into top-selling computer games of strategy, for example: *Age of Empires II: The Age of Kings* (1999); *Civilization III, IV, V* (2001, 2005, 2010); *Medieval Total War* (2002); *Crusader Kings II* (2012), a dynastic simulator strategy game covering the period 1066-1453, in which the player can "be" Constantine X Doukas or Alexios I Komnenos. The interactive and open-ended nature of these games leaves real historical figures open to one's own interpretation. Byzantine history has also become popularized through numerous made-for-television documentaries, such as the wistfully nostalgic *Byzantium: The Lost Empire* hosted by John Romer (TLC, 2007) or the more sensationalist *Byzantium: A Tale of Three Cities* hosted by Simon Sebag Montefiore (BBC, 2013). In new media, the podcast *12 Byzantine Rulers* (2005-2007) by Lars Brownworth traces the ambitions and scandals surrounding illustrious emperors.⁸⁸ While the recent boom in interest has kept the history of the Byzantine Empire from falling into oblivion in the West, the clear chronological emphasis on the early Byzantine period, its scandals, the increasing depravity of rulers and political decay reflect the lasting historical burden of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* along with the persistent approach to history as the story of wars and illustrious men.

Recalling surface and artifice, visual impressions of Byzantine material culture that are deeply rooted in Western perception have in recent years been appropriated by the world of fashion. Italian designers in particular have returned to motifs and materials

Martin is the author of the epic fantasy novels "A Song of Fire and Ice" (five novels published between 1991-2011), which are the basis of the American TV series *Game of Thrones* (HBO network, since 2011), now a widely popular international franchise.

⁸⁷ In particular the *Videssos* series, which was originally published as four novels in 1987 and expanded to a total of 12 by 2005, in which Roman legionaries are miraculously transported from a border skirmish in Gaul to a parallel world that is modelled on the medieval Byzantine Empire. Together with the Varangian guard, they are able to save the empire from its own murderous intrigues and power struggles at court and stave off the aggressive incursion of bloodthirsty nomadic armies of robe-wearing, veiled 'infidel'. Turtledove's PhD dissertation at the University of California (1977) was entitled *The Immediate Successors of Justinian: A Study of the Persian Problem and of Continuity and Change in Internal Secular Affairs in the Later Roman Empire during the Reigns of Justin II and Tiberius II Constantine (A.D. 565-582)* (found on 10 March 2014 at <http://catalog.library.ucla.edu/>).

⁸⁸ The podcast is available at <http://12byzantinerulers.com/> (accessed 14 March 2014). Ten of 15 episodes focus on emperors of the Iconoclastic period or earlier. Brownworth has also published a rather jocular popular history, *Lost to the West: The Forgotten Byzantine Empire that Rescued Western Civilization*, New York: Crown Publishing, 2009.

drawn from their national religious culture, mixing images from gold mosaics, heavy lace and embroidery costumes of Baroque Madonna statues, and jewel-laden cross accessories. In current fashion jargon "Byzantine" implies only a sense of gold- and jewel-encrusted ostentatiousness, taking cues from eclectic late 19th-early 20th century Byzantinizing fashions and decontextualizing completely Italo-Byzantine and subsequent Catholic religious imagery.⁸⁹

The reception of Byzantium in the West from the Middle Ages to today has been varied, inconsistent and in some instances contradictory. However, from a Western perspective the overarching theme in regard to its political system, religion and art has been its perceived "otherness." Throughout the centuries different individuals in different contexts have ascribed both positive and negative connotations to Byzantium as a historical source and a mirror held up against one's own society. As a source for luxurious courtly gifts and holy relics, Classical learning and early Christian texts, and a cradle of imperial legitimacy, the wealth and titles of the Eastern Roman Empire were coveted by monarchs, ecclesiasts and intellectuals of Western Europe up to the age of the Enlightenment. Reinterpreted as the antithesis of progress the Byzantine Empire and its famous historical figures came to represent decline, decay and moral depravity behind a jewel-encrusted façade. However, as a reaction against rationalism and secularization, by the second half of the 19th century Byzantium had been rediscovered by artists and architects, who became fascinated by the Oriental exoticism of the areas that had been under Byzantine rule and who sought to tap a higher, universal spirituality through the formal clarity of Byzantine art and its Early Christian associations. Many aspects of these various Western receptions survive today even with knowledge of primary textual and material sources and a rapidly growing body of accessible secondary literature. Nevertheless, Byzantium and the many modern states occupying its former territory remain generally obscure in Western consciousness: somehow separate on the edge of Europe and the Near East; backward; forbidden; exotic and mysterious.

⁸⁹ In the 1980s Christian LaCroix adopted heavily jewelled gold crosses; in the early 1990s Versace reinterpreted Ravenna mosaics as did Chanel in 2011; for Fall/Winter 2012 Versace again took up jewelled Greek crosses as a motif; and the Dolce and Gabbana Fall 2013 collection featured printed images from the 12th century mosaics in Monreale. The epithet "Byzantine" here again does not necessarily imply any association with historical reality, although some well-known Byzantine works in Italy are directly referenced.

3. Exhibitions on Byzantium

The first exhibitions devoted to Byzantine art took place in the early years of the 20th century, when Western scholars, archaeologists, antiquities dealers and collectors were actively searching for artifacts on former Byzantine territory, much of it then part of the crumbling Ottoman empire. Throughout the century the frequency of exhibitions on Byzantium increased, their intellectual focus - and occasionally apparent ideological motivation - reflecting trends in scholarship, public interest, and politics.⁹⁰ This chapter will provide a brief overview of exhibitions of Byzantine art held during the 20th century, followed by short descriptions of five major exhibitions that took place from 1977 to 2010: three at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1977, 1997, and 2004, covering Early, Middle and Late Byzantine periods respectively; a survey at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, in 2008-9; and for comparison a substantially archaeological exhibition held at the BRD Kunsthalle, Bonn, in 2010.⁹¹ The final section of this chapter will discuss the image of Byzantium created in the context of major exhibitions based on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the objects displayed in regard to their date, place of origin, material, iconography and original function. By investigating the approximately 60 objects of Byzantine art that constituted a common core of exhibitions from 1931 to 2010, as well as the inclusion of new 'popular' items from Eastern Europe and icons from Sinai - which highlight the association of Byzantium with material wealth and Orthodox spirituality - this discussion will question what changes, if any, more recent additions have contributed to the established image of the Byzantine Empire in the West, or whether the inherent nature of the objects available for presentation is instrumental in reinforcing particular stereotypes.⁹²

⁹⁰ A non-exhaustive list of exhibitions from 1884 to 2013 that were dedicated to Byzantine art or showcased Byzantine art in another art historical context can be found in Appendix A.

⁹¹ The history of Byzantine exhibitions has only recently become a focus of scholarly interest. A plenary session on "Showcasing Byzantium" was held at the 24th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference at the University of Kentucky in 1998 and the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in London from 21-26 August 2006 revolved around the topic of "display" and included a panel of six papers delivered by curators from the Byzantine Collection at Dumbarton Oaks (Gudrun Bühl), the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Helen C. Evans), the Département des Objets d'art du Musée Louvre (Jannic Durand), the State Hermitage Museum (Yuri Piatnitsky), the Byzantine and Christian Museum Athens (Dimitrios N. Konstantios) and the Museum of Byzantine Culture Thessaloniki (Anastasia Tourta). To the best of my knowledge only Piatnitsky's paper, which surveys the acquisition and presentation of Byzantine art objects at the State Hermitage Museum in light of scholars' personal interests and shifting political ideologies, has been published: Yuri Piatnitsky, "An Imperial Eye to the Past: Byzantine Exhibitions in the State Hermitage Museum, 1861-2006," *Tyragetia, serie nouă*, V [XX] / 2, *Istorie. Muzeologie* (2011): 71-98. Four articles on exhibition history were also published in the proceedings volume of the Fourth-Second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies held in London in 2009 (Eastmond and James 2013).

⁹² Appendix B.1 contains a table of objects that were displayed in three or more of the following major exhibitions: Paris 1931, Edinburgh 1958, Athens 1964, Brussels 1982, New York, 1977, 1997, and 2004, London 2008, and Bonn 2010. From among the known exhibitions of Byzantine art, these exhibitions have

3.1. History of exhibitions, ca. 1900-2000

For the general public in Western Europe and the United States, early exposure to Byzantine art came not through exhibitions of actual art objects organized on this theme, but from contemporary interpretations expressed through Byzantinizing styles and vague, artistic references to a romanticized vision of historical Byzantium. In the context of exhibitions, Byzantine art was first presented at the world exhibitions in the second half of the 19th century together with art of the Western European medieval period and arts of "the Orient", which comprised Egypt, Persia, India, China, and Japan.⁹³ While the first photographic exhibition of Byzantine monuments was organized by Gabriel Millet for the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris,⁹⁴ the "Italo-Byzantine" exhibition of 1905 held at the Exarchic Monastery of Santa Maria di Grottaferrata is considered the first exhibition dedicated to Byzantine material objects.⁹⁵

Subsequent exhibitions in Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the United States reflected the inextricable link between scientific investigation and private collecting; contemporary interest in the history of styles, and to some extent Modernist aesthetics, dictated the selection of items and their organization.⁹⁶ The *Exposition*

been chosen and termed "major" (rather than "blockbuster") by fulfilling the following criteria: they were conceived and executed by an international committee of recognized scholars in the field; they contained a large percentage of international loans; their thematic aim to represent the entirety of the Byzantine empire throughout its thousand-year history. The list of 61 objects that were displayed in four or more of these exhibitions is given in Appendix B.2.

⁹³ Although not part of the original Great Exhibition of 1851, a Byzantine pavilion was installed in 1854 when the famous Crystal Palace was permanently relocated to Sydenham near London (destroyed by fire in 1936); Louis Comfort Tiffany's Byzantine mode chapel and 'The Golden Doorway' of Louis Sullivan's neo-Byzantine Transportation Building were centerpieces of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. See: Bullen 2003, chapters 3 and 4. Hanson also notes that, at least in continental Europe, such as at the Paris exhibition of 1878 and the one in Torino in 1884, Byzantine art objects were "staged in the context of celebrating a national story, of tracing the national genius back through time." This was also the case with the exhibition at Grottaferrata. (Hanson 2013, 46-47)

⁹⁴ Kourelis 2007, 391.

⁹⁵ Evans 2006, 273. The catalog of the exhibition, which was part of the celebrations on the occasion of the 900th anniversary of the monastery's foundation, was published the following year: Antonio Muñoz, *L'art byzantin à l'exposition de Grottaferrata (Esposizione italo-bisantina, 1905)*, Rome: Danesi, 1906.

⁹⁶ The art critic Roger Fry was instrumental in influencing acquisitions by Isabella Stewart Gardner, Matthew Pritchard and J. Pierpont Morgan, who between 1905 and his death in 1913 purchased several highlights of Byzantine art now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, such as the Stavelot Triptych, the Fieschi Morgan True Cross Reliquary and the silver plates from the Second Cyprus treasure (Kourelis 2007, 397, 401, 416-417). For more on Roger Fry, Matthew Pritchard, their common interest in Byzantine art which they linked with Modernism, and their backstage collecting advice during the first decade of the 20th century, see: Bullen 2003, 178-185. On his connections with Thomas Whittemore, who directed the restoration of the mosaics in Hagia Sophia during the 1930s, the collectors Isabella Stewart Gardner and Robert Woods Bliss and Mildred Barnes Bliss, see: Nelson 2004, 156, 159-164.

The shift of interest among established collectors, particularly prominent American collectors such as J. Pierpont Morgan, is the subject of a separate study; for an overview of the breadth and intensity of J. Pierpont Morgan's collecting activities and his relocation of these objects to public institutions later in life, see: Jean Strouse, "J. Pierpont Morgan: Financier and Collector," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series, 57/3 (Winter, 2000), 1-64.

Internationale d'Art Byzantin, which took place in Paris in 1931, neatly exemplified this correlation. In addition to 176 textile fragments and 171 ivories, mainly from French collections, this show included ceramics from the private collection of David Talbot Rice and four plates recently excavated in Corinth by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, as well as many items from the newly established collection of Mildred and Robert Woods Bliss.⁹⁷ The aesthetic sensibilities of the reviewers were openly revealed by the explicit formal comparison of Byzantine objects with works of the contemporary avant-garde.⁹⁸ Several years later, a large-scale exhibition of Early Christian and Byzantine art was mounted in the United States at the Baltimore Museum of Art in collaboration with the Walters Art Gallery, the Department of Art and Archeology of Princeton University, which conducted expeditions to Syria in the first decade of the 20th century, and the Dumbarton Oaks Research Collection and Library of

⁹⁷ The exhibition took place from 28 May - 9 July 1931 at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Palais du Louvre, Pavillon de Marsan, Paris. The catalog was published the same year: Charles Diehl, Jean Ebersolt, and Royall Tyler, *Exposition internationale d'art byzantin*, Paris: Imprimerie Frazier-Soye, 1931. Organized under the auspices of the Republic of Greece and the Republic of France, and with Henri Matisse on the Honorary Committee, Charles Diehl headed the 22-member French organizing committee, which was supported by an international scientific committee of 84 members. 769 objects (excluding coins) were displayed, 425 of which came from public and private collections within France; a total of 156 lenders in 14 countries contributed items for display. The primary financial backers are not mentioned in the catalog; however, thanks are explicitly extended to the Republic of Greece, the American ambassador and collector R.W. Bliss, and the art dealers Sir Joseph Duveen and Joseph Brummer.

The objects in the exhibition catalog, which contains essays by Royall Tyler and Jean Ebersolt, are organized first by material, then chronologically: 176 textiles, 171 ivories, 107 items of silver and bronze, 59 pieces of pottery, 55 marble and steatite "sculptures," 50 items of gold enamel, 42 illuminated manuscripts, 39 pieces of gold jewelry, 34 painted icons and photographic reproductions of churches and their mosaic and fresco decoration from Greece, Yugoslavia, Georgia and Armenia. The exhibition contained no loans from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The British Museum or the British Library, London, Cyprus (then under British administration), the Soviet Union, Egypt, the Vatican, or the Treasury of San Marco, Venice.

American archaeologists began excavating Corinth in 1896; the medieval period ceramics excavated between 1925 and 1940 and now housed in the Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth were published by C.H. Morgan II, *The Byzantine Pottery* (Corinth: Results of the Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, XI), Cambridge, Mass., 1942. The Bliss Collection of Byzantine and Pre-Columbian art was subsequently donated to Harvard University and is today housed at the Dumbarton Oaks research institution in Washington DC, where correspondence regarding the Paris exhibition can also be found.

⁹⁸ Kourelis 2007, 392, 417. In his review of the exhibition Robert Byron noted, "Byzantine art has been called by those cognisant only of its most hackneyed manifestations a static art, confined within rigid and unchanging formulas...the organizers of this exhibition succeeded (in assembling) a collection of objects which illustrates the innumerable modifications of taste and technique that in fact overtook East Christian art from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries. ...And since this is the first exhibition of its kind it is necessarily the first time that any of them have been placed in their evolutionary background" (Byron 1931, 27). Another reviewer wrote: "In some work of the 8th century we may recognize the same tendencies which have so strongly transformed the art of our own day. Many objects testified to this analogy; a piece of sculpture made one think of Bourdelle or Modigliani, a textile recalled Derain or Dufy, and there were several tapestries, the cartoons for which might have been drawn by Matisse. This relation explains in part the success of the exhibition, the present vogue for an art which in certain respects appears so remote and so completely sealed" (E. de Lorey, "The International Exposition of Byzantine Art at Paris," *Parnassus* 3:6, 1931, 25-26, here 26, quoted in Kourelis 2007, 392-393).

Harvard University.⁹⁹ This exhibition presented objects in American collections, including a considerable number of manuscripts at the Princeton University Library.

A further major exhibition driven by interest in art history and aesthetics was the international show *Masterpieces of Byzantine Art*, curated by David Talbot Rice for the Edinburgh Festival and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, in 1958. Of 254 objects, approximately a third were carved ivory, which allowed stylistic groups to be made evident, and exceptional highlights included icons and silver from the Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and Cyprus. Although considered a "survey of the art of Constantinople from the fourth to the fifteenth century",¹⁰⁰ and despite coinciding with another large exhibition of Byzantine manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale,¹⁰¹ the Edinburgh show featured a selection of works produced outside of the capital and in regions adjacent to the Byzantine empire.¹⁰²

In 1964 a major exhibition was mounted in Athens with the support of the Council of Europe. Entitled *Byzantine Art, a European Art* and curated by an all-Greek academic executive committee, this exhibition can be considered not only for its contribution to academic enquiry but also against the background of contemporary political

⁹⁹ The catalog was published in the Princeton University, Department of Art and Archaeology series on Early Christian and Byzantine Art: Dorothy Eugenia Miner, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art: an Exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, April 25 - June 22 1947*, Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1947.

¹⁰⁰ Nelson 2004, 153-154.

¹⁰¹ *Byzance et la France médiévale. Manuscrits à peintures du II^e au XVI^e siècle* was held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, from 24 June 1958 to 31 January 1959. Because of this overlap some famous manuscripts that were displayed here and not at the Edinburgh-London show are marked in Appendix B.1.

¹⁰² The exhibition took place at the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, from 23 August - 12 September 1958 and at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, from 1 October - 9 November 1958. The catalog, which features on the cover the fragmentary ivory plaque of Christ crowning Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (B-26), kept at the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (inv. no. п-162), was compiled by David Talbot Rice with John Beckwith: David Rice Talbot, *Masterpieces of Byzantine Art (Edinburgh International Festival, 1958)*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1958. 254 objects gathered from 89 lenders in 14 countries were planned for display (not including 39 coins from a British private collection and twelve full-size facsimilies of architectural decoration ranging from the floor mosaic of the Great Palace in Constantinople to 14th century frescoes in Mistra and including five monuments in Yugoslavia). The twelve items of metalwork and architectural ceramics from the Istanbul Archaeological Museum were withdrawn by the Turkish government, and five items from Italy could not travel. No items from the United States were planned because of budgetary constraints (Talbot Rice 1958, 3), nor were any objects lent from the Vatican, Egypt, Greece (except 3 painted reproductions), or Ukraine (then part of the U.S.S.R.).

In the slim catalog the exhibits are organized not by material, but rather in a rough chronological order with interspersed smaller groupings by medium and/or iconographic motif to facilitate comparison. This is especially the case with the ivories, which constituted over a third of the exhibits (93 objects), followed by painted icons (33 objects), silk textiles (22 objects), silver tableware (17 objects), an equal number of carved stone and manuscripts (15), and 13 pieces of late Byzantine pottery, most from the private collection of Talbot Rice. Only five works of gold enamel, four of gold, and two cut gems were exhibited.

Rowena Loverance has done considerable research into the background of this exhibition and compared it to the 2008 show at the Royal Academy of Arts. See: Loverance 2013, esp. 49, fn. 4, on the lack of any record concerning how the objects were displayed at either venue.

developments, specifically as an expression of support for Greece's application to the European Economic Community in 1959.¹⁰³ By virtue of its location and organizers, this first major exhibition on former Byzantine soil featured a significant number of artifacts - 365 of the 704 planned exhibits - from Greek public museums, private collectors and most notably monastic establishments.¹⁰⁴ Here the focus was placed on painted icons and illuminated manuscripts, gold jewelry and ceramics. Eighteen years later another exhibition focusing on Byzantine art was held in Brussels as part of the Eurolalia International Arts Festival, which that year thematized the culture of Greece in a European context.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ As openly expressed by the Council of Europe's Culture, Heritage and Diversity section, "The Council of Europe series of art exhibitions began in 1954 with the aim to increase knowledge and appreciation of European art as one of the highest expressions of Europe's culture and common values." http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/Events/exhibitions_en.asp. Accessed 30 June 2014.

¹⁰⁴ With an Honorary Committee of 14 foreign ambassadors, 9 ecclesiastical representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church and several Greek politicians presided over by then Prime Minister George Papandreou, the Athens exhibition contained no objects from collections within the Soviet Union, Egypt or Switzerland. The 34 planned loan exhibits from the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul were withdrawn at the last minute by the Turkish Government. With the exception of 3 silver plates from Syria, all planned exhibits from Turkey were found in the course of archaeological excavations conducted in Istanbul during the first half of the 20th century, for example, at the Hippodrome, the Great Palace area, Hagia Eirene, and the former Lips monastery (Fenari Isa Camii). The planned loans from the United States, with the exception of Dumbarton Oaks, also did not appear for show. The fourteen unnamed works from Yugoslavia that arrived late were published in a separate supplement (Chatzidakis 1964, Foreword and 48, also Beckwith 1964, 399); unfortunately I have not been able to locate a copy of the supplement to consider them in Appendix B.

The Greek-language catalog was published by the beginning of the exhibition and the English-language version soon followed: Chatzidakis, Manolis (ed.), *Byzantine Art, a European Art (Ninth Exhibition of the Council of Europe, 1964)*, Athens: Department of Antiquities and Archaeological Restoration, 1964. It contained four essays by André Grabar, Steven Runciman, Otto Demus, and Anastatios K. Orlandos. In the catalog the works are grouped into 'major' arts (sculpture and painting) and 'minor arts' and within each section by material. Beckwith's communiqué from July 1964 reveals that the objects were indeed presented in a different, rather unsystematic, manner; he reports that, "Suitably enough, the Byzantine exhibition at Athens, like many things Byzantine, was a beautiful muddle" (Beckwith 1964, 399 and 403). The exhibition was held at the Zappeion Exhibition Hall, Athens, from 1 April to 15 June 1964.

¹⁰⁵ One of 32 exhibitions in connection with that year's festival, *Splendeur de Byzance* was held at the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, from 2 October - 2 December 1982. It was planned by a seven-member committee from Eurolalia and a nine-member scientific committee representing seven European countries and headed by André Grabar. The catalog was published in French and Dutch versions; information given here and in Appendix B is taken from the French edition, which contains one introductory essay by the editor and only one other essay on Mount Athos: Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Splendeur de Byzance (Eurolalia 82, Hellas-Grèce)*, Bruxelles: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1982.

The exhibition as planned constituted 197 objects (191 were shown) and 45 coins assembled from 57 lenders in eight Western European countries as well as Greece and Cyprus. The greatest number of items came from Belgian collections (81), followed by Greece (57), and France (54). The catalog grouped the artifacts by material, beginning with paintings (seven fresco fragments, 13 late Byzantine icons including miniature mosaics, 19 manuscripts), followed by sculptures (3 early Byzantine portrait heads and some architectural decoration, 27 ivories, five cameos, one steatite relief icon and Nikephoros Botaneiates serpentine roundel with the Theotokos) and ending with the most numerous 'minor' arts (21 objects of silver, two gold reliquaries, 30 bronzes, 18 silk fragments and embroidered textiles, 14 ceramics and four complete items of glass). As with the other early exhibitions mentioned, due to lack of accessible documentation it is not possible to evaluate their display in the exhibition space.

Interestingly the years between these two "European" exhibitions witnessed much activity on the part of institutions in Eastern and Southeastern Europe: a major exhibition and multi-volume publication of Byzantine art and artifacts in collections of the Soviet Union was presented in 1977, and travelling exhibitions of Serbian and Macedonian icons and silverwork as well as Bulgarian icons and goldwork toured major cities of Western Europe starting in 1961 and with impressive frequency from 1977 to 1981.¹⁰⁶ While new audiences were exposed to significant monuments of religious art and archaeological finds that had not yet been presented outside of their country of origin, the conception and mere titles of these shows firmly embed the proximity to Byzantium and Byzantine culture in their respective national historical narrative.

A plethora of exhibitions focusing on specific collections and media, especially manuscripts and religious art such as icons, brought to public attention lesser-known works spanning a broader geographic area including Egypt, Armenia, Spain and Scandinavia.¹⁰⁷ These shows, some of which may be considered blockbusters, and a surge of activity in Greece around the year 2000, have also had a great impact on comprehensive exhibitions of Byzantine art and culture, as will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

3.2. Major exhibitions, 1977-2010

Curatorial practice naturally shifted during the course of the 20th century as museums took on increasingly didactic roles. These trends are also evident in the frequency, size and disposition of Byzantine art shows staged by major European and American museums in the past 40 years. This shift has resulted in several "Byzantine blockbusters",¹⁰⁸ some of which will be highlighted here.

In 1977 the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York opened the first of a planned three-part series devoted to the art of the Byzantine empire. The first installment, which was initiated and curated by Kurt Weitzmann, focused on the Late Antique period from the third to seventh centuries. Only after a twenty-year hiatus was the Middle

¹⁰⁶ The exhibition at the Hermitage greatly contributed to a new appreciation of Byzantine art and reinvigorated Byzantine studies in the Soviet Union. The catalog by Alisa Bank, which first appeared in English in 1977, had been published in an earlier version in Russian in 1966.

The circulation of objects of cultural heritage from Yugoslavia can in part be attributed to the non-alignment policy of the Tito regime and in Bulgaria to the pro-Western cultural policy of Lyudmila Zhivkova, who served as minister of the Committee for Art and Culture from 1975 until her death in 1981.

¹⁰⁷ Such exhibitions are listed in Appendix A.

¹⁰⁸ The term blockbuster is used here as it has been applied commonly to temporary museum exhibitions since the mid-1970s, and the following discussion focuses on temporary exhibitions produced at large, multi-departmental institutions where attracting a large number of diverse visitors is a major goal.

Byzantine period presented in *Glory of Byzantium* (1997) and the Late and Post-Byzantine period in *Faith and Power* (2004), both curated by Helen C. Evans. Weitzmann's innovative approach to the material signaled a break with established art historical methods of inquiry and instead explored cultural history through art and other material artifacts. The other two exhibitions were also considered exceptional for the breadth of material covered and the didactic presentation of the objects, as will be discussed below.

In the 1990s several other large Byzantine exhibitions were mounted and produced scientifically interesting catalogs by virtue of the holdings of the hosting institution. *Byzance: L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* at the Louvre, Paris, in 1992, *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine art and culture from British collections* at the British Museum, London, in 1994 and *Byzantium: Late Antique and Byzantine art in Scandinavian collections* at the Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, in 1996 all restricted their focus solely to objects housed in their respective countries (or region in the case of Copenhagen).¹⁰⁹ Blockbusters with high scholarly and marketing potential took a decidedly religious turn at the end of the millenium; icons were the focus of two prominent examples: *Sinai, Byzantium, Russia: Orthodox Art from the Sixth to the Twentieth Century*, held jointly at the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, and the Courtauld Gallery, London, in 2000-1; and *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* at the Benaki Museum, Athens, also in 2000-1.

Most recently, two large-scale exhibitions striving to present the entire thousand-year history of Byzantine artistic culture were organized by institutions that do not possess a permanent collection of Byzantine, Medieval or related art. Having mounted several thematically-related shows,¹¹⁰ the Royal Academy of Art had an institutional history that culminated in *Byzantium, 300-1453* in 2008-9. Shortly thereafter the BRD Kunsthalle in Bonn, in cooperation with the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz, opened the expansive *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag*, which emphasized Byzantine archaeology.

¹⁰⁹ The corresponding catalogs are respectively: Marie-Claude Bianchini (ed.), *Byzance: L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* (Musée Du Louvre, 3 Novembre 1992-1er Février 1993), Paris: Edition de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992; David Buckton (ed.), *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections*, London: British Museum Press, 1994; Jens Fleischer, Øystein Hjort, and Mikael B. Rasmussen (eds), *Byzantium: Late Antique and Byzantine Art in Scandinavian Collections*, Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1996.

¹¹⁰ One was dedicated to Greek frescoes and icons (1987), another to the antique art of the George Ortiz collection (1994), and a third to Russian icons (1998).

The following pages will offer short descriptions of five of these exhibitions - New York 1977, New York 1997, New York 2004, London 2008 and Bonn 2010 - briefly discussing the parameters of each exhibition, its curator(s) and scientific aims, and most importantly the exhibits themselves, which entails a quantitative analysis of the objects based on the exhibition catalogs.¹¹¹ These shows were chosen because of the international prominence of their venues, the international body of scholars working on their conception and execution, and sufficient financial means to secure a large percentage of international loans. The aim of presenting Byzantium as a whole - across time, geography and artistic media - whereby the three New York shows are considered as one conceptual unit, was also a decisive factor in the selection process. In the final section of this chapter the image of Byzantium presented in these exhibitions will be synthesized in light of earlier exhibitions and the reception history of Byzantine culture in the West as a whole.

¹¹¹ Cormack uses a similar method in his investigation of the French construction of Byzantium as revealed through the collection history of Byzantine objects displayed during the Paris exhibition in 1994 (Cormack 1994).

3.2.1. *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (New York 1977)

Venue: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, United States of America

Date: 19 November 1977 - 12 February 1978

Curator(s): Kurt Weitzmann, Margaret Frazer

Lenders: 118, not including anonymous donor(s)
 29 lenders in host country; 89 lenders in 16 other countries

Objects: 596 exhibits (of which 38 not shown; 83 examples of architecture and
 monumental sculpture represented by photographs)
 228 from host country, of which 91 Metropolitan Museum; 285 from
 abroad¹¹²

Financial Support: National Endowment for the Humanities, The Andrew W. Mellon
 Foundation, The Robert Wood Johnson Jr. Charitable Trust.

Catalogue: Kurt Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian
 Art, Third to Seventh Century*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art,
 1979.

Size: 757 pages + 16 color plates, 596 catalog entries (39 contributors), 21 short
 essays.

Essays by: Kurt Weitzmann, Alfred Frazer, James D. Breckenridge, Richard Brilliant,
 Marvin C. Ross, Bezalel Narkiss, Erich Dinkler, Herbert I. Kessler, Margaret
 E. Frazer, Victor H. Elbern.

Cover: (*front*) Diptych of Christ and the Virgin, Constantinople, mid-6th century,
 ivory, 29 x 13 and 29 x 12.7 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Frühchristlich-
 Byzantinische Sammlung, 564/563 (cat. 474) (*fig. 10*)

Organized by Kurt Weitzmann, Professor Emeritus of Princeton University, and Margaret
Frazer, Associate Curator at the Department of Medieval Art and the Cloisters,

¹¹² The exhibition catalog contains all objects that were intended for show even if they were not displayed at the museum. For the purpose of this description and the subsequent discussion, as with the other exhibitions featured in this study, such objects will be included in the analysis since they were part of the curatorial concept. In *Age of Spirituality*, this pertains to 18 objects in collections of the Soviet Union and 17 objects from Egypt.

The 1977 New York exhibition featured 91 objects from the Metropolitan Museum of Art and 137 from other collections in the United States, primarily from the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Walters Art Gallery, and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The international loans came from Italy (51 objects), Germany (49 objects), the United Kingdom (46 objects, 20 of which ivories), France (41 objects), the Vatican (14 objects, mainly marble reliefs and manuscripts), Switzerland (13 objects), Austria (nine objects), Greece (nine objects), Israel (seven objects), Tunisia (six mosaics), Cyprus (six objects, most silver), Bulgaria (four objects, including a three-part reliquary), Yugoslavia (two bronze statues and one cut stone), Netherlands (one marble and two manuscripts), Belgium (one bronze and one manuscript), Hungary (one bronze statue and one manuscript), Syria (one fresco replica), and Jordan (one mosaic replica). Anonymous loans, coins (all from the United States) and photographic representations of architecture and monumental statues are not included in this list. No objects from Turkey feature in the catalog, only photographs of architecture.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, the *Age of Spirituality* was the first comprehensive show of Late Roman art in the United States since *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 30 years before. As the first in a planned three-part series the exhibition focused on the period of transition from the officially pagan Roman empire of the late second-early third century to the markedly Christian Byzantine empire of the 7th century as reflected through material culture.¹¹³ Considering the general lack of public knowledge about this time, the exhibition was expressly didactic and integrated recent scholarship to highlight social, political and religious aspects of Late Antique society across the entire Roman empire from the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa to the northern provinces in modern Switzerland, Germany and Britain.¹¹⁴ The exhibition set out to counter the common notion of a cultural break and illustrate instead the coexistence of pagan religion and monotheistic religions within the Roman empire, demonstrating their early acceptance of classically-inspired representational art. Thus stylistic development as well as the adaptation of old and the creation of new iconographies were explored in order to portray a major cultural shift in European history.

However, instead of following traditional art historical criteria¹¹⁵ the objects were chosen to represent five "realms" of this period - the imperial, the classical, the secular, the Jewish, and the Christian - and the selection reflected the aim of exploring the cultural history of the Early Byzantine period¹¹⁶ in a more comprehensive way than any previous exhibition. The ideological grouping of the exhibits, and within each group the further subdivision into functional and iconographic themes, supported this aim.

Beside public building projects, private villas and mausolea (cats. 100-109), the imperial realm encompassed portraiture (cats. 1-56) arranged to reveal a stylistic progression and grouped by subject - overlife-sized marble heads of the emperors and their images on gems, silver tableware, medallions, and commodity weights as well as

¹¹³ Although this concept is retroactively applied, it is appropriate here to describe the curators' selection and treatment of the exhibits. Considering the long gap between the first and second installments thematic and methodological consistency with the major exhibitions of Middle and Late Byzantine art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art is questionable. Notwithstanding, the Metropolitan Museum of Art cleverly returned in 2012 to another major cultural transition of Late Antiquity, namely the rise of Islam.

¹¹⁴ In November 1977 a scientific conference was held in conjunction with the exhibition. Nine papers were published as: Kurt Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium*, Princeton: Metropolitan Museum of Art / Princeton University Press, 1980.

The map provided in the exhibition catalog (*fig. 1*) shows the geographic area covered.

¹¹⁵ Weitzmann writes in the introduction that it was a conscious choice "to present an intermingling of media, which, while forfeiting certain insights into workshop connections, permits a better understanding of one medium upon the other" (Weitzmann 1979, xxi).

¹¹⁶ The issue of periodization and nomenclature has been treated in the Introduction.

several empresses and consuls depicted on ivory diptychs. This section also contained "scenic representations" (cats. 57-99) of public imperial ceremonies and ritualized demonstrations of power, and ultimately victory, such as warfare, hunting, spectacles of the arena, and circus races across a surprising range of media.

Comprising the second largest number of objects (cats. 110-249), the classical realm dealt with mythology, science and poetry, and architectural orders.¹¹⁷ Greek gods, especially textiles and tableware with images of Dionysus and his entourage, popular heroes like Herakles and Bellerophon, mythological themes including various sexual exploits of Zeus, and personifications of cities and seasons, all of which are found on caskets of the Middle Byzantine period, were displayed on a variety of media (cats. 110-160). Figures related to mystery cults - Orpheus, Isis, Nilotic Dionysos, Serapis, and Mithra - were introduced to demonstrate the religious plurality and syncretism of the period during which Christian art was developing (cats. 161-177). Fourteen items represented the natural sciences (botany, zoology, astronomy and engineering) while manuscripts, in addition to household items with scenes or characters from epics, drama, romance, bucolic literature and images of museum, illustrated the pervasive nature of literary themes in Late Antique society (cats. 178-245).

The secular realm (cats. 250-359) explored depictions of everyday life, focusing on professions as illustrated in sepulchral art, the portraits of unnamed individuals, and everyday objects. In addition to practical and commercial items such as lamps, commodity weights and seals (cats. 317-329), the rubric "everyday" also encompassed high quality jewelry (cats. 274-308) and luxury goods for domestic use (cats. 309-316) and one complete linen tunic (cat. 332).¹¹⁸ Secular architecture (cats. 333-340) covered the urban construction of townhouses, public facilities (baths) and defensive structures such as the Theodosian city walls of Constantinople erected in the 5th century.

The brief excursion into the Jewish realm (cats. 341-359) was precipitated by the discovery of Dura Europos and the figural decoration of its synagogue in 1932.¹¹⁹ These frescoes in replica, mosaic floors of other synagogues, depictions of a menorah, terracotta lamps, three glass pilgrim flasks and two synagogues were intended to represent Jewish antecedents of Christian pictorial art.

¹¹⁷ The examples given are variations of classical forms found in Christian churches that highlight the fluidity of forms in Late Antiquity (cats. 246-249).

¹¹⁸ The category "everyday" is problematic not only here, but also in subsequent Byzantine exhibitions. Except for those artifacts with non-figural decoration (which could explain their placement within this rubric for lack of a more fitting category), such "everyday" luxury objects often feature imperial, mythological or Christian imagery and could just as well be categorized under those headings.

¹¹⁹ Weitzmann 1979, xxii.

The first four "realms" set the stage for the Christian one, which was the main focus of the exhibition. The 238 exhibits (cats. 360-597) were grouped to illustrate three modes of visual representation practiced in Early Christian art, three specific locations for it - church apses, holy sites, and liturgical implements - and the diverse forms of early Christian churches (cats. 580-593). Divided into theoretical categories of abbreviated representations (cats. 360-407), narrative representations (cats. 408-461) and iconic representations (cats. 462-500), the debt of early Christian art to Roman imperial and classical models was made evident through the formal characteristics of the figures and scenes of the Old and New Testaments across various media. Forty-three objects, including encaustic paintings, tapestries and sculpted reliefs traced the foundations of iconic images of Christ, the Mother of God, archangels, evangelists and saints. Holy sites were depicted in transportable objects such as pyxes, small plaques, and ampullae naming holy men or events in the life of Christ. Interestingly, many of the silver altar instruments and bronze church fittings displayed only cross motifs, in contrast to the few elaborately decorated reliquary containers shown. While tracing the evolution of Christian art during a period of religious plurality and documenting its co-existence with classical pagan and Jewish expressions, the curators publicly refuted the long-standing theory of a particular Christian style and demonstrated that a standard anthropocentric vocabulary was used throughout the Roman empire regardless of whether artistic production was related to pagan, Jewish or Christian religions.¹²⁰

Across these categories, the wide array of media reflected the arts of ancient Rome.¹²¹ Sculptures in marble were most numerous with 44 reliefs and 36 sculptures in the round, followed by 77 in silver (mainly luxury tableware), 76 ivory pyxes, diptych leaves and plaques, and 52 objects of bronze, spanning decorative inlaid plaques and inherently functional items such as lamps, weights and scales. An astonishing number of glass items were shown (38 pure glass and gold glass vessels), 37 items of gold jewelry, and 34 examples of woven polychrome wool and linen textiles, all originally from Egypt. 30 manuscripts, including some Early Modern copies of antique texts, were displayed, along with 23 unglazed ceramics (luxury African red slip ware and pilgrims' ampullae), 13 large cut stones and stone vessels. 38 architectural monuments¹²² were represented in pictures, while 11 mosaic and three fresco fragments complemented 25 replicas of

¹²⁰ Weitzmann 1979, xxi.

¹²¹ The breadth of media was not necessarily wider than in preceding, and subsequent, exhibitions of Byzantine art, but they were more evenly represented.

¹²² The geographic distribution of the monuments was as follows: Italy (18), Turkey (seven), Germany (three), Greece (three), Syria (three), Yugoslavia (two), Israel (one) and Egypt (one).

architectural decoration. The exhibition contained seven rare objects of carved wood and five encaustic paintings, both individual portraits and multi-figure icons, as well as three pilgrims' ampullae in lead.¹²³ Overall, the objects displayed a breadth of materials from throughout the Empire that ranged from monumental public works demonstrating the power of the emperor to small personal items of the wealthy elite, who were concerned with self-representation during this life and the next.

The *Age of Spirituality* introduced not only a new set of questions to known material but also hitherto unknown objects: a total of 44 previously unpublished artifacts (15 from the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and 29 from other collections) such as bronze lamps, weights and scales, red earthenware from North Africa in the collection of the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Mainz, silver objects from the George Ortiz collection and rather simple wool and linen clothing from the Egyptian desert were made accessible here for the first time.

Despite this, the first major exhibition of Byzantine art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art seems to have been a moderate public success with lay visitors reacting "primarily to the splendid gaudiness and only then to the craftsmanship displayed."¹²⁴ Nevertheless, *Age of Spirituality* and especially the catalog, which was published over a year after the closing of the exhibition, found great resonance in scholarly circles.

¹²³ Among the exhibits were also six small items of gold including the innermost of a three-part reliquary container from Bulgaria, four papyri, one work in enamel (the Fieschi Morgan staurotheke, here dated to the early 8th century) and one silk fragment.

¹²⁴ Antony Cutler, "Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century by Kurt Weitzmann" (review), *American Journal of Archaeology*, 85/2 (April 1981): 238-240; cited 238. *The New York Times* published only two brief articles before the opening: Judith Cummings, "Metropolitan Show Will Display Pre-Middle Ages Art; Vase Once Owned by Rubens" on 12 November 1977 and John Russell, "Art: Illuminating Dark Ages at Met" on 18 November 1977.

3.2.2. *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261* (New York 1997)

Venue: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, United States of America

Date: 11 March - 6 July 1997

Curator(s): Helen C. Evans, William D. Wixom, with Mahrukh Tarapor

Lenders: 117 contributors
 17 lenders in host country; 100 lenders in 23 other countries

Exhibits: 395 individual objects
 123 from host country, of which 59 Metropolitan Museum; 272 from abroad¹²⁵

Financial Support: Alpha Banking Group, Citibank, Papastratos S.A., National Endowment for the Humanities, Foundation for Hellenic Culture, Marinopoulos Group, Halyvourgki Inc., Constantine Angelopoulos, Yeli Papayannopoulou, anonymous donors. Catalog in part by: The Hagop Kevorkian Fund.

Catalog: Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 1997.

Size: 574 pages, 344 catalog entries (59 contributors), 17 essays

Essays by: Speros P. Vyronis, Thomas F. Mathews, Jeffrey C. Anderson, Annemarie Weyl Carr, Henry Maguire, Robert G. Ousterhout, Ioli Kalavrezou, Eunice Dauterman Maguire, Helen C. Evans, Olenka Z. Pevny, Joseph D. Alcherms, S. Peter Cowe, Thelma K. Thomas, Jaroslav Folda, Priscilla Soucek, William D. Wixom

Cover: (front and back) Book cover with Christ Pantokrator and the Virgin Orans, Byzantine, late 10th-early 11th century, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, Ms. Lat. Cl. 1.100 (cat. 41) (*fig. 12*)

¹²⁵ This count does not include gold coins lent by The American Numismatic Society, New York (cat. 147). The catalog contains 344 entries, and some single entries cover multiple fragments of one original object or a close stylistic comparison of two or more objects.

As will be discussed below in chapter 3.3, this was the first major exhibition of Byzantine art to secure loans, and not in small number, from Greece, Turkey, the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Egypt. In addition to the exhibits from American collections (just under one-third of the total), the show included international loans from the following countries: Greece (45 objects), Germany (30 objects), Ukraine (28 objects), Russian Federation (26 objects), France (24 objects), United Kingdom (21 objects), Italy (19 objects), Bulgaria (12 objects), Vatican (12 objects), Egypt (10 icons from Sinai), Switzerland (seven objects), Georgia (five liturgical objects), Spain (five objects), Cyprus (four objects), Israel (four objects), Turkey (four objects), Hungary (four objects), Austria (three objects), Denmark (three objects), Syria (two fresco fragments), Netherlands (one ivory and one enamel enkolpion), Belgium, (one silk), and Poland (one Armenian manuscript). Among the lenders were the Patriarchate of Constantinople and three active monastic communities: the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos, and the Monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos).

The Glory of Byzantium was the second, highly acclaimed major Byzantine exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and the first in a series to be curated by Helen C. Evans.¹²⁶ Devoted to the Middle Byzantine era, *The Glory of Byzantium* focused on the approximately 400-year period from the end of the Iconoclasm controversy (726-843 CE) to the recapture of Constantinople by the Byzantines, which ended the Latin occupation of the capital (1204-1261 CE). The Byzantine empire, the core territories of which had been reduced to Asia Minor, Greece and parts of South Italy and Sicily following the Slavic migration and the Arab conquests of the 7th and 8th centuries, was marked in this period by a cultural and artistic rebirth of the so-called Macedonian and Comnene dynasties (867-1065 and 1081-1185) as well as military campaigns to reclaim former territories on the Balkan peninsula and in the Eastern Mediterranean.¹²⁷ Interactions with neighboring political powers and other groups that had settled in the surrounding areas led to an increased exchange of goods, people, and ideologies, specifically the dissemination of Byzantine culture in the form of Christian Orthodoxy and its related visual culture.

Exactly this phenomenon - the material and spiritual wealth of the revitalized Byzantine Empire - appeared at the heart of *The Glory of Byzantium* and was reflected in the structure of the exhibition: society and artistic production of the Byzantine capital and the heartland; Christian neighbors; Christians, Byzantines and the Islamic East; and Byzantine art in the Latin West.¹²⁸ The core of Byzantine culture during this period was illustrated by 193 objects divided into six sub-categories. "Church architecture" (cats. 1-40) set the stage by presenting objects related to the interior of a church - architectural sculpture and frescoes, silver processional crosses and lavishly decorated liturgical instruments as well as seven reliquaries (even though these would not usually have been visible in their original context). A selection of 23 illuminated religious manuscripts, a liturgical roll and one jewel-encrusted book binding with gold enamel plaques followed (cats. 41-64). The next section dealt with "popular art," essentially religious art which transcends vertical social hierarchy. Beside the 12 icons on a scale for public display

¹²⁶ Evans later curated *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, which will be discussed below, in 2004 and *Byzantium and Islam: Age of Transition* in 2012, which is not included in the present study.

¹²⁷ The map provided in the exhibition catalog (fig. 3) shows the area for the period 843 to 1261, albeit without any political borders.

¹²⁸ The same division and placement of Byzantium at the cultural center of neighboring peoples to the North, East and West, in that order, can be found in other places, for example: Angeliki E. Laiou and Henry Maguire (eds), *Byzantium: A World Civilization*, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992.

The printed catalog *The Glory of Byzantium* contains an introductory essay on Byzantine society and civilization, but the first exhibits constitute the contextual category "Religious organization and church architecture."

(cats. 65-76), this section comprised a significant number of ivory triptychs, plaques, gold enamel enkolpia and carved gems - some even bearing imperial inscriptions - to demonstrate that the same religious iconography can also be found on more common bronze enkolpia (cats. 77-136). Still focusing on Constantinople and central aspects of Byzantium, a small selection of depictions of emperors in stone relief, carved ivory, miniature painting, gold enamel and coins represented "images of the court" (cats. 137-147). "Luxury objects" (cats. 148-178) included some silk fragments, ivory caskets with mythological and Biblical scenes, some manuscripts and gold jewelry as well as an incense burner¹²⁹ and two sardonyx cups. A small selection of whimsically decorated, but inherently less valuable, ceramics (cats. 179-192) produced outside the capital rounded off the presentation of the central venues of Middle Byzantine artistic production.

Within the main narrative of Byzantium the second section of the exhibition thematized the intense intercultural connections between Constantinople and neighboring Christian states, namely the Kievan Rus' and the Bulgarians, who adopted Christianity from the Byzantines in the 10th and 9th century, respectively, along with Georgia and Armenia, two independently Christian and politically important states at the eastern borderlands of the Empire.¹³⁰ The Kievan Rus' were represented by 19 objects of church decoration and other religious items, 15 pieces of jewelry, five valves for casting jewelry and two ceramic tiles (cats. 193-219). The adoption of Orthodoxy by the Bulgarians was represented by seven pieces of architectural decoration, two of which depict saints, and six pieces of jewelry, two with religious imagery (cats. 220-229). Seven items of metalwork with religious themes and one coin demonstrated political ties with the Kingdom of Georgia (cats. 230-237) and six religious manuscripts those with Armenia (cats. 238-243). Like the relationship with Slavic neighbours in the north and those in East Anatolia and the Caucasus region, the Byzantine connection with Syriac, Coptic and Ethiopian Christians and Crusaders in the Eastern Mediterranean was shown through religious art, namely icons and illuminated manuscripts (cats. 244-268).

The motifs and techniques of luxury goods as well as Arabic translations of antique texts testified to contacts with Islamic centers from Mesopotamia to Spain (cats. 269-289). The final section on the influence of Byzantine religious art on the Latin West from the 10th to 13th century (cats. 290-344) highlighted the value of Byzantine artistic models in monumental decoration and the book arts in Italy, Germany, and Spain as well

¹²⁹ This incense burner is the subject of Chapter 4.

¹³⁰ This order reflects that of the catalog, which does not correspond to particular chronological or geographic criteria.

as Byzantine portable objects, which were copied or re-used as spolia in new compositions.¹³¹

While *The Glory of Byzantium* encompassed a wide geographic range and incorporated many artifacts in a larger cultural-historical context, the general impression conveyed by the material, iconography and original setting of the individual objects was rather one-sided: they were inherently valuable artworks with an overtly Christian connotation. Quantitatively by material the largest group, with 64 objects, comprised illustrated manuscripts, including bibles, gospels, psalters, homilies, and lectionaries; all but six religious in nature (cats. 160, 161, 286, 287, 288, 289). These were followed by 61 objects made of carved ivory: 35 plaques with religious figures, four triptychs, two caskets with religious figures, one diptych, and nine plaques with mythological figures or non-figural ornament, six caskets with mythological or hunting figures, and four plaques with images of rulers, three of whom are being crowned by Christ (cats. 138, 140 and 377). The exhibition displayed a total of 30 painted icons (22 Byzantine, eight Crusader or Italian) plus 13 steatite or marble carved icon plaques, three metal relief plaques with saints (cats. 106, 233, 235), three tiles with saints' images (cats. 10A, 10B, 222), one miniature mosaic icon (cat. 77) and one painted wooden relief icon (cat. 202).

Jewelry of gold, gold enamel, silver and bronze were displayed: 40 items of ornamental gold enamel (largely earrings and pendants excavated in Ukraine or from "Greater Syria"; 16 enkolpia in gold enamel, six in cross form and two gold crosses without relics, as well as the "Crown of Constantine IX Monomachos" (cat. 145); three silver cross-formed enkolpia and one silver medaillon; and five bronze cross-formed enkolpia and one in copper alloy. The strikingly visual cross form was repeated in the seven staurotheke and nine processional crosses, about which one reviewer remarked, "here and now, in their glass cases, ... they resemble battle axes"¹³². The 13 examples of cut gem jewelry all contained religious images, whether Christ, Theotokos, or saints. Five liturgical chalices and two patens of cut stone set in gold enamel contained little or no figural decoration. In regard to secular imagery, aside from the 14 examples of "everyday ceramics" with depictions of animals and lovers, two non-Byzantine plates showed the ascension of Alexander.

In addition to these many, smaller objects of personal use, physically larger objects in the exhibition also reinforced the centrality of religion in the Middle Byzantine

¹³¹ For example the Stavelot Triptych (cat. 301) and several examples of Byzantine icons set in Western medieval frames.

¹³² Elie 1997.

period. Eleven large fresco and six mosaic fragments depicted saints, angels and ancestors of Christ. Interestingly, of the 13 pieces of architectural sculpture excavated or found *in situ* in churches, seven are carved with purely ornamental patterns or animals, five display simple crosses and only one a carved religious figure. Nevertheless, the overall impression is one dominated by images of Christ, Theotokos, and saints.¹³³

Likewise, the overwhelming majority of objects were either created to be used in a church setting, such as the frescos and mosaics, larger books and liturgical vessels, or for the private personal devotion of elite members of society, especially the Byzantine court and its extended royal families. Much of the jewelry also bears religious imagery even if its primary function was not religious; however, the large number of enkolpia and small reliquary containers designed to be worn on the chest indicate the centrality of Christian devotion in the daily life of their wearers. Vegetal motifs and geometric decoration as well as park (or paradise)-like animal imagery, antique mythology, and images of hunting were present in smaller number. Overall, primarily luxury objects of the ruling few and their other commissions constituted this exhibition, giving a rich, but also socially restricted, picture of the visual culture of the Middle Byzantine period within and outside its fluctuating borders.

At the same time *The Glory of Byzantium* displayed for the first time many artifacts that had not before been shown in an international exhibition. Among these were icons from the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai, Egypt, and some yet unpublished frescos among other objects from private collections in Switzerland and the United States. In addition, artifacts found in Ukraine and Bulgaria in the course of archaeological excavations during the 20th century were on view outside the country where they were found for the first time. Through the choice of objects, the exhibition succeeded in demonstrating transfer between cultural spheres that are often perceived as closed and different: techniques and iconographic features could be traded, and it was possible to develop parallels stemming from a common cultural basis across the imbedded triad of Byzantium, Islamic East, and Latin West, each with satellite kingdoms. Regardless of this innovative approach, the objects themselves reflected the material

¹³³ The image of an adult Christ - whether as pantokrator, at the crucifixion, or in other New Testament or apocryphal episodes such as the Anastasis, and not including multi-scene occurrences - appeared on 91 objects. The Theotokos - as standing intercessor or Hodegetria with the Christ child, enthroned or at the Koimesis - appeared on 56 objects, and various nimbated saints and evangelists decorated 84. In comparison, only 17 of the chosen objects displayed images of the emperor, and 42 had 'secular' motifs such as characters from Classical mythology, real or composite animals or historical scenes. 53 objects had purely ornamental, non-figural decoration (mostly jewelry).

luxury of the royal court, the dominance of the Orthodox faith for the Byzantines, and its central role as a cultural agent with neighboring powers.

The Glory of Byzantium was considered a public success and a major achievement in the scholarly community. A symposium held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on 23-25 May 1997 in conjunction with the exhibition was surprisingly self-reflective, in particular the opening paper by Ihor Ševčenko, and the monumental, well-illustrated catalog quickly became a standard reference for Byzantine art historians.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ In the preface to the volume of published papers the editor explains that the symposium "strove to acknowledge the international character and diversity of current scholarship on Byzantine art, and to present not only new material but also the variety of objectives, approaches, and methodologies that shape modern perceptions of the subject" (Pevny 2000, x). The exhibition catalog was praised by, among others, Buckton (Buckton 1998).

3.2.3. *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (New York 2004)

Venue: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, United States of America

Date: 23 March - 4 July 2004

Curator(s): Helen C. Evans, with Mahrukh Tarapor

Lenders: 136 institutions
21 lenders in host country; 115 lenders in 25 other countries or territories

Exhibits: 374 objects
72 from host country, of which 23 Metropolitan Museum; 302 from abroad¹³⁵

Financial Support: Alpha Bank, The J.F. Costopoulos Foundation, The A.G. Leventis Foundation, The Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation, National Endowment for the Arts.

Catalog: Helen C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.

Size: 658 pages, 114 scientific contributors, 355 catalog entries, 17 essays

Essays by: Helen C. Evans; Alice-Mary Talbot; Slobodan Ćurčić; Sarah Brooks; Anna Ballian; Annemarie Weyl Carr; Arne Effenberg; Jannic Durand; John Lowden; Warren Woodfin; His Eminence Archbishop Damianos of Sinai, Faran, and Raitha, Abbot of the Greek Orthodox Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt; Scott Redford; Thelma K. Thomas; Anne Derbes and Amy Neff; Maria Georgopoulou; Robert S. Nelson; Maryan W. Ainsworth.

Cover: (front) Icon with the Archangel Gabriel, Constantinople or Sinai (?), 13th century, tempera and gold on wood panel, 105 x 75 cm, Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai (cat. 240) (fig. 13)
(back) Reliquary Triptych of the Skevra Monastery, Armenian Cilicia, 1293, silver gilt on wood, closed: 65 x 35 x 7.5 cm, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, AR-1572 (formerly at Dominican Monastery of Santa Croce, Piedmonte; acquired 1885) (cat. 71)

Only seven years after the success of *The Glory of Byzantium*,¹³⁶ the Metropolitan Museum of Art opened *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, the third chronological

¹³⁵ This count does not include six lead seals (cat. 7), 16 silver and bronze coins of the Palaiologoi (cat. 12), four Serbian silver coins (cat. 13), ten Islamic coins (cat. 256), four Italian coins (cat. 313). International loans were secured from the following countries: Greece (56 objects), Russian Federation (54 objects), Egypt (44 objects, of which 40 from Sinai), France (27 objects), Italy (25 objects), Serbia and Montenegro, including Kosovo (19 objects), United Kingdom (15 objects), Turkey (11 objects), Germany (eight objects), Bulgaria (seven objects), FYR-Macedonia (five icons), Spain (three religious paintings and one manuscript), Vatican (four objects), Belgium (three icons), Lebanon (three Armenian objects), Netherlands (three objects), Canada (two paintings), Cyprus (two icons), Liechtenstein (one dagger and one painted glass vase), Romania (two embroidered silks), Austria (one 16th c. painting), Croatia (one icon), Czech Republic (one icon), Denmark (one manuscript), Sweden (one illustrated manuscript), and Switzerland (one painted diptych).

installment in its series on the art of the Byzantine Empire. Beginning with the restoration of an Orthodox Byzantine emperor in Constantinople, covering the fall of the city to the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II in 1453, and down to the earliest mention of the "Byzantine"¹³⁷ empire in Western sources (1557), this exhibition explored the last cultural bloom of Byzantine religious art during a period of political decline at the hands of neighboring states, which precipitated its diffusion and legacy in the visual arts of Eastern and Western Europe.¹³⁸

The exhibition was divided into five main sections that are conceptually similar to that of the previous exhibition: the historical and political setting of the Empire, now nearly synonymous with Constantinople; the religious realm as the physical context; a presentation of the forms and media of religious expression; connections with the Islamic world and Christians under Islamic rule; and the influence of Byzantine culture in Renaissance and Early Modern (Western) Europe.¹³⁹ The first section (cats. 1-33) set the stage for the rest of the exhibits; manuscripts, coins and icons presented figures of temporal power, making clear that other political and cultural centers had developed, not just Constantinople. The second section focused on spaces of spiritual power and their adornment (cats. 34-76); architectural sculpture and fresco fragments from churches in Greece were followed by examples of sepulchral arts, a major area of Late Byzantine production. It closed with liturgical instruments and reliquaries originating in places as farflung as Serbia, Northeastern Russia, Ethiopia and Armenia.

A manuscript illumination depicting veneration of the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria opened the third section dedicated to forms and "expressions of faith." Beginning with a group of 46 large icons (cats. 78-125) - the smallest measuring 38 x 30 cm and the largest 314 x 106 cm - and two sets of iconostasis doors, four other common media of personal devotion and religious adornments were explored. Mosaic icons, many in later Western frames and ranging in size from only nine cm to 98 cm in height, were grouped together with steatite relief icons and cut stone pendants to demonstrate the intimate scale of personal devotion (cats. 126-149). Six examples of geometric and

¹³⁶ According to research undertaken in 2004 during the Byzantine exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, approximately one quarter of the visitors attending this show became interested in Byzantine art after having visited *The Glory of Byzantium*. (Vogel 2004)

¹³⁷ As opposed to East Roman, which had been the usual terminology up to that point; see Introduction.

¹³⁸ The map provided in the exhibition catalog (*fig. 5*) is topographical and only marks cities and monastic centers, and not current or historical borders.

¹³⁹ It is worth noting that the Byzantine legacy in Orthodox countries of the Balkans, Ukraine and Russia is not expressly addressed, rather, considering the fact that many exhibits of such provenance are located in the central presentation of forms and media, thus linking the designation Byzantine to Orthodox religious art produced in other places.

figural silver icon revetments from Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Ohrid, and Novgorod followed (cats. 150-155). Metal book covers and the high quality of various psalters, gospels, hymns in five languages (Greek, Serbian, Russian, Armenian, and Georgian) represented the importance and diffusion of book arts (cats. 156-175). A substantial number of embroidered liturgical vestments and ritual textiles from Constantinople, Thessaloniki, and Serbia as well as embroidered icons from Russia rounded off the presentation of the media of religious ritual (cats. 177-195). Three manuscripts and thirty-nine icons - most dating from the 13th century - housed at the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai constituted an exceptional exhibition-within-an-exhibition of religious life during the Late Byzantine period (cats. 201-242).

A short fourth section depicted the encounter of Byzantium with the Islamic world. The conquest of Constantinople was described primarily through Western sources of the mid-15th to mid-16th centuries (cats. 244-255), while the arts of Christian communities in Muslim-ruled areas demonstrated the continuation of Christian iconography while adopting regional styles and techniques (cats. 243-271). More attention was dedicated in the fifth section to the westward expansion of a Byzantine artistic sphere (cats. 272-313). A fresco fragment from a Constantinople and Italian manuscripts highlight the interaction with the young Franciscan order. 13th century Italian paintings of the Mother of God reflect Byzantine models, while 15th century icons from Crete mix Byzantine conventions with contemporary Italian painting style, and a selection of religious paintings from Venice, Bohemia and Spain further demonstrated its diffusion throughout Europe. A few copies of antique texts and portrait sketches of the Byzantine scholar Manuel Chrysoloras, emperor John VIII Palaiologos and interpretative medallions of heroic early Byzantine emperors revealed the Italian reception of Byzantine culture during the Renaissance (cats. 314-328). These objects stood in contrast to the religious images of the final section, which traced the afterlife of Byzantine iconographic models, such as the Man of Sorrows, the Mandylion, and the Virgin and Child, into panel painting of the Northern Renaissance during the second half of the 15th and into the 16th century.

Considering the focus, it is hardly surprising that the exhibition was dominated visually by icons. 110 gold-ground icon panels were complemented by a further 26 icons in other media such as miniature mosaic and metal, in addition to 25 religious panel paintings from Northern Europe. By medium the second largest group was manuscripts, all illustrated, totaling 69 objects. Liturgical textiles followed with 27 items, and marble

reliefs (20), fresco fragments (13), and a Serbian carved wood sarcophagus and a bronze bell rounded out the image of a Late Byzantine church. Other materials that had formed the bulk of previous exhibitions of Byzantine art, such as ivory, silver vessels, gold jewelry and precious stones gems, as well as ceramics were displayed in such small number as to be considered symbolic representations.

For *Faith and Power*, unlike the other exhibitions discussed in this study, it is not worth enumerating occurrences of figures from classical mythology, antique learning, or secular objects as they were so few in number and restricted to the narration of the fall of Constantinople, the "rebirth" of learning in Italy, and a small selection of coins and seals. As presented, this late period Byzantine of visual culture was restricted to objects of liturgical and private devotional use, their forms, iconography and practice being assimilated and adapted in other cultural milieux and regions beyond the frontiers of what was ever the Byzantine empire.

In a similar manner this exhibition had a geographic and chronological scope that extended far beyond what would normally be termed Byzantine. Fuzzy terms, such as "Crusader" or "Adriatic," employed in some circumstances to designate the styles or places of origin of objects, underscored a debt to Byzantine heritage but reveal a perceived distinction from it. Unlike *The Glory of Byzantium*, which highlighted individual political and cultural entities that were in contact with the Byzantines but not considered Byzantine themselves, *Faith and Power* dealt less with a physical construction of a dwindling empire and instead bore witness to the transition to a "Byzantium of the mind"¹⁴⁰ in both Orthodox and Western contexts.

Like the previous one, this exhibition was praised in the scholarly community, again having produced a comprehensive and richly illustrated catalog. Overall, it was well-received by the general public, although some reviewers did express their bewilderment at the richness and strange appeal of such a highly spiritual art.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Cutler 2004, 497.

¹⁴¹ Stevens 2004 and Vogel 2004.

3.2.4. *Byzantium, 330-1453* (London 2008)

Venue: Royal Academy of Arts, London
Date: 25 October 2008 - 22 March 2009

Curator(s): Robin Cormack, Adrian Locke, Maria Vassilaki

Lenders: 79 lenders
14 lenders in host country; 65 lenders in 20 other countries or territories¹⁴²

Exhibits: 337 objects
68 from host country; 269 from abroad¹⁴³

Financial Support: The J.F. Costopoulos Foundation, The A.G. Leventis Foundation, The Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation, in addition to the Royal Academy of Arts and Benaki Museum

Catalogue: Robin Cormack and Maria Vassilaki (eds), *Byzantium: 330-1453*, London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008.

Size: 496 pages, 323 catalog entries, 2 essays and 11 short introductions

Essays by: Cyril Mango, Robin Cormack and Maria Vassilaki

Cover: (front) Detail of Icon of the Archangel Michael, Constantinople, 12th century, silver gilt on wood with gold cloisonné enamel and precious stones, 46.5 x 35 x 2.7 cm, Treasury of San Marco, Venice (cat. 58) (fig. 14)
(back) Reliquary crucifix from the Monastery of St. Michael at Damokraneia (now Güzelce), Constantinople, first half of the 10th century, silver, partially gilt, 36.4 x 23.7 cm, Musées d'art et d'histoire de la Ville de Genève, inv. no. AD 3062 (cat. 182)

In autumn 2008, among much fanfare and publicity, the Royal Academy of Arts opened *Byzantium: 330-1453*, the first major exhibition of Byzantine art mounted in the United Kingdom since *Masterpieces of Byzantine Art* 50 years earlier.¹⁴⁴ This "culture show" was designed to present a comprehensive narrative of the Byzantine empire from the consecration of Constantinople as the new capital of the Roman empire in 330 to the

¹⁴² Although not in the list of lenders, one exhibit is credited from the Peć Patriarchate, in Kosovo, which declared independence in February 2008; the status of its recognition is still not completely clarified. Although the exhibition was realized in collaboration with the Benaki Museum, Athens, all institutions in Greece are counted among the international lenders for practical purposes.

¹⁴³ The object count does not include 29 coins (cat. 55). International loans came from the following countries and territories: Greece (110 objects, of which 50 from Benaki Museum), Serbia (28 objects), Italy (25 objects), United States (22 objects), France (16 objects), Cyprus (10 objects), Germany (11 objects), Egypt (nine icons from Sinai), Russia (nine objects), FYR Macedonia (eight icons), Switzerland (seven objects), Vatican (four objects), Austria (two ivories and one steatite icon), Georgia (three manuscripts), Ukraine (two icons and one mosaic fragment), Bulgaria (one reliquary cross), Ireland (one manuscript), Kosovo (one bell), Netherlands (one ivory), Romania (one embroidered textile). No exhibits were lent by Turkey or Armenia.

¹⁴⁴ This fact is mentioned in the foreword by then Prime Minister Gordon Brown (Cormack and Vassilaki 2008, 11), and the two exhibitions were compared by Rowena Loverance at the Spring Symposium in March 2009 (Loverance 2013).

capture of the city by the Ottomans in 1453.¹⁴⁵ While the 42nd Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies was held in London during the final days of the exhibition, the show was ultimately aimed at a broad public audience as the volume of advertising and reviews in print and online media indicate.¹⁴⁶

Based on the exhibition catalog, the objects procured for the show were arranged into nine chapters, which can be grouped into three thematic sections: early Christian and Early Byzantine art through Iconoclasm; the presentation of Byzantine society as the imperial court, the domestic setting (ceramics, metalwork, jewelry), and religious life (church, icons); and interactions with Christian neighbors and the legacy of Byzantine artistic models among them. The first chapter of 11 objects (cats. 1-11) introduced common media and themes of late Roman / Early Byzantine art: sculpture in the round and reliefs depicted the emperor and Biblical figures; silver chair ornaments represented the major cities of the Empire and a 15th century Italian map of Constantinople defined the geographic setting. At the beginning of the second chapter, which traced the period from Constantine to Iconoclasm (cats. 12-57), the continued presence of mythological themes was displayed on some ivories and the Projecta casket. However, the iconography quickly becomes overtly and exclusively Christian, as Christ, the Mother of God, angels and saints are seen on ivories, liturgical silverwares, gold jewelry, enamel crosses, silk, and in manuscript illumination. The section closed with an icon depicting the Triumph of Orthodoxy.¹⁴⁷

The presentation of Byzantine society begins with court life (cats. 58-82) and focuses on known imperial commissions and representations of the emperor; this includes six objects from Constantinople that were brought to Venice and superbly illustrated manuscripts in addition to ivory caskets with non-Christian iconography, ivory images of the emperor, and individual ivory plaques with Christ, the Mother of God and saints as

¹⁴⁵ The exhibition catalog contains five maps of the Byzantine empire at different times in its history (figs 4, 6). Byzantine territory is shaded, creating clear borders, and cities are denoted generally using the corresponding historical name. Cormack and Vassilaki 2008, 20-23.

¹⁴⁶ See, for example: Rachel Campbell-Johnston, "Byzantium: treasures of a lost empire," *The Times of London*, 21 October 2008, and Waldemar Januszczak, "Byzantium: The empire strikes back," *The Sunday Times*, 26 October 2006, both available at: <http://carnageandculture.blogspot.co.at/2008/12/byzantium-treasures-of-lost-empire.html> (Accessed 1 August 2014); Andrew Lambirth, "Forgotten Wonders," *The Spectator*, 26 November 2008, available at <http://www.spectator.co.uk/print/arts-and-culture/all/3042651/forgotten-wonders.thtml> (Accessed 1 August 2014); "Byzantium at the Royal Academy - review" (without author credit), *Telegraph*, 28 October 2008, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/art/3562616/Byzantium-at-the-Royal-Academy-review.html> (Accessed 1 August 2014).

¹⁴⁷ Its placement at this point in the exhibition as a representative depiction of the restoration of icons - like in a history textbook - underscores the concept of the exhibition as a didactic historical narrative for the general public; from an art historical perspective it stands out that an isolated 14th century icon is located here.

well as complete triptychs. The fourth chapter, dealing with domestic life, was divided into three sections: 15 ceramics, most tableware from the the 12th-13th century and excavated in Greece (cats. 83-97); metalwork such as a bucket, a sword, spoons, plates, a buckle, a seal and commodity weights, all except the sword and one weight dating from the 4th-7th centuries (cats. 98-118); and the quantitatively largest group, jewelry and adornment (cats. 119-169), which comprised gold bracelets, earrings, rings, necklaces, body chains and pendants, along with some clothing fragments from Egypt, ivory combs of lesser artistic quality and a small bronze amphora.

The religious life of the empire followed (cats. 170-223). A choros, polykandelon, standing lamps, an incense burner¹⁴⁸ and marble closure panels provide insights into the interior of a Byzantine church; manuscripts, a reliquary sarcophagus and reliquary cross, a liturgical chalice, and two embroidered liturgical textiles, some processional crosses, metal icons and plaques are displayed as other items found in an ecclesiastical context. Several pectoral reliquary crosses and carved, mounted gems signified devotion at a personal, bodily level. A selection of icons from the 12th to 15th century (cats. 224-243), from a 9-cm high miniature mosaic of St. Theodore to 150 cm high panel of Christ, represented the levels of ritual and intimacy in worship.

The emphasis on worship as evidenced by icons and reliquaries carried over into the next section, concerned with Byzantium and the West and other Christian communities beyond these borders, including the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. North Italian diptychs and triptychs in *maniera greca* showcased the spread of Byzantine vocabulary in religious images, while the cross-fertilization of Crusader art in Cyprus and Israel was exemplified by some manuscripts, a figural capital and an otherwise Byzantine funerary cloth with its Savoyard donor and his coat-of-arms. The otherwise vaguely defined penultimate chapter "Beyond Byzantium" presented, exemplarily, Constantinopolitan works that have survived outside of Byzantine territory, as well as the diffusion of Byzantine style and iconography throughout Orthodox Slavic states such as Serbia, Bulgaria and Russia, as well as Armenia. Single examples from Christian communities in Africa, Syria, Mesopotamia and Central Asia indicate the range of influence and respective local styles. The final chapter, devoted solely to icons from the active Orthodox Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, Egypt, served as a closing testimony to the living artistic and religious legacy of Byzantium to the present day.

¹⁴⁸ Cat. 176. This is the same incense burner presented in Chapter 4.

Overall, the objects displayed at the Royal Academy of Arts may be considered a sampler of previous exhibitions on Byzantine art, selected to tell the thousand-year history of an empire little known in the UK. The complete (or completely restored) pieces at first glance radiated their high artistic quality. The impression of refinement and wealth was reinforced by the physical materials of the objects. Tallied for the entire show there were: 49 objects items of gold jewelry, 35 items of silver, 35 illuminated manuscripts, 29 icons on wood panels, 29 items of carved ivory, 23 ceramics, 31 objects of base metal (bronze, copper, lead), 20 objects of fully gilt bronze and silver, 13 gold enamel items, 12 examples of carved marble or stone, 12 textiles (seven silks, six with embroidery, and five of wool and linen), five fresco fragments, five miniature mosaics, and two other gold objects. The inclusion of truly everyday objects, such as a pair of sandals and tableware, hinted at the lives of citizens outside the capital; nevertheless, luxurious artworks in gold, ivory and paint were quantitatively and visually dominant.

Unlike the geography, the chronological scope of the exhibition was clearly defined, and a look at the dates of exhibited objects makes apparent certain high points of artistic production. The first and second sections, dealing with the core of the Byzantine empire, highlight a spike, mainly of metalwork, in the 6th and 7th century (78 or nearly a quarter of all objects fall in this category), a second more constant peak of activity in various media during the 10th to 12th centuries (75 objects displayed), and a resurgence of icon painting and manuscript illumination in the 14th and 15th centuries (28 objects). The third and fourth sections covering Byzantine interaction with Italy, Crusaders and other Christians from Nubia to Russia to Central Asia began with Constantinopolitan and Coptic works of the 11th century, but most are pieces of local production from the 13th and 14th centuries (53 objects). The chronological distribution reveals not only high and low points of Byzantine artistic production - notably the "dark" 8th and 9th centuries - but also a shift to other centers as the territory of the empire shrank in later centuries.

With significantly fewer objects than any of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Byzantine art exhibitions, that focused on only a roughly four-hundred year period, *Byzantium: 330-1453* had the task of conveying the entire cultural history of the Byzantine empire as told through its art. Considering this limitation it is therefore not surprising that fewer and less insightful art historical comparisons were possible than in other exhibitions. However, this does not seem to have been the primary aim, considering

the venue and target audience.¹⁴⁹ The exhibition was in this sense a great success, and was also a backdrop for the 2009 Spring Symposium, which developed the abstract issue of display into a concrete one of exhibition.

¹⁴⁹ On its website Royal Academy of Arts proudly names itself "the original home of the blockbuster" (<http://www.royalacademy.org.uk/about-the-ra>; Accessed on 22 July 2014).

3.2.5 *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag* (Bonn 2009)

Venue: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn
Date: 26 February - 13 June 2010

Curator(s): Falko Daim, with Jörg Drauschke

Lenders: 67 contributors, all public or religious institutions
19 lenders in host country; 48 lenders in 16 foreign countries

Exhibits: 518 objects (4 not displayed)
87 from host country, of which 39 Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz; 431 from abroad¹⁵⁰

Financial Support: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (RGZM), Mainz; For catalog publication: Beauftragenden der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien

Catalog: Falko Daim (ed.), *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag*, Munich: Hirmer, 2010.

Size: 408 pages, 518 catalog entries, 15 essays and 10 short introductions to themes.

Essays by: Peter Schreiner, Ralph-Johannes Lilie, Lukas Amadeus Schachner, Taxiarchis Kolias, Ewald Kislinger, Diether Roderich Reinsch, Urs Peschlow, Arne Effenberger, Annemarie Stauffer, Vasiliki Tsamakda, Marlia Mundell Mango, Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger, Dimitris Apostolopoulos.

Cover: (front) Incense burner in the shape of a domed building, Constantinople or South Italy, late 12th century, silver, partially gilt, 36 x 30 x 30 cm, Treasury of San Marco, Venice, 142 (cat. 496). (fig. 15)
(back) Gold enamel medallion with bust of St. Demetrios, Kiev, 11th century, gold, enamel, precious stones, d: 7.3 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, FM 1917.80 (found: Kiev, 1824) (cat. 432)

In 2010 the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, together with the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz and under the auspices of the Turkish President Abdullah Gül and the German president Horst Köhler, mounted a different kind of exhibition on the Byzantine empire. Like the preceding major exhibition in London, *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag* aimed to present a comprehensive picture of Byzantium from the fourth century to the Ottoman conquest. However, it took an

¹⁵⁰ This count does not include the 32 coins (cat. 16) from the Münzkabinett, Berlin and the Römisch-Germanisches Zentral Museum, Mainz, and 11 lead seals (cat. 335) from the Münzkabinett Berlin. Four of the anticipated exhibits could not be displayed.

International loans came from the following countries: Ukraine (88 objects), Austria (72 objects), Serbia (67 objects), Greece (62 objects), United Kingdom (41 objects), Turkey (21 objects), France (18 objects), Hungary (11 objects), United States (11 objects), Italy (nine objects), Bulgaria (six objects), Vatican (six objects), Switzerland (four objects), Russia (two objects), Denmark (one object) and Netherlands (one object).

archeological approach, certainly due in no small part to the academic backgrounds and research interests of the curator and the 13 member scientific board.¹⁵¹

True to the discipline there was a strong geographic component and the exhibits were arranged in ten categories around principal sites, each serving to illustrate a segment of Byzantine cultural history.¹⁵² Some of the sites offered substantially more visual material than others - for example 143 objects for Constantinople versus five assigned to Ravenna - and handmade models of the Hippodrome and a 10th-11th century warship as well as a digital reconstruction of Ephesos complemented the exhibits.

The exhibition opened with Constantinople in the early Byzantine period ("Konstantinopel: Im Herzen des Reiches," cats. 1-143) and the objects introduced three main themes: the emperor, the church and the continued vibrancy of antique culture. Representations in sculpture and on coins attested to public imperial presence; images of specific emperors appeared again in illuminated manuscripts and more general imperial symbolism on fragments of silk brocade recovered from reliquary shrines in Germany and Switzerland. The church constituted the second main focus of this section, with a *choros*, silver vessels, a censer and two illuminated Gospels along with only one icon of the Virgin and child representing liturgy; four small relief plaques, one miniature mosaic icon and two pectoral crosses gave an idea of the scale of private devotion. Juxtaposed with the four gold reliquaries were a number of historically interesting but physically deteriorated parchment and papyrus documents. The continuation of antique craftsmanship and imagery, as well as the incorporation of Christian themes, was seen in a group of silver plates, ivory plaques and pyxes. The texts displayed, which cover excerpts from ancient Greek philosophers, a liturgical scroll, and even scraps of penmanship practice attested to the social breadth of historical documents available. The centrality of public games on all levels of society was highlighted through a model of the Hippodrome in Constantinople, consular diptychs and other items with representations of staged hunts, a *Glücksspielautomat*, dice and game tokens.¹⁵³ The Constantinople section also included a small selection of jewelry and other items of personal adornment - including the first of several sets of belt buckles.

¹⁵¹ The curator, Falko Daim, is currently director of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz and a trained medieval archaeologist whose own publications have focused on the archaeological record of the Avars in Austria.

¹⁵² Several maps are provided in the essays section of the catalog (Daim 2010, 20-21, 28-29, 41, 77-79); all indicate political boundaries whether by shading Byzantine territory or drawing actual border lines (*figs* 2, 7).

¹⁵³ The game pieces from Chersones are of considerably later date than most of the other objects in this section that are attributed to Constantinople and Roman-Byzantine North Africa. The issue of blurry chronology will be discussed in Chapter 3.3.

Four 6th-7th century encaustic icons (probably from Sinai, but now in a Ukrainian collection), a manuscript of John Klimakos and lamps and earthenware cooking utensils from the Monastery of Agios Lot (Deir 'Ain 'Abata) in Jordan constituted a short excursus into monastic life, under the heading "Der Welt Abgewandt: Das Klosterleben" (cats. 144-155). Religious life in the form of pilgrimage was explored in the following section (cats. 156-179) which took Qalat' Sim'an (Syria) as a case study. "Fernreisen für das Seelenheil" presented a stone relics sarcophagus, a possible object of pilgrimage, and popular piety among different social strata were depicted by clay ampullae, cameos with images of saints, and gold pendants and reliquary crosses. Spells written on papyrus testified to the persistence of non-Christian religious beliefs.

Two Early Byzantine cities followed: the newly established Iustiniana Prima, near modern Leskovac, Serbia, and the revived urban center Ephesos, modern Efes, Turkey. The section on Iustiniana Prima ("Iustiniana Prima: Die Stadt am Reißbrett," cats. 180-251) highlighted everyday life in the northern Balkan provinces during the 6th-7th centuries and also encompasses a few spectacular artifacts of other people inhabiting the much contested northern borderlands of the Byzantine empire.¹⁵⁴ The majority of exhibits were lent by the National Museum in Leskovac; with a few marble capitals to demonstrate that the city was an imperial foundation of Justinian, the majority of objects attest to everyday life: agricultural equipment, tools and hardware, such as a plow, sickle, pitchforks, axes, auger, bridle, locks and keys, and domestic wares such as a mortar and clay cooking pots. In addition to simply worked bronze fibulae and a multitude of belt buckles, a mold for casting, bronze weights and lead seals provided evidence of local trades and economic activity. The section also included finds from other sites such as architectural sculpture from FYR Macedonia, gold jewelry and well-known gold vessels from chance discoveries of hoards and graves in Hungary, Slovakia, and Romania, dating from the 6th-8th centuries (cats. 235-249). A 9th-10th century tile icon from Preslav and a 12th century bronze form with a depiction of the Annunciation found at Stara Zagora represent the art of the Bulgarians.

The next site, Ephesos, an established urban center in west Anatolia, explored early Byzantine urban renewal and the rejuvenation of the city through pilgrimage ("Ephesos: Die Stadt und Umland," cats. 252-335). Objects dating to the 5th-7th centuries were culled from the Antiquities Collection of the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum and

¹⁵⁴ Excavations at this site, also known as Caričin Grad, began in 1912 and it has recently become the focus of an excavation project lead by the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz; see: www.rgzm.de/caricingrad (accessed on 17 July 2014).

the Efes Müzesi in Selçuk; marble portrait heads, unpublished unglazed ceramics, ampullae, and many clay lamps (cats. 274-293), were displayed alongside glass and bronze lamps and other Egyptian bronze items from the Benaki Museum. This section also included objects representative of trade in general, with bronze and glass weights excavated in Ukraine, now kept in the British Museum, dating from the late 4th to 13th centuries (cats. 313-322), and a geographically disparate set of early Byzantine stamps and receipts on papyrus from the Vienna Nationalbibliothek (cats. 323-334) as well as 11 lead seals ranging from the 8th to 14th century.

The fortified port town Monemvasia on the southeastern Peloponnese served as a backdrop for the presentation of objects related to the Byzantine military ("Auf dem Lande und zur See: Heer und Flotte," cats. 336-364). Although it flourished as a supraregional naval base during the Middle Byzantine centuries and a strategically located trading port during the Late Byzantine period, scattered objects related to war from earlier centuries were displayed here: belt buckles and arrowheads from burials in Pergamon (now Bergama, Turkey); arrowheads and fragments of armor from Caričin Grad, which was abandoned in the early 7th century; a helmet excavated in southern Croatia dating from the late 5th-early 7th centuries; and a lamellar helmet and armor fragments from the 6th-early 7th centuries found in Stara Zagora, Bulgaria. A four-meter-long model ship (cat. 358) and manuscripts on military tactics and machines completed off the presentation of the Byzantine army and navy.

With the exception of a 5th century petition from Egypt for help against raiders from Nubia (cat. 365), "Byzantium and its neighbors" ("Am Rande des Reiches: Byzanz und seine Nachbarn," cats. 365-443) focused on material evidence from the Crimean peninsula and mainland Ukraine. A notable percentage of these artifacts - which ranged from 5th century ivory adornments, ceramics, relief icons and 10th-12th century bronze liturgical furnishings excavated in Chersonese to gold jewelry and belt buckles from Eski Kermen and Mangup on Crimea and the nomadic peoples of the northern Pontic steppe (all dated to the 6th-7th centuries) - have not been published, or at least not outside Ukraine or Russia. Other objects included 6th-7th century Byzantine belt buckles, jewelry and ceramics, and the Kievan Rus' were represented by a selection 13 items such as gold enamel medallions, decorations and casting molds for similar objects (cat. 443), a silver gilt bowl, fragments of the interior decoration of churches.

The next three sections returned to the Byzantine heartlands. A cursory look into Ravenna ("Ravenna: Justinian in Italien," cats. 444-448) portrayed it as a stage for the

emperor Justinian, and Thessaloniki ("Thessaloniki: Wandel einer Stadt," cats. 449-489) was explored as a symbol for urban development from the early to middle and late Byzantine periods. A late antique mosaic fragment and tomb paintings, capitals, and copper coins are juxtaposed with an ivory plaque of St. Demetrios (cat. 449) and a relief icon with the Mother of God (cat. 453), concluding with copper jewelry, amphorae and more simply ceramic vessels dating from the 14th century.

The exhibition closed with a look at the "glory and impotence" of the late Byzantine empire ("Pracht und Ohnmacht: Byzanz im Spätmittelalter," cats. 490-518). It highlighted the capture of Constantinople in 1204, as represented by the booty brought to France (cat. 490) and seven works of glass, cut stone and metal to Venice (cats. 491-496). The blossoming of Late Byzantine culture was seen in more whimsical stone reliefs and the emphasis on religious life through six icons from Constantinople (one miniature mosaic, cat. 503, the rest painted) and two 15th century icons from Crete. Western sources, such as German chronicles, described the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453; Italian medallion portraits of John VIII Palaiologos and Mehmet II gave a face to the main actors, and written documents from the 15th century, among them a ferman of Mehmet II deeding the Monastery of John Prodromos tes Petra (modern Odalar Camii) to the Serbian Orthodox mother of his Grand Vizier, documented a period of transition in formerly Byzantine territories.

Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag stands out among other exhibitions of Byzantine art for its emphasis on the "everyday" revealed through archeological artifacts rather than traditional art objects. A quantitative analysis of media and materials confirms this impression: ceramics (complete and fragments) constituted the largest group of objects (76), followed by utilitarian bronze objects (57 examples) and, unlike any of the previous exhibitions, 37 items of iron were displayed. Marble and stone architectural sculpture followed (49 exhibits), and only then 38 items of gold jewelry as well as seven objects of gold enamel and five gold vessels. The exhibition also featured 12 items of bronze jewelry and 11 cut gems. Manuscripts on parchment and papyrus (most from the collection of the Austrian National Library) built a considerable group with 51 exhibits, ranging from finely illuminated luxury codices to scraps of papyrus. Silver, copper and glass vessels and implements (18, 15, and 17 respectively) were included, as well as 24 stamps and seals in various materials. The more traditional media of Byzantine art history

- ivory (23), icons (18), textiles (13), mosaic (11), frescoes (five)¹⁵⁵ - appear to have had only a symbolic presence in this exhibition. For this reason it is difficult to assess any iconographic patterns within the conception of the exhibition; it is, however, fair to state that a highly diverse body of cultural artifacts was presented in Bonn to convey the Byzantine empire and its cultural reach.

As the subject of a substantial media, special events and educational programs for children were linked to this show. Commended by some in the field, the exhibition was criticized in the public media for its lack of coherence and the scantness of the attention paid to historical and artistic development.¹⁵⁶ Regardless, it was considered a success for the organizers, and a follow-up exhibition, *Wege nach Byzanz*, was mounted at the RGZM in 2011-2012.

¹⁵⁵ The figures regarding material and media include replicas - of which there were several - as if they were the original objects.

¹⁵⁶ A rather scathing review by Arno Widmann was published in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* on 25 February 2010 (<http://www.fr-online.de/home/byzanz-ausstellung-in-bonn-jede-menge-guertelschnallen,1472778,2795448.html>, last accessed on 17 July 2014) and another by Andreas Kilb in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on 4 March 2010 (http://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/kunst/bonn-zeigt-byzanz-engel-im-sturm-1621905-p2.html?printPagedArticle=true#pageIndex_2, last accessed on 25 July 2014).

3.3. Analysis

The main aim of this study is to investigate the image of Byzantium conveyed in exhibitions of its art; however, in order to do this one must again begin by asking what Byzantium is (or was) in the major exhibitions just presented. General definitions of Byzantium, the Byzantine Empire and the Byzantine cultural sphere were provided in the Introduction, but how has this historic political and cultural entity been constructed through objects? In terms of chronology and geography where have there been focal points and where have periods or places remained unseen? Have certain linguistic, ethnic or religious groups been highlighted at the expense of others? Looking at the exhibitions comparatively, what common features did they share and where were their disparities?

Considering the New York shows as a multi-part survey, the exhibitions took place in three different Western countries, each with its own national reception of Byzantium and particular relationship to it. Prominent curators in the field and museum educators have already analysed these exhibitions and others in their respective national contexts.¹⁵⁷ The present comparative analysis will instead look for patterns of representation that transcend national reception histories, which in English-speaking countries are nevertheless closely allied.

While the actual approach to objects has certainly changed, four earlier major exhibitions - *Exposition internationale d'art byzantin* (Paris, 1931), *Masterpieces of Byzantine Art* (Edinburgh and London, 1958), *Byzantine Art, a European Art* (Athens, 1964), and *Splendeur de Byzance* (Brussels, 1982) - have been surveyed in order to determine the extent to which the exhibits displayed have remained the same, and how, if at all, political openings and the greater availability of works of art have developed or altered the image of Byzantium in recent exhibitions on Byzantium and its art.

Each of the five recent major exhibitions discussed raises a central issue that is relevant to the other exhibitions and central to the construction of Byzantium: *Age of Spirituality* questions the origins, starting date and the conflation of Early Christian and

¹⁵⁷ Helen C. Evans delivered a paper at the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies that investigated early exhibitions of Byzantine art - for example, Grottaferrata (1905) and Athens (1964) - in light of the respective country's national interest in highlighting its Byzantine heritage (Evans 2006). Cormack touches on the subject in his article on the collecting history of Byzantine objects in France based on the exhibition of Byzantine art in French collections mounted at the Louvre in 1994 (Cormack 1994), as does Biliouri in the case of the United States (Biliouri 2009). An entire proceedings volume has appeared on the British reception of Byzantium (Cormack and Jeffreys 2000). In the case of Germany, more research has been done on the historical reception of Byzantium and its representation in school textbooks; see, for example: St. Albrecht, "Byzanz in deutschen, französischen und englischen Schulbüchern," in: A. Helmedach (ed.), *Pulverfass, Powder Keg, Baril de Poudre? Südosteuropa im europäischen Geschichtsschulbuch/South Eastern Europe in European History Textbooks* (*Studien zur Internationalen Schulbuchforschung* 118). Hannover 2007, 11–40.

Byzantine art; *The Glory of Byzantium*, dealing with the Middle Byzantine centuries, addresses who is considered Byzantine or who shares a Byzantine cultural heritage, and how; faced with territorial loss and political fragmentation, *Faith and Power* explores whether - seen through art objects - the Byzantine Empire and its legacy become a purely religious one; the selection of objects in *Byzantium: 330-1453* highlights the material wealth and golden splendor typically associated with Byzantium; by contrast, *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag* goes beyond the narrow definition of "art" to incorporate archaeological artifacts of material culture, while their presentation in geo-thematic groups appears to reassert the image of Byzantium as a culture that was static and unchanging for one thousand years.

3.3.1. Chronology and change

The texts of the exhibition catalogs unanimously define the chronological scope of Byzantium according to its political dates, beginning with the emperor Constantine in either 324 or 330 and ending in 1453 with the fall of Constantinople. However, the objects chosen for a 'Byzantine exhibition' reveal a more complicated situation. While they rather strictly respect the early 4th century as the starting date,¹⁵⁸ showing a few objects from the 4th century and only really picking up in the 5th century, the various curators have been less consistent in selecting a cut-off date. The two most recent survey exhibitions have adhered closely to the political chronology and contained no works produced after ca. 1500.¹⁵⁹ Other exhibitions were less exact or explicitly followed other criteria. The New York exhibition of 2004 made a point of highlighting the continuity of Late Byzantine artistic traditions and their reception even after the political state in all its manifestations was defunct. Earlier exhibitions in Paris, Edinburgh/London, Athens¹⁶⁰ and Brussels included, under the simple heading of "Byzantine" or "Byzantium", numerous examples of post-Byzantine art, specifically icons, liturgical silver and textiles, some of which date into the early 18th century, and the shows in New York and in Bonn

¹⁵⁸ To indicate the Byzantine artistic background in Roman art, the Paris exhibition of 1931, the Royal Academy in 2008 and the Bonn exhibition of 2010 together showed a handful of objects from the 1st to 3rd centuries; only *Age of Spirituality* showed more earlier pieces. However, as indicated by the subtitle, the focus was on the 3rd to 7th centuries.

¹⁵⁹ In the case of Bonn an exception must be made, since it contained two later texts: *Praecepta Educationis, Orationes* by Manuel II Palaiologos (1557, OeNB, cat. 515) and *Kitab-i bahriye* by Reis Piri (around 1663-1724/5, Berlin, cat. 514).

¹⁶⁰ The Athens exhibition of 1964, which drew heavily on Greek collections, stands out in regard to the chronology of the exhibited objects. Compared to others, it begins late (only in the late 5th-6th century) and ends late with approximately icons dating into the 18th century.

have displayed, for example, post-Byzantine Greek and Western manuscripts that testify to a direct line of Classical heritage transmitted through Byzantium.

Within this framework, the core of which spans the 5th to 15th centuries, several periods of production - and subsequent preservation - can be discerned. As in the earlier exhibitions, the recent shows in London and Bonn contained a high percentage of artifacts from the 6th-7th centuries; this was largely silver and gold metalwork that had been buried in Syria and other coincidental discoveries throughout Europe.¹⁶¹ After a drastic dip for the 8th and 9th centuries, the 10th through 14th centuries are strongly represented in surprisingly equal distribution but with varying bodies of works according to the exhibition. In Edinburgh, ivories of the 10th-12th centuries carried the show; in Athens it was ivories and manuscripts from the 11th-13th centuries and icons for the 13th-14th centuries. *Byzantium: 330-1453* also displayed a number of these same ivories, manuscripts and icons, which, along with loans from Serbia, Russia and Egypt, placed emphasis on these later centuries. In Bonn the 10th-12th centuries represent a peak, with diminishing representation of the last three centuries of the Byzantine Empire.

Thus the traditional classification into First and Second Golden Ages of Byzantine art - the first ushered in around the time of Justinian I (r. 527-565) and ending with the loss of the materially and artistically wealthy provinces of Syria and Egypt (ca. 634-642), the second under the Macedonian dynasty (867-1056) - are confirmed by the many spectacular objects from these periods. The situation changes, however, after the 11th/12th centuries, with exhibitions depicting decline through the lack of "Byzantine" objects, even if quantitatively pieces of Italian, "Crusader," "Latin," Serbian, Ukrainian and Russian provenance attest to continued artistic production during later centuries. Rather than having an abrupt end, a notion that does not correspond to historical reality, however much 1453 may be cited, Byzantine culture is shown to have diffused into geographical regions that were never under direct political rule.

While the three shows at the Metropolitan Museum maintain a rough chronology by virtue of their conceptual division into three "Golden Ages," any sense of progression in the history of Byzantine artistic culture, or of high or low periods as outlined above, is lost through the thematic approaches of the exhibitions at the Royal Academy and BRD-Kunsthalle. Robin Cormack has explained that, while conscious of this issue, the

¹⁶¹ Of the 337 objects in the London show, 75 were dated to the 6th-7th centuries, nearly all silver and gold jewelry. In *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag* 205 artifacts of the total 518 objects are datable to the 6th-7th centuries. *Age of Spirituality* naturally included a large number of objects from mainly the 6th and early 7th centuries, but because of the narrow chronological focus it is impossible to speak of a particular emphasis on this period.

categorization of the London exhibition represents a compromise between the chronological and thematic methods.¹⁶² The result is that the period from Late Roman and Early Byzantine art to the end of the Iconoclast Controversy (mid-9th century) is presented in terms of the development of style and content from Roman traditions to a typically Byzantine imperial and Christian vocabulary. The subsequent centuries of Middle and Late Byzantium are not treated in this way but are also conflated with Early Byzantine objects that fit the respective categories.¹⁶³ For example, with a 5th century Coptic wall hanging next to 11th century Constantinopolitan manuscripts and 15th century Serbian bronze bells, the conglomeration of objects "At Church" conflated witnesses to very diverse practices, thereby creating a generalized, and immutable, image of Byzantine religious life.¹⁶⁴ Chronological, and occasional geographic, jumbling of objects in the Bonn exhibition was even more severe: the mostly Early Byzantine sites were punctuated by later pieces that were connected only by a broad heading such as "war" or "neighbors," as if these, too, had a constant form. The only sense of development was conveyed by a few objects narrating the fall of Constantinople; here Byzantium is depicted as having been born fully-grown.

3.3.2. Historical and modern geographies

For an exhibition of Byzantine art, the question of geographic scope is exacerbated not only by the notoriously shifting borders of the Byzantine Empire, but also by curatorial decisions concerning the inclusion or exclusion of individual neighboring groups that were influenced by or in some way adopted aspects of Byzantine culture. Defining geography in an exhibition context is itself a political enterprise and takes place at two levels: the geographic origins of the objects themselves and the geographic map of the lenders, which can be dictated by practical and budgetary as well as ideological concerns. In this regard it is informative to compare the participation of the modern republics of Greece and Turkey, which share large portions of the former Byzantine heartland, and of the "neighboring countries" in major exhibitions.

In all the exhibitions analyzed, the curators followed the broad definition of Byzantine art, which supports the notion of a cultural sphere rather than limiting

¹⁶² Cormack 2013, 23-24.

¹⁶³ The chapter "Beyond Byzantium" can arguably be understood in terms of chronology, although the primary focus is on historical geography and historical demographic groups; see: Cormack and Vassilaki 2008, cats. 266-312, with a short introduction by Antony Eastmond on 308-314.

¹⁶⁴ The section "At Court" is astonishingly coherent, including only objects of the 10th-11th centuries, as is "At Home: Metalwork of Everyday Life" (of the Early Byzantine period) and "At Home: Jewellery and Adornment" with its selection of gold jewelry of the 5th-7th centuries plus two later bracelets.

Byzantine art to monuments that were produced within the construed borders of the Empire.¹⁶⁵ This means that objects were selected according to their place of production at a given time and based on stylistic and iconographic criteria as well as their use in a particular setting, particularly from the Middle Byzantine period on. Byzantium then, as presented in exhibitions of its art, encompassed objects originating from the entire extent of the Late Roman Empire: nearly the entire Mediterranean basin and its major islands, the Near East past the Euphrates river and into the Caucasus range, the entire Balkan peninsula, and extending northward and eastward past the Danube to include modern Romania, Moldova, Ukraine and the western part of Russia. This area is much larger than the Byzantine Empire had ever been at any point in its history.

Nevertheless, in part due to political and logistical factors Western exhibitions were unable to secure loans from institutions in the modern countries of these regions for much of the 20th century. Extensive collections in Western and Central Europe and the United States, therefore, served as sources for the examples of Byzantine objects produced in these places.¹⁶⁶ As early as 1931 they were accompanied by photographic images of architectural monuments in Greece, Turkey, former Yugoslavia, Armenia and Georgia to provide an impression of the original context and landscape. Shifting political situations during the later part of the 20th century, and the highly visible nature of shows at venues like the Metropolitan Museum of Art, made it possible to bargain for loans from national collections in Eastern Europe, the Near East and North Africa. *Age of Spirituality* had planned to include loans from the Soviet Union and Egypt, which did not arrive, but the Middle Byzantine exhibition was truly groundbreaking in this regard. The political situation had changed drastically by 1997, and in addition to established highlights from the USA, Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Italy, *The Glory of Byzantium* encompassed loan exhibits from such unlikely bedfellows as Ukraine, Russia, and Georgia, as well as Greece, Turkey and Syria. *Faith and Power* followed suit, banking on extensive participation from Russian, Greek and Egyptian lenders, including extant monastic communities. For budgetary reasons the London exhibition of 2008 was only partially successful in this respect but it did partner with a Greek institution, and around one-third of the exhibits came from that country. The organizers in Bonn drew heavily on archaeological collections in Germany and Austria, as well as site-specific,

¹⁶⁵ Compare the maps from the exhibition catalogs (figs 1-7). The Introduction contains a brief discussion of Antony Eastmond's definition and the medieval "fuzzy border" problematic that he raises.

¹⁶⁶ There were, however, notable exceptions, such as the inclusion of 18 objects from the Soviet Union and 11 from Yugoslavia in the Edinburgh-London exhibition of 1958.

local museums in Ukraine, Serbia, Greece and Turkey. Special collections from Greece, Orthodox countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe, and the icon collection of the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai, Egypt, have dominated recent shows and been used to draw visitors by virtue of their former inaccessibility.

Aside from practical issues such as the condition and conservation of the artworks and ideological hurdles like removing religious objects from their places of worship, current issues of national identity are also a factor in decisions about lending to an exhibition of Byzantine art. During the first half of the 20th century objects from Greek national collections were not displayed publicly in international exhibitions of Byzantine art, even though this medieval period was in the process of being resuscitated by Modernist artists and poets and in Greek national historiography.¹⁶⁷ However, Greek participation in major Byzantine exhibitions outside the country increased drastically following the Council of Europe exhibition in Athens in 1964. Not surprisingly, Greece was the top international lender to *Splendeur de Byzance* in Brussels in 1982, and after contributing only 9 objects to *Age of Spirituality* in 1977, it sent 45 artifacts for display in *The Glory of Byzantium* and 56 objects for *Faith and Power*, in both cases more than any other country. National and private Greek collections provided 110 objects - nearly one-third of the entire show - to London in 2008, and 62 artifacts to the Bonn exhibition, making it the fourth largest lender after Ukraine, Austria and Serbia.¹⁶⁸ A major exhibition of Byzantine art is no longer thinkable without the participation of Greek institutions, as modern Greek and Byzantine identities draw strongly on a common language and religion.

The relationship of the Republic of Turkey to its Byzantine (material) heritage has generally been more problematic, and throughout the 20th century endeavors to secure loans met with little success. Turkey, located at the geographic core of the former Byzantine Empire and incorporating the former Byzantine capital, including the artifacts

¹⁶⁷ For the 1931 Paris exhibition 27 painted icons and ceramics were lent by Greek collections (five icons from the recently founded Byzantine Museum in Athens, the rest from private collectors such as Benaki, Kanellopoulos and others who were unnamed). The Athens Archaeological Society and Professor Orlandos provided a total of three fresco copies for the Edinburgh-London exhibition in 1958.

Moreover, it is important to consider that excavations in the 1950s brought to light impressive examples of gold jewelry and silver plate, and significant frescos were still *in situ* until the 1960s. Several such examples have appeared in international exhibitions since being removed and becoming museum pieces; see Appendix B.1, for example, the Krategos Treasure listed under Early Byzantine silver and the wall painting of Sts Theodota, Kosmas and Damianos found under Middle Byzantine architectural decoration.

¹⁶⁸ Because of the small sample size and inherent incongruity of art objects, I have generally avoided the use of statistics; however, this method provides an interesting perspective on the consistent participation of Greece in major Byzantine exhibitions since 1964: Athens 1964, 49%, Brussels 1982, 22%, New York 1997, 11%, New York 2004, 15%, London 2008, 33%, and Bonn 2010, 12%.

located below its surface, was represented in 1931 only by photographs. In 1958 the nine promised loans were withdrawn from the exhibition; this happened again with the 36 objects planned for the Athens exhibition, and none were planned for the New York exhibition in 1977 or the Brussels exhibition in 1982.¹⁶⁹ Only in 1997 was the Metropolitan Museum of Art able to secure four objects from Turkish collections: one inlaid icon of St. Eudokia from the Istanbul Archaeological Museum and three pieces from Topkapi Saray that represented the early 13th century 'East' in "Byzantium and the Islamic East".¹⁷⁰ For the exhibition in 2004, 11 objects were presented in New York; these included Byzantine marble reliefs found in Istanbul, an icon from the collection of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, a Seljuk relief from Konya, and manuscripts from Topkapi Saray that record the Ottoman conquest of Southeastern Europe.¹⁷¹ For purely financial, rather than ideological, reasons, the most recent London exhibition contained no loans from Turkey, and archaeological artifacts from Efes (Byzantine, Ephesos), Bergama (Byzantine Pergamon) along with an icon from the Ecumenical Patriarchate and a ferman were lent in 2010 to *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag*, which took place under the auspices of the German and Turkish presidents.¹⁷² In this way, major shows about Byzantium trace the slow process of opening Turkish cultural caretakers to multiple narratives of the history of the country, while charting their growing willingness to participate in high-profile international exhibitions.¹⁷³

It is not only the two modern states that share the geographical core of the Byzantine Empire, but also countries that claim their political roots in historically associated principalities, that have followed divergent paths. The independence, during the Byzantine period, of the various kingdoms of Georgia and Armenia, the Kievan Rus',

¹⁶⁹ Both Greece and Turkey had applied, with American backing, for admission to the European Economic Community in 1959; in 1974 they went to war over Cyprus, which is still a divided island. The Republic of Greece was admitted to the European Community in 1981, Turkey has not been admitted. Considering this rivalry, it is hardly surprising that Turkey did not take part in either of the art exhibitions that were mounted to celebrate Greece's cultural connectedness to Europe.

¹⁷⁰ The icon is the best preserved of several found during excavations at Lips Monastery (Fenari Isa Camii), Istanbul, in 1929 (Evans and Wixom 1997, 42-43, cat. 8B). The catalog entry notes that the icon was exhibited in Athens and Edinburgh; while it appears in both catalogs, the respective curators' introductions clearly state that pieces sought from Turkish collections did not arrive for display.

The Islamic objects were an Artukid silver mirror decorated with a hunter on horseback (cat. 282), an illustrated manuscript of *Kitab fi Ma'rifat al-Hiyal al-Handasiyah* (Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices) (cat. 286), and an Arabic translation of *De materia medica* by Dioskorides (cat. 288).

¹⁷¹ Evans 2004, cats. 49, 51, 52, 55, 56, 90, 243, 251, 252, 254, 274.

¹⁷² Cormack stated explicitly that because of financial constraints the curators were forced to decide between objects from Egypt, which includes the Sinai icons, and objects from Turkey, since both countries require a custodian to be present in London for the entire duration of the show (Cormack 2013, 24). This is normal practice for many countries and obviously has a long tradition, as Beckwith remarked on it concerning the planning of the 1958 Edinburgh exhibition (Loverance 2013, 55).

¹⁷³ Best exemplified by the joint French-Turkish exhibition, *De Byzance à Istanbul: un port pour deux continents*, held at the Galeries Nationales, Grand-Palais, Champs Élysées, Paris, in 2009.

medieval Bulgaria, and Serbia, have been underscored in *The Glory of Byzantium* and *Byzantium: 330-1453*, where in both cases objects have been grouped individually for each "nation"¹⁷⁴ or else collectively as entities that lay outside and separate from the Byzantine Empire, in a similar manner to the "Latin West" and the "Islamic East."

Throughout its modern history Armenia has refused to participate in exhibitions that endeavor to ally Armenian art to Byzantine art, thereby averting any suggestion that theirs is anything other than a fully independent national style¹⁷⁵. Since Western scholarship considers Armenia's role in Byzantine history as integral¹⁷⁶ for the Byzantine exhibitions in 1997, 2004, and 2008, a few Armenian objects were culled from other collections.¹⁷⁷ The Republic of Georgia, on the other hand, loaned from its national collections five liturgical objects of gold and gilt silver to the Metropolitan Museum in 1997 and three manuscripts to the Royal Academy in 2008. Orthodox nations at the other ends of the former empire have been more willing and eager to publicly embrace their Byzantine cultural heritage. Yugoslavia, succeeded by Serbia and Macedonia, Bulgaria and Romania have provided small numbers of loans of Early and Middle Byzantine artifacts as well as later objects associated with their respective narratives of national formation.¹⁷⁸ State institutions of the Soviet Union lent 18 objects to Edinburgh in 1958, and after the dissolution of the USSR in 1991 the Russian Federation and Ukraine became major lenders to exhibitions of Byzantine art, at times even acting in competition

¹⁷⁴ I feel uncomfortable using this term because of its historical meaning and connotations, yet chose it here because it seen as a basis for these modern states, which in their respective national historiographies look back at the medieval period for their origins.

¹⁷⁵ Noted in Eastmond 2010, 316, where he also questions the validity of the association considering that the Armenian church is a non-Chalcedonian church.

¹⁷⁶ One need only recall the many emperors with Armenian background, see: Evans and Wixom 1997, 351.

¹⁷⁷ *The Glory of Byzantium* organized an Armenian chapter of six manuscripts (cats. 238-243) drawn from the Armenian Mechitarist Congregation, Venice, the Archdiocese of Gniezno, Poland, the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and the Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Other examples include the cover of the Bardzrberd Gospels, from the Armenian Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia in Antelias, Lebanon (Evans 2004, cat. 156) and the so-called Marshal Oshin's Gospels, an illuminated manuscript produced in Cilicia (Armenia) in the 13th century and now in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; it appeared in *Faith and Power* (cats. 30A-B) and *Byzantium: 330-1453* (cats. 297-298).

¹⁷⁸ Yugoslavia was represented in photographs in 1931, contributed 11 exhibits to Edinburgh-London in 1958, 14 icons to Athens, three statues to New York in 1977, and nothing to the Brussels exhibition. Due to internal political instability no loans could be secured in 1997, but in 2004 works arrived from Serbia and Montenegro (including Kosovo), and FYR-Macedonia, while Serbia was quantitatively the second largest international lender in 2008 (after Greece) and the third largest in 2010. Bulgaria lent four artifacts to *Age of Spirituality*, 12 objects to the Metropolitan Museum's exhibition of Middle Byzantine art, which dedicated a section to the Bulgarians, as well as seven in 2004, one reliquary cross in 2008 and seven excavated finds in 2010. Romania sent 12 objects to Athens in 1964, two embroidered textiles to New York in 2004 and two others to London in 2008.

with each other,¹⁷⁹ and in recent years Russia has organized considerable blockbuster exhibitions that promote its Byzantine religious heritage.¹⁸⁰

The geographic extent of Byzantium and its cultural sphere, as conveyed in major exhibitions, is thus one that is governed by the intellectual openness of those conceiving the exhibition, the diplomatic talents of the loan negotiators, and the willingness of lenders to participate in a public event outside their control. Ultimately the combination of these factors presents an image of what it is possible to represent through objects and not necessarily a reflection of what is known about the historical reality of Byzantium - and its neighbors.

An exhibition focused on a historical culture necessarily frames artifacts and those who produced them according to established dichotomous categories of inclusion and exclusion, which, in the case of the thousand-year Byzantine Empire cover Roman and barbarian, Orthodox East and Latin West, Byzantium and Islam, geographically Europe and culturally not. These highly-charged political subtexts run between exhibition makers, lenders and the viewing audience. Recent major exhibitions strive to display the extent of Byzantine influence, noting but not being constrained by former boundaries. While this construction has proven to be astonishing or even uncomfortable to some, a broad definition allows greater opportunity to explore avenues of contact and degrees of proximity in the past.

3.3.3. *The artistic core of Byzantium*¹⁸¹

This open approach may allow visitors freedom to form their own opinions regarding the chronological and geographic reach of Byzantine culture, yet a comparative look at all objects displayed in the five recent and four earlier major exhibitions leaves no doubt about what constitutes the core of Byzantine artistic production, even as shifting patterns in lending have emerged. Because of the nature of temporary exhibitions, these artworks

¹⁷⁹ In an interview with *The New York Times*, Thomas F. Mathews mentioned using the competitive relationship between Russia and Ukraine in the mid-1990s in order to secure more loans for *The Glory of Byzantium* (Miller 1997). For this show, Ukraine lent 28 objects and Russia 26, making them the third and fourth largest lenders after Greece and Germany. *Faith and Power* secured 54 items from Russia, none from Ukraine; the Royal Academy presented nine objects from Russia (a 6th century silver plate, a paten with the Passion of Christ, the Khludov Psalter, a lectionary, the ivory of Christ crowning Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, a gold enamel pectoral cross, an epistyle fragment with the Transfiguration, an miniature mosaic icon, and an embroidered icon; cats. 33, 50, 68, 199, 205, 216, 224, 266, 286) and two icons and a mosaic fragment from Ukraine (cats. 268, 313, 314). The Bonn exhibition partnered with Ukrainian archaeological institutions, securing a total of 88 artifacts; the same ivory fragment with Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos and one other object were lent by Russia.

¹⁸⁰ See Appendix A.

¹⁸¹ The difficulty of defining a Byzantine artistic canon has been discussed in Eastmond 2010. While this analysis has already touched on some of the issues he mentions, the discussion of the exhibition objects as part of a canon must be left out.

are portable objects or decontextualized fragments of larger monuments drawn predominantly from Western European and American collections, and artificially reassembled in a contemporary museum context.

In the major Byzantine art exhibitions of the past century a loose core of approximately 60 specific objects has been presented to the public in four or more of these shows.¹⁸² This compact corpus of recognized highlights of Byzantine art speaks to the Western history of collecting by ecclesiastical treasuries, imperial missions and interested individuals of the 19th and early 20th centuries as well as active interest in archaeological excavation during the 20th century.¹⁸³ Only very few of the objects are still anywhere near the likely place of production, which for two-thirds of them is believed to be Constantinople.¹⁸⁴ Periodization is again an evident issue, as the majority of core objects belong to the Early and Middle Byzantine periods, clearly demonstrating the traditional lack of clarity in regard to the final centuries of the Empire and the diffusion to a cultural sphere that was politically isolated from the West for much of the 20th century.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² See Appendix B.1 and the images of the ca. 60 core objects in Appendix B.2; these figures will be references as *B-1*, for example. This count does not consider their display in other temporary exhibitions or visibility in a permanent collection.

In order to create this list, the objects listed in each exhibition catalog were entered into a spreadsheet with all relevant art historical information (designation, place of origin, date, material, dimensions, current location, inventory number, exhibition catalog number). The files for all nine exhibitions were then merged and could be sorted according to any of these criteria to find areas of overlap.

¹⁸³ The 61 "core" objects are held by collections in: the United Kingdom (13), France (13), Germany (nine), Italy (six), Austria (three), Belgium (three), Netherlands (two), Spain (one), Switzerland (one), the United States (one). The other nine are in: Greece (four), Cyprus (three), Russia (one), Serbia (one).

Another 75 objects have appeared in three of the major Byzantine exhibitions considered here. Their provenance mirrors that of the smaller core but does include objects from the Vatican (a reliquary, a relief icon of St Theodore Stratelates, and a miniature mosaic icon of St Theodore Tiro), FYR-Macedonia (two icons), Ukraine (an Early Byzantine icon of Sts Sergios and Bacchos and a mosaic fragment with St Stephen), and Bulgaria (a pectoral cross discovered in Pliska only in 1973).

¹⁸⁴ Only six works - the bronze head of Constantine (*B-1*), the silk painting of St. Justin (*B-44*), possibly the "Raising of Lazarus" painted panel (*B-53*), a ceramic bowl from Corinth (*B-54*) and the "Italo-Byzantine" icon of the Archangel Michael (*B-56*) - may be considered to have a provenance in the vicinity of their likely place of production. Several others recovered in the course of archaeological excavations reflect the movement of objects in Byzantine times, namely the plate with Aphrodite and Adonis (*B-5*), the silver hoards of Syria and Cyprus (*B-6* to *B-13*), and the cuff bracelet found in Thessaloniki (*B-19*), and possibly the other Corinth plate (*B-55*).

For the core group, 40 objects are attributed to Constantinople, two to Constantinople or Syria, one to Constantinople or Alexandria, four to Italy (two specifically Southern Italy or Sicily), one to Syria, one to Antioch, one to Tarsus, one to Greece, one to Egypt, and one to Serbia. Two objects are listed as "Byzantine," one as "Eastern Mediterranean," and four are unspecified.

¹⁸⁵ Of the 61 core objects, 19 are dated as Early Byzantine, 36 Middle Byzantine, and only six Late Byzantine. Of the 75 objects that have been displayed in three major exhibitions the distribution is similar: 25 Early Byzantine, 37 Middle Byzantine and 14 Late Byzantine. Many objects that have been displayed twice - and often in the most recent shows - display a reverse chronological proportion, as will be discussed below.

A look at the iconography and function of these objects again reveals the reception history of Byzantine art objects in the West, presented in Chapter 2: they are textbook examples of the highest quality craftsmanship, in precious materials, and the main motifs are religious figures, imperial representations, and, in far smaller numbers, characters from Greco-Roman mythology and mythical animals.¹⁸⁶ One-third of the core objects are carved ivory - four diptychs, two complete caskets, and several plaques with mythological, imperial and Christian figures, as well as two complete triptychs - and Early Byzantine silverwork found in Syria and Cyprus at the turn of the 19th-20th century along with two Middle Byzantine silver containers in the shape of domed buildings. Two sculptures in the round are the earliest pieces, four silk textiles with Persian-inspired designs reflect a known area of artistic production during the "Dark Ages" of Iconoclasm, while icons in three different media and one carved capital exemplify the late Byzantine period.

The core of Byzantine exhibitions over the past century presents an image of Byzantium as materially wealthy and artistically refined, with clear roots in Late Roman culture. As represented in this selection of artworks, Christian themes became increasingly dominant as history progressed: ivory caskets and two manuscripts produced during the 10th and 11th centuries bear witness to secular themes, such as mythology, kingship, classical learning and Byzantium's own historiographical tradition; the Late Byzantine pieces are exclusively religious, being produced for an ecclesiastical setting and personal devotion.

Although singling out these objects and treating them as a corpus is an artificial way of viewing them, it does reveal a progressive shift in the objects that are being displayed in a major international exhibition of Byzantine art.¹⁸⁷ The first perceptible phenomenon is that certain object types are not, or can no longer be, displayed in quantity. Some examples from this core - the silk fragment with "Samson" and the Lion (B-20), the silk fragment with two oxen (B-22), the ivory casket panel with Moses and Aaron (B-32), and the silk painting of St. Justin - appeared in the four European exhibitions before 1982 and in none of the later, which are the main focus of this study. In general the presence of textiles and ivories, both very fragile materials, has declined noticeably. While many such examples in early exhibitions did contain religious imagery,

¹⁸⁶ All except two silver plates with crosses and the cuff bracelet have figural decoration.

¹⁸⁷ Aside from the disposition of the lending institution and an object's physical condition, the provenance of objects is an essential factor in their availability for loan. Pieces that have long been held in Western European collections are "grandfathered in" and not subject to newer restitution laws, the risk of seizure being a sufficient reason not to send an item from a collection overseas.

coincidentally these woven silks and ivory caskets, plaques and panels - many of them in Italian collections - also represented interesting, rare examples of classical and secular motifs, such as mythical animals, the zodiac, allegories of the months, dancers and warriors.¹⁸⁸ So which objects have taken their place? Where have these objects come from, and what do they contribute to the image of Byzantium in more recent exhibitions?

In a few specific cases similar objects from other collections appear simply to have replaced them.¹⁸⁹ Yet more significantly, as mentioned above, changing political conditions in Eastern and Southeastern Europe during the late 20th century opened opportunities for cultural exchange with institutions in Western Europe and the United States, and contributed greatly to renewed interest in Byzantine art exhibitions, including the incorporation of new objects in them. The widened base of objects eligible for consideration for an exhibition in Western Europe or the United States has been more influential in shaping the recent composition of major Byzantine exhibitions. The Athens exhibition of 1964 introduced for the first time objects from Greek collections, namely the silver and gold treasures of Krategos and Cyprus, and icons from the monastic collections of St. John the Theologian on Patmos, Meteora, and Vlatadon in Thessaloniki, some of which were displayed in New York and London.¹⁹⁰ The analysis of objects displayed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Royal Academy of Art and BRD Kunsthalle exhibitions reveal that artifacts and icons from Greece, FYR Macedonia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Russia and Egypt, as well as liturgical implements from the Vatican and the Treasury of San Marco in Venice, have come to form a new core of recent exhibitions of Byzantine art.¹⁹¹ Overall, these are high-quality pieces of religious art, some of them still preserved in that original context.

¹⁸⁸ There are approximately 55 objects that appeared in two of the earlier exhibitions and in none of the more recent ones: three diptych leaves and two silks from the Early Byzantine period; 43 Middle Byzantine objects, of which 18 were ivories and seven manuscripts; and seven Late Byzantine objects, of which four were manuscripts with secular content. These objects are kept largely in collections in Italy (15), the United Kingdom (10), France and Germany (each eight).

¹⁸⁹ This pertains to, for example: bronze lamps, which can be found in many major collections; an ivory triptych in a British private collection that has been "replaced" by one from the Vatican; silver processional crosses and signet rings from the Benaki Museum and other institutions that have supplanted those from the Kanellopoulos collection; a jewel encrusted book cover from Venice that has been seen in two recent exhibitions rather than one housed in Capua; a Russian inlaid bronze plaque kept in Moscow that was displayed in New York instead of one at the Musée de Cluny which had appeared in Western exhibitions before the 1990s.

¹⁹⁰ *Faith and Power* (2004) also featured icons from Meteora and Vlatadon Monastery in Thessaloniki, and *Byzantium: 330-1453* (2008) displayed silver plates and gold jewelry from the Krategos Treasure.

¹⁹¹ Objects that have appeared in two of three recent exhibitions are: for the Early Byzantine period, 23 new objects including gold jewelry from the Benaki Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum, which also lent silver and ivory ornaments, as well as tomb paintings from Thessaloniki; for the Middle Byzantine period, 31 objects, notably reliquaries of various sizes, metal crosses and religious manuscripts from Western collections, including the Vatican and the Treasury of San Marco, and icons

Due to the patterns of preservation in these traditionally Orthodox areas, with very few exceptions the new loans to recent Byzantine exhibitions in the United States and the United Kingdom focus on Byzantine heritage as a religious legacy.¹⁹² The objects selected for recent exhibitions from among large Western collections, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum, also support this trend. Although examples of Late Roman weights and excavated molds indicate a shift in understanding a historical culture by demonstrating commercial reach and techniques of artistic production, the dominance of reliquaries and especially icons - which are inherently an object of worship and are venerated as such, even in an artificial exhibition setting - link Byzantium with living Orthodox culture in Europe and some communities in the United States. However, these countries and migrant groups are informed by other historiographical and cultural traditions than the mainstream American, British or German audiences.¹⁹³

from Cherson (Ukraine), Greece, Ohrid (FYR Macedonia), and Sinai (Egypt); and for the Late Byzantine period, 14 objects, such as Armenian and Bulgarian Gospels kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Library, icons in various media from Rome, Belgrade, Athens, Sinai and Moscow, a bell and silver cup from Serbia, a liturgical textile housed in London, and church doors from Cairo in the collection of the British Museum.

New additions that have been displayed in one of the New York exhibitions, London, and Bonn are: commodity weights with images of emperors (Menil Collection, Houston, 10 and British Museum, London, PE 1980.6-1), chalices from Kaper Koraon (Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, inv. 57.636 and British Museum, London, inv. no. 1914, 0415.1), an ivory diptych leaf with an archangel (British Museum, London, P&E OA 9999), an encaustic icon of Sts Sergios and Bacchos (Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Arts, Kiev, inv. no. 111 ЖЖ); Reliquary of the True Cross (Vatican Museum, Vatican City, inv. no. 61898), the processional cross of Adrianople (Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. no. 33794), silver pectoral cross (National Archaeological Institute with Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, inv.no. 4882), Khludov Psalter (State Historical Museum, Moscow, GIM 86795, also Klud. 129-d), mosaic fragment with St. Stephen (St. Sophia of Kiev, National Conservation Area, МЖ 190); Late Byzantine Greek frescoes (Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens), and a large *choros* chandelier (Archäologische Nationalsammlung, Munich, inv. no. 2003, 8660). These are listed with images in Appendix B.3.

¹⁹² The exhibition in Germany differed in its archaeological focus and accordingly the objects, especially those secured from Ukraine, reflected this.

The Byzantine objects found at San Marco and the Vatican were collected during the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance and - with the exception of secular texts - also assumed religious meaning at these Latin rite institutions. In Greece, the collections stem partially from state-sponsored initiatives and to a lesser extent from living monastic communities, of which the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai represents an isolated example in an otherwise Muslim country. In the traditionally Orthodox countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe, aggressive private collecting in the second half of the 19th century, and especially the anti-ecclesiastical cultural programs of their respective Communist regimes, resulted in the large-scale destruction and confiscation of the property of religious institutions. Many of these objects were fed into state collections or sold on the art market.

¹⁹³ The Metropolitan Museum of Art implemented an ethnic marketing campaign in 1997, which targeted Greek, Ukrainian, and other Orthodox communities in the Greater New York area (Collins 1997). The historical continuity of modern national churches as expressions of Byzantine religious heritage has assumed pride of place in the national narratives of several post-Communist, Orthodox countries. Individual countries' motivations for contributing to high-profile exhibitions, and the pieces they do lend, offer interesting insights into contemporary identity formation; nevertheless these often political reasons exceed the scope of the present study.

3.3.4. The publicized image of Byzantium

With the exception of the Bonn exhibition, which portrayed Byzantium from an archaeological perspective as a closed historical unit, the series of exhibitions in New York and the one in London focused on the idea of artistic and cultural continuities from ancient Rome, through Byzantium, to Early Modern Europe and even the present day. Both approaches are intrinsically exoticizing, whether packaging a culture not one's own as a place long ago and far away, or attempting to create a bridge across not only time and historical geography, but also modern perceptions of cultural divisions, for example the East-West division of Europe or the rift between Europe and Islam.

Moreover, being staged by institutions "of Art," these exhibitions showcased objects of the highest artistic caliber, for which Byzantine craftsmen have been praised and their works coveted in Western Europe for centuries. *Byzantium: 330-1453* most explicitly emphasized the costly materials used by the Byzantines for personal adornment and ritual objects, including famous imperial commissions preserved in San Marco, Venice. *The Glory of Byzantium* and *Faith and Power* capitalized on the vast collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for artistic masterpieces and its international reputation to secure the loan of national treasures from a multitude of far-away countries. For these exhibitions the appeal lay in assembling objects that had never before been displayed in an exhibition context, and that, through the high quality of workmanship and material as well as their mysterious background, would attract visitors and evoke in them a sense of marvel and wonder.

Byzantium is presented not as a decline, as reiterated in written histories. Nevertheless, exhibitions play on other stereotypes of Western reception history, most prominently the image of Byzantium as a strange, exotic culture of richness and spirituality on the border of Europe.¹⁹⁴ As in the case of many English-language artists and writers of the early 20th century, the spiritual connotations are, however, framed in a positive light. The mystic beliefs represented by icons and the ritual actions of liturgy, intimated through the static, museal presentation of portable ritual objects, are no longer relegated to the realm of superstition, as they had been according to Enlightenment thought. Instead, material evidence of religious life and the living ecclesiastical

¹⁹⁴ Angelos Delivorrias, Director of the Benaki Museum, in his foreword to the catalog of the 2008 London show wrote that this second collaboration between the institutions - the first being *From Byzantium to El Greco* in 1987 - was "a sign of the rising awareness of the need to pay off at least part of the debt that Europe owes to Byzantine civilization," and although the monastic communities of Patmos and Athos did not take part "this in no way diminishes the fact that the exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts is as much in honour of Orthodoxy as it is of Greece." (Delivorrias in Cormack and Vassilaki 2008, 15)

institutions that preserve both them and the objects, are portrayed positively as keepers of culture, especially in spite of demographic shifts, adverse political conditions, and the rapid social change of the 20th and 21st centuries. The most famous example is, of course, the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai in Egypt, established in the 6th century, which has lent numerous icons to recent major exhibitions, where they are billed as highlights.¹⁹⁵

The marketing of exhibitions of Byzantine art has focused even more strongly on the few commonly-held associations with material wealth, religion and spirituality, and Byzantine mysticism surrounding earthly and divine rule. Such stereotypes have been reflected in exhibition titles: *Splendeur de Byzance*; *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art*; *The Glory of Byzantium*; *Faith and Power*; or *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag*.¹⁹⁶ The choice of images for marketing and catalog covers also projects this image (fig. XX), capitalizing on the allure of gold-shrouded protectors, like angels, saints and crosses, that only hesitantly reveal the unknown wealth within. One such object that embodies all these qualities, and that has featured prominently in recent exhibitions, as well as the marketing campaigns of these exhibitions, will form the subject of the next chapter.

¹⁹⁵ Loverance 2013, 61-62, fn. 62. These icons were first published systematically by G. and M. Sotiriou (*Icones du Mont Sinai, I: Plates*, Athens, 1956; *II: Text*, Athens, 1958) and Kurt Weitzmann, who led the Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton expedition of 1958-1965 (*The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons. I: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*, Princeton, 1976).

¹⁹⁶ Related exhibitions also capitalize on such titles, for example: *Wealth of the Roman World* (1977); *Splendori di Bisanzio: Testimonianze e riflessi d'arte e cultura bizantina nelle chiese d'Italia* (1990); *Gates of Mystery: The Art of Holy Russia* (1992); *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts* (1994); and many others.

4. Case study of the San Marco censer

Having in the preceding chapters established trends in the reception history of the Byzantine Empire and the dominant image of Byzantium conveyed in several recent major exhibitions, this section will focus on the case study of one particular object - usually placed in a Byzantine cultural context and dated to the 12th century - that has featured prominently in exhibitions and publications since it was first displayed in 1974: a unique gilded silver work in the shape of a domed building kept in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice.¹⁹⁷

Among the many objects that have been chosen repeatedly for display to represent the material culture and cultural history of the Byzantine Empire, this unparalleled work is perhaps the most enigmatic. It is possibly for this reason that it has been selected to embellish the covers of several exhibition catalogs and has been incorporated in large-scale media campaigns (*figs 16-22*).¹⁹⁸ The uniqueness of this shining silver and golden vessel draws the attention of lay and scholarly audiences alike, and its employment for marketing purposes has made it into a veritable 'poster child' of exhibitions of Byzantine art in recent years. At the same time, the international scientific community of Byzantine art historians has yet to reach a consensus about its place of origin, the reading of its iconography, and its original function. An investigation of this object, its scholarly interpretation, and its placement in recent exhibitions of Byzantine art will show, firstly, how the complexity of a multifaceted society can easily be reduced to one aspect as conditioned by a long history of artistic and cultural reception and, secondly, how visual first impressions can dominate one's perception in an exhibition context and potentially support the preconceived notions of exhibition visitors.

¹⁹⁷ Venice, Basilica di San Marco, Tesoro, Inventory number 142 and cat. 149 in the catalog published under the direction of Hahnloser in 1971. While its original function is still disputed, for easy of reference this object will be referred to as an incense burner or censer in this chapter.

Exhibitions that featured this object are marked in Appendix A with a "+" sign; they are: *Venezia e Bisanzio*, Venice 1974 (cat. 44); *Splendeur de Byzance*, Brussels 1982 (cat. O.23); *The Treasury of San Marco in Venice*, New York/London/Cologne/Paris 1984 (cat. 33); *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261*, New York 1997 (cat. 176); *I tesori della Fede: Oreficeria e Scultura dalle Chiese di Venezia*, Venice 2000 (catalog not available); *Venezia! Kunst aus venezianischen Palästen*, Bonn 2002, (cat. 4); *Da Giotto a Malevic: la reciproca meraviglia*, Rome 2004-5 (catalog not available); *Byzantium 330-1453*, London 2008-9, (cat. 176); *Byzanz: Pracht und Alltag*, Bonn 2010, (cat. 496).

¹⁹⁸ The censer has featured on the following catalogs covers: *Venezia e Bisanzio*, Venice 1974 (*fig. 16*); *The Treasury of San Marco in Venice*, New York/London/Cologne/Paris 1984 (*fig. 17*); *Venezia! Kunst aus venezianischen Palästen*, Bonn 2002 (*fig. 18*); *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag*, Bonn 2010 (*fig. 15*), also on the Table of Contents page. It has also appeared on a poster for *Splendour de Byzance/Liuster van Byzantium*, Brussels 1982 (*fig. 19*); on the, on the facade of the Royal Academy, London 2008 (*fig. 20*); and on posters, brochures and newspaper articles for *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag*, Bonn 2010 (*figs 21-22*).

4.1. Object description and written sources

In its current state the object in question (*figs 23, 24*) resembles a nearly cubic building, measuring 36 cm high, 30 cm across at the widest points, and weighing approx. 4 kg.¹⁹⁹ To borrow architectural terminology in accordance with its form, the vessel, which sits on a low base, is square on plan with a protruding semicircular "apse" located centrally on each of the four sides, forming a tetraconch. Four bulbous domes, each topped by an onion-shaped finial, are located over each of these "apses", and the four corner sections are covered by pyramidal roofs surmounted by crosses; the equally tall domes and pointed roofs are arranged alternately around a higher, bulbous central dome with a lantern. The silver surfaces of each form in this vaulting zone are divided by vertical gilded bands into four sections, and each section is decorated with one of three open-work patterns: checked with dots; repeated feather-like palmettes in half-circles; and two palmette-rondels topped by a third larger multi-pointed palmette.

The walls are divided into two horizontal zones by gilt bands of winding vegetal decoration. Similar to the domes and pyramid roofs, the upper zone is composed of alternating panels of the same open-work feather-palmette motif as above and a four-palmette pattern. Two handles secured by footings in the shape of bearded faces are located along the middle band. The lower zone comprises fourteen silver plates with various gilt figures in low relief. Two hinged doors of full height accentuate one apse, and on each door stands a figure with a nimbus: on the left a young man in military attire is identified by the surrounding inscription as "ΑΝΔΡΙΑΑ" (Mod. Gk. *ανδρεία*, *andreia*; 'courage'/'manliness'), and on the right door a young woman pointing to her forehead and flanked by stylized trees is identified by inscription as "Η ΦΡΟΝΕΣΙΣ" (Mod. Gk. *η φρόνησις*, *e phronesis*; 'prudence'/'intelligence').²⁰⁰ Moving around the vessel clockwise beginning to the left of the young man, the lower panels display: a lion; (corner) a griffin; on the apse, two sirens with musical instruments facing each other; a lion; (corner) a lion; on the apse, two inward facing griffins; a rearing lion; (corner) a charging centaur; on the apse, a man and woman in conversation, and the lower half of a naked figure protruding from a woven basket; a lion; (corner) a griffin. With the exception of the side containing the doors, all the lions, griffins and the centaur on the corner sections face outward.

¹⁹⁹ Specifics according to Grabar 1971, 86.

²⁰⁰ In the consideration of its provenance the irregular spelling of both words and the lack of the Greek article before "ΑΝΔΡΙΑΑ" has been noted (Grabar 1971, 86). Although it must have been realized before, it seems that Grassi 1996, 234, fn. 6, was the first to publish the observation that the distribution of the letters of each inscription around the respective figure is rather unusual: one would expect to read vertically first on the left then the right side of the figure; here the letters are divided into three uneven registers and one reads in a zigzag across the figure from left to right.

Matched pairs - the two human figures on the doors, two sirens playing music, two griffins - decorate three apses and indicate a connection on the fourth apse between the seemingly odd pairing of a naked figure in a basket and the man and woman conversing. Various interpretations of these figures will be discussed below.

The unique form of the object, its open-work top, and the combination of mythical animals, personifications of virtues and crosses have led over the past century to many differing theories about its place of production, intended function and multiple interpretations of its iconographic message.

Before looking at the history of research and speculations about its initial context, two factors should be addressed: its use in Venice and the determination of the original condition of the object. The oldest written record is found in the San Marco inventory of relics from June 1283. Listed as part of the very first item in the main sanctuary as a container for the blood of Christ (*fig. 25*), the inventory reads: *In primis ampulla una de christallo in qua est sanguis Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi, ornata auro et una perla desuper, et est in quadam ecclesia argenti.*²⁰¹ The reference to an "ecclesia argenti" indicates that at this early date it was seen to bear an obvious resemblance to a church building, possibly even San Marco itself, which is not surprising considering its use as a reliquary. The *ecclesiola* was still in liturgical use into the 19th century, although no longer featured prominently in later treasury inventories.²⁰²

Close inspection of the object in its current condition reveals that some changes and additions have been made to the material substance that influence our initial perception of it. Several phases of renovation and cleaning have removed any possible chemical traces of its original use from the interior, but the physical modifications remain evident. These have been reported most recently by Mabi Anger, who was able to investigate the object outside of its protective case and granted access to a recent conservation report:²⁰³

²⁰¹ Gallo 1967, 273. It is again listed as the first item on the inventory of 1325, 276: *Ampulam unam de cristallo cum pede auri, ornatam circumcirca aurum et cum una perla in capite, in quo est de sanguine Slavatoris nostri; et est in quadam Ecclesiola argenti facta cum clatis*. From these entries and those objects that immediately follow in the inventory lists it is clear, however, that the silver vessel appears as part of the first entry due to the blood of Christ relic it houses, rather than the inherent value of the container itself.

²⁰² In his history of the Treasury, Gallo 1967 provides editions of the many inventories upon which this observation concerning its use in Venice is based.

²⁰³ I have seen this object on display on two occasions: during the Bonn exhibition (2010), and again in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice, the first time under poor and the second time under even worse lighting conditions. Unless otherwise noted, observations concerning material additions, specifically those to the interior, all of which are generally described as Venetian and part of the conversion of the vessel to a reliquary, regardless of its primary function, are from Anger 2009, 138-139, 158.

- A silver plate was built into the interior of the vessel at the point of transition from the vertical walls to the domes. The crenellated band visible on the exterior at this junction is attached to this plate and appears to be of more recent workmanship.²⁰⁴ Although not explicitly mentioned, Angar's published photograph of the interior (*fig. 26*) indicates a correspondence between the gilt rosettes decorating the upper vegetal band and the nails anchoring this plate. The slightly irregular placement of the rosettes and their interruption of the vegetal pattern support the argument that they are a later addition, possibly from the 19th century.²⁰⁵ Numerous nail holes at the levels of all horizontal bands indicate possible additional changes to the body that cannot be reconstructed.
- A circular opening approx. 9 cm in diameter was left in the center of the plate under the main dome in order to secure and to allow the removal of the mounted crystal flask with the Holy Blood. The main dome can be removed for this purpose.²⁰⁶
- On the interior of the base a round metal step, about 5 cm high and also approx. 9 cm in diameter, was installed, directly in line with the circular opening in the plate above it. The intertwined Roman letters "VM" are found on this base as well as on the lower rim of the central dome, where they are visible only when removed.²⁰⁷
- The two hinged handles with faces or masks as mounts are generally considered a later addition. However, Grabar considers them original based on the stylistic similarity to the personification of courage.²⁰⁸
- Although not mentioned in the available literature, it is worth questioning whether the door hinges, in the shape of the fleur-de-lis and fixed with silver nails at different heights, are also the result of later work.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ Also observed by Grabar 1971, 86, and Polacco 2001, 326. Gaborit-Chopin sees the fact that this "ceiling," as she calls it, and the crenellation visible on the exterior are one piece as evidence that the "ceiling" must be original. The workmanship of the crenellated edge is, however, drastically different from that of any other visible part of the vessel.

²⁰⁵ Grassi 1996, 233, fn. 5, notes that the rosettes cannot be considered part of the original decoration as their irregular placement contrasts with the rigorous order of the primary decoration. Angar reports the suggestion about the 19th century restoration from Dr. Paolo Gasparatto but does not state whether it could be confirmed by the most recent restoration report by Corinna Matiello (see: Angar 2009, 138, fn. 4, and 158, fn. 109).

²⁰⁶ It is worth noting that the side dome above the two sirens appears to be turned by about 30 degrees from the otherwise centered position of the other three side domes. The photograph published in Pasini 1885, *tav. XXIV (fig. 27)*, although retouched, shows the dome in the same symmetrical alignment as the others. This irregularity might hint at even more invasive work on the upper part since 1885, however, this issue cannot be pursued without having seen the restoration report.

²⁰⁷ Grabar 1971, 86 notes a peg in the center of the indentation on the step that was used to secure the foot of the reliquary mount. Polacco interprets the two letters as a monogram for "Votum Marco." Unfortunately the exact position of the letters on the base is not described, nor to my knowledge, have they been dated; a photograph of the central dome removed and showing the letters was published in Polacco 2001, 363, *fig. 29*.

²⁰⁸ See *fig. 34*. According to Grassi 1996, 242, and Polacco 2001, 326, who dates them to the 13th century conversion into a reliquary; Grabar 1971, 87.

- The four Latin crosses made of a dull metal that top the pyramidal roofs of the corner sections have been confirmed as later additions. The finials atop the side domes and the lantern on the central dome, which bears a rather conspicuous resemblance to the lanterns surmounting the domes of San Marco itself, also appear as if they could be later additions to the original form of the vessel.²¹⁰

Based on the differences in metals and workmanship these changes to the object were likely made over the course of several centuries, and they are generally regarded as Venetian work. The descriptions in the inventories of 1283 and 1325 do not provide enough detail to determine the exact condition of the vessel at that time; however, it is clear that at this early date the vessel served a religious and liturgical function and was perceived by the Venetian record keepers exclusively in this context. Housing the miraculous Blood of Christ relic from Beirut,²¹¹ the silver vessel was displayed prominently in the church of San Marco during particular holidays such as Maundy Thursday, Easter Sunday and the Sensa, the feast of the Republic of Venice held on Ascension day.²¹² Considering its form, it is not surprising that this vessel was chosen in the 13th century to preserve one of the most valuable newly imported relics of Christ.

²⁰⁹ Grassi 1996, 242, contains the only related reference to the door hinges. However, she goes so far as to suggest that the arches with the two figures were transformed into doors only at a later date.

²¹⁰ These finials are not discussed. The crosses are mentioned in Grabar 1971, 86, and nearly all subsequent publications.

²¹¹ The miraculous Holy Blood of Christ relic, which was said to have originated from a bleeding icon of Christ from Berytus (Beirut), is central among the five relics depicted on a stone relief which documents the most valuable relics that came from Constantinople and the establishment of their cult in Venice. The relief is dated to the late 13th or early 14th century and located in a passageway to the south of the main church that once connected it to the Ducal Palace. On the relief, see: Deborah Pincus, "Christian Relics and the Body Politic: A Thirteenth-Century Relief Plaque in the Church of San Marco," in *Interpretazioni Veneziane: Studi di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Michelangelo Muraro*, ed. D. Rosand (Venice, 1984), 39–57, and Karin Krause, "Immagine-reliquia: da Bisanzio all'Occidente," in G. Wolf (ed.), *Mandylion: Intorno al Sacro Volto, da Bisanzio a Genova*, Genoa, 2004, 209–235. For the explanation of the legend surrounding the bleeding icon from Beirut, I am thankful to Karin Krause, who kindly directed me to her article, "Feurprobe, Portraits in Stein. Mittelealterliche Propaganda für Venedigs Reliquien aus Konstantinopel und die Frage nach ihrem Erfolg," in: Margit Mersch and Ulrike Ritzerfeld (eds), *Lateinisch-griechisch-arabische Begegnungen. Kulturelle Diversität im Mittelmeerraum des Spätmittelalters*, Berlin, 2009, 111–162, here 115–120 and 159–160.

The blood relic is kept in a Fatimid crystal flask set in a Western/Venetian gold mounting. Venetian written sources from the late 13th to the 19th century record that it was kept in the silver church-shaped vessel, which is further supported by the interior alterations made to accommodate the 8.5 cm diameter foot of the gold mounting. It is interesting to contrast the consistency of meaning and function of this silver vessel as the container for the blood relic as opposed to the mutability of meanings often observed in San Marco and the myriad eclectic spolia that embellish it; see the several case studies in: Henry Maguire and Robert S. Nelson (eds), *San Marco, Byzantium and the Myths of Venice*, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Trustees for Harvard University, 2010.

²¹² The first record of this practice dates from 1500 but it is probably older; see: Angar 2009, 138 and 138–139, fn. 5, which reports that it was displayed on the main altar, whereas Klein states that the relic of the Holy Blood was displayed on the south pulpit (Holger Klein, "Refashioning Byzantium in Venice, ca. 1200–1400," in: Maguire and Nelson (eds) 2010, 211–212, fn. 59). It is, however, unclear to me to which blood relic he is referring - three are known from the inventories - or whether the crystal flask containing the blood was removed from its silver container and placed on the south pulpit.

The high bulbous domes and their cruciform arrangement recall the domes of the Church of San Marco itself, which received their characteristic bulbous outer shells during the mid-13th century.²¹³ Through visual parallel, the macro-architecture of the church and the micro-architecture of the vessel mirror each other: by placing the redeeming Blood of Christ in the center of a container that formally recalls the Doges' church, its placement at the center of the Church of San Marco and at the heart of the Venetian Republic is reinforced.²¹⁴

4.2. History of research

First published by Italian scholars as part of the collected Treasury of San Marco, the earliest scientific research on this object - often called the *ecclesiola* or *chiesola*, "little church," in Italian literature - was influenced by consideration of its use in Venice. Since the 1950s various opinions concerning its original function and provenance have been proposed by several international scholars of Byzantine art history, also in the context of exhibitions of Byzantine and Venetian art, where it has featured prominently, but without the blood relic, since 1974.

The former reliquary container was first published in 1885 in an illustrated catalog of the treasury of San Marco with drawings by Antonio Pasini, where it is identified as being of Venetian provenance.²¹⁵ Around the same time Molinier describes the *Reliquaire en forme d'église* as a Byzantine work, where, he explains, in the context of the "Greek church" such vessels in the form of a building served a specific function as an *artophorion*, or container for the Eucharistic bread; only in Venice was it repurposed as a reliquary.²¹⁶

²¹³ At some point after the fire of 1231 and before the 1260s, when Martino da Canal's chronicle (1267-1275) describes the depiction of San Marco in the mosaic over the Porta Sant'Alipio, the original low domes were given their characteristic tall exterior shells to enhance the visibility of the church, supposedly in imitation of Islamic domes that Venetian merchants could have seen in Damascus or Cairo; for the comparison of San Marco's outer domes with Umayyad and later Mamluk domes, see: Howard 2000, 99-101. For an art historical overview of San Marco, see: Otto Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture and Sculpture*, Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Trustees for Harvard University, 1960.18

²¹⁴ The correlation has also been noted in Dale 2010, 180-2, where the author states that the outer domes of San Marco could have been copied through the intermediary of the silver vessel and interprets its choice as a way to emphasize the Eastern provenance, and therefore authenticity, of the blood relic it contained.

²¹⁵ Pasini 1885, 25-26 (no. 27), tav. XXIV. This is one of the few objects that was reproduced as a photograph (fig.25). The text volume in Italian was not available to me, so I have had to rely on the information given by other scholars, namely Da Villa Urbani in Bonn 2002, 59.

²¹⁶ Molinier 1888, 84-85 (nr. 17). As justification for his assumption that it originally served as an *artophorion* Molinier cites the *artophorion*-turned-reliquary kept in Aachen and later Serbian examples of containers for Eucharistic bread in the shape of elaborate churches; these will be discussed further below. His volume does not contain images, but instead refers to the drawings and photographs published by Pasini.

Over half a century later André Grabar offered another interpretation of the silver object in regard to its place of production, form and iconography, and original function, which differed drastically from the view held by earlier scholars and opened up avenues of approach for subsequent researchers.²¹⁷ In his introduction to Byzantine metalwork and other Byzantine luxury arts in the Treasury of San Marco Grabar divides these objects into two categories: those that by virtue of their material and content have maintained their original function; and those secular objects that, often with modification, assumed a religious function only upon entering the church's treasury.²¹⁸ Based on its form and iconography, he locates the silver vessel firmly in the second category. While agreeing with the earlier dating to the 12th-13th century, Grabar suggests production in a cosmopolitan center of Sicily or South Italy, citing the mixture of Byzantine, Islamic and Western decorative elements, as will be discussed below.

Observing the material structure and the numerous perforated openings on the upper half of the object, Grabar identifies its original function as either a lamp or perfume burner.²¹⁹ To highlight the medieval Byzantine tradition of metalwork objects in architectural forms, he refers to the few known examples, which happen to be identified as processional lanterns and *artophoria* (fig. 28). An architectural form comparable with religious architecture does not, however, preclude usage in a non-religious context: while noting the number of five-domed religious buildings depicted in manuscripts, Grabar cites the textual description of the *Pentapyrgion*, a container with five domes or towers, commissioned by the Emperor Theophilos in the mid-9th century to hold the crown jewels in the Imperial Treasury.²²⁰ For Grabar this link with the Imperial Palace indicates that the silver object in San Marco could also have been intended for a palatial, rather than a liturgical, context.

He corroborates this hypothesis through further investigation of similar architectural forms, noting that structures with square plans and four apses are known from textual sources as kiosks or halls in palaces or garden pavilions and that visual

²¹⁷ Grabar published two articles in the 1950s that feature this silver object and his own interpretation: Grabar 1951, which traces comparable Sassanian forms and later Persianate decorative elements; and André Grabar, "Le reliquaire byzantin de la cathédrale d'Aix-la-Chapelle," *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, III, Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst, Wiesbaden (1957): 282-297 (see 295 and fig. 128), where it is mentioned, almost as an aside, that this "reliquary" could also have been a "Jerusalem lamp" or a censer. Grabar refines and summarizes his views in the Treasury catalog published in 1971, which is the basis for his opinion described here.

²¹⁸ Grabar 1971, 21.

²¹⁹ Grabar 1971, 86.

²²⁰ Grabar 1971, 87.

evidence can be found for a connection with Sassanian and post-Sassanian palatial garden architecture.²²¹ While such possible Iranian models may be considered secular structures, he is unable to discount the fact that the domes of the object are also similar to those found in 12th century churches of Sicily.

Grabar's reading of the figurative imagery also supports his argument for the originally secular context of the object and reinforces the possibility of an association with Italy. With regard to style he notes a connection between the stylized lion face above the doors of the silver vessel and the bearded masks anchoring the handles with decorative architectural elements found in South Italy and dating from the 12th century.²²² Turning to the figures on the lower walls, Grabar postulates Byzantine secular models: although executed here in a more Italian style, lions, griffons, centaurs, sirens, putti and lovers can be found on ivory caskets of the 11th-12th century that are of Byzantine production and viewed as secular luxury objects because of the lighthearted mythological - and not explicitly Christian - subject matter of their decoration. The personifications of the virtues Courage and Intelligence are also not to be mistaken for synonymous Christian virtues.

Based on the unique combination of its form and iconography and in light of the paucity of comparable objects, Grabar proposes, with the support of some textual evidence, a secular reading of the object and accordingly suggests that its original use may have been in a palatial setting. By emphasizing the blending of formal and decorative elements Grabar makes a convincing argument for South Italian provenance, probably based on a Byzantine prototype, and opens up for subsequent scholars the religious-or-secular debate concerning the architectural model and its original context.

The silver vessel was first displayed outside of the permanent Treasury collection in a temporary exhibition, *Venezia e Bisanzio*, held at the Palazzo Ducale in Venice in 1974. The catalog entry by Antonetta Nicoletti summarizes the interpretation put forth by Grabar only a couple years before:²²³ the former reliquary, although it has also been considered an *artophorion*, was in its original secular context a perfume burner; the combination of traceable Byzantine and Latin/Italian elements as well as Islamic

²²¹ Grabar 1951, 52, fig. 15. Grabar 1971, 87, does mention the similar tetraconch plan of one Carolingian and "two or three" Armenian churches but qualifies them as rare examples before turning to other potential architectural models, even if the plans of these cannot be determined based on material evidence.

²²² Grabar 1971, 87, cites the lion head on bronze doors of the Cathedral of Troia, dated 1127-1159, and the bearded masks on a wooden throne in Montevergine; both towns are located roughly along the east-west corridor between Bari and Naples.

²²³ Nicoletti 1974, 120.

influences of Iranian origin suggest South Italy as its place of production; and stylistic comparisons across media indicate a date in the late 12th century. Nicoletti additionally emphasizes the erotic themes found in the lower register, namely an allegory of love reminiscent of classical models with sirens and astrological motifs, and concludes, like Grabar, that the object is a perfume burner from a princely milieu subsequently adapted in Venice to serve a liturgical purpose.

Ten years later the silver container was featured in the exhibition *The Treasury of San Marco*, which travelled to New York, London, Cologne and Paris in 1984-1985. The selected exhibits from the treasury were divided into four groups - Roman and early Byzantine art, Byzantine art, Islamic art, and art of the Occident - with the silver container classified under the heading "Metalwork of the Occident." Gaborit-Chopin, who wrote the catalog entry, also generally concurs with Grabar's analysis and introduces several other comparisons to support these conclusions.²²⁴ The "lamp or perfume-burner in shape of domed building" is identified as a Southern Italian work from the end of the 12th century, probably adapted after 1231 to serve as a reliquary, and whether originally a lamp or perfume burner the figural decoration is decidedly secular in nature. Gaborit-Chopin directly addresses the misguided comparison of the form of the silver object to Byzantine religious architecture based on the distance resemblance to Byzantine cross-in-square churches. In this context she makes note of the depiction of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople found in an illuminated manuscript of *Homilies on the Virgin Mary* by James Kokkinobaphos from the first half of the 12th century (*fig. 29*).²²⁵ Remarking on the fact that various Byzantine objects imitate architectural forms, including the *artophorion*-reliquary of St. Anastasios in Aachen (*fig. 28*) and a small group of incense burners that are comparable in form with processional lamps symbolizing "Zion" or "Jerusalem", she points out that metalworks with similar form and function were also known in the West (*fig. 30*).²²⁶ The profane character of the figurative decoration, however, precludes the possibility that it was originally intended for liturgical use. According to Gaborit-Chopin, the allegorical figures on the doors appear to be a

²²⁴ Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, "Lampe oder Räuchergefäß in Form eines Kuppelbaus" (Cat. no. 32), in: Hansgerd Hellenkemper (ed.), *Der Schatz von San Marco in Venedig*, Milan: Olivetti, 1984, 245-251.

²²⁵ *Homilies on the Virgin Mary* by James Kokkinobaphos, Constantinople, first half of the 12th c., parchment, 23 x 16.5 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Gr 1208 (fol. 3v). As will be seen, this comparison will become important in the context of exhibitions of Byzantine art that feature the San Marco censer.

²²⁶ The example from the Cleveland Museum of Art has been confirmed as an incense burner by soot residue found on the interior surface of a nearly identical object at the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin. (Cleveland Museum of Art, online collections database, <http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1926.555>, accessed on 24 August 2014.)

Western adaptation of Greek models, and this pair can also be seen on decorated caskets from a Western courtly milieu. While she does not completely exclude the possibility that the perfume burner could have come from a palace in Constantinople, she states that this would rather doubtful given the character of the inscription surrounding the figure of Courage. Based on the blending of motives - mythical creatures and palmette designs that "ultimately derive from Oriental sources," Islamic or South Italian high domes, the putto (compare *figs 32 and 33*) and centaur of Byzantine ivory caskets, the Western courtly tradition of the couple, as well as lions, griffins and bearded masks found in South Italy - she concurs with Grabar that the object was made at the end of the 12th century in an area open to Byzantine, "Oriental" and Western influences, most likely Sicily or Bari.

While these premises have been generally accepted by art historians outside Italy, in the 1990s there appeared a number of articles by Italian scholars which revitalized the hypothesis that the primary function of the silver object was liturgical and that the imagery should be interpreted in Christian terms. One exception worth mentioning is an article by Giulia Grassi that follows directly on the heels of Grabar and Gaborit-Chopin but turns attention more toward the Islamic world.²²⁷ Beginning with the premise that the decorative program is "di carattere puramente profano",²²⁸ Grasso highlights four aspects that emphasize the Byzantine and Islamic elements of the vessel: although ultimately derived from common Greco-Roman models, the siren or harpy, with a musical instrument and a dragon tail, appears to be a conflation of Byzantine and Islamic art elements; the female and male personifications have parallels in Byzantine art, expressly the figure of Truth (ἡ ἀλήθεια, mod. Greek ἡ ἀλήθεια) on the Monomachos crown (*fig.35*) and reliefs of military saints in armor; in terms of technique the treatment of the surface is typical of "Iranian-Eastern" objects from the 10th-12th centuries, but is also found in Byzantine goldwork; looking at architectural typology, she criticizes the identification of the four exedra as apses and explores objects in architectural forms from the Islamic

²²⁷ Giulia Grassi, "L'ecclesiola nel Tesoro di San Marco a Venezia: indagine preliminare," in: Claudia Barsanti et al, *Bisanzio e l'Occidente: arte, archeologia, storia. Studi in onore di Fernanda de' Maffei*, Roma: Viella, 1996, 231-246. Research on the object was published as part of project sponsored by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR) about Byzantine objects in Italy. Grassi assumes secular primary usage and that the silver vessel became a reliquary only after the Treasury fire in 1231. Her article provides a lengthy critical analysis of previous literature, specifically the provenance and comparisons discussed by Grabar and Gaborit-Chopin, and proposes "new ways" of approach that build on their premises (Grassi 1996, 232-237).

²²⁸ Grassi 1996, 233.

world, including another five-domed incense burner (*fig. 31*).²²⁹ By indicating that the general form could also be interpreted as a castle, as could the Pentapyrgion in Constantinople, and noting that in the Islamic world gold objects in the shape of castles were customarily given as wedding gifts,²³⁰ Grassi proposes that the silver vessel could have been intended as a wedding gift, a hypothesis she deems plausible considering the "Oriental" characteristics of the silver vessel.

Italian scholarship on the San Marco censer, however, propounds a religious interpretation of the *tempietto*, as it is often called. In recent years the main proponents, Monsignore Antonio Niero, Renato Polacco and Maria Da Villa Urbani of the Procuratoria di San Marco, have published several articles and catalog entries that put forth arguments in support of Constantinopolitan provenance based on the imperial associations of certain figures, a reading of the named figures as Christian virtues and of the vessel as a representation of Heavenly Jerusalem or the Garden of Paradise. Niero, who in 1993 first published his interpretation of the figures of animals and beasts found on the silver vessel in terms of "medieval iconography", identified them as symbolic depictions of vices that are conquered by the two Christian virtues depicted on the doors; these figures thus guard the entrance to the small church, playing on the image of Heavenly Jerusalem.²³¹

Renato Polacco has expounded on this premise by looking for material and textual evidence of four-lobed designs in religious architecture as well as to Biblical and Patristic passages for a Christian interpretation of the vegetal and figural decoration of the silver vessel.²³² While emphasizing the inscribed "Greek cross" created by the alignment of the

²²⁹ Grassi 1996, 237-240. For more on the Monomachos crown, see fn. 42 below. In regard to architectural typology, Grassi correctly remarks that the four exedra can only be loosely defined as apses because they are covered by full domes and not the usual apse conch, which can be seen on the Cleveland incense burner mentioned by Gaborit-Chopin and the St. Anastasios reliquary/*artophorion* in Aachen. Her comparisons from the Eastern Iranian sphere include a small ceramic inkwell found at Nishapur and dated to the 10th c., which could be construed as a representation of the base of an architectural structure with a square plan and four exedras, and a large bronze incense burner dated to the 8th-9th century that mirrors the cubic form and domes of the Ismail Samani mausoleum in Bukhara (built 892-943 AD) but on raised feet (now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC; Eastern Iran and Egypt have been suggested as its place of production). She also notes that the tall South Italian domes Grabar cites derive from those found in mosques of North Africa.

²³⁰ Grassi reports that the suggestion came from Professor Umberto Scerrato based on unpublished research (Grassi 1996, 241, fn. 40); I have been unable to determine whether his results have been published in the meantime.

²³¹ The original article by Niero was not available to me, so I have had to rely on the remarks given by other scholars, specifically Polacco 2001 and Da Villa Urbani 2002, 59.

²³² His publications on the San Marco silver vessel include: Renato Polacco, "I reliquari del Sangue di Cristo nel Tesoro di San Marco," in: *Contributi per la storia dell'oreficeria, argenteria e gioielleria*, vol. 2, Venice: Biblioteca orafa di Sant'Antonio Abate, 1997, 110-116; Renato Polacco, "Il tempietto d'argento dorato del Tesoro di San Marco a Venezia (secolo XII)," *Arte Documento*, 13 (1999): 128-133 (which was not available) and Polacco 2001, upon which this brief discussion is based. His views are also summarized

domes,²³³ Polacco addresses the hypothesis that "il tempietto argenteo" replicates an Armenian or Georgian church and lists other Late Roman, Early and Middle Byzantine and Early Islamic examples of tetraconch structures from Milan to Constantinople and from Syria to the Caucasus. He also introduces textual evidence of imperial commissions of tetraconch religious buildings in Constantinople.²³⁴ Polacco seeks the symbolic meaning of a tetraconch, or a four-lobed form in general, in the Bible, where he proposes that the quadripartite division of the Garden of Eden described in Genesis 2:8-14 is reflected in four-lobed baptismal fonts, themselves an intersection of Creation, Baptism, and Paradise reflected visually in an architectural setting and its decoration.²³⁵ Returning to a portable scale, he mentions the architectural, four-part form of some Roman censers and the five domes of Serbian artophoria, which have been interpreted as images of heavenly Jerusalem.²³⁶

In regard to iconography, Polacco criticizes Grabar and Gaborit-Chopin's arguments for a secular origin for the censer and instead turns to Biblical, antique and Patristic sources for insight.²³⁷ According to him, a message about virtues and vices is played out on the silver object. The vegetal, palmette ornamentation on the upper half of the silver object visually implies an association with gardens and specifically with the tree at the center of Earthly Paradise; this link is underscored by the figures guarding the entry to the garden or the temple. Courage and Intelligence were two virtues according to Plato, and they also assumed a Christian meaning in becoming two of the four cardinal virtues, and also Christian imperial virtues. Through the figure of Phronesis, her pose and the flanking trees - identified as cypresses and also seen as an indication of Paradise - and the similarity with another allegory found on a panel of the Monomachos crown

in Renato Polacco, "Der Schatz von San Marco," in: Ettore Vio (ed.), *San Marco: Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur*, München: Hirmer, 2001, 282-299, esp. 290-292.

²³³ Looking for known full-scale models with five domes in cruciform arrangement Polacco also cites the Ismail Samani mausoleum in Bukhara, which is problematic not just because the subsidiary "domes" are not really domes, the Great Mosque of Hama, and the destroyed Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople (327).

²³⁴ In regard to the Armenian and Georgian churches he does note certain inconsistencies such as the chronological disparity (319-20, fn. 6). The 10th century imperial commissions mentioned are Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos' restoration of the tetraconch church of the Apostle Paul and a chapel built by Ioannes I Tzimiskes (320-321).

²³⁵ Polacco 2001, 321-323.

²³⁶ Polacco 2001, 324. Aside from significantly later date (1550 and 1705), these two *artophoria* have a noticeably different architectural form - the side domes are arranged over the corner sections rather than "as a Greek cross" - and iconography, and are not generously perforated in the upper zone in the same way the San Marco object is. For a discussion of post-Byzantine Serbian *artophoria*, see: B. Radojkovic, "Artophorions en forme d'église," *Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta Beograd*, 14/1 (1979): 263-278.

²³⁷ Unlike other scholars he does, however, clearly draw attention to the ambiguity of figures and the unclarity, or even impossibility, of designating them as "sacred" or "profane" representations (Polacco 2001, 327).

(compare *figs 34 and 35*), Polacco indicates that this piece could come from Constantinople, maybe even an imperial workshop.²³⁸ The centaur, siren-harpy, griffon and lion are ambiguous creatures that can be understood as representing vices by their negative attributes as symbols of discord, carnal passions, temptation, and violence, but some - such as the lion and griffon - also have positive attributions and are associated with imperial imagery.²³⁹ Polacco thus concludes that the San Marco censer was most likely a Byzantine *artophorion* that, although repurposed in Venice as a processional reliquary for the miraculous Holy Blood, retained aspects of its original function as a liturgical vessel and container for the body of Christ.²⁴⁰

In her recent entries for exhibition catalogs, Maria Da Villa Urbani generally follows the interpretations of these scholars. For the *Venezia!* exhibition in 2002²⁴¹ she identifies the object as a "Räuchergefäß in Form eines Kuppelbaus" that displays both Byzantine and Western elements, and compares the arrangement of its domes to the Church of the Holy Apostles, referring, like Gaborit-Chopin, to the image found in *Homilies to the Mother of God* by Jakobos Kokkinobaphos. Citing Niero, she states that its primary use was also obviously sacral, even before its transformation to a reliquary for the Holy Blood of Christ in Venice. She concedes, however, that the original function "des kleinen Schreins" remains unclear and also considers its previous use as a censer, a processional lamp, or an *artophorion*. The initials "VM" are explained as either *Votum Marco*, a dedication to St. Mark upon its arrival in Venice from Byzantium, or the monogram of the artist, who converted it to a reliquary. Summarizing the object as a formally abstract work of art, Da Villa Urbani argues that its meaning is only clear in a Byzantine liturgical context.

The conclusions of Italian scholars about the religious nature of the San Marco object have not, however, gained credence among other researchers, although Constantinople has been further considered as its place of production. In recent years art historians, firmly clinging to Grabar's premise that the object was primarily secular, have

²³⁸ Polacco 2001, 228-231. The similarity of the female figure on the door with the one on the crown could also just indicate a Byzantine model, as Grabar proposed without citing this evidence. On the Monomachos crown see: Etele Kiss, "The State of Research on the Monomachos Crown and Some Further Thoughts," in: Olenka Z. Pevny, *Perceptions of Byzantium and Its Neighbors: 843-1261*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000, 60-83; direct reference to the San Marco censer is made on 70.

²³⁹ Polacco 2001, 333-334.

²⁴⁰ Polacco 2001, 335-6. In his concluding analysis of the original function, Polacco excludes the possibility that it could have been a processional censer or lamp because it does not have the standard dimensions, weight, necessary structural supports or internal configuration to allow for efficient burning. He also remarks that, if it is an *artophorion*, it is one of the oldest known and of exceptionally large size.

²⁴¹ Da Villa Urbani 2002. The other catalog entries will be discussed below.

considered the iconographic program in view of a garden pavilion or palace and postulated secular uses of the object as a perfume burner in an aristocratic home. This hypothesis finds corroboration in contemporaneous literary sources, such as romance novels, and after its initial postulation this evidence has been investigated in three separate studies.

In the catalog entry for the 1997 exhibition of Middle Byzantine art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ioli Kalavrezou identifies the San Marco object as a representation of a "garden kiosk or similar structure - known mostly through textual evidence."²⁴² The iconography, and therefore function, are interpreted as secular. She draws the comparison between the creatures and human figures on the lower panels and the imaginary and fantastic animals seen on ivory caskets, while hinting that the meaning of the two figures on the doors is not clear even though Courage and Intelligence are a known pairing in textual sources. Based on the openwork walls, the hinged doors that open to expose a circular base and metal ring which could have supported an incense plate, and the partitioned ceiling under the side domes that would have created the necessary draft for the coals, Kalavrezou argues that the object is an incense burner rather than a lamp, and certainly not an *artophorion* or reliquary in its primary use.

A paper presented by Nicolette Trahoulia in 2006 also considers the object to have functioned originally as an incense burner in an aristocratic, if not an imperial, domestic setting.²⁴³ Trahoulia proposes that the form and decoration reflect use in private domestic quarters, in particular the bedroom. Due to its visual vocabulary, which is similar to known ivory caskets containing themes from romance novels and poems celebrating marriage, she proposes that it may even have been intended specially for the nuptial chamber.²⁴⁴

Mabi Angar investigated a wider range of textual material in her study,²⁴⁵ which links the censer with the aristocratic culture of the Komnenian dynasty, the secular literature it produced and the reception of these works in a semi-social setting. According to Angar, this Byzantine luxury object, which underwent conversion in Venice in a parallel way to secular Islamic art objects, exemplifies the refined home decor of 12th century Byzantium and, possibly representing an idealized palace in miniature,

²⁴² Kalavrezou 1997, 251.

²⁴³ Trahoulia 2006. The full paper does not appear to have been published.

²⁴⁴ It is interesting that Grassi and Trahoulia both connect the silver object with marriage, albeit using different evidence.

²⁴⁵ Angar 2009, 137; the author notes that this study is the result of ongoing work that began in the framework of her masters thesis, which was completed in 2003.

demonstrates the fluidity of themes between literary arts and visual media at this time.²⁴⁶ Beginning with the figures on the doors, she cites the ekphrasis on a wall painting with personifications of virtues found in the romance *Hysmine and Hysminias* and similar depictions in some canon tables of middle Byzantine Gospels. Reference to the visual program of Blachernae palace, in which heroic figures, Old Testament kings and personified virtues appeared as part of an imperial image campaign of Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143-1180), serve to emphasize the connection of these virtues with a palatial and imperial context.²⁴⁷ Looking to Byzantine romance novels for clues about the building type, Angar relates the form of the censer to the prototypical image of a palace, citing an ekphrasis in the epic *Digenis Akritis*, in which the palace is described as "cross-shaped halls" or "wonderful rooms with five domes."²⁴⁸ The relationship between palace, its gardens and the sense of smell lead her to conclude that the silver object originally functioned as a perfumer of some kind.²⁴⁹ Based on recent research concerning literary life and patronage among members of the Komnenian court, Angar postulates that the censer was intended for domestic use and could have featured at reading circles, where romance novels would have been read aloud. Also considering Venice's role in the sack of Constantinople, Angar argues for this plausible provenance and that its conversion to a religious object in Venice was made possible due to the ambiguous nature of its decoration.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ Angar 2009, 139-140.

²⁴⁷ Angar states that the figures of Courage and Intelligence provide sufficient justification for an exclusively profane interpretation of the object and its iconography, although she recognizes that the animals and other figures, including the unusual meeting of the man and woman, could have various meanings (141, 146-8). In regard to the figures of the two virtues, she also cites as models Byzantine warrior saints and the Monomachos crown (dated to the 11th century); unlike previous researchers, however, she notes that the cypresses are not necessarily an indication of Christian associations with Paradise but are also found in Byzantine Greek, Georgian and Persian romances as a metaphor for ideal beauty. Calling on other textual sources, the special pairing of Courage and Intelligence/Prudence can be seen as part of the militarized ideal of emperorship that developed under the Komnenians (141-144, see esp. 141, fn. 18).

²⁴⁸ Angar 2009, 151; quoted from the Grottaferrata manuscript of *Digenes Akrites*, book VII, 51. This epic poem was probably composed in the 12th century although the earliest written sources date from the 13th century. The literary depiction of the palace and gardens given there can be corroborated by further descriptions of historical aristocratic palaces and their decoration dating from the 11th-early 14th centuries (Angar 2009, 150-155).

The connection between the epic poem *Digenis Akritis* and another example of Byzantine secular art has been investigated by Helen C. Evans, "Digenis Akritis and a Middle Byzantine Rosette Casket in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," in: Gudrun Bühl / Anthony Cutler / Arne Effenberger (eds), *Spätantike und byzantinische Elfenbeinbildwerke im Diskurs*, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2008, 97-111.

²⁴⁹ Angar 2009, 156-157. The thorough cleaning and possible remodeling of the interior exclude a more precise conclusion as to whether it was built as an incense burner, a potpourri container or a lamp with scented oil.

²⁵⁰ Angar 2009, 158-160.

In a separate study, Alicia Walker has also looked at correspondences between the iconography of the San Marco censer and themes prevalent in Byzantine romance novels associated with the court of the Komnenian dynasty.²⁵¹ Adopting an approach from gender studies and focusing on aspects of female sexuality revealed in the written sources, Walker reads the iconography of the censer as an affirmation of correct moral behavior that parallels the central message of Byzantine romances. According to Walker this "domestic censer" once perfumed the living space of an elite owner, who would have been familiar with its classicizing imagery and playful visual associations.²⁵² Rather than specific scenes from a particular work, the form and figurative decoration represent a "typology of themes" occurring in Byzantine romances - among them, the garden as a gendered and sexually charged space, classical allusions to erotic love and desire, and the centrality of virtuous and moral behavior - which Walker traces in the censer using, as a comparative case study, the novel *Hysmine and Hysminias*.²⁵³ In romances, the garden is a space for pushing the normal boundaries of socially-defined gender roles and sexuality; in the censer its shape, vegetal and figural²⁵⁴ decoration, and the unusual prominence of female-male pairings reinforce the association with erotic themes. The main issue of love and desire is underscored by the image of Eros, who jumps into a basket to avoid punishment for his mischief-making, and the mythological beasts which she interprets as wild passions; however, only one rears up and is checked by the charging centaur around

²⁵¹ Walker 2011. The article is based closely on a paper delivered in 2008 at a conference in Lisbon devoted to "Crossroads in the Ancient Novel: Spaces, Frontiers, Intersections." She notes that the four known Byzantine novels were produced under this dynasty and that they are usually dated to ca. 1130-1140; she accordingly refines the general dating of the censer to the 12th century (57).

²⁵² Walker 2011, 55, 57, fn. 5, and 65.

²⁵³ Walker 2011, 57. Her analysis is based on considerable research concerning the garden as a gendered and sexually connoted space, the representation of Byzantine women, and their role as patrons; see for example: A. R. Littlewood, "Romantic Paradises: The Rôle of the Garden in the Byzantine Romance," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 5 (1979): 95-114; Charles Barber, "Reading the garden in Byzantium: nature and sexuality," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 16 (1992): 1-19; and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, *The Study of Byzantine Gardens: Some Questions and Observations from a Garden Historian*, in: Antony Littlewood, Henry Maguire and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (eds), *Byzantine Garden Culture*, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research and Library Collections, 2002, 1-11; Lynda Garland, "'Be Amorous, But Be Chaste...': Sexual morality in Byzantine learned and vernacular romance," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 14 (1990): 62-120; Corinne Jouanno, "Women in Byzantine Novels of the Twelfth Century: an Interplay Between Norm and Fantasy," in: Lynda Garland (ed.) *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience 800-1200*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, 141-162; and Lynda Garland, "Imperial Women and Entertainment at the Middle Byzantine Court," in: Lynda Garland (ed.), *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience 800-1200*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, 177-191.

²⁵⁴ Walker 2011, 58-63. Based on textual descriptions, Walker remarks that along with Eros, other antique mythological figures depicted on the censer such as the sirens and the centaur could invoke the sculptural decoration of actual Byzantine pleasure gardens (60). Like Angar she also cites the ekphrasis on a wall painting depicting the four virtues - Courage, Prudence, Chastity and Justice - all represented in the text as female allegorical figures. Walker notes that a male depiction of Courage is rarer but can be found in a 12th c. Gospel book; both figures display a similar pose and attributes and are surrounded by symbols that evoke a garden setting (62).

the corner. The figures on the door can have a double reading as the embodiment of the virtues of Courage and Intelligence, which are necessary to resist sexual temptation, and as the unspecific protagonists of a romantic story, who do tame their beasts by displaying modesty, reserve and chastity, and thus reinforce the accepted moral code.²⁵⁵ Remarking that these values of ethical behavior cut across religious and secular contexts, Walker proposes that the censer reflects imagery common in the public areas of elite homes that highlighted the erudition of the owner. In light of the "Komnenian cultural practice of engaged discourse," she suggests that the censer was originally intended for active viewing as a departure point for debate in a domestic setting.²⁵⁶

This overview of the history of research centering on the five-domed silver vessel in the Treasury of San Marco was meant to demonstrate how, despite the application of various methodological approaches over the past 130 years, the scholarly community as a whole has not yet come to a consensual interpretation of this object. The main issue, which divides many Italian researchers from the rest, is over whether the object was originally intended for a religious or a secular context. The interpretation of its iconographic program, identification of its original function, and attribution of its place of production vary according to this principal distinction. The five-domed form has been seen as a representation of a real architectural structure like a Byzantine church or a garden pavilion, or else a symbolic depiction of Heavenly Jerusalem or an idealized palace. The main figures on the doors are identified by inscription as virtues, but whether they are interpreted as Christian or non-religious depends on whether the surrounding figures are understood as vices to be kept outside an enclosed holy space or as tamed erotic passions in a garden setting that provokes their exploration. Several original functions have thus been proposed: in a religious setting, as an *artophorion*, a lamp or an incense burner; in a secular, domestic setting, as a perfume burner, potpourri container, or a lamp, maybe even a wedding present. Only in regard to its provenance has a consensus begun to develop as arguments for Constantinople have been put forth, although based on very different evidence.

²⁵⁵ Walker 2011, 62-64.

²⁵⁶ Walker 2011, 59 and 64-65.

4.3. In exhibitions of Byzantine art

Considering the lack of clarity surrounding the provenance of the San Marco censer and the ambiguity of its meaning, it is particularly interesting that this unique silver vessel has been chosen for display in a number of recent exhibitions of Byzantine art. Since its first appearance in 1974 the censer has also been shown in several exhibitions about the art of Venice and of the San Marco Treasury in particular.²⁵⁷ Not surprisingly, in these exhibitions the censer is presented in an inherently religious context as part of a cathedral treasury, and naturally the catalog entries for Italian exhibitions reflect the opinions of Italian scholars. But what about exhibitions of Byzantine art held in the United States, the United Kingdom, Belgium and Germany? What place does the San Marco censer occupy there and how is it interpreted?

The silver censer has appeared in four major Byzantine exhibitions - *Splendeur de Byzance*, Brussels 1982; *The Glory of Byzantium*, New York 1997; *Byzantium: 330-1453*, London 2008; and *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag*, Bonn 2010 - and in each under a different heading. Although it has not been possible in the limited space of this thesis to attempt to reconstruct the interior architecture and display cases of the Byzantine art exhibitions discussed, the catalogs do reveal sufficient information about the categorization of the censer in a group of similar objects and in what thematic context it was presented to the viewer.

In the Brussels exhibition of 1982, the short catalog entry for the "brûle-parfums avec allègories" focuses on the object description and briefly states the opinions put forth by Grabar in 1971: the vessel imitates profane architecture and decor, originally functioned as a perfume burner, and was probably produced in cosmopolitan Sicily or South Italy.²⁵⁸ In the catalog the exhibits are organized first by medium and then chronologically. The censer appears in a group of 24 silver objects, 16 of which are Early Byzantine. The eight silver objects representing the Middle, Late and Post-Byzantine periods are: a reliquary cross, two pectoral crosses, the reliquary of St. Anastasios kept in Aachen, the Holy Cross relic of Maria Komnena housed in Oudenaarde, the reliquary of St. Marina kept in Venice, the San Marco censer, and a 17th century liturgical fan from Athens. Even though the accompanying text indicates only its secular interpretation, the

²⁵⁷ *Venezia e Bisanzio* (Venezia, Palazzo Ducale, 1974); *The Treasury of San Marco in Venice* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; London, British Museum; Cologne, Römisches-Germanisches Museum; Paris, Galerie Nationale du Grand Palais; 1984-85); *I tesori della Fede: Oreficeria e Scultura dalle Chiese di Venezia* (Venice, Chiesa di San Barnaba, 2000-1); *Venezia! Kunst aus venezianischen Palästen* (Bonn, Kunst-und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 2002-3); *Da Giotto a Malevic: la reciproca meraviglia* (Rome, Scuderie del Quirinale 2004-5); and possibly others.

²⁵⁸ Lafontaine-Dosogne 1982, 156 (cat. O.23).

censer appears alongside objects that have an obviously religious function. In this case it is dangerous to draw conclusions based on the arrangement of the exhibition catalog, but it is notable that - with the exception of the censer - the objects dated to the Middle and Late Byzantine periods are inherently of a religious nature.

In *The Glory of Byzantium* (New York 1997), which focused on Byzantine artistic production of the 9th to 13th century, the San Marco censer is placed within a small group of "luxury objects," which follows the introduction to the "secular world."²⁵⁹ The catalog entry identifies it as an incense burner in the shape of a garden pavilion and offers a secular interpretation of the figural decoration without too precise an explanation. Considering that "luxury objects" are defined by two criteria - costliness of material and exquisite artistic technique - nearly all objects in the exhibition qualify as luxury objects; this heading, therefore, appears as a catch-all for high-quality objects that would have been used by social elites and were later prized primarily for being "precious and 'beautiful.'"²⁶⁰ The censer is thus grouped together with four ivory caskets, 15 ivory plaques from caskets (treated in five entries), three fragments of silk textile, two remounted sardonyx cups, some gold enamelled jewelry, and five richly illustrated, large-format parchment manuscripts²⁶¹. All considered of "Byzantine" provenance, the majority is attributed directly to Constantinople, and the figural decoration spans Near Eastern semur motifs, animals and mythical creatures, themes from antique mythology such as bacchanalia and Heracles, and the story of Alexander, as well as the Old Testament stories of Adam and Eve and of Joshua. The former reliquary container is therefore presented in accordance with the scholarly opinion that it was originally used in a non-religious context by social elites. The objects included under this heading demonstrate that even if the iconography includes Christian subjects the message and function of an object long removed from its original context should not be seen primarily as religious.

In the London exhibition of 2008, the curators adopted the opposite stance and presented the silver object from San Marco in a solely religious sense under the heading

²⁵⁹ Evans and Wixom 1997, 219-253, cat. no. 148-178; the censer is cat. no. 176. The content of the catalog entry written by Ioli Kalavrezou is described in IV.B.

²⁶⁰ Kalavrezou in Evans and Wixom 1997, 219.

²⁶¹ The manuscripts are: *Theraika* and *Alexipharmaka* by Nikander (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. suppl. gr. 247); a sizable *De materia medica* by Dioskurides (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M652), three large sheets from the Joshua Roll (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Pal. gr. 431), the Paris Psalter (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. gr. 139), and a nearly complete manuscript of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (Mount Athos, Holy Monastery of Iveron, Cod. 463).

"At Church."²⁶² Neutrally identified as a "perfume brazier in the form of a domed building," Da Villa Urbani states in the catalog that "there can be no doubt ... about the devotional purpose of the object even before it became a reliquary."²⁶³ A visual parallel between the domed silver censer and the painted image of a five-domed church found in *Homilies on the Virgin* by James Kokkinobaphos was made in the catalog, as they share a two-page spread (fig. 36), and in the exhibition itself, where the perfume brazier and the manuscript opened to this particular folio were displayed next to each other in one display case (fig. 37).²⁶⁴ The objects surrounding them in this section of the exhibition reinforced religious associations: along with metal and marble pieces from church interiors, there were silver liturgical vessels and textiles, large processional crosses, and liturgical manuscripts - including one with a representation of icon veneration. Religious life at the personal level was demonstrated with small-scale devotional plaques with depictions of saints and wearable objects such as pectoral crosses and cut gems with images of Christ and the Mother of God.²⁶⁵ This time the section of the exhibition in which the silver censer was displayed, clearly emphasized the ecclesiastical realm as separate from everyday or domestic life (the focus of the previous section) and transitioned seamlessly to the presentation of icons that followed.

Only two years later in *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag* the silver object was presented as part of the final section entitled "Pracht und Ohnmacht. Byzanz im Spätmittelalter."

²⁶² In Cormack and Vassilaki 2008, the "At Church" section is introduced by Liz James, 196-201; images of the exhibits (cat. no. 170-223) are on 202-247 and the text entries on 421-436.

²⁶³ Da Villa Urbani 2008, 423. The rather short entry by a member of the Procuratoria della Basilica di San Marco makes no mention of other alterations or additions such as the crosses atop the pyramidal roofs. Interpreting the animals and figures of the lower panels as representations of vices in accordance with "medieval symbolism," the two virtues on the doors are seen in a Christian moralistic context: they must defeat these vices so that one may enter the "little church," a representation of Heavenly Jerusalem. While noting that the alteration to allow the removal of the central dome may have been conducted in Venice, she remarks that the place of origin, whether Venice, South Italy or Constantinople, is still unclear.

²⁶⁴ The catalog entry explicitly compares the silver container to the illustration of a five-domed church in the *Homilies on the Virgin* by Kokkinobaphos. In the exhibition catalog the San Marco censer is pictured on 207 opposite the 12th century miniature painting in which a five-domed church frames a depiction of the Ascension (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Gr. 1208, folio 3v). A short publicity video produced by AFP news agency contains video footage of the exhibition rooms, including a view of the display case with the San Marco censer and the two manuscripts that appear adjacent to it in the printed catalog; see: D. Ramont and R. Sargent, "The Treasures of Byzantium on Show in London," AFP News Agency, 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F8dryDE82gM>, accessed on 29 August 2014; the censer is visible at 0:17-0:22.

²⁶⁵ Quantitatively the largest heading in the exhibition, items from church interiors included a large choros, a bell, a bronze polykandelion and lamps, several marble closure panels and two epistyles (one marble, one painted wood). Portable items used during liturgy comprised a silver liturgical chalice, two liturgical textiles, other implements such as processional crosses and reliquary crosses, manuscripts of the New Testament and a large illustrated lectionary. Smaller items associated with personal devotion were plaques, metal relief icons, and painted tiles with depictions of saints, pectoral reliquary crosses, and pendants of precious stone carved with the image of Christ and the Mother of God.

Maria Da Villa Urbani was again responsible for the catalog entry, and the content is very similar to the entry in London 2008.²⁶⁶ The object is labelled a "Räuchergefäß in Form eines Fünfkuppelbaus," but two points concerning function should be noted: first, this entry does not mention its use as a reliquary container in Venice or any additions or interventions connected to this; and second, the *chiesola* is again ascribed a religious primary context, but possible original functions are expanded to include incense burner, processional lamp and *artophorion*. Here the censer is displayed not as a reflection of Byzantine art *per se*, but as one of eight objects that narrate the looting of Constantinople in 1204 and the subsequent transfer of booty to religious foundations in Western Europe. The censer appears together with five other Byzantine objects from the Treasury of San Marco - a reliquary cross, a lapis lazuli medallion with a depiction of the crucifixion, two cut stone chalices identified by Greek inscriptions as liturgical implements, a glass lamp with a dedication to St. Panteleimon, and a glass "paten." Although the original context of the core element is in some cases unclear, reworking or remounting the object itself has left an express record of religious use. In this company and displayed before a wall of icons that illustrate the final blossoming of Byzantine religious art,²⁶⁷ this complex silver vessel of 12th century Byzantium is presented as a liturgical vessel, both in Byzantium and in its later life in Venice.

4.4. Perception and the exhibition context

In its current condition, the San Marco censer at first glance bears a striking resemblance to the common image of a domed Byzantine church. However, if one takes a closer look at the unusual iconographic program and notices the different workmanship that betrays later interventions, the overall perception of the object changes. But how many exhibition visitors take the time or have the artistic background to notice an alteration such as the later addition of crosses on the rooftops?

For this reason the context in which the object is presented gains tremendous importance. Yet anyone who has visited more than one of the four exhibitions of Byzantine art in which it has appeared will have received mixed messages. In Brussels in 1982 this enigmatic piece stood alone as an example of middle Byzantine silverwork; in New York in 1997 it was presented as a luxury object for use in private, domestic

²⁶⁶ Da Villa Urbani 2010, 349-350; the object is pictured on 17.

²⁶⁷ Author's notes from a visit to the exhibition. Two views of the space designed for the final chapter in the exhibition can be found on the website of the exhibition designers, neo.studio neumann schneider, Berlin, http://www.german-architects.com/en/neo_studio/projects-3/byzanz_pracht_und_alltag-18125, accessed on 29 August 2014.

surroundings; in London in 2008 it was an ecclesiastical vessel, a miniature church located in a larger church setting; in Bonn in 2010 it was a functional liturgical treasure looted from Constantinople to fulfil a different but equally religious function in Venice. While no single answer is accepted by all curators and researchers, in an exhibition context, the conception of this object is primarily religious. This presentation of the object flies in the face of the most recent research on the censer to be published in these countries, which collectively puts forth strong arguments for an exclusively secular reading.

For now it is only possible for me to speculate as to why this might be without having more information about practical issues such as the terms of loan stipulated by the Basilica of San Marco or the process of dividing responsibility for the catalog entries. It seems, however, that in the most recent major exhibitions in London and Bonn the curatorial decision was made to emphasize what is known about the object, namely that it functioned in Venice in an ecclesiastical setting, rather than to explore well-founded hypotheses about its original function in Byzantium. A secular reading of the silver censer, with its classicizing, erotic visual vocabulary of Eros, harpies and potential lovers, is certainly difficult to convey in an survey exhibition that does not allow for investigative depth the way *The Glory of Byzantium* did - and especially considering that the visually commanding crosses on the top are incongruous with this interpretation. Whatever the reason, the inherent ambiguity of this unique and decontextualized Byzantine silver object has allowed it to take on different connotations in recent exhibitions of Byzantine art that are in line with the two major conflicting opinions in research. Whether a solemn holy vessel or a playful discussion piece at a literary gathering, the San Marco censer continues to exemplify the "mystic" and "strange" associations of Byzantium.

5. Conclusions

This study, which aimed to describe the image of Byzantium in the West as conveyed in five recent major exhibitions of Byzantine art, has had to confront the fundamental question of what Byzantium was, or is. While textual sources reveal dates, actors and place names, details that have allowed historians to (re-)construct the historical Byzantine Empire and draw geographic boundaries for different points in time, the evidence provided by objects of art and material culture is less clear. These decontextualized objects, which often require significant interpretation, are the directly accessible historical sources that can be displayed in an exhibition to narrate the history of Byzantium and its art.

The portrayal of Byzantium in exhibitions has been twofold: an essential core that centers on the city Constantinople, the emperor, and the Church; and the diffusion of this artistic culture largely through religious art. The former closely mirrors the consensus on the historical entity Byzantium, which, as stated in the Introduction, lasted from 330 to 1453 and is defined by "Roman political concepts, Greek culture and the Christian faith" with the capital city as its locus. A common core of high-quality, luxury objects, most of which have been preserved in Western European collections, substantiate these characteristics visually in an exhibition context.²⁶⁸

The second aspect is more complicated to unfold, and has been handled differently in the exhibitions analyzed. At this level Byzantium functions as an idea and as a cultural ideal that radiated to its immediate neighbors and farther afield. As attested in exhibitions, the tripartite identification with Byzantine may be redefined as: imperial political aspiration; a surprisingly adaptable, coveted culture rooted in Greco-Roman antiquity; and the Orthodoxy of Greeks and Slavs, as well as the influence of that visual culture on other Christians such as Latin (Roman Catholic) and non-Chalcedonian (Oriental Orthodox) communities.²⁶⁹ For lack of another common factor, the unifying characteristic is Christianity. The Bonn exhibition dealt with this phenomenon the least, while the show at the Royal Academy presented exemplarily isolated objects of religious

²⁶⁸ Although seemingly abstract, Roman political concepts are demonstrated by the centrality of the emperor, who is represented in various media, alone and in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, as being crowned by Christ. Along with Early Byzantine representations of mythological figures, the ivory consular diptychs also underscore the idea of Roman heritage. In the present study I have intentionally skirted the issue of Byzantium and Greekness, about which much has been written; that these art objects are an expression of Greek culture is neatly identified by the language of inscriptions.

²⁶⁹ Bulgarian and Serbian manuscript illustrations attest to the adoption of Byzantine imperial iconography; during the Late Byzantine period both these leaders of state bore the title of emperor.

The Oriental Orthodox churches, which are not in full communion with the Greek and Slavic Orthodox churches, include the Armenian, Coptic, Syriac, and Ethiopian churches.

art from Spain to Central Asia in order to demonstrate the empire's artistic reach. The extent of the Byzantine cultural sphere and its abstraction constituted major aims of the second and third exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. That Byzantium was an ideal in the past is suggested by the number of objects that were appropriated, re-used and copied by contemporaries; these range from imperial imagery in Ottonian Germany and Arabic translations of antique Greek texts to holy objects and religious imagery throughout Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. This phenomenon is also reflected in the Early Modern reception history of Byzantium in the West, for which it was a source for religious authenticity and a model for imperial legitimation. The tendency to abstract Byzantium and reduce it to essentialized themes²⁷⁰ yielded multiple, highly subjective perceptions throughout the 17th to 20th centuries and, consciously or not, has influenced any serious engagement with the subject, including exhibitions.

The acceptance of Byzantium as an idea - a "Byzantium of the mind"²⁷¹ - permits open interpretation of what constitutes it and what these constituent elements signify. This can be seen no more clearly than in an exhibition setting, where decontextualized objects are arranged in an artificial fashion to convey historical points of interest agreed upon by contemporary commentators. A survey of exhibitions throughout the 20th century has shown that approaches to Byzantine art and culture change, whether an intellectual and aesthetic enterprise, an agent of integration, or a background for exploration of multiethnic societies and cross-cultural exchange. Moreover, as the differing theories about the San Marco censer exemplify, for a modern museum visitor, as for scholars, each object represents a potential puzzle; behind its superficial allure the meaning can be ambiguous and shifting. Just as for the individual artifacts, this critique has also been levelled against major exhibitions of Byzantine art as a whole for having an unclear narrative and relying on eye-catching objects to dazzle visitors.

In the course of analyzing the objects displayed in exhibitions, specifically in regard to their iconography and their organization into thematic groups, several issues became critically apparent. The first stems from the application of Western cultural categories, in particular the notions of secular and religious. Many objects that, from this point of view, combine religious and secular iconography or images of religious figures on an otherwise secular object, like a casket or pendant, pose an interpretive challenge. Conditioned to divide these two realms into black and white, by imposing our own

²⁷⁰ Cameron 2003, 245, mentions this tendency and sees here a corollary between the attitude to Byzantium and Orientalism. This is discussed in more detail in Angelov 1999 and 2003.

²⁷¹ To quote again Cutler 2004, 497.

cultural categories on another, historical, culture, we run the danger of denying the "grey" unity of worldly and divine realms in a Byzantine context. The tendency to interpret all crosses or Biblical figures as having an inherently and exclusively Christian meaning can easily skew the impression conveyed by such objects strongly toward the religious, even if they functioned differently in a Byzantine context.²⁷²

A second issue has to do with the accessibility of objects then and now. The small luxury objects made of precious materials, which constitute the majority of exhibits and are now placed in a glass case for hundreds of thousands of visitors to see, would have been visible to only a very limited circle of elite viewers in a Byzantine context.²⁷³ As in a modern Orthodox church, access to some icons and liturgical equipment would also have been restricted. That the most precious and materially valuable treasures of an empire serve the contemporary public as the primary visual record naturally propagates the image of exorbitant wealth and luxury. Visually less spectacular examples of work that would have been in public circulation, like simple bronze pectoral crosses, pilgrims' ampullae and clay lamps, have been integrated into recent exhibitions to add a social dimension, but these are inherently less eye-catching. Considering the everyday visual experience of the Byzantines, especially in urban centers, public monuments and architecture played a large role, but these have not been preserved or, obviously, cannot travel.

Exhibitions also raise a third issue: preservation. While textual sources offer a range of information, the two main sources for *transportable* material culture are the luxury goods that have been preserved outside of the former Byzantine territories and the monastic centers in them, as well as a plethora of archaeological evidence. How and which objects are available to illustrate the history of Byzantium and its art, and which are chosen to attract visitors, naturally skew the image that they create.

In analyzing the image of Byzantium created in large-scale exhibitions at major institutional venues in Western Europe and the United States, it is also necessary to consider the multiple roles of exhibitions. Expected to create insights, to inform, and to be financially profitable, exhibitions may choose to promote an underrated body of works, reassess those that are well-known, reassemble those that have been scattered,

²⁷² Cutler 1995 deals extensively with this issue. Beginning with the assertion that the anachronistic categories secular and religious "are now escapable in our discipline" (315), this article presents examples of political art - such as manuscripts connecting the Biblical king David with the reigning emperor (319-320), or the "profane" uses of icons (321) - to note the inadequacy of modern categories and the wide range of roles "Christian art" played in what would be termed secular life.

²⁷³ Cutler 1995, 319.

provide new juxtapositions for scholarly reappraisal, or simply present the unknown to a wider public. As "self-conscious attempts to promote dialogue and to stimulate reactions",²⁷⁴ recent major exhibitions on Byzantine art have fulfilled all these roles, for which it has been necessary to test new approaches and posit other modes of presentation. So far the general public and the organizing institutions have viewed them positively.

But how long will this boom in Byzantine exhibitions last? "New" exhibits from Eastern and Southeastern Europe, Egypt and Western collections have already been presented publicly on several occasions. In the context of an exhibition, where freshness is essential for marketing, possible sources of new material would have to be secured and explored: depths of museum storerooms, monastic collections, private collections (which are now nearly impossible to access for public exhibitions in light of problems of provenance), or new archaeological finds such as shipwrecks, which yield historically valuable information but seldom flashy exhibition pieces. These have the potential to provide insights into the facts of history and indicate a shift away from an imaginary past.

As revealed through the selection and arrangement of objects in these five major exhibitions, Byzantium still occupies an "uncertain place in current historiography".²⁷⁵ The rampant subjectivity known from its long reception history in the West has yielded to an approach in which artistic expressions of the spiritual are dominant, and this has become the primary association with Byzantium. As a follow-up to this inquiry it would be informative to investigate other countries that claim Byzantine heritage in some form, and that have contributed through loans to the shifting image of Byzantine exhibitions. In Greece, Eastern and Southeastern Europe, and Turkey, to what extent is Byzantium historical, mythic, or constructed as a cultural ideal? Is it denigrated or is it framed as a source of political, territorial and spiritual legitimacy at a national or supranational level?

The image of Byzantium as an "Other" in the West has been reinforced in exhibitions by clearly defining it as a separate entity from the West and from Islam. Attempts to demonstrate cross-cultural connections through art have been made, but associations with the exotic remain. Far from doing justice to the nuances that characterized the cultural, political and artistic diversity of the Byzantine Empire, both scholarly discourse and curators' need for thematic cogency have all too often contributed to the perpetuation of the chimera that is Byzantium in the public imagination.

²⁷⁴ Cormack 1994, 28.

²⁷⁵ Cameron 2008, 22.

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- Fig. 1* Weitzmann 1979, xviii.
- Fig. 2* Daim 2010, 20.
- Fig. 3* Evans and Wixom 1997, 2-3.
- Fig. 4* Cormack and Vassilaki 2008, 21.
- Fig. 5* Evans 2004, 2-3.
- Fig. 6* Cormack and Vasilaki 2008, 23.
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- Fig. 8* Talbot Rice 1958, cover.
- Fig. 9* Chatzidakis 1964, cover.
- Fig. 10* Metropolitan Museum of Art website, accessed 1 August 2014,
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- Fig. 12* Evans and Wixom 1997, cover.
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- Fig. 22* Photograph by the author; the article was posted at the Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien, 22 October 2010.
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- Fig. 29* Cormack and Vassilaki 2008, 206 (cat. 175).
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- Fig. 31* Grassi 1996, 246, fig. 17.

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Fig. 37 Ramont and Sargent 2008, 0:17-0:22.

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B-24 No image in this appendix, see *fig. 23*.

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8. Figures



Fig. 1 Maximum territorial extent of the Early Byzantine Empire. Map from the exhibition catalog of *Age of Spirituality* (New York 1977). (Note: The Western half of the map corresponds to the year 565 and the Eastern half to 395.)

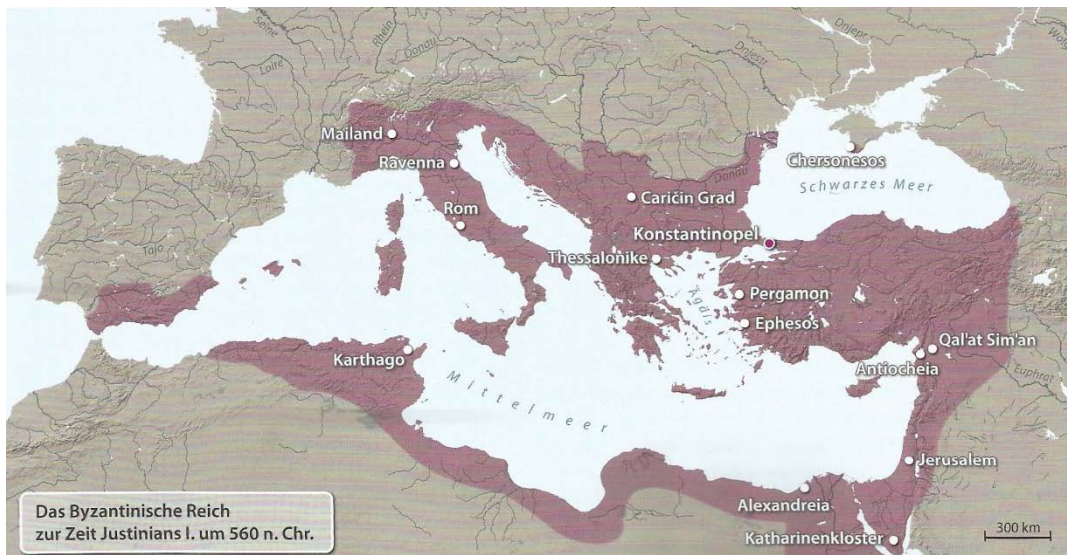


Fig. 2 The Byzantine Empire at the time of Justinian, ca. 560. Map from the exhibition catalog *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag* (Bonn 2010).

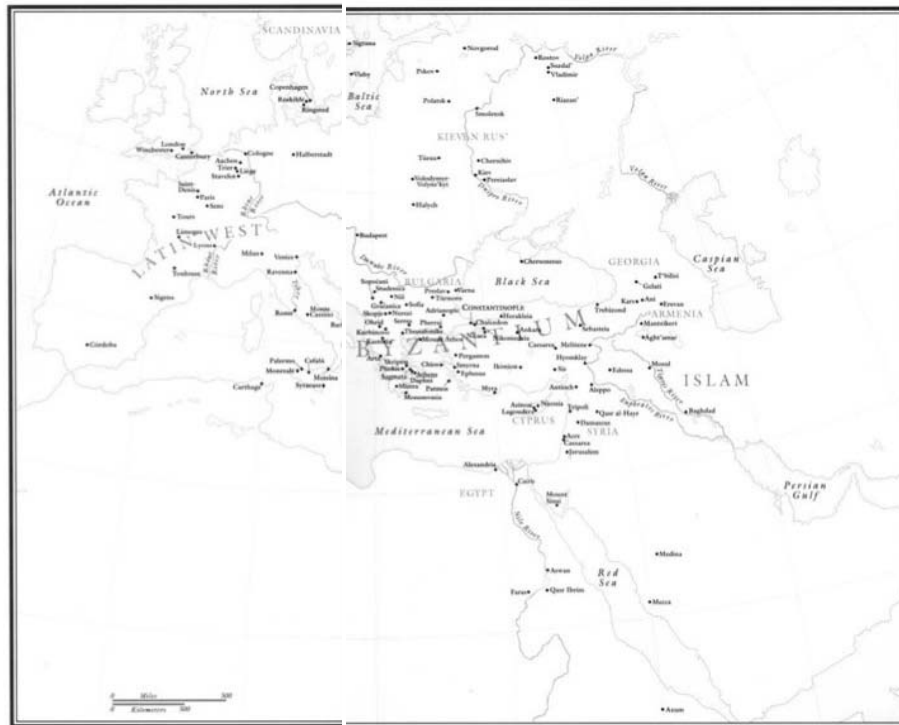


Fig. 3 "Byzantium and its Neighbors" during the Middle Byzantine period. Map from the exhibition catalog *The Glory of Byzantium* (New York 1997).



Fig. 4 Byzantium around the year 1050. Map from the exhibition catalog *Byzantium: 330-1453* (London 2008).

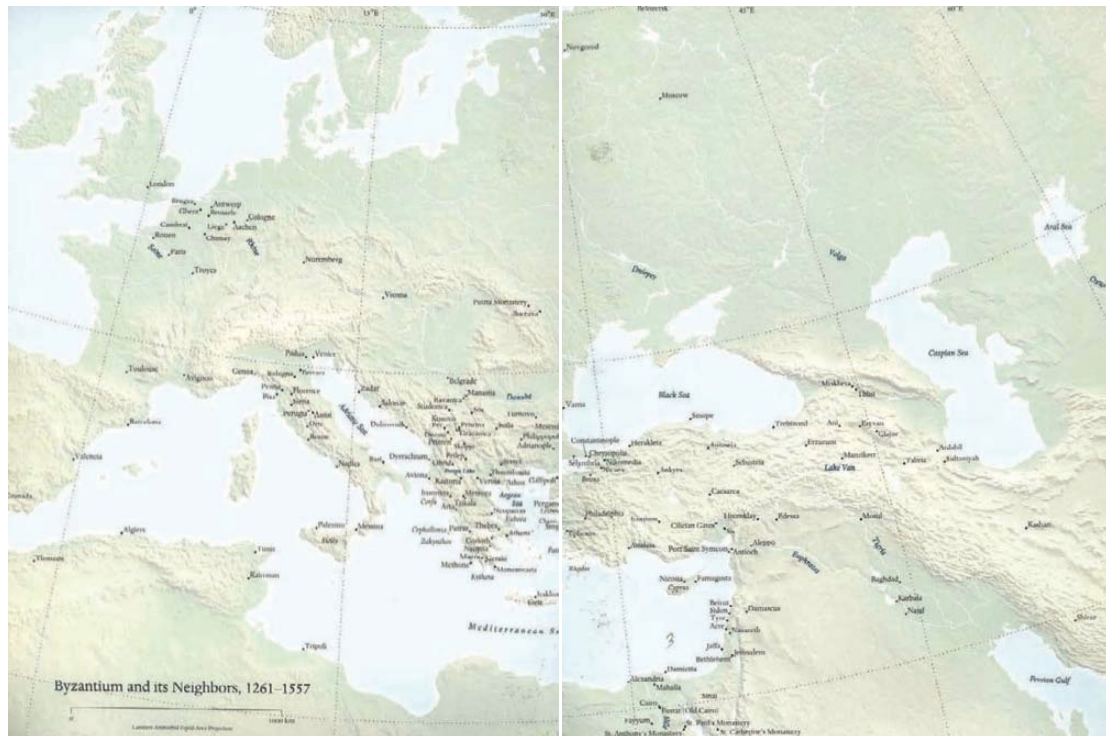


Fig. 5 "Byzantium and its Neighbors" during the Late Byzantine period. Map from the exhibition catalog *The Glory of Byzantium* (New York 1997).

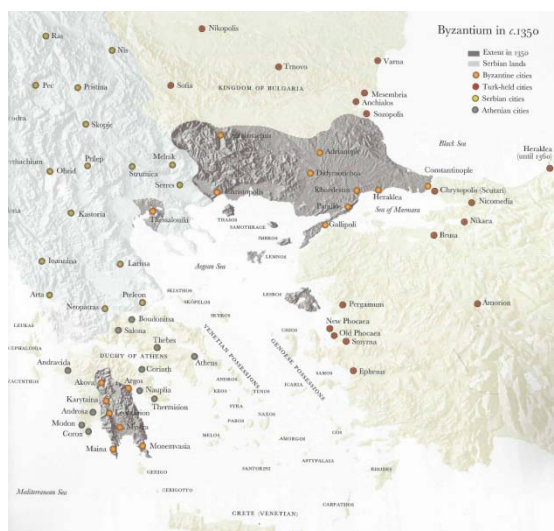


Fig. 6 Byzantium around the year 1350. Map from the exhibition catalog of *Byzantium: 330-1453* (London 2008).



Fig. 7 The Byzantine Empire in the year 1403. Map from the exhibition catalog *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag* (Bonn 2010).

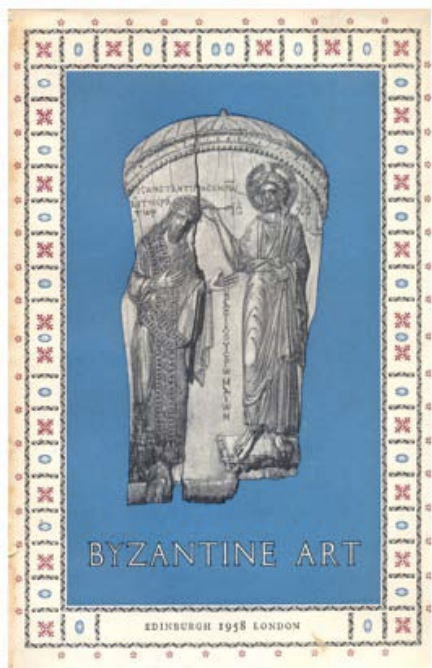


Fig. 8 Exhibition catalog cover -
Masterpieces of Byzantine Art, Edinburgh 1958.



Fig. 9 Exhibition cover catalog -
Byzantine Art, a European Art. Athens 1964.

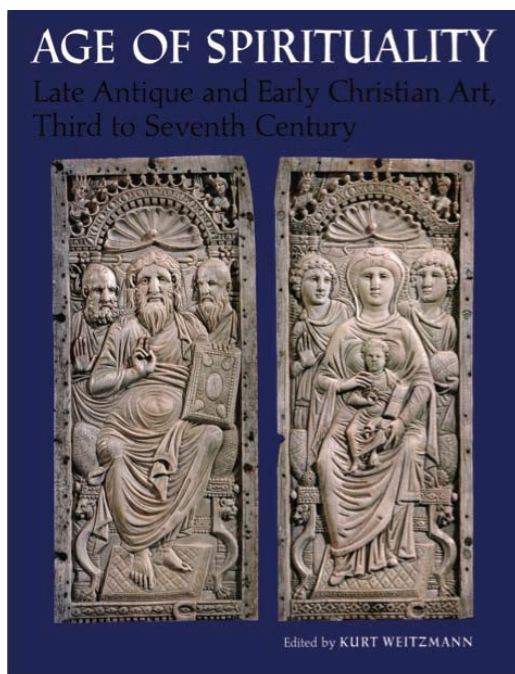


Fig. 10 Exhibition catalog cover -
Age of Spirituality, New York 1977.

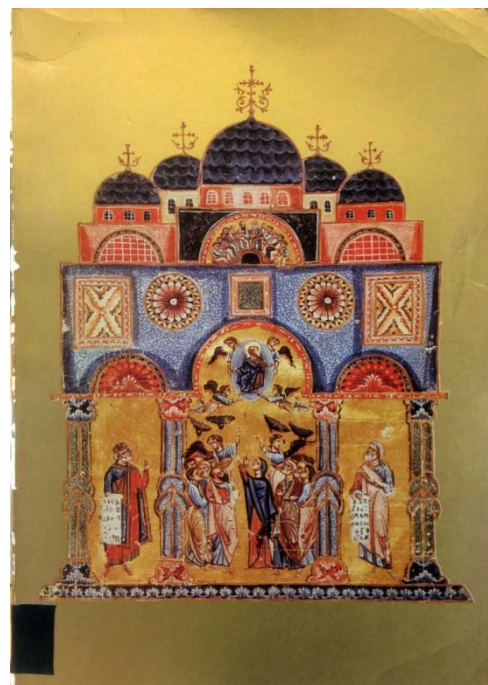


Fig. 11 Exhibition catalog cover -
Splendeur de Byzance, Brussels 1982.



Fig. 12 Exhibition catalog cover - *The Glory of Byzantium*, New York 1997.

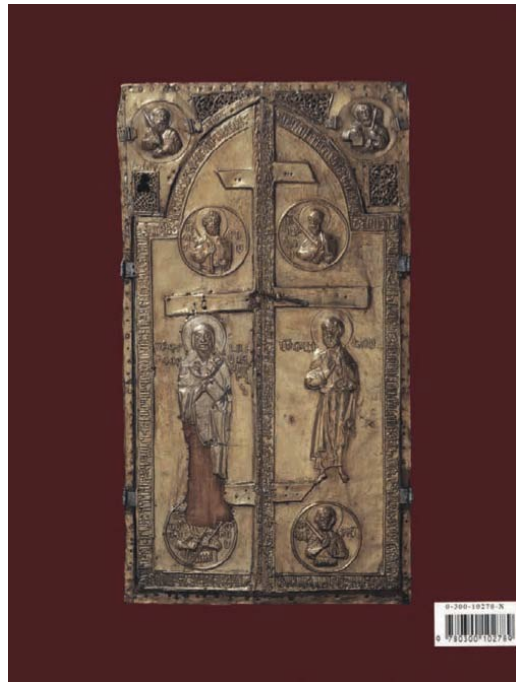


Fig. 13 Exhibition catalog cover - *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, New York 2004.

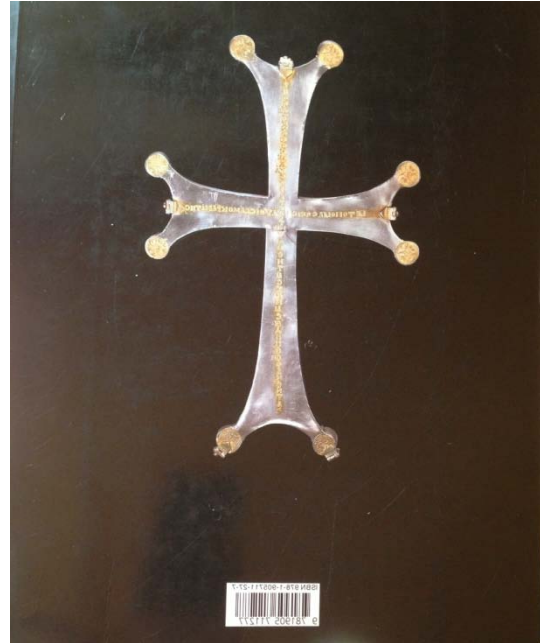
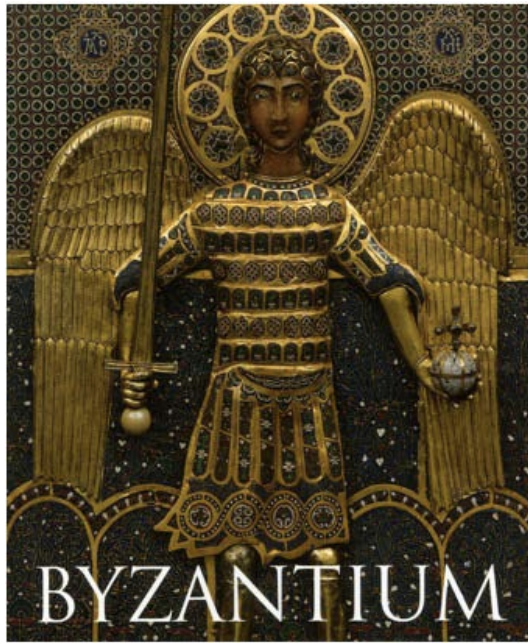


Fig. 14 Exhibition catalog cover - *Byzantium: 330-1453*, London 2008.

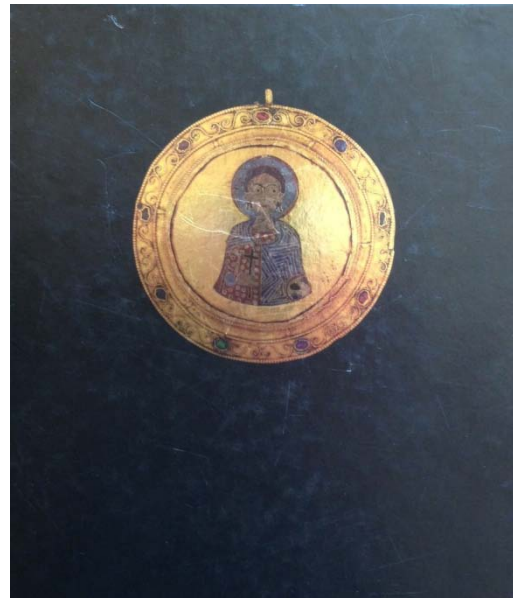
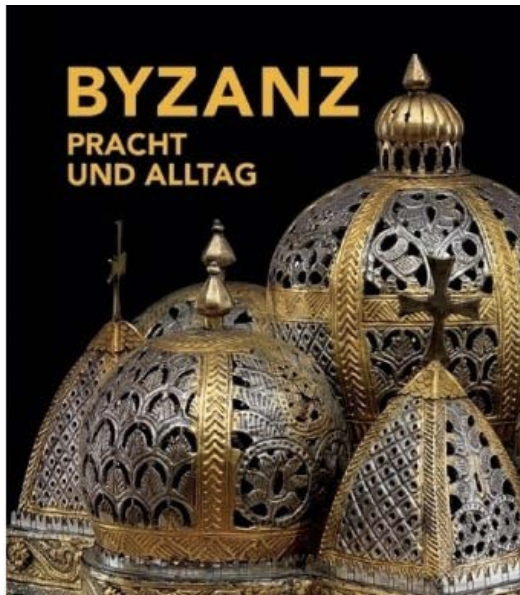


Fig. 15 Exhibition catalog cover - *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag*, Bonn 2010.



Fig. 16 Exhibition catalog cover - *Venezia e Bisanzio*, Venice 1974.

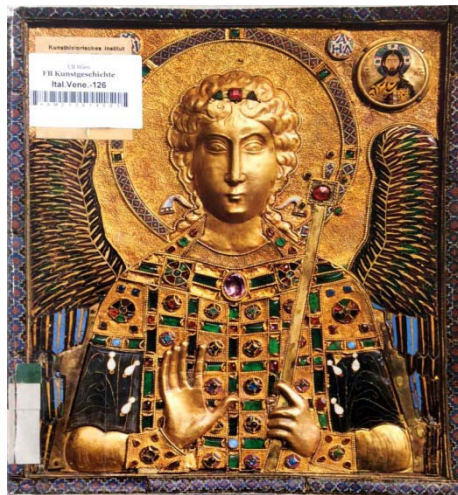


Fig. 17 Exhibition catalog cover - *The Treasury of San Marco*, New York, etc. 1984-5.

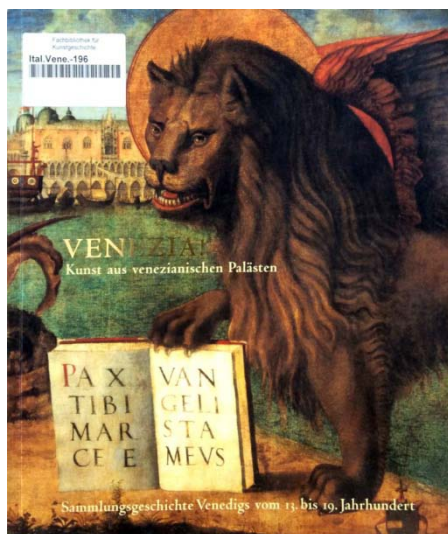


Fig. 18 Exhibition catalog cover - *Venezia! Kunst aus venezianischen Palästen*, Bonn 2002.



Fig. 19 Poster for the exhibition *Splendeur de Byzance*, Brussels 1982.



Fig. 20 Facade of the Royal Academy of Arts, London, during the exhibition *Byzantium: 330-1453*.



Fig. 21 Poster for the exhibition *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag*, Bonn 2010.



Fig. 22 Article advertising the exhibition *Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag* (Thomas Kliemann, *Bonner General-Anzeiger*, 22 February 2010).



Fig. 23 "Incense burner" or censer in the shape of a domed building, Cpl or South Italy, late 12th century, silver, partially gilt, 36 x 30 x 30 cm, Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice, Tesoro, 142.



Fig. 24 Four sides of the censer (undated recent photographs).



Fig. 25 Reliquary of the miraculous Blood of Christ from Beirut. Fatimid crystal flask (rock crystal, Egypt, 10th-11th century, h: 10 cm) in Venetian mounting (gold, Venice, late 13th century, h: ca. 20 cm), Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice, Tesoro, 63.



Fig. 26 Photograph of the interior of the censer, through the open doors toward the plate and the removable central dome.



Fig. 27 First publication of the San Marco censer by Pasini in 1885. Note in the side view at the lower right that the dome is aligned symmetrically (compare *fig. 24*, top right).



Fig. 28 Reliquary of St. Anastasios the Persian, Byzantine (Antioch), late 10th century, silver, with gilt and niello, 19.6 x 20 x 39 cm, Domschatz, Aachen.

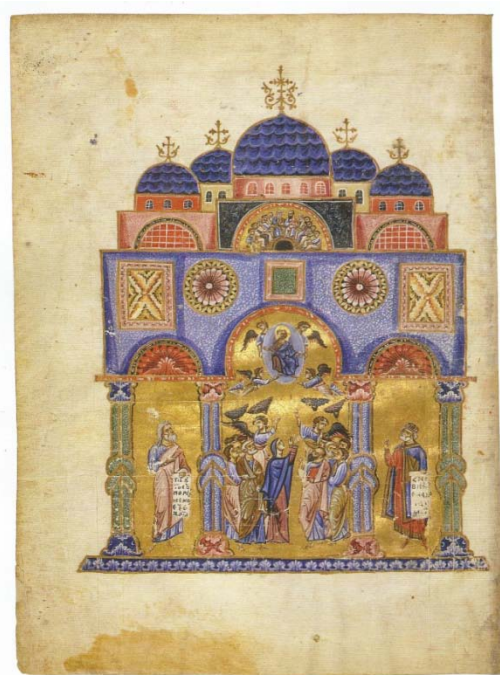


Fig 29 *Homilies on the Virgin Mary* by James Kokkinobaphos (folio 3v), Constantinople, first half of the 12th century, parchment manuscript, 23 x 16.5 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Gr. 1208.



Fig. 30 Incense burner and stand for an altar cross, Germany, 1150-1175, bronze, 18.1 x 12.7 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1926.555.

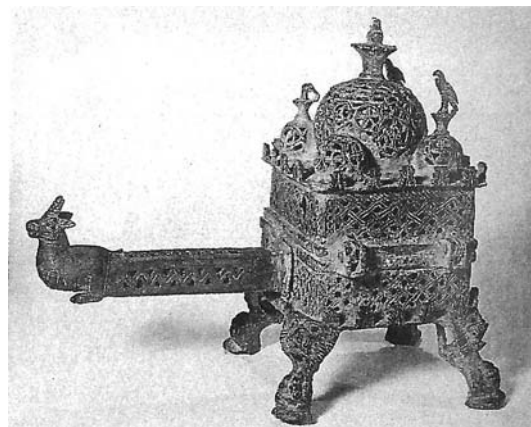


Fig. 31 Five-domed incense burner, Eastern Iran/Egypt?, bronze, 8th-9th century, (size unknown), Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.



Fig. 32 Detail of censer, putto in a basket.

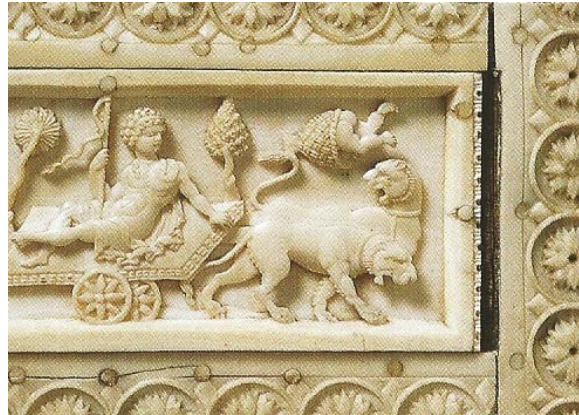


Fig. 33 Veroli casket, Constantinople, second half of the 10th century, ivory and bone on wood core, 11 x 40 x 16 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 216-1865.



Fig. 34 Detail of censer, doors with figures of Courage and Intelligence.



Fig. 35 Panel with Truth, "Crown of Constantine IX Monomachos," Byzantine, 1042-1050, gold and cloisonné enamel, 8.7 x 4.2 cm, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, 99/1860.



Fig. 36 Two-page spread with the *Homilies on the Virgin Mary* by James Kokkinobaphos and the San Marco censer in the exhibition catalog of *Byzantium: 330-1453*, cats. 175 and 176.



Fig. 37 Installation view of the San Marco censer during *Byzantium: 330-1453* at the Royal Academy of Arts.

9. Appendices

Appendix A. List of temporary exhibitions of Byzantine art

This list makes no claim to completeness; rather it is the compilation of exhibitions that centered on, or incorporated, pieces of art categorized as Byzantine, or related to Byzantium culturally through history, art, and/or religion. The majority of temporary exhibitions held at museums and other institutions specialized specifically, or exclusively, on Byzantine art and material culture (such as the Byzantine and Christian Museum and Benaki Museum in Athens, or Dumbarton Oaks in Washington DC) have not been included in this list; nevertheless, a few pivotal exhibitions at such venues have been included due to the nature and frequency with which they are cited in subsequent literature.

† Exhibitions that featured the San Marco censer.

Date	Title Country (City), Venue when known
1884	Die byzantinischen Zellen-E-mails der Sammlung Swenigorodskoi Germany (Aachen), Suermondt Museum
1902	Miniaturenausstellung der K. u. K. Hofbibliothek Austria (Vienna), Hofbibliothek
1903	Exposition des arts musulmans France (Paris), Musée des Arts Décoratifs
1905-6	Esposizione italo-bisantina Italy (Grottaferrata)
1910	Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst Germany (Munich)
1911	Vystavka XV Vserossiiskogo arkheologicheskogo s'ezda v Novgorode (Exhibition at the 15th all-Russian archaeological congress in Novgorod) Russia (Novgorod)
1913	Exposition de bijoux antiques France (Paris), Kalebdjian Frères
1913	Exposition d'objets d'art du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance, tirés des collections particulières de la France et de l'étranger France (Paris), Hôtel de Sagan
1923	An Exhibition of Carvings in Ivory UK (London), Burlington Fine Arts Club
1928	Mosaics and Frescoes in Kahrie-Djami Constantinople copied by Dmitri Ismailovitch UK (London)

- 1929 Ancient Russian Icons from the XII to XIX centuries
UK (London), Victoria and Albert Museum
- 1931 Exposition internationale d'art byzantin**
France (Paris), Musée des Arts Décoratifs Louvre
- 1931 Exhibition of Byzantine Art
USA (Chicago), University of Chicago
- 1933 An Exhibition of Greek and Byzantine Painting
UK (London), Courtauld Institute of Art
- 1936 A Special Exhibition of Glass from the Museum's Collection
USA (New York), Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 1937 The Dark Ages: Loan Exhibition of Pagan and Christian Art in the Latin West and the Byzantine East
USA (Worcester, MA), Worcester Art Museum
- 1939 Kunst der Spätantike im Mittelmeerraum. Spätantike und byzantinische Kleinkunst aus Berliner Besitz
Germany (Berlin), Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum
- 1940 Art of the Middle Ages
USA (Boston), Museum of Fine Arts
- 1941 Pagan and Christian Egypt: Art from the First to the Tenth Century AD
USA (Brooklyn), Brooklyn Museum
- 1946 Greek Art
UK (London), Royal Academy, Burlington House
- 1947 Early Christian and Byzantine Art
USA (Baltimore), Walters Art Gallery
- 1948-9 Kunstschatze der Lombardei, 500 vor Christus - 1800 nach Christus
Switzerland (Zurich), Kunsthaus Zürich
- 1950 Ars sacra. Kunst des frühen Mittelalters
Germany (Munich), Prinz Carl Palais
- 1952 Trésors du Moyen Age en Italie
France (Paris)
- 1953 Buchkunst des Morgenlandes
Austria (Vienna), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
- 1953 Mostra storica nazionale della miniatura
Italy (Rome), Palazzo Venezia
- 1954 De Madonna in de Kunst
Belgium (Antwerp), Stedelijke Feestzaal Meir
- 1954 L'Art mérovingien
Belgium (Brussels), Musées d'Art et d'Histoire

- 1954 Exhibition of Ivory Carvings lent by the City of Liverpool Public Museums
UK (London), British Museum
- 1954-5 Ecclesiastical Art
USA (Kansas City, MO), William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art
- 1954-5 Spanish Medieval Art
USA (New York), Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters
- 1956 Mostra degli Avori dell'alto Medioevo
Italy (Ravenna), Museo Nazionale
- 1956 Werdendes Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr
Germany (Essen), Villa Hgel
- 1957 Treasures from the Pierpont Morgan Library: Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition
USA (New York), Pierpont Morgan Library
- 1957 The History of Bookbinding, 525-1950 AD
USA (Baltimore), Walters Gallery of Art
- 1958 Masterpieces of Byzantine Art**
UK (Edinburgh / London), Royal Scottish Museum / Victoria and Albert Museum
23 August - 12 September 1958; 1 October - 9 November 1958
- 1958 Byzance et la France mdivale. Manuscrits   peintures du Iime au XVIme sicle
France (Paris), Bibliothque nationale de France
24 June 1958 - 31 January 1959
- 1958-9 Orient-Occident: Rencontres et influences durant cinquante sicles d'art
France (Paris), Muse Cernuschi
- 1961 Kievskij gosudarstvennyi muzei Zapadnogo i Vostochnogo istkusstva
U.S.S.R. (Moscow)
- 1961 Icnes de Yougoslavie (in conjunction with 12th International Congress of Byzantine Studies)
Yugoslavia (Ohrid)
- 1961 Biblia, Partes, Liturgia
Italy (Venice), Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
- 1961 El Arte rom nico (Exhibition organized under the auspices of the Council of Europe)
Spain (Barcelona), Palacio de Montjuich
- 1961 5000 Jahre  gyptischer Kunst
Switzerland (Zurich)
- 1963 Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil
Germany (Essen) / Switzerland (Zurich), Villa Hgel / Kunsthaus
- 1964 Let There be Light
USA (Hartford, CT), Wadsworth Atheneum
- 1964 Art copte
France (Paris), Petit Palais

- 1964 Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern
Switzerland (Zurich)
- 1964 Byzantine Art, an European Art**
Greece (Athens), Zappeion Exhibition Hall; council chair M. Chatzidakis
9th exhibition of the Council of Europe
- 1964 Minijatura u Jugoslaviji
Yugoslavia (Zagreb), Muzej za Umjetnost i Obrt
- 1965 Icônes de Macédoine du XIe au XVIIe siècle: Collections Yougoslaves
France (Paris), Musée des Arts Décoratifs
- 1965 Mittelalterliche Kunst der Sammlung Kofler-Truniger, Luzern
Germany (Aachen), Suermondt Museum
- 1965 Les Trésors des églises de France
France (Paris), Musée des Art Décoratifs
- 1966 Greek Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library (an exhibition held in connection with the 13th
International Congress of Byzantine Studies)
UK (Oxford), Bodleian Library
- 1966 Art Treasures of Turkey
USA (Washington DC), National Gallery of Art
- 1967 Tunesian Mosaics
USA (Washington DC), Smithsonian Institution
- 1967 Macedonia Icons from Yugoslavia
Japan (Toyko, Kyoto)
- 1967-8 L'art russe des Scythes à nos jours: Trésors des musées soviétiques
France (Paris), Grand Palais
- 1968 Medieval Art from Private Collections: A Special Exhibition at The Cloisters
USA (New York), Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 1968 Trésors de Chypre
Switzerland (Geneva), Musée d'Art de d'Histoire
- 1970 The Year 1200
USA (New York), Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 1970 The Middle Ages: Treasures from The Cloisters and The Metropolitan Museum of Art
USA (Los Angeles), Los Angeles County Museum of Art
- 1970 Antica arte Serba
Italy (Rome), Palazzo Venezia
- 1971 Umjetnost na tlu Jugoslavije od praistorije do danas
Yugoslavia (Sarajevo), Skenderija
- 1971 L'art en Yougoslavie de la préhistoire à nos jours
France (Paris), Grand Palais

- 1971 Le culte de Notre-Dame de Grâce à travers l'histoire
France (Cambrai)
- 1971 A Medieval Treasury from Southeastern Collections
USA (Chapel Hill, NC), University of North Carolina, The William Hayes Ackland
Memorial Art Center
- 1972 Greek and Roman Portraits
USA (Boston), Museum of Fine Arts
- 1973 Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections
USA (Princeton, NJ), Princeton University Art Museum
- 1973 Fakes and Forgeries
USA (Minneapolis), Minneapolis Institute of Arts
- 1974 ✚ Venezia e Bisanzio
Italy (Venice), Palazzo Ducale
- 1975 Quinto centenario della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1475-1975
Vatican (Vatican City), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
- 1975 Art antique: Collections privée de Suisse romande
Switzerland (Geneva), Musée d'Art et d' Histoire
- 1975 Zimelien. Abendländische Handschriften des Mittelalters aus er Sammlungen der Stiftung
Preussischer Kulturbesitz-Berlin
Germany (Berlin), Staatliche Museen
- 1976 Romans and Barbarians
USA (Boston), Museum of Fine Arts
- 1976 Elfenbeinarbeiten von der Spätantike bis zum hohen Mittelalter
Germany (Frankfurt), Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik
- 1976 Les icônes bulgares, IX-XIX siècle
France (Paris), Musée du Petit Palais
- 1976 Byzantine Icons from Cyprus
Greece (Athens), Benaki Museum
- 1976 Vyzantines toichographies kai eikones (Byzantine Murals and Icons)
Greece (Athens), Ethnike Pinakotheke (National Gallery)
- 1976 Kulturno bogatstvo na Prilep od V-XIX vek
Yugoslavia (Belgrade), Narodni Muzej
- 1976 Bolgarskaia zhivopis' IX-XIX vekov
USSR (Moscow)
- 1976 1000 godini bulgarska ikona IX-XIX vek
Bulgaria (Sofia), Galerii Shipka
- 1977 Byzantinische Kostbarkeiten aus Museen, Kirchenschätzen und Bibliotheken der DDR
Germany (Berlin), Staatliche Museen

- 1977 Kunst der Ostkirche: Ikonen Handschriften, Kultgeräte
Austria (Herzogenburg), Stift Herzogenburg; Bundesland Niederösterreich
- 1977 Iskusstvo Vizantii v sobraniakh SSSR
USSR (Moscow, Leningrad), Pushkin Museum, State Hermitage Museum
- 1977 Documents impériaux et royaux de l'Europe médiévale
France (Paris), Archives nationales
- 1977 Wealth of the Roman World: Gold and Silver, A.D. 300-700
UK (London), British Museum
- 1977-8 Slavjanski rukopisi ot Britanskija Muzej i Biblioteka /Slavonic Manuscripts from the
British Museum and Library
Bulgaria (Sofia), Alexander Nevsky Crypt
- 1977-8 Icones bulgares du IXe au XIXe siècle
Belgium (Brussels), Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
- 1977-8 Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh
Century**
USA (New York), Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 1978 Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silbergefäße aus der Staatlichen Ermitage Leningrad
Germany (Berlin), Staatliche Museen
- 1978 1000 Jahre bulgarische Ikonen
Germany (Munich), Stadtmuseum
- 1978 The Byzantine World
UK (Chichester), Chichester District Museum
- 1978 The Christian Orient
UK (London), British Library
- 1978 Icons from Bulgaria
UK (London), Courtauld Gallery
- 1979 Byzantine, Greek and Russian Icons
UK (London), Temple Gallery
- 1979 Jewelry, Ancient to Modern
USA (Baltimore), Walters Art Gallery
- 1979 Icone bulgare dei secoli IX-XIX
Italy (Rome), Museo di Palazzo Venezia
- 1979 Orfèvrerie géorgienne du VIIe au XIXe siècle
Switzerland (Geneva), Musée d'Art et d'Histoire
- 1980 La Bulgarie médiévale. Art et civilisation
France (Paris), Grand Palais
- 1980 Umetnost u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji od 12. do 17. veka
Yugoslavia (Belgrade), Narodni Muzej

- 1980 Textiles from Egypt, 4th-13th Centuries C.E.
Israel (Jerusalem)
- 1980 Icons in Oxford
UK (Oxford), Christ Church Gallery
- 1980 The Stavelot Triptych: Mosan Art and the Legend of the True Cross
USA (New York), Pierpont Morgan Library
- 1981 Ikonen und Kultobjekte der Ostkirche
Austria (Vienna), Kunsthistorisches Museum
- 1981 Byzanz und das Abendland. Ausstellung der Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung der
österreichischen Nationalbibliothek
Austria (Vienna), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
- 1981 El arte en la Servia medieval de los siglos XII al XVII
Spain (Madrid), Museo del Prado
- 1981 Schatzkammer Georgien. Mittelalterliche Kunst aus dem Staatlichen Kunstmuseum
Tbilisi
Austria (Vienna), Künstlerhaus
- 1981 Masterpieces of Serbian Goldsmiths' Work, 13th-18th century
UK (London), Victoria and Albert Museum
- 1981 The Meeting of Two Worlds: The Crusades and the Mediterranean Context
USA (Ann Arbor, MI), University of Michigan Museum of Art
- 1981-2 L'Orient des Croisades
France (Paris), Palais de Tokyo
- 1982 +Splendeur de Byzance/ Luister Van Byzantium** (9th Exhibition of the Council of Europe)
Belgium (Brussels), Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
Annual series: Europolia International Arts Festival 1982 - Hellas
- 1982 Au pays de la Toison d'or: Art ancien de Géorgie soviétique
France (Paris), Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais
- 1982 La médecine médiévale à travers les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale
France (Paris), Bibliothèque Nationale
- 1982 The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art
USA (New York)
- 1982-3 El Greco of Toledo
Spain (Toledo), Toledo Museum of Art and other venues
- 1983 The Anatolian Civilisations (18th Exhibition of the Council of Europe)
Turkey (Istanbul), Topkapi Sarayi Museum
- 1983 Icons of the Cretan School, 15th-16th Century
Greece (Athens), Benaki Museum

- 1983 The Icon of St. Peter: A Major New Discovery by the Master of the Monastery of Chora
UK (London), Barbican Art Gallery
- 1983 Le trésor de l'art serbe médiéval (XIIe-XVIe siècle)
France (Paris), Pavillon des arts
- 1984 Dix siècles d'enluminure italienne (VIe-XVIe siècles)
France (Paris), Galerie Mazanine, Bibliothèque Nationale
- 1984 Illuminated Manuscripts: Masterpieces in Miniature from the Collection of the Walters
Art Gallery
USA (Baltimore), Walters Art Gallery
- 1984 Exhibition of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Archaeological Society
Greece (Athens), Byzantine Museum
- 1984-5 + The Treasury of San Marco in Venice
USA (New York), Metropolitan Museum of Art
UK (London), British Museum
Germany (Cologne), Römisches-Germanisches Museum
France (Paris), Galerie Nationale du Grand Palais
- 1985 Ebla to Damascus: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria, an Exhibition from the
Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums, Syrian Arab Republic
USA (Washington DC), Smithsonian Institution
- 1985 Ornamenta Ecclesia: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik
Germany (Cologne), Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, Schnütgen Museum
- 1985 Cyprus: 9000 years of culture pillaged
Greece (Athens), (as part of program of the first European Capital of Culture)
- 1985-6 Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art
Greece (Athens), Byzantine and Christian Museum
- 1986 Thessalonike: Historia kai techne
Greece (Thessaloniki), White Tower
- 1986 Icone della Macedonia (XI-XVII secolo)
Vatican (Vatican City), Musei Vaticani
- 1986 Byzantinische Mosaiken aus Jordanien
Austria (Vienna)
- 1986 Byzantium at Princeton: Byzantine Art and Archaeology at Princeton University
USA (Princeton, NJ), Firestone Library at Princeton University, Slobodan Ćurčić
- 1986 Affreschi e icone dalla Grecia (X-XIII secolo)
Italy (Florence), Palazzo Strozzi
- 1986 Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Kopaon and Related Treasures
USA (Baltimore), Walters Art Gallery
- 1987 Survival of the Gods: Classical Mythology in Medieval Art
USA (Providence, RI), Brown University, Bell Gallery

- 1987 East Christian Art
UK (London), Bernheimer Fine Arts
- 1987 From Byzantium to El Greco: Greek Frescoes and Icons
UK (London) / Greece (Athens), Royal Academy of Arts / Byzantine Museum,
Committee chair: M. Chatzidakis
- 1987 Greece and the Sea
Netherlands (Amsterdam), De Nieuwe Kerk
- 1987 L'oro di Kiev: Toreutica e oreficeria dal Museo storico dei preziosi dell'Ucraina (opere
dall'VIII secolo a.C. al XIII secolo d.C)
Italy (Florence), Palazzo Medici-Riccardi
- 1987 Ikone iz Makedonije
Yugoslavia (Zagreb), Muzejski Prostor
- 1987 Romanichko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj
Yugoslavia (Zagreb), Muzej zu Umjetnost i Obrt
- 1988 Icone di Puglia e Basilicata dal Medioevo al Settecento
Italy (Bari), Pinacoteca Provinciale
- 1988 Umbri e Toscani tra Due e Trecento
Italy (Turin), Antichi Maestri Pittori di Giancarlo Gallino
- 1988 Imago Mariae: Tesori d'arte della Cività cristiana
Italy (Rome), Palazzo Venezia
- 1988 Trésors d'art médiéval Bulgare, VIIe-XVIe siècle
Switzerland (Geneva), Musée d'Art et d'Histoire
- 1988 Gouden Licht: Meesterwerken der Ikonenkunst
Netherlands (Antwerp), Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten
- 1988 Byzantium: The Light in the Age of Darkness
USA (New York), Ariadne Galleries
- 1988 Icônes, millénaire du baptême de la Russie, 988-1988
France (Paris), Fondation Mona Bismarck
- 1988-9 Icônes et merveilles: Mille ans de tradition chrétienne. Collections françaises et
européennes. Hommage au Millénaire du Baptême de la Russie.
France (Paris), Musée Cernuschi
- 1988-9 Holy Image, Holy Space: Icons and Frescoes from Greece
USA (Baltimore), Walters Art Gallery, and four other locations in the USA
- 1989 Beyond the Pharaohs: Egypt and the Copts in the 2nd to 7th Centuries AD
USA (Providence, RI), Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art
- 1989 Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House
USA (Urbana, IL)
- 1989 Europa und der Orient, 800-1900
Germany (Berlin), Martin-Gropius-Bau

- 1989 Imago Mariae. Tesori d'arte della civiltà cristiana
Italy (Rome), Palazzo Venezia
- 1989-90 Art in the Making: Italian Painting before 1400
UK (London), National Gallery
- 1990 Early Christian and Byzantine Art
UK (London), Temple Gallery
- 1990 Splendori di Bisanzio: Testimonianze e riflessi d'arte e cultura bizantina nelle chiese d'Italia
Italy (Ravenna), Museo Nazionale
- 1990 Sjaj zadarskih riznica (The Splendor of Zadar Treasuries)
Yugoslavia (Zagreb), Muzejsko-Galerijski Centar
- 1991 Medieval Pictorial Embroidery: Byzantium, Balkans, Russia
Russia (Moscow), Kremlin State Museums
- 1991 Iz kolekcii N.P. Likhatcheva: Pamiatniki kul'tury i isskustva Vizantii, Drevnei Rusi Srednevekovoi Evropy
Russia (St. Petersburg), State Russian Museum
- 1991 Vizantiia, Balkany, Rus': Ikony kontsa XIII-pervoi poloviny XV veka
Russia (Moscow), State Tret'iakov Gallery
- 1991 Vizantiia i vizantiiskie traditsii: Pamiatniki iz fondov Ermitazha i Russkogo muzeia
Russia (St. Petersburg), State Hermitage Museum
- 1991 Das Gold aus dem Kreml. Hundert Kunstwerke aus der Schatzkammer der Moskauer Zaren
Austria (Vienna), Kunsthistorisches Museum
- 1991 La France aux portes de l'Orient. Chypre XIIIe-Xve siècle
France (Paris), Centre Culturel du Panthéon
- 1991 Le Trésor de Saint-Denis
France (Paris), Musée du Louvre
- 1992 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Liturgie und Andacht im Mittelalter
Germany (Cologne), Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum
- 1992 Gates of Mystery: The Art of Holy Russia
USA (Baltimore), Walters Art Gallery
- 1992 Ceramic Art from Byzantine Serres
USA (Urbana, IL), Krannert Art Museum
- 1992 From Viking to Crusader: The Scandinavians and Europe, 800-1200
France (Paris), Grand Palais
Germany (Berlin), Altes Museum
Denmark (Copenhagen), Danmarks Nationalmuseum
- 1992 Entre Byzance et l'Islam: Umm er-Rasas et Umm el-Walid: Fouilles genevoises en Jordanie

Switzerland (Geneva)

- 1992 Kavkaz na shelkovom puti
Russia (St. Petersburg), State Hermitage Museum
- 1992-3 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Liturgie und Andacht im Mittelalter
Germany (Cologne), Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum
- 1992-3 Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises
France (Paris), Musée du Louvre
- 1993 Icônes grecques, melkites, russe: Collection Abou Adal
France (Paris), Musée Carnavalet
- 1993 Trésors d'art albanais: Icônes byzantines et post-byzantines du XIIe au XIXe siècle
France (Nice), Musée National Message Biblique Marc Chagall
- 1993 L'Or des steppes. Des Scythes à l'invasion mongole, VIIe siècle av. J.-C.-XIVe siècle ap. J.-C.
France (Toulouse), Musée des Augustins
- 1993 Splendeur des Sassanides: L'Empire perse entre Rome et l Chine (224-642)
Belgium (Brussels), Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
- 1993 Collezioni veneziane di codici greci dalle raccolte della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
Italy (Venice), Libreria Sansoviniana
- 1993 Da Candid a Venezia: Icone greche in Italia XV-XVI secolo
Italy (Venice), Museo Correr
- 1993 Eikones tes Kretikes technes: Apo ton Chandaka hos Moscha kai ten Hagia Petroupole
Greece (Iraklion, Crete), Vasilike Hagiou Markou-Naos Hagias Aikatherines
- 1993 Gold aus Kiev. 170 Meisterwerke aus der Schatzkammer der Ukraine
Austria (Vienna), Kunsthistorisches Museum
- 1993 Ikonen, Bilder in Gold. Sakrale Kunst aus Griechenland
Austria (Krems), Kunsthalle Krems
- 1993 Women in Anatolia: 9000 Years of Anatolian Women
Turkey (Istanbul), Topkapi Sarayi Museum
- 1993 Coins and Costume in Late Antiquity
USA (Washington DC)
- 1993-6 African Zion: The Sacred Art of Ethiopia
USA (Baltimore), Walters Art Gallery; 7 other venues in the USA
- 1994 Hoi Pyles tou mysteriou: thesauroi tes orthodoxias apo ten Hagia Rossia
Greece (Athens), Mouseion Alexandrou Soutzou
- 1994 Oi Pules tou Mysteriou Thesauroi tes Orthodoxias apo ten Ellada
Greece (Athens), Ethnike Pinakotheka
- 1994 Bessarione e l'umanesimo
Italy (Venice), Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

- 1994 Kolleksiia muzeia RAIK v Ermitazhe
Russia (St. Petersburg), State Hermitage Museum
- 1994 Byzantine Figural Processional Crosses
USA (Washington DC), Dumbarton Oaks
- 1994 Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts
USA (New York, Baltimore), Pierpont Morgan Library, Walters Art Gallery
- 1994 In Pursuit of the Absolute: Art of the Ancient World from the George Ortiz Collection
UK (London), Royal Academy of Arts
- 1994-5 Omaggio a San Marco: Tesori dall'Europa
Italy (Venice), Palazzo Ducale
- 1994-5 Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections
UK (London), British Museum
- 1995 Memory and the Middle Ages
USA (Boston), Museum of Fine Arts
- 1995 Textiles of Late Antiquity
USA (New York)
- 1995 I libri di San Marco; i manoscritti liturgici della basilica Marciana
Italy (Venice), Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
- 1995 Federico II: Immagine e potere
Italy (Bari), Castello Svevo
- 1995 He Autokephalos Ekklesia tes Kyprou (The Autocephalous Church of Cyprus)
Cyprus (Nicosia), Byzantine Museum of the Cultural Foundation of Archbishop Makarios III
- 1995 Bogomater' Vladimirskaia: K 600-letiiu Sreteniia ikony Bogomateri Vladimirskoi v Moskve
Russia (Moscow), State Tret'iakov Gallery
- 1995-6 Visages de l'icône
France (Paris), Pavillon des Arts
- 1995-6 Federico II e l'Italia: Percorsi, luoghi, segni e strumenti
Italy (Rome), Palazzo Venezia
- 1996 Byzantium: Late Antique and Byzantine Art in Scandinavian Collections
Denmark (Copenhagen), Carlsberg Glyptotek
- 1996 After Byzantium: The Survival of Byzantine Sacred Art
UK (London), Hellenic Centre
- 1996 Von China nach Byzanz: Frühmittelalterliche Seiden aus der Staatlichen Eremitage, Sankt Petersburg
Germany (Munich), Bayerisches Nationalmuseum
- 1996 The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art: Picturing the Psalms of David

- Netherlands (Utrecht), Rijksmuseum Het Catherijneconvent
- 1996 Le temps des Croisades
Belgium (Huy), Église Saint-Meingold
- 1997 Vizantija i Kiivs'ska Rus'
Ukraine (Kiev)
- 1997 +The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261**
USA (New York), Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 1997 Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age
USA (Detroit, Baltimore), Detroit Institute of Arts, Walters Art Gallery
- 1997 Jordanie: Sur les pas des archéologues
France (Paris)
- 1997 Fayum. Misteriosi volti dall'Egitto
Italy (Rome), Palazzo Ruspoli
- 1997 Le Criocate: L'Oriente e l'Occidente da Urbano II a San Luigi, 1096-1270
Italy (Rome), Palazzo Venezia
- 1997 Les Croisades: L'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis, 1096-1270
France (Toulouse), Ensemble Conventuel des Jacobins
- 1997 Treasures of Mount Athos
Greece (Thessaloniki), Museum of Byzantine Civilization
- 1997-8 Greek Jewellery: 6000 Years of Tradition
Greece (Thessaloniki), Villa Bianca
- 1998 Byzantine Medieval Cyprus
Greece (Thessaloniki), Museum of Byzantine Culture
- 1998 Rom und Byzanz: Schatzkammerstücke aus bayerischen Sammlungen
Germany (Munich), Bayerisches Nationalmuseum
- 1998 Byzanz. Die Macht der Bilder
Germany (Hildesheim), Dom-Museum
- 1998 Oriente cristiano e santità: Figure e storie di santi tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente
Italy (Venice), Biblioteca nazionale Marciana
- 1998 The Art of Holy Russia: Icons from Moscow 1400-1660
UK (London), Royal Academy of Arts
- 1998 Conversations with God: Icon Masterpieces from the Byzantine Museum of Athens
UK (London), Hellenic Centre
- 1999 Roma - Armenia
Italy (Rome-Vatican), Salone Sistino, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
- 1999 La miniatura Padova dal medioevo al settecento
Italy (Padua), Palazzo della Ragione-Palazzo del Monte

- 1999 Tesori medioevale della Repubblica di Macedonia
Italy (Rome), Palazzo Venezia
- 1999 Trésors médiévaux de la République de Macédoine
France (Paris), Musée National du Moyen Âges, Thermes de Cluny
- 1999 National Treasures of Georgia
USA (Baltimore, San Diego, Houston), Walters Art Gallery, Mingei International Museum, Museum of Fine Arts
- 1999 Mirror of the Medieval World
USA (New York), Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 1999 Ceremony and Faith: Byzantine Art and Divine Liturgy
Australia (Melbourne), Hellenic Antiquities Museum
- 1999 Byzantine Glazed Ceramics: The Art of Sgraffito
Greece (Thessaloniki), Museum of Byzantine Culture
- 1999 Da Creta a Toledo: Iconos Griegos de la Colección Velimezis
Spain (Toledo), Museo de Santa Cruz
- 1999- I Croati: Cristianesimo, cultura, arte
2000 Vatican (Vatican City), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
- 1999- Cristiani d'Oriente: Spiritualità, arte e potere nell'europa post bizantina
2000 Italy (Trieste), Scuderie del Castello di Miramare
- 1999- El Greco: Identity and Transformation: Crete, Italy, Spain
2000 Spain (Madrid), Italy (Rome), Greece (Athens), Museo Thyssen Bornemisza, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, National Gallery-Alexandros Soutzos Museum
- 1999- Sophia: La sapienza di Dio / Sofiia Premudrost Bozhiia
2000 Italy (Rome), Piazza San Pietro / Russia (Moscow), State Tret'akov Gallery
- 2000 Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana
Italy (Rome), Palazzo delle Esposizioni
- 2000 Konstantinopel, Scultura byzantina dai Musei di Berlino
Italy (Ravenna)
- 2000 I Vangeli dei popoli: La parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia
Vatican (Vatican City), Palazzo della Cancelleria
- 2000 Cyprus, the Holy Land: Icons through the Centuries, Tenth to Twentieth Century
UK (London), Hellenic Centre
- 2000 L'art Copte en Égypte: 2000 ans de Christianisme
France (Paris), Institut du Monde Arabe
- 2000 Sztuka ikony: Malarstwo sakralne Macedonii, XI-XIX w. (The Art of the Icon: Religious Painting of Macedonia, 11th-19th centuries)
Poland (Cracow), Muzeum Czartoryskich
- 2000 Parure d'une princesse byzantine: Tissus archéologiques de Sainte-Sophie de Mistra
Switzerland (Geneva), Musée d'Art et d'Histoire

- 2000 Rescued Armenian Treasures from Cilicia: Sacred Art of the Kilikia Museum, Antelias, Lebanon
Germany (Halle), Staatliche Galerie Moritzburg Halle
- 2000 Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt
USA (New York), Metropolitan Museum of Art
- 2000 Antioch: The Last Ancient City
USA (Worcester, MA), Worcester Art Museum
- 2000 Tesori dell'arte cristiana in Bulgaria
Italy (Rome), Mercati di Traiano
- 2000 ✚ I tesori della Fede: Oreficeria e Scultura dalle Chiese di Venezia
Italy (Venice), Chiesa di San Barnaba
- 2000-1 Il volto di Christo
Italy (Rome), Palazzo delle Esposizioni
- 2000 Arte e sacro mistero: Tesori dal Museo Russo di San Pietroburgo
Italy (Vicenza), Gallerie di Palazzo Leoni Montanari
- 2000 The City Beneath the City: Antiquities from the Metropolitan Railway Excavations
Greece (Athens), Museum of Cycladic Art
- 2000 Sofiia Premudrost' Bozhii: Vystavka russkoi ikonpisi XIII-XIX vekov iz sobranii muzeev Rossii
Russia (Moscow), State Tret'iakov Gallery
- 2000-1 Rossiia, pravoslavie, ku'tura
Russia (Moscow), State Historical Museum
- 2000-1 Sinai, Vizantiia, Rus': Pravoslavnoe iskusstvo s 6 do nachala 20 veka /
Sinai, Byzantium, Russia: Orthodox Art from the Sixth to the Twentieth Century
Russia (St. Petersburg), State Hermitage Museum
UK (London), Courtauld Gallery, Somerset House
- 2000-1 Luca Evangelista: Parola e immagine tra Oriente e Occidente
Italy (Padua), Museo Diocesano
- 2000-1 Zographikes enkomion: Toichographies apo to Katholiko tes Mones Panagias
Hodegetrias sten Apoplina Leukadas
Greece (Athens), Byzantine Museum
- 2000-1 Iera Metropolis Morphou: 2000 chronia Technes kai Agiotetos
Cyprus (Nicosia), Cultural Foundation of the Bank of Cyprus
- 2000-1 Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art
Greece (Athens), Benaki Museum; Maria Vassilaki
- 2001 Mysterion Mega kai Paradoxon (A Mystery Great and Wonderous: Year of Salvation 2000)
Greece (Athens), Byzantine and Christian Museum
- 2001 Byzantine Hours, Work and Days in Byzantium. Athens-Thessaloniki-Mystras
Greece (Athens-Mystras-Thessaloniki)

- 2001 Ori e argenti russi: Mille anni di storia dal Museo Storico Statale di Mosca
Italy (Milan), Fiera di Milano
- 2001 Treasures of Christian Art in Bulgaria
Italy (Rome), Markets of Trajan
- 2001 El Greco
Austria (Vienna) Kunsthistorisches Museum
- 2001 El Greco: Themes and Variations
USA (New York), Frick Collection
- 2001 Treasures from the Ark: 1700 Years of Armenian Christian Art
UK (London), British Library
- 2001 Byzance retrouvée: Érudits et voyageurs français (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)
France (Paris), Chapelle de la Sorbonne
- 2001 Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle
France (Paris), Musée du Louvre
- 2001 Trésors de Byzance: Manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France
France (Paris), Bibliothèque Nationale
- 2001-2 Byzanz, das Licht aus dem Osten: Kult und Alltag im byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis
15. Jahrhundert
Germany (Paderborn), Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum
- 2001-2 Everyday Life in Byzantium
Greece (Thessaloniki), White Tower
- 2001-2 Byzantium: an Oecumenical Empire
Greece (Athens), Byzantine and Christian Museum
- 2002 A Mystery Great and Wonderous, Year of Salvation 2000: Exhibition of Icons and
Ecclesiastical Treasures
Greece (Athens), Byzantine and Christian Museum
- 2002 Armenian Relics of Cilicia: From the Museum of the Catholicosate in Antelias, Lebanon
Greece (Athens), Benaki Museum
- 2002 L'approccio all'uomo bizantino attraverso l'occhio di un collezionista
Greece (Athens)
- 2002 Gold der Awaren. Der Goldschatz von Nagyszentmiklós
Hungary (Budapest)
- 2002-3 Byzantine Women and Their World
USA (Cambridge, MA), Harvard University Art Museums
- 2002-3 Post-Byzantium: The Greek Renaissance, 15th to 18th Century Treasures from the
Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens
USA (New York), Onassis Cultural Center
- 2002-3 + Venezia! Kunst aus venezianischen Palästen

- Germany (Bonn), Kunst-und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
- 2003 Aspectos de la vida cotidiana en Bizancio
Spain (Madrid), Museo Arqueológico Nacional
- 2003 Bizancio en España: De la Antigüedad tardía a El Greco
Spain (Madrid), Museo Arqueológico Nacional
- 2003-4 El Greco
USA (New York), Metropolitan Museum of Art / UK (London), National Gallery
- 2004 Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)**
USA (New York), Metropolitan Museum of Art; Chief Curator: Helen C. Evans
- 2004 Byzantium and the West
USA (Los Angeles), J. Paul Getty Museum
- 2004 Mandylion. Intorno al Sacro Volto, da Bisanzio a Genova
Italy (Genoa), Museo Diocesano
- 2004 Pilgrimage to Sinai: Treasures from the Holy Mountain of Saint Catherine
Greece (Athens), Benaki Museum
- 2004 Crusades: Myth and Realities
Cyprus (Nicosia), Nicosia Municipal Arts Centre
- 2004-5 ✚ Da Giotto a Malevic: la reciproca meraviglia
Italy (Rome), Scuderie del Quirinale
- 2004-5 Die Welt von Byzanz - Europas östliches Erbe. Glanz, Krisen und Fortleben einer tausendjährigen Kultur
Germany (Munich), Archäologische Staatssammlung
- 2005 Krone und Schleier
Germany (Bonn), Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
- 2005 Verletzliche Beute. Spätantike und frühislamische Textilien aus Ägypten
Austria (Vienna), Museum für Angewandte Kunst
- 2005 Greek Treasures from the Benaki Museum in Athens
Australia (Sydney / Melbourne), Powerhouse Museum / Museum Victoria
- 2005 Tree of Paradise: Jewish Mosaics from the Roman Empire
USA (Brooklyn), Brooklyn Museum
- 2006 Athos: Monastic Life on The Holy Mountain
Finland (Helsinki), Art Museum Tennis Palace
- 2006 The Road to Byzantium: Luxury Arts of Antiquity
UK (London), Hermitage Rooms at Somerset House
- 2006 In the Beginning: Bibles before the Year 1000
USA (Washington DC), Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery
- 2006-7 Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai
USA (Los Angeles), J. Paul Getty Museum

- 2006-7 The Gospels in Medieval Manuscripts Illumination
USA (Los Angeles), J. Paul Getty Museum
- 2007 Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art
USA (New Haven), Kimbell Art Museum
- 2007 The Greeks: Art Treasures from the Benaki Museum, Athens
Portugal (Lisbon), Calouste Gulbekian Museum
- 2007 Enamels: Color in the Course of Time
Greece (Athens), Byzantine and Christian Museum
- 2007 Gods on Coins: Ancient Greece, Rome and Byzantium
Russia (St. Petersburg), State Hermitage Museum
- 2008 Die Kunst der frühen Christen in Syrien. Zeichen, Bilder und Symbole vom 4. bis 7. Jahrhundert
Germany (Oldenburg), Landesmuseum Natur und Mensch
- 2008 Medieval Treasures from the Cleveland Museum of Art
USA (Los Angeles), J. Paul Getty Museum
- 2008 +Byzantium 330-1453**
UK (London), Royal Academy of Arts; Robin Cormack, Adrian Locke, and Maria Vassilaki
- 2009 The Origins of El Greco: Icon Painting in Venetian Crete
USA (New York), Onassis Cultural Center
- 2009 Le Mont Athos et l'Empire byzantin. Trésors de la Sainte Montagne
France (Paris), Petit Palais - Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris
- 2009 De Byzance à Istanbul: un port pour deux continents
France (Paris), Galeries Nationales, Grand-Palais, Champs Élysées
- 2010 From Byzantium to Istanbul: 8000 Years of a Capital
Turkey (Istanbul), Sabanci University, Sakip Sabanci Museum
- 2010 The Hand of Angelos, an Icon Painter in Venetian Crete
Greece (Athens), Benaki Museum
- 2010 Saint Russie. L'art Russe des origines à Pierre le Grand
France (Paris), Musée du Louvre
- 2010 +Byzanz: Pracht und Alltag**
Germany (Bonn), Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland; Falko Daim
- 2010 Architecture as Icon: Perception and Representation or Architecture in Byzantine Art
USA (Princeton, NJ), Princeton University Art Museum
- 2010 Coptic Art Revealed
Egypt (Cairo), Al-Amir Taz Palace
- 2010-1 Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe

USA (Cleveland, Baltimore), Cleveland Museum of Art, Walters Art Museum
UK (London), The British Museum

- 2011 Myth and Coinage: Representations, Symbolisms and Interpretations from Greek Mythology
Greece (Athens), National Archaeological Museum and Numismatic Museum
- 2011 Byzantium and the Arabs
Greece (Thessaloniki), Museum of Byzantine Culture
- 2011 Rayonnement de Byzance. Les manuscrits grecs enluminés des Balkans (VIe-XVIIIe siècles)
(in conjunction with the XXII International Congress of Byzantine Studies)
Bulgaria (Sofia), Galerie Nationale d'Art étranger
- 2011-2 Wege nach Byzanz
Germany (Mainz), Landesmuseum Mainz
- 2011-2 Transition to Christianity: Art of Late Antiquity, 3rd-7th Century AD
USA (New York), Onassis Cultural Center
- 2012 Byzantium and Islam: Age of Transition
USA (New York), Metropolitan Museum of Art; Helen C. Evans
- 2012 Chypre entre Byzance et l'Occident IVe-XVIe siècle
France (Paris), Musée du Louvre
- 2012 Das Goldene Byzanz und der Orient
Austria (Schallaburg), Renaissanceschloss Schallaburg
- 2013 Image and Scripture: Greek Presence in Messina from the Middle Ages to Modernity
Italy (Messina, Palermo), Museum Interdisciplinare Regionale, Palazzo dei Normanni
- 2013 Heaven and Earth: Art of Byzantium from Greek Collections
USA (Washington, DC / Los Angeles): National Gallery of Art / J. Paul Getty Museum

Appendix B.1. List of recurring and core objects of Byzantine art

Remarks:

- This list contains objects that have appeared in three or more major exhibitions of Byzantine art from 1931 to 2010, or in two of three recent exhibitions whereby the three shows at the Metropolitan Museum of Art are treated as one exhibition.
- The list is divided into Early, Middle and Late Byzantine periods, then broken down by material, and in some larger groups by subject matter.
- The list does not include coins and seals.
- An indented object description indicates a similar object in regard to material, size, and iconography, or also a complementary piece to the preceding object.
- Where known, inventory number and provenance are given.²⁷⁶
- Bold type indicates an object shown in four or more exhibitions, also depicted in B.2.

Key:

- * = Not displayed in exhibition and not planned for display; other loans were secured from the respective lender.
- (cat.) = This object was included in planning and the exhibition catalog, but was not in fact on display during the exhibition (where known).
- x = Exhibition contained no loan objects from the respective collection.
- X = Exhibition contained no loans from the respective country.
- O = Object not yet found or excavated (when known from provenance in catalogs).
- (O) = Object in situ and not yet removed to a museum collection (when known from provenance given in catalogs).
- (?), (x) = Whereabouts unknown, uncertain.

Only for Athens 1964:

- (X) = Loans from this collection were expected but none is listed in the catalogue.

Late Antique, Early Byzantine Period, from 4th to 8th century

Object description	Paris 1931	UK 1958	Ath 1964	Brus 1982	NY 1977	NY 1997	NY 2004	Lon 2008	Bonn 2010
SCULPTURE IN THE ROUND									
Head of Constantine I, (?), 325-330, bronze gilt, h: 36 cm, National Museum, Belgrade, 79-IV	X	2	(X)	X	10	-	-	5	1
Portrait of Emperor Theodosios II, (?), c. 425-450, marble, h: 29 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités Greques, Etrusques at Romaines, Inv. no. Ma 1036	536?	*	*	*	22	-	-	*	2

²⁷⁶ The following institutions provide online access to their collection database, including provenance:
 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online>
 The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore: <http://art.thewalters.org/>
 Dumbarton Oaks Museum, Washington DC: http://museum.doaks.org/IT_0?sid=8475&x=203993
 Victoria and Albert Museum, London: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/>
 The British Museum, London: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx
 The British Library, London: http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/

Male head (Eutropius), Ephesos (Efes), 5th c., marble, h: 32 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Antikensammlung, I 880 (found: Ephesos; gift of Sultan Abdul Hamid II to Kaiser Franz Joseph before 1911)	*	X	1	x	55	-	-	*	253
Portrait head of empress Theodora, ca. 530-540, Cpl(?), marble h: 27 cm, Museo del Castello Sforzesco, Milan, 755 (found: during demolition of medieval walls in Milan, 1864)	527	*	*	Sc.3	27	-	-	*	x
Relief with besieged/ city or city being liberated, Egypt, 5th c., wood, 45 x 22 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 4782 (acquired from Egypt, 1900)	548	*	*	x	69	-	-	7	362
ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION									
Floor mosaics from Great Palace (fragments), Cpl, 5th c., stone tesserae, various dimensions, Great Palace Mosaic Museum, Istanbul (excavated 1951-54)	O	VI (repr.)	(132, 133, 134)	X	X	-	-	X	4, 5, 6
Tomb with wall paintings (Susanne), Thessaloniki, early 5th c., fresco, 202 x 144 x 107 cm, 170 x 127.5 cm, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, BT 17A-B (excavated: eastern cemetery, Thessaloniki)	x	X	*	P.1	x	-	-	9.1, 9.2	*
Wall paintings from a tomb, Thessaloniki, mid-4th c., fresco, h: 140 x 120-198 cm, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, BT 195	x	X	*	*	x	-	-	*	452
CAMEOS									
Cameo with warrior horseman in battle, (?), first half 4th c., sardonyx, 15 x 19 x 2.5 cm, National Museum, Belgrade, 116/IV	X	*	(X)	X	71	-	-	4	*
Cameo with Annunciation and Deesis, Cpl, 5th-6th c. and 9th-11th c., sardonyx, 4.5 x 3.6 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, cat. Babelon 338	158?	x	103	St.1	*	*	-	*	162
JEWELRY									
Pair of earrings with wire triangle and three pendants, (?), 5th-6th c., gold, sapphires, pearls and glass, 9,7 x 4 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, 1807	x	X	*	*	*	-	-	155	74
Pair of chain earrings, Cyprus or Cpl (?), 6th-7th c., gold, pearls, l: 7.5 cm, Museum of Cyprus, Nicosia, 426/8 (found: Second treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1902) New York 1977: identical earrings, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 17.190.1665,1666 (gift of J. Pierpont Morgan)	X	*	*(?)	J.4	306	-	-	40	X
Finger ring with swivel bezel (St, Thekla; angel), (?), 6th-7th c., gold, d: 2.1 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, ΓΕ 2107	x	X	*	*	305	-	-	149	*
Pair of bracelets, Cyprus (?), 6th c., gold, d: 9 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. no. 1835, 1836	x	X	*	J.2 only one	297 only one	-	-	139	*
Bracelet, Cpl (?), 6th-7th c., gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, glass, d: 8.2 cm, Metropolitan	x	X	(x)	X	300	-	-	142	*

Museum of Art, New York, 17.190.1670 (Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan) (supposedly from Assiut or ancient Antinoe, Egypt)									
Bracelet with a bust of the Mother of God, Eastern Mediterranean, c. 600, gold, hoop: 6.7cm, British Museum, London, PE AF.351 (found: Syria, Franks bequest 1897)	x	*	*	*	*	-	-	143	86
Body chain, "Byzantine", 6th-early 7th c., gold, l: 72 cm, British Museum, London, PE 1916.7-4.1 (found: Egypt; Burns collection)	x	*	*	*	*	-	-	126	80
Gold pendant (enkolpion) with Adoration of the Magi and Ascension, Eastern Mediterranean, ca. 600, gold, d: 6.8 cm, British Museum, London, 1983.7-4.1	X?	X?	X?	X?	X?	-	-	28	170
Medallion with the Virgin and Child, Nativity, Adoration and Baptism, with chain, Cpl, late 6th c., gold, D: 7.2 cm, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, Byzantine Collection, BZ 1955.10.1-2 (found: Second treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1902 or near Kyrenia, 1906; formerly Strzygowski collection)	x	X	399	X	287	-	-	38.1, 38.2	x
Pectoral / Necklace with medallion and coins, Cpl(?), late 6th-early 7th c., gold, h: 35.2 cm, medaillon d: 11.7 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 30219, 506-506a (found: Assiut, Egypt)	*	*	*	J.6	296	-	-	127	*
Gold pendant cross (enkolpion) with Christ, the Virgin, St. John and two saints, Egypt (?), ca. 600-650, gold, 8 x 5.3 cm, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, Byzantine Collection, BZ.1937.24 (purchased 1937 from art dealers Stora, Paris)	X?	X	*	X	301	-	-	129	x
The Berlin Collar (necklace), Cpl (?), second half 6th-first half 7th c., gold, pearls, emeralds, sapphires, amethyst, d: 23 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Antikenmuseum, 30219, 505 (found: Assiut, Egypt, 1909)	*	*	*	*	284	-	-	121	*
Necklace of 19 perforated gold disks, (?), 7th c., gold, l: 56 cm, disk d: 2.5 cm, Museum of Cyprus, Nicosia, 1959/X-9/1	X	*	400	J.7	*	-	-	122	X
MEDAILLON									
Medallion of Justinian (cast copy), Cpl, 534(?)–538, copy: electrotype, original: gold, d: 8.2 cm, British Museum, London, BMC P.25 (original: found at Kayseri, 1751, lost 1831)	x	254	*	N.1	44	-	-	29	*
BRONZE, ALLOYS									
One-pound commodity weight with three imperial figures, Eastern Mediterranean, late 4th-5th c., gunmetal, 6.7 x 6.1 cm, 323.71 gr., British Museum, London, PE 1980.6-1	x	*	*	*	*	-	-	118	315
One-pound commodity weight with three emperors, Cpl, late 4th-early 5th c., bronze, silver, 5.1 x 5.4 cm, 323.3 gm, Menil Collection, Houston, 10	x	X	x	X	325	-	-	x	x
Hanging weight in the form of an empress, Cpl(?), 5th c., bronze, h: 16 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. no. 11525	x	X	527	Br.1	*	-	-	*	*
Hanging weight in the form of an empress, Cpl(?), 5th c., bronze, h: 18.5 (with hook: 37.1	x	x	X	Br.2	327-328	-	-	*	x

cm), Collection of George Ortiz, Geneva New York 1977: identical weight, anonymous loan									
Amphora, Egypt, 5th c., copper alloy, h: 22 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. no. 11602	x	X	*	*	*	-	-	169	307
Fish-shaped perfume flask, Egypt, 5th-6th c., 14.8 x 8.4 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. no. 11528	x	X	*	*	*	-	-	90	308
Bucket, Eastern Mediterranean, (early) 6th c., brass, h: 21 cm (with handle), d: 17.8 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. no. 32553	x	X	*	*	*	-	-	98	*
Bucket, "Byzantine", 6th c., bronze, h: 10.5, d: 17 cm, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne, inv. no. RGM 89,78	*	x	*	x	*	-	-	x	311
SILVER									
Chair ornaments with tyches, Rome, after 324, silver gilt, each 18.7 x 7 cm, British Museum, London, 1866.1229.21, 23, 24	x	*	*	*	155	-	-	10.1- 3	*
The Projecta Casket, Rome, 330-380, silver, gilt, 28.6 x 55.9 x 43.2 cm, British Museum, London, M&LA 1866.1229.1	x	*	*	*	310	-	-	12	*
Ewer / flagon with scenes from Old and New Testaments, "Western Mediterranean", early 5th c., silver, partially gilt, h: 21.6 cm, d: 7.6 cm, National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh, GVA 1 (excavated: Traprain Law near Edinburgh, 1919)	x	24	*	x	389	-	-	114	x
Chalice with four tyches (Cpl, Cyprus, Rome, Alexandria), (?), 7th c., h: 16.8cm, Metropolitan Museum, New York, 17.190.1710 (found: Vrap, Albania)	x	X	(x/*)	X	156	-	-	*	69
Missorium of emperor Theodosios I, Thessaloniki(?), 388, silver, partially gilt, d: 74 cm, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid (found: Estramadure)	341	x	x	O.2	64	-	-	X	X
Plate with Aphrodite and Adonis, Cpl or Alexandria (found Feltre, Belluno, Italy), 6th c., silver, d: 28.9 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des Monnaies, Medailles et Antiquités, inv. no. 348 (found: Feltre valley, Belluno, Italy, 1875)	389	x	482	O.6		-	-	*	113
Syrian hoards									
The Antioch Chalice, Syria, first half 6th c., silver gilt, H: 19.7 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cloisters Collection, 1950 (50.4) (found: supposedly Syria, ca. 1908 or Antioch, 1910; formerly collection of Fahim Kouchakji)	335	X	x	X	542	-	-	19	*
Silver chalice with inscription, Syria, 6th c., Silver, partially gilt, niello, 18 x 26.6 x 16 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1971.633 (before 1970 private collection, Switzerland)	X?	X?	X?	X	543	-	-	187	x
The Riha Paten with Communion of the Apostles, Cpl/Syria(?), 565-578, silver partially gilt, d: 35 cm, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, Byzantine Collection, BZ 1924.5 (found at Riha, near Antioch; purchased 1924)	410	X	484	X	547	-	-	20	x
The Emesus Vase, Cpl/Syria(?), end 6th c., silver, h: 45 cm, d: 27 cm, Musée du Louvre,	362	44	*	O.7	552	-	-	35	62

Paris, Department of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities, Bj 1895 (found: Homs, Syria, gift of J.A. Durighello, 1892)									
Chalice with 4 Apostles and the Cross, Syria (Kaper Koraon), c. 550-575, silver, h: 16.8 cm, d: 14 cm, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, inv. 57.636 (excavated: Syria, 1908-10; purchased Paris, 1929, bequeathed 1931)	x	X	x	X	532	-	-	34	x
Chalice with inscription, Syria (Kaper Koraon), c. 600-650, silver, h: 12.7 cm, British Museum, London, Department of Prehistory and Europe, inv. no. 1914, 0415.1 (excavated: Syria, ca. 1908-10)	x	*	*	*	*	-	-	*	29
First Cyprus Treasure									
Plate with cross, Cpl, 578-582, silver, D: 26.8 cm, British Museum, London, 1899.0425.1 (found: First treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1897)	x	*	490	*	*	-	-	44	*
Plate with cross, Cpl, 578-582, silver, partially gilt, niello, d: 27 cm, British Museum, London, 1899.0425.1 (found: First treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1897)	x	*	490	O.9	*	-	-	44	*
Spoons with running animals (set of 11), Cpl, around 600, silver, each 25.4 cm, British Museum, London, Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, inv. no. M&LA 1899.0425.18-27 (found: First treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1897)	x	*	492	O.8 (19, 22, 27)		-	-	101, 102 (25, 18)	66, 67, 68 (22, 27, 20)
Hexagonal censer with busts of Christ, Virgin, and apostles, Cpl, 602-610, silver, D: 10.9 cm, British Museum, London, 1899.0425.3 (found: First treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1897)	x	*	491	O.11	562	-	-	36	*
Bowl with portrait of a saint (Sergios or Bacchos?), Tarsus(?), 641-651, silver, d: 24.3 cm, h: 7.8 cm, British Museum, London, 1899.0425.2 (found: First treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1897)	x	31	489	O.16	493	-	-	45	*
Second Cyprus Treasure									
Plate (Paten) with cruciform monogram, Cpl, 602-619, silver, D: 44.2 cm, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Department of Antiquities, inv.no. J. 455 (found: Second treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1902)	x	38	498	O.10	548	-	-	43	X
Plate with cross, Cpl, 613-629/30, silver, d: 36.8 cm, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Department of Antiquities, inv.no. J. 456 (found: Second treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1902)	x	55	499	O.15	*	-	-	42	X
Plates with scenes from the life of David (Marriage of David, David kills the bear, David receives the messenger of Saul or Samuel), Cpl, 613-629/30, silver, D: 14 cm, 26.8 cm, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Department of Antiquities, inv.nr. J. 452-454 (found: Second treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1902)	x	34, 35, 36	497, 496, 493	O.12, O.14, O.13	432, 428, 426	-	-	30, 31, 32	X
Plates with scenes from the life of David (David fights a lion, David is dressed in armor), Cpl 629/30, silver, D: 14 cm, 26 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 17.190.394	x	X	(495, 494)	X	429, 430	-	-	*	64, 65

and 17.190.399 (Found: Second treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1902)									
Krategos Treasure, Mytilene									
Bowl (trulla) with Aphrodite, Cpl, 610-625, silver, 7.3 x 16.5 x 31.3 cm, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, BXM 899 (found: Krategos treasure, Mytilene, 1951)	O	X	506	x	x	-	-	104	*
Bowl (trulla) with Poseidon/Neptune, (?), 527-565, silver, d: 16.9 cm, h: 18 cm, l: 32 cm (with handle), Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Antiquités grecques et romaines, inv. no. Bj 1983 (found: Cap Chenoua, North Africa, before 1893)	*	*	*	O.3	114	-	-	*	*
IVORY									
Comb with personifications of Rome and Constantinople, Alexandria (?), second half 6th c., ivory, 16.3 x 5.5 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. no. 10287 (from Egypt; purchased in Paris, 1925)	x	X	30	Iv.1	*	-	-	167	*
Plaque for furniture (?) with Bellerophon, "east Roman", 5th c., ivory, 21.2 x 8.8 cm, British Museum, London, Department of Prehistory and Europe, inv. no. MME 56,6-23,3	x	*	*	*	143	-	-	*	107
Pyxis with Women at the Tomb, Syria-Palestine, 6th c., d: 10.2 cm, h: 12.7 cm, Metropolitan Museum, of Art, New York, 17.190.57 (gift of J. Pierpont Morgan; formerly Schevitch collection)	x	X	x	X	520	-	-	*	110
Diptych with Asklepios and Hygieia, Rome, ca. 400-420, ivory, each 31.4 x 13.9 x 0.6 cm, World Museum Liverpool, M.10044 (formerly Gaddi collection, Florence, ca. 1500; bequeathed, 1867)	*	*	*	x	133	-	-	16	*
Diptych leaf with a hunt (venatio), Rome or northern Italy, early 5th c., ivory, 29.4 x 12 x 0.6 cm, World Museum Liverpool, M.10042 (collection of P-G- de Roujoux, Macon, 1804; bequeathed 1867)	29	27	*	x	84	-	-	14	131
Diptych leaf with Adam in Garden of Eden, Cpl(?), 5th c., ivory, 29.6 x 12.7 cm, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, Carrand 20 (found near Mainz, formerly Carrand collection)	28	46	29	x	*	-	-	*	x
Diptych with Clementinus, Cpl, 513, ivory, 37 x 12.5 cm, Liverpool Museum, M.10036 (formerly collection of Joachim Negelein, d. 1749; bequeathed 1867)	41	26	*	x	48	-	-	13	*
Diptych leaf of Anastasios, Cpl, 517, ivory, 36.5 x 13 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 386-1871 (formerly treasury of St. Lambert, Liège Cathedral, until French Revolution)	43	30	*	Iv.3	88	-	-	*	*
Diptych leaf of Magnus, Cpl, 518(?), ivory, 26.2 x 13 cm, Museo del Castello Sforzesco, Milan, Avori 8 (formerly collection of G. Bossi)	(x)	29	33	*	49	-	-	*	x
Diptych leaf of Anastasius Magnus. Cpl, 518, ivory, 38 x 13 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles	44	x	*	*	*	-	-	*	*

Diptych leaf with Archangel, Cpl, 525-550, ivory, 42.8 x 14.4 x 0.9 cm, British Museum, London, P&E OA 9999 (earlier EC 295) (in inventory 1856)	x	*	*	x	481	-	-	21	108
Consular Diptych of Justinus, Cpl, 540, ivory, each leaf 33.5 x 13 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Skulpturenabteilung, Frühchristliche-Byzantinische Sammlung, 3367 (reportedly from Goslar Cathedral)	*	52	35	*	51	-	-	*	*
Diptych leaf with a Byzantine empress (Ariadne?), "Byzantine", (end 5th-early) 6th c., ivory, 26.5 x 12.7 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Antikensammlung X 39	*	Vienna 1958 cat. 19	32	x	25	-	-	24	8
Diptych leaf with a Byzantine empress (Ariande?), Cpl, early 6th c., ivory, 36.6 x 13.6 x 2.25 cm, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence	30	39	*	x	*	-	-	*	x
Ivory with Adoration of the Magi, Eastern Mediterranean, first half 6th c., ivory, 21.5 x 12.3 cm, British Museum, London, P&E 1904, 0702.1	x	16	*	*	476	-	-	22	*
Diptych with Christ and Mother of God, Cpl, mid-6th c., ivory, each panel 29 x 13 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. 564 and 565 (Königliche Schatzkammer, 1821)	*	*	*	Iv.4	474	-	-	25	*
Ivory with the Annunciation, Eastern Mediterranean, late 7th-early 8th c., ivory, 19.7 x 9.4 cm, Castello Sforzesco, Milan, Avori 14 (formerly Trivulzio collection)	*	(125)	101	*	(448)	-	-	23	x
PAINTED ICONS									
Icon with the Virgin and Child, Cpl (Sinai?), 6th c., larch wood, encaustic, gold, 35.4 x 20.6 cm. Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Arts, Kiev, inv. no. 112 ЖЖ (taken from Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai, to Kiev by Archimandrite Porphy Uspenskij, mid-19th c.)	X	x	X	X	X	-	-	314	145
Icon with Christ and Saints Sergios and Bacchos, Cpl (Sinai), 6th or 7th c., pine wood, encaustic, gold, 28.5 x 41.8 x cm, Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Arts, Kiev, inv. no. 111 ЖЖ (taken from Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai, to Kiev by Archimandrite Porphy Uspenskij, mid-19th c.)	X	x	X	X	492 (copy)	-	-	313	146
MANUSCRIPTS									
Gospel according to St. Matthew (Codex Sinopensis), Syria/Palestine, second half 6th c., parchment (illuminated manuscript), 30 x 25 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, supp. Gr. 1286, (fol. 10v) (purchased in Sinop, 1899)	657	x	*	*	442	-	-	49	*
TEXTILES									
Silk with motif of Bahram V Gour hunting, (?), 7th-8th c., silk, fragment: 77 x 64 cm, Eglise Notre-Dame et Mairie, Saint-Calais (Shroud of Saint Calais, removed from reliquary in 1947, supposedly shroud for relics since 1171)	O	Paris 1958 cat. 253	570	Tx.5	x	-	-	x	x
Silk with a quadriga, (?), 8th c., silk, fragment: 75 x 72.5 cm, Musée de Cluny, Paris, CL.	213	56	573	Tx.4	*	-	-	*	(53)

13289 (found: shrine of Emperor Charlemagne, Aachen)									
Silk with a quadriga, (?), 8th c., silk, fragment: 76 x 75 cm, Domkapitel, Aachen, G9 (found: shrine of Emperor Charlemagne, Aachen)	x	x	572	*	x	-	-	x	52
Silk with Emperor standing in a quadriga, 8th-9th c., silk, 50 x 10 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 762-1893 (purportedly removed from shrine in Verdun)	289	64	574	*	*	*	-	*	*

Middle Byzantine Period, from 8th/9th to 13th century

Object	Paris 1931	UK 1958	Ath 1964	Brus 1982	NY 1977	NY 1997	NY 2004	Lon 2008	Bonn 2010
TEXTILES									
Silk with "Samson" and the Lion, Syria (?), ca. 780-900, silk: Paris 1931: 94 x 39 cm, Collection Sangiori, Rome (sold to Mildred and Robert Woods Bliss, 1934; currently Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, BZ.1934.1) Edinburg 1958, Athens 1964: 40 x 68 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 7036-1860 and 8558-1863 (from Chur, formerly collection of Canon Franz Bock, Aachen) Brussels 1982: 24 x 32.5 cm, Musée historique des Tissus, Lyon, 22628/B2-875.III.1 (from Chur)	214	61	575	Tx.7	-	*	-	*	*
Silk with simurgh/senmurv, "Byzantine", 9th-10th c., silk, fragment: 32 x 40 cm, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, inv. no. Tx. 609 (from shrine of a bishop in Verdun, acquired 1894)	331	67	576	Tx.11	-	148	-	x	X
Silk with two oxen, (?), 10th c., silk, 32 x 19.5 cm, Treasury of St. Servaas, Maastricht, inv. no. 6	320	71	577	Tx.10	-	x	-	x	x
Silk with lion and a tree, Cpl, late 10th-early 11th c., silk, fragment: 24 x 35 cm, Treasury of St. Servaas, Maastricht	300	103	579	*	-	x	-	x	x
Fragment of a Dalmatic, Cpl, 11th c., silk, linen thread, 51.3 x 107.5 cm, Musée d'histoire, Sion /Sitten (Cathédrale de Sion)	x	x	X	x	-	x	-	63	61
RELIQUARIES - Stand-alone containers									
The Fieschi-Morgan staurotheke, Cpl(?), early 9th c., cloisonné enamel, silver, gilt, gold, niello, 10.3x7.1cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 17.190.715a,b (by tradition: Pope Innocent IV, d. 1254; Fieschi family until 1798; gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917)	x	X	*	X	547	34	-	52	*
Reliquary of the True Cross, Cpl, second half 10th c., wood, gold, tempera, 26 x 12.5 x 2.5 cm, Vatican Museum, Vatican City, inv. no. 61898 (Treasury of the Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran)	X	*	x	X	-	35	-	244	38
Reliquary of St. Anastasius (artophorion),	x	x	514	O.20	-	300	-	x	37

Antioch(?), second half 10th c., silver, gilt, niello, 39 x 20 x 19.6 cm, Domschatzkammer, Aachen									
Staurotheke, Cpl, 975-1000, silver-gilt, enamel, gemstones on wood, 27 x 22 x 5 cm, Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice, Santuario 75 (brought from Cpl in 13th or early 14th c.)	x	191	464	*	-	37	-	*	*
Reliquary of Saint Marina, Cpl, 12th c., silver gilt, 10 x 6 x 2.8 cm, Museo Correr, Venice, (formerly church of San Marina, brought from Cpl in 1213)	x	x	519	O.22	-	332	-	x	x
+ "Incense burner" in the shape of a domed building, Cpl or South Italy, late 12th c., silver, partially gilt, 36 x 30 x 30 cm, Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice, Tesoro, 142 (Hahnloser 109) (recorded in inventory of 1283, reliquary in Venice)	x	*	*	O.23	-	176	-	176	496
IVORY									
Plaques, etc. - imperial imagery									
Comb/Scepter (?) with Christ flanked by angels and Virgin crowning Leo VI, Cpl, 886-912, ivory, 10.3 x 10 x 2 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 2006 (purchased in Chios, 1892)	67	59	81	Iv.6	-	138	-	69	9
Ivory plaque with Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos crowned by Christ, Cpl, 945, ivory, 18.6 x 9.5 x 0.7 cm, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, inv. no. n-162 / II 2 b 329 (found: Ejmiatsin, Armenia; Uvarov collection until 1932)	X	63	X	X	-	140	-	68	11
Votive plaque with Christ blessing Emperor Otto II and Empress Theophanu, (South?) Italy, 982-3, ivory, 18.5 x 10.6 cm, Musée de Cluny, Musée National du Moyen Age, Paris, Cl.392 (collection of A. Sommerand; acquired by state, 1843)	80	Paris 1958, cat. 148	82	*	-	337	-	70	x
Plaque with Christ crowning/blessing Romanos and Eudokia, Cpl, 945-949 or 1068-1071, ivory, 24.5 x 15.5 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, inv. no. 300 (formerly part of a book cover, Cathedral of St.-Jean de Besançon)	78	x	*	Iv.7	-	*	-	*	*
Caskets - intact, non-religious imagery									
The Veroli Casket, Cpl, mid-10th c., ivory, bone on wooden core, 11.2 x 40.5 x 16 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 216-1885 (Cathedral of Veroli until 1861, then Webb collection until 1865)	*	122	*	*	-	153	-	66	*
Casket with emperors and hunters, Cpl, 10th or 11th c., ivory, pigment, silver, 13.4 x 26.4 x 13 cm, Trésor de la Cathédrale de Troyes, Troyes (brought for Bishop of Troyes from Cpl after 1204)	75	135	52	Iv.23	-	141	-	67	490
Casket panels - non-religious imagery									

Casket panels with mythological scenes, Cpl(?), first half 10th c., ivory, 9.5 x 23.5 cm, 9.5 x 17 cm, Hessisches Landesuseum, Darmstadt, Kg. 54:215 a-d (formerly collection of Adolf von Hüpsch, Cologne, d. 1805)	111	160, 161	47	Iv.26	-	151	-	x	x
Casket panel with Hercules drunk, Cpl, end 10th-early 11th c., ivory, 6.5 x 4.5 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 288-1867 (formerly Webb collection)	*	153a	48	Iv.22	-	154D	-	*	*
Caskets - intact, religious imagery									
Reliquary casket with Deesis, archangels and Twelve Apostles, Cpl, second half 10th c., ivory, copper gilt mounts, 6.7 x 18.4 x 9.8 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 17.190.238 (gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917)	x	X	(x)		-	78	-	*	115
Casket with scenes from Genesis (stories of Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel), Cpl, 10th-11th c., ivory on wood, 12.5 x 46 x 19 cm, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, Kg. 54:219 (until 18th c. in the Reichsabtei St. Maximin, Trier)	89	*	43	Iv.24	-	157	-	x	x
Casket panels - religious imagery									
Casket panel with Moses and Aaron, Cpl, 10th c., ivory, 9.5 x 14.6 cm, Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna, inv. no. 789 (earlier inv. no. 157) (formerly Palagi collection)	99	136	42	Iv.12	-	x	-	x	x
Panel with Joshua receiving the ambassadors from Gibeon, Cpl, end 10th c., ivory, 7.5 x 27 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 265-1867 (formerly Webb collection)	*	91	(40)	Iv.21	-	*	-	*	*
Casket panel with Adam and Eve at the forge, (Cpl), 10th-11th c., ivory, 6.7 x 9.8 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 11.190.139 (gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917)	x	X	(x)	X	-	158B	-	*	116
Triptychs - intact									
The Borradaile triptych with Crucifixion and saints, Cpl, 10th c. (ca. 988), ivory, 27.2 x 15.7 (closed) cm, British Museum, London, P&E 1923, 12-5, 1 (from a convent in Reims, before 1905)	x	124	79	Iv.9	-	*	-	78	*
Triptych with Deesis and saints, Cpl, 912-959, ivory, 24 x 28.4 cm (open), Palazzo Venezia, Rome (inv. no. unknown) (formerly Biblioteca Casanatense)	96	68	69	x	-	x	-	x	*
The Harbaville triptych, Cpl, mid-10th c., ivory, central panel: 24.2 x 14.2 cm, each leaf: 21.7 x 7 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Objets d'Art, OA 3247 (collection of Harbeville family, Arras, before 1891)	76	75	70	Iv.8	-	80	-	77	*
Triptych with Deesis and saints, Cpl, ca. 1000, ivory, 25.2 x 33 x 2.9 cm (open), Museo Sacra della Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican City, 2441 (acquired by Pope Benedict XIV, d. 1758)	X	*	x	X	-	79	-	76	*
Triptych with Mother of God and Church Fathers Sts. Gregory of Nazianzos and John Chrysostomos, Cpl(?), 12th c., gilt bronze, open: 16.5 x 19 cm, Victoria and Albert	452	175	561	Br.26	-	-	304	*	*

Museum, London, inv. no. 1615-1855 (purchased, 1855)									
Panels and plaques									
Ivory plaque with Christ Pantokrator, Cpl, c. 950-1000, ivory, 13.5 x 11.8 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, M.13-1904 (monastery at Reichenau; 19th c. book cover in collection of Frank McClean; bequeathed 1904)	126?	65	x	x	-	83A	-	73	x
Middle panel of a triptych with Christ Pantokrator, Cpl, 10th c., ivory, 12.8 x 11.4 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Objets d'art, inv. no. MRR 421 (Révoil collection until 1828)	124	*	*	*	-	83B	-	*	43
Relief icon with Christ's Mission to the Apostles, Cpl, mid-10th c., ivory, 21 x 13.8 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Objets d'Art, MRR 422 (collection of Pierre Révoil until 1828)	*	*	87	Iv.15	-	96	-	*	*
Center panel of a triptych icon with the Entry into Jerusalem, Cpl, second half 10th c., ivory, 18.4 x 14.7 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, 1590 (collection of Sir Andrew Fontaine in 1753)	*	88	57	Iv.17	-	99	-	*	*
Plaque with Christ washing feet, Cpl, 10th c., ivory, 16 x 13.7 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Skulpturenabteilung, Frühchristliche und Byzantinische Sammlung, 2108 (formerly Spitzer collection, Paris, donated 1893)	113	129	58	*	-	*	-	*	*
Plaque with Crucifixion and Descent from the Cross, Cpl (?), mid-10th c., ivory, 22.8 x 12.1 cm, Kestner Museum, Hannover, W.M. XXI a, 44b (from treasury of St. Michaelis, Lüneburg)	79	109	77	x	-	92	-	x	x
Ivory panel with the Incredulity of Thomas from an icon with the Twelve Great Feasts, Cpl, mid-10th c., ivory, 10.6 x 8.8 cm, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, 37.7	103	X	59	X	-	94C	-	*	x
Plaque with scenes from the life of Christ, (?), 12th c., ivory, 25 x 12 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 295-1867 (formerly Webb collection)	*	127	97	*	-	328	-	*	*
Panel with the Theotokos Hodegetria, Cpl, 10th c., ivory, 25.7 x 13.3 x 1.4 cm, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, ABM b.i. 751 (formerly collection of A.I. Schaepman, Archbishop of Utrecht, d. 1882)	114	102	63	Iv.10	-	86	-	72	x
"Statuette" of standing Virgin Hodegetria, Cpl (?), mid-10th-11th c., ivory, h: 23.5 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 17.190.103 (Durighello collection before 1914)	x	X	(65)	X	-	85	-	*	*
"Statuette" of standing Virgin Hodegetria, Cpl(?), early 12th c., ivory, h: 32.5 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 702-1884 (formerly collection of Alessandro Castellani, Rome, d. 1884)	132	156	*	Iv.27	-	*	-	*	*
Plaque with Virgin Hodegetria, Cpl, mid-10th or 11th c., ivory, 18.2 x 10 cm, Trésor de la Cathédrale Saint-Paul, Liège	*	99	64	Iv.11	-	x	-	x	X

Plaque with Virgin Hodegetria, angels and donor, (?), ca. 970-980, ivory, 13.2 x 11.7 cm, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, MA 162	143	133	83	x	-	*	-	*	x
Plaque with Deesis, Cpl(?), 10th c., ivory, 17.8 x 12.4 cm, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, MA 159 (before 1821, Nerianer Institut of Aufhausen, Regensburg)	131	77	71	x	-	*	-	*	x
Triptych leaf with Archangel Michael, Cpl, 11th c., ivory, 15 x 6 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, 571 (Königliche Kunstkammer, Berlin, 1847)	97	116	74	*	-	88	-	*	*
Plaque with John the Baptist, (?), 10th c., ivory, 24.2 x 10.1 cm, Public Museum, Liverpool, M 8014 (formerly Fejervary and Mayer collections; bequeathed 1867)	77	76	68	x	-	x	-	*	*
Ivory panel with SS. Andrew and Peter, Cpl, mid-10th c. (945/59) or 1060s, ivory, 24.6 x 13.5 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstkammer 8136 (18th c., in collection of Gabriele Riccardi, Florence)	*	X	72	x	-	89A	-	74	42
Ivory panel with SS. John the Theologian and Paul, Cpl, mid-10th c. (912-959) or 1060s/11th c., ivory, 24.9 x 13.4 cm, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Venice, Avori 19 (Abbey of San Giovanni di Verdura, Padua, 18th c.)	110	73	73	Iv.13	-	89B	-	75	x
Plaque with 40 Martyrs of Sebaste, 10th-11th c., ivory, 17.6 x 12.3 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Skulpturenabteilung, 574 (Königliche Kunstkammer, 1828)	*	132	56	Iv.18	-	*	-	*	*
Relief plaque with St. Demetrios, "Byzantine", second half 10th c., ivory, 19.6 x 12.2 x 1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Cloisters Collection, 1970.324.3 (formerly collection of comte Jean-François-Auguste de Bastard d'Estang, d. 1883, then Ernst and Marthe Kofler-Truniger, Lucerne)	X	X	*	X	-	81	-	*	449
ICONS									
Relief									
Relief icon with the Koimesis, Cpl, second half 10th c., steatite, 13 x 11.2 x 1.7 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstkammer 8797 (formerly Este collection, Modena)	726	X	111	x	-	102	-	79	41
Ivory plaque with the Koimesis, (?), ca. 1000, ivory, 14 x 13.5 cm, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, inv. no. Kg. 54:216 (formerly collection of Adolf von Hüpsch, Cologne, d. 1805)	112	*	92	Iv.19	-	*	-	x	x
Relief icon with the Hetomasia and four saints, Cpl, late 10th-early 11th c., steatite, 18.4 x 11.2 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Objets d'Art, Inv. no. OA 11152 (collections of comtesse de Béhague and marquis de Ganay; acquired 1988)	*	*	*	*	-	103	-	*	44
Relief icon fragment with St Theodore	X	139	124	*	-	104	-	*	*

Stratelates, "Byzantine", 11th c., steatite, 21.5 x 11.7 cm, Museum Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican City, 982									
Relief icon with three warrior saints, Cpl, 12th c., steatite, 17.5 x 13.4 x 0.8 cm, National Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos, Sevastopol, inv. no. 84/36445 (found: Cherson, 1956)	O	x	X	X	-	203	-	x	376
Painted									
Icon of the Virgin Mary/Mother of God (Panagia Glykophilousa, Macedonia, 12th c., wood, tempera, 115 x 71.5 cm, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, BXM 984; formerly Byzantine Museum T137/1136BM	X?	x	*	x?	-	71	-	*	46
Two-sided icon with the Virgin Hodegetria and the Man of Sorrows, Kastoria, c. 1175-1200, wood, tempera, 115 x 77.5 x 3.5 cm, Byzantine Museum, Kastoria, 457	x	x	*	x	-	72	-	246	x
Icon with the Annunciation and saints, (?), late 12th c., silver gilt on wood, 31 x 27 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. no. 36272	x	x	*	*	-	*	-	206	48
Icon of the Heavenly Ladder of St. John Klimakos, Cpl or Sinai, late 12th c., wood, tempera, gold, 41.1 x 29.1 cm, Holy Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai	X	X	X	X	-	247	-	323	X
Painting of St. Justin, North Italy (?), 12th c., painted silk, 128 x 45 cm, Cattedrale San Guisto, Trieste	690	112	251	(Tx. 15)	-	x	-	x	x
METAL CROSSES									
Processional cross, Cpl(?), 10th c., bronze, enamel, 75 x 44 cm, Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens, x. 863 (purchased in Istanbul)	X?	X	552	Br.16	-	22	-	*	x
The Cross of Adrianople, (?), late 10th c., silver, gilt, niello, iron core, 58.5 x 31 x 0.4 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. no. 33794, also T.A. 146 (formerly Greek community of Adrianople, 1922-3)	x	X	*	*	-	23	-	192	(32)
Processional cross with engraved Crucifixion, Cpl, (10th-)first half 11th c., copper alloy, 36 x 30.1 x 0.3 cm, Benaki Museum, inv. no. 11442 (purchased in Cpl in 1932)	O	X	550	Br.16	-	*	-	189	*
Processional cross, Cpl or northwestern Anatolia, late 11th or early 12th c., silver, gilt, niello, bronze, 73 x 39 cm, Musée de Cluny, Musée National du Moyen Age, Paris, inv. no. Cl. 23295 (supposedly found near Eskişehir, purchased at auction, 1983)	*	*	*	*	-	26	-	191	x
METAL PLAQUES									
Plaque with Virgin Hodegetria, Cpl, 11th-12th c., copper gilt, 21.5 x 14.5 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 818-1891 (found: Torcello, collection of Robert Curzon)	*	189	560	Br.25	-	331	-	*	*
Gold enamel									
Plaque with St. Demetrios, Cpl, first half 11th c., gold, enamel, 14.5 x 8.6 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum,	493	*	470	E.3	-	107	-	*	*

27.21 (originally from a Gospel book cover in Gelati Monastery, Georgia)									
Medallion with bust of saint, Kiev(?), ca. 1100, gold, enamel, d: 7.3 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, FM 1917.80 (found: excavations in Kiev, 1824)	494	*	469	*	-	*	-	x	432
STONE									
Chalice of the Patriarchs, Cpl, 10th or early 11th c., sardonyx, silver gilt, gold cloisonné enamel, pearls, 22.5 x 14 cm, Basilica di San Marco, Venice, Tesoro (Hahnloser 40)	x	*	*	*	-	*	-	81	*
Chalice of Emperor Romanos, Cpl, 10th c., sardonyx, silver gilt, gold cloisonné enamel, pearls, h: 22.5 cm, d: 14 cm, Basilica di San Marco, Venice, Tesoro (Hahnloser 41)	x	*	*	E.2	-	31	-	*	*
Paten with Christ, Cpl, (10th-)11th c., alabaster, gold, silver gilt, crystal, pearls, cloisonné enamel, 3.2 x 32 cm, Basilica di San Marco, Venice, Tesoro, inv. no. 67 (Hahnloser 49)	x	*	*	*	-	29	-	80	*
Roundel with the Mother of God (Virgin Orans) belonging to Nikephoros Botaneiates, Cpl, 1078-1081(?), Serpentine, d: 17.5 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, A.1-1927 (at Abbey of Heiligenkreuz, Austria, after 1661; in Lyon, 18th c.)	121	100	119	St.3	-	130	-	221	*
JEWELRY									
Wearable reliquaries									
Pectoral reliquary cross, Cpl, second half 9th-10th c., gold, niello, wood, 7.2 x 3.2 cm, National Archaeological Institute and Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, inv.no. 4882 (excavated: Pliska, 1973)	O	O	O	X	-	225	-	53	35
Reliquary enkolpion, Cpl, mid-late 10th c., gold, gilt silver, cloisonné enamel, 3.8 x 3.2 x 0.6 cm, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 66.37.8	X?	X?	X?	X	-	109	-	201	x
Pectoral reliquary cross, (?) 11th c., silver, niello, 7.1 x 3.5 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. nos. 21992-4	x	X	*	*	-	123	-	194	*
Reliquary (enkolpion) with the Mother of God Hagiosoritissa, Cpl, second half 11th c., gold, enamel, 9 x 7.3 x 1.7 cm, Schatkammer van de O.L.Vrouwekerk, Maastricht (first record 1815)	507	194	471	E.4	-	113	-	*	x
Two valves/molds for cross-shaped enkolpia, Kiev, late 12th-early 13th c., slate, 10 x 6 x 2.5 cm, 12.5 x 10 x 1.5 cm, National Museum of the History of Ukraine, Kiev, NMIU v.1904/28110 f.20008 (also W 1904) and NMUI v. 2153/28109 f.20007 (also W2153) (both excavated: Kiev, 1907-8)	X	x	X	X	-	207A 207B	-	x	443
Cameos									
Cameo with Christ blessing and inscription mentioning emperor Leo VI, Cpl, 886-912, jasper, 4.7 x 3 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, A.21-1932 (The Vatican, 18th c.;	x	84	*	St.2	-	126	-	*	*

Hildburg collection)									
Cameo with Crucifixion, Cpl, end 9th-early 10th c., jasper, 6.5 x 6 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, A 77-1937 (purchased from Adolpho Loewi, art dealer in Venice in 1937)	X?	86	109	*	-	*	-	*	*
Lapis-lazuli icon with Christ blessing and the Virgin Orans, Cpl, first half 12th c., lapis, gold, silver gilt, precious stones, h: 8.3 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Objets d'Art, MR 95 (from Trésor de Saint-Denis, first mention 1505)	137	*	*	*	-	133	-	200	*
Gold									
Cuff Bracelet, Cpl, 9th-10th c., gold, glass enamel, h: 5.7 cm, d: 7.6 cm, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Athens, BKO 262/6a, earlier: Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki, AE 2506, 2507 (found: Thessaloniki, 1956)	O	X	463	E.1	-	165A	-	141	*
Pectoral cross with Four Evangelists, Cpl(?), second half 11th c., gold, enamel, emeralds, tourmaline, pearls, 9 x 6 x 1 cm, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, inv. n-162, also P-161 (AY 981, II 2b.328)	X	(193)	X	X	-	122	-	199	*
Temple pendants and suspension chains, "Kievan Rus'", end 11th-early 13th c., gold and enamel, l: 22 cm, pendants: 4.5 x 3.1 cm, National Museum of the History of Ukraine, Kiev, DM 1838, 1839 and DM 1645, 1646 (found: ruins of Kniazha Gora, Ukraine in 1897 and 1900)	X	x	X	X	-	214A 214B	-	x	434
Necklace with enamel pendants, "Byzantine", first half 10th c., gold, enamel, pearls, crystal, necklace band d: 10 cm, Veliki Preslav National Historical-Archaeological Conservation Area with Museum, 3381(1) (found: Preslav Treasure, Kastana near Veliki Preslav, 1978)	O	O	O	X	-	227	-	*	369
MANUSCRIPTS									
Non-religious content									
Theriaka and Alexipharmaka by Nikander, Cpl, 10th c., tempera on vellum (illuminated manuscript), 12.5 x 16 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ms. suppl. gr. 247 (in Italy, 14th c.; Bibliothèque Nationale, 1795)	663	x	*	M.4	226	160	-	*	*
The Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes, Palermo, ca. 1150-75, tempera on vellum (illuminated manuscript), 35.5 x 27 cm, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Vitr. 26-2 (15th c., Monastery of San Salvatore, Messina; acquired 1712)	655	x	367	M.15	-	338	-	X	X
Religious content									
Four Gospels, Cpl, early 12th c., tempera and gold on parchment (illuminated manuscript), 17.5 x 12.3 cm, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, Z. 540 (formerly collection of Giovanni Battista Recanati, d.1734/5)	649	x	316	x	-	*	-	223	x
The Gospels of John II Komnenos, Cpl, ca. 1128, Tempera and gold on vellum (illuminated manuscript), 18.5 x 12 cm, Biblioteca Apostolica	X	*	x	X	-	144	-	59	*

Vaticana, Vatican City, Urb. gr. 2 (fol. 10v) (possession of Dukes of Urbino, ca. 1482-1657)									
New Testament, Cpl, 1133, tempera and gold on vellum (illuminated manuscript), 22 x 18 cm, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 83.MB.68 (Ms. Ludwig II 4) (originally from Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos, cod. 8)	X?	X?	313 (one leaf)	M.11	-	47	-	x	x
New Testament (Codex Ebnerianus), Cpl, mid-12th c., parchment (illuminated manuscript), 20.5 x 15.5 cm, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Auct. T inf. I. 10, Misc. 136; S.C. 28118 (fol. 178v) (18th c. in collection of H.W. Ebner, Nuremberg)	x	159	296	x	-	*	-	204	x
Gospel lectionary (Syriac) with the Holy Women at the Sepulchre and Christ's Appearance to Mary Magdalene, Syria or Mesopotamia, around 1220, tempera on paper, 47x 36 cm, British Library, London, Add. 17170 (fol. 160) (obtained from Monastery of St. Mary Deipara, in the desert of Nitria, 1826)	x	x	*	*	-	254	*	304	*
The Khludov Psalter, Cpl, mid-9th c. (soon after 843), tempera on vellum (illuminated manuscript), 21x17.5 cm, State Historical Museum, Moscow, GIM 86795, also Klud. 129-d (fol. 67r)	X	*	X	X	-	52	-	50	26
The Paris Psalter, Cpl, mid-10th c., parchment (illuminated manuscript), 37 x 26.5 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Cod. Par. Gr. 139 (fol. 1v, fol. 422v) (acquired in Cpl, 1557-9; French Royal Library, 1622)	659	Paris 1958 cat. 10	*	M.5	-	163	-	60	*
Lectionary leaves - portraits of Evangelist Matthew and Evangelist Luke, Cpl, 1057-63, tempera and gold on vellum, 29 x 22.5 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland OH, 42.1512 and 42.1511 (at the Library of the Phanar, Cpl, until 1920s)	653	X	309	X	-	58A, 58B	-	*	x
The Theodore Psalter, Monastery of St. John Stoudios, Cpl, 1066, parchment (illuminated manuscript), 24.8 x 25.5 cm, British Library, London, Add. 19352 (fol. 87v-88r) (purchased at auction, 1853)	x	x	x	*	-	53	-	51	*
Homilies on the Virgin Mary by James Kokkinobaphos, Cpl, first half 12th c., parchment (illuminated manuscript), 23 x 16.5 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Gr 1208 (fol. 3v) (acquired in Cpl, 1686-88; French Royal Library 1688)	665	x	*	M.10	-	*	-	175	*
Homilies on the Virgin Mary by James Kokkinobaphos, Cpl, ca. 1125-1150, tempera and gold on vellum (illuminated manuscript), 33 x 23 cm, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Ms. Vat. gr. 1162 (fol. 2v) (first record, inventory of 1475)	X	*	x	x	-	62	-	*	*
Book covers (intact)									
Book covers, "Byzantium", late 10th-early 11th c., gilded silver on wood, gold cloisonné enamels pearls, precious stones, 29 x 21 cm, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, MS Lat. Cl. 1.100	*	x	*	x	-	41	-	82	x

(Hahnloser 36)									
ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION									
Inlaid icon with Saint Eudokia, Cpl (from Lips Monastery / Fenari Isa Camii), early 10th c., colored glass, marble, 66 x 28 cm, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, 4309	761	X	(24)	X	-	8B	-	X	x
Wall tiles with St. Nicolas and St. Arethas, Cpl, 10th-11th c., colored and transparent glazes on white ceramic, 16.8 x 16.4 cm and 17.2 x 17.1 cm, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, 48.2086.1-2 (discovered near Istanbul, ca. 1952; purchased, 1956)	O	x	599, 600	X	-	10A, 10B	-	213, 214	x
Painted tile icon with St. Theodore, Preslav, end 9th-early 10th c., ceramic, 55 x 44 cm, National Archaeological Institute and Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, inv.no. 4880 (excavated: Patlenya monastery near Veliki Preslav, 1909)	X	X	X	X	-	222	-	*	250
Mosaic floor from Desiatynna Church, Kiev, ca. 989-996, various stones and marbles, section: 175 x 104 x 4 cm, National Architectural Conservation Area, Kiev, UFAA MA 584, also Aadm 457 (removed 1935)	O	x	X	X	-	193	-	*	437
Wall mosaic with head of an angel, Torcello, second half 11th c., stone and glass tesserae, fragment: 31.6 x 24.6 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Objets d'Art, OA 6460 (from Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello; gift of E.D. Gerspach, 1892)	*	*	*	*	-	293A	-	254	*
Mosaic of St. Stephen (fragment on panel), Kiev, ca. 1108-13, mosaic, gold, glass and stone tesserae, 233 x 134 x 11 cm, St. Sophia of Kiev, National Conservation Area, MJK 190 (Cathedral of Archangel Michael of the Golden Domes, demolished 1934)	O	x	X	X	-	195B	-	268	438
"The Raising of Lazarus", (?), 12th c., Tempera on wood, 21.5 x 24 cm, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, BXM 980 (private collection, Athens in 1964)	X?	x	180	x?	-	67B	-	215	47
Iconostasis beam with the Great Feasts and Deisis, Sinai(?), around 1200, wood, tempera, gold, 152.3 x 38.7 cm and 25.8 x 38.5 cm (Koimesis of the Virgin panel), Holy Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai	X	X	X	X	-	248	-	317	X
CERAMICS									
Sgraffito bowl with bird/eagle, Corinth, first half 12th c., unglazed ceramic, d: 27 cm, h: 8 cm, Archaeological Museum, Corinth, C-36-489 (excavated: Corinth, 1936)	O	X	649	C.5	-	184	-	*	x
Bowl with shore scene (siren on a bird), Corinth, (mid-)12th c., glazed ceramic, h: 7.1 cm, d: 20.8 cm, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-31-05/58 (excavated:	O	x	646	(C.6)	-	189	-	87	x

Corinth, 1931)									
Plate with deer and other animals, (?), late 12th(-early 13th) c., glazed ceramic, H: 4.1 cm, D: 22.9 cm, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-1929-003, C.29.3 (excavated: Corinth, 1929)	x	x	665	*	-	190	x	88	x
Plate with lovers in a garden, (?), (late 12th-) early 13th c., glazed ceramic, h: 4.5 cm, d: 25.3 cm, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-1934-0054, also C.34.54 (excavated: Corinth, 1934)	O	x	663	C.7	-	192	x	94	x
Plate with a dancer, Cpl(?), early 13th c., glazed ceramic, h: 5.5 cm, d: 15.3 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. no. 13609 (excavated: Corinth, 1920s or 30s?)	O?	x	633	C.8	-	*	*	93	*

Late Byzantine Period, from late 13th century

Object	Paris 1931	UK 1958	Ath 1964	Brus 1982	NY 1977	NY 1997	NY 2004	Lon 2008	Bonn 2010
MANUSCRIPTS									
Non-religious content²⁷⁷									
Chrysobul of Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos, Cpl, 1301, parchment (beginning illustration), 195 x 26.5 cm, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, Ms. 1 (Index X.A.E. 3570) (formerly Bishopric of Cythera)	654	X	371	*	-	-	*	*	*
<i>History</i> of Niketas Choniates (incomplete), Cpl(?), first half 14th c., paper (manuscript with 2 miniatures), 30 x 25 cm, Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Hist. gr. 53 (purchased for Emperor Maximilian II in Cpl in 1571)	563 bis	X	368	X	-	-	x	x	*
Works of Hippocrates (owned by Alexis Apocaukos), Cpl(?), ca. 1338, illuminations: 1341-45, paper and parchment (manuscript with 2 miniatures), 43 x 30 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Manuscrits, Gr. 2144 (fol. 10v-11r) (in library of Topkapı Saray until 1688)	674	Paris 1958 cat. 64	365	*	-	-	2	*	*
<i>Idylls</i> of Theocritus, (?), 14th c., paper and parchment (manuscript with 2 illuminations), 26.5 x 18.5 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Manuscrits, Gr. 2832 (formerly in collections of Jano Lascaris, d. 1535, Cardinal Ridolfi, Catherine de Medici)	672	Paris 1958 cat. 5	364	*	-	-	*	*	*
Funeral Oration of Manuel II Palaiologos for his brother Theodore, Cpl, 1409-11, tempera, gold, ink, parchment manuscript, 24.5 x 16.5 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Manuscrits, Supplément grec 309 (formerly library of Jean du Tillet; Library of the Jacobins in Faubourg Saint-Honoré, 1653)	675	x	369	*	-	-	1	*	*

²⁷⁷ Only this section lists objects that have appeared twice in the older exhibitions, as evidence that these types of texts are known but have not been displayed as often in the more recent shows whether by choice or due to conservation issues.

Religious content									
Marshal Oshin's Gospels - Portrait of donor before the Madonna della Misericordia, Sis, Cilicia, 1274, ink and gold on vellum (illuminated manuscript), 22.5 x 15.3 cm, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Acc. no. MS M.1111 (one leaf)	x	X	*	X	-	-	30B	297	x
Marshal Oshin's Gospels, Sis, Cilicia, 1274, ink and gold on vellum (illuminated manuscript), 27.5 x 21.2 cm, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Acc. no. MS M.740 (fol. 4v-5r)	x	X	*	X	-	-	30A	298	x
Bilingual (Greek-Latin) Gospel Book, Cpl, ca. 1300, parchment manuscript, 31.3 x 24 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ms. grec 54 (formerly library of Cardinal Ridolfi, d. 1550; French Royal library, 1602)	*	Paris 1958, cat. 79	325	*	-	-	162	261	*
Gospels with Tsar Ivan Alexander, Tarnovo, 1355-56, tempera, gold, parchment manuscript, 35.5 x 25 cm, British Library, London, Add. 39627 (fol. 272v) (brought by Robert Curzon from St. Paul's Monastery, Mt. Athos, 1837; bequeathed 1917)	x	x	*	*	-	-	27	287	x
Missal with Crucifixion, Acre, c. 1250-1275, parchment (illuminated manuscript), 32 x 23 cm, Museo Capitolare della Cattedrale di San Lorenzo, Perugia, Ms. 6, formerly 21	x	x	x	x	-	-	276	262	x
The Hamilton Psalter (frontispiece with veneration of an icon of the Virgin Mary Hodegetria), Cpl and Cyprus, around 1300, tempera, gold, ink, on parchment manuscript, 31.4 x 25.4 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 A 9 (Hamilton 119) (fol. 39v) (possession of Lusignan queen Carlotta, d. 1475; Hamilton collection)	*	*	286	x	-	-	77	177	*
Book of Job with Catenae, Mistra, 1361-2, tempera and ink on paper manuscript, 39 x 28 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Manuscrits, cod. grec 135 (given by archbishop of Riems to French Royal Library, 1700)	671	Paris 1958 cat. 87	292		-	-	33	*	*
Leaf from a model book showing Christ and Zacchaeus, and St. Theodore and St. George, German artist (?), 13th c., vellum, ink (illuminated manuscript), 36 x 22 cm, Augustinermuseum, Städtische Museen Freiburg, Freiburg im Breisgau, inv. no. G23/1C (discovered 1912 in book from 1655)	x	x	x	x	-	318	x	263	x
RELIQUARIES									
Reliquary of True Cross (staurotheke), Italy, 12th-13th c., silver gilt, 25 x 26 cm, Museo di Palazzo Venezia, Rome (from the monastery of Alba Fucense in the Abruzzi)	461	190	523	x	-	x	x	x	*
ICONS									
Painted									
Icon of the Prophet Moses before the Burning	X	X	X	X	-	250	-	316	X

Bush and receiving the Tablets of the Law, Sinai(?), late 12th-early 13th c., wood, tempera, gold, 132.5 x 69.9 cm, Holy Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai									
Icon of St. George and scenes of his life and miracles, Sinai(?), early 13th c., wood, tempera, gold, 127 x 80.6 cm, Holy Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai	X	X	X	X	-	-	228	315	X
Deisis with St. Peter, Archangel Michael, Archangel Gabriel, St. Paul, Sinai(?), 13th c., wood, tempera, each 104.3-105.7 x 69.8-75.5 cm, Holy Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai	X	X	X	X	-	-	240 (Arch. Michael)	318, 319, 320, 321	X
Icon with the Virgin and Child, Church Feasts and saints, Venice (?), mid-14th c., stucco, tempera, gold on wood, 42 x 30 x 1 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, 2972 (art market purchase, 1934)	X?	X	*	*	-	-	305	251	*
Icon with Archangel Michael, "Italo-Byzantine", 14th c., tempera and gold on wood, 32.8 x 24.5 cm, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa (formerly Boys' Orphanage, Pisa)	x	170	224	(Ic.4)	-	-	299	*	x
Two-sided icon with the Virgin Psychosostria and the Annunciation, Cpl, early 14th c., tempera and gold on wood, silver-gilt and enamel revetment, 93 x 68 cm, Icon Gallery, Ohrid, inv. no. 10 (Church of Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid)	X	228	(X)	X	-	-	99	230	X
Icon of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, Cpl(?), second half 14th c., Tempera on wood, 39 x 31 cm, British Museum, London, inv. 1988.0411.1 (private collection, Sweden, before 1984)	X?	X?	X?	X?	-	-	78	57	*
Icon with Christ, Thessaloniki or Ohrid, mid-14th c., wood, tempera, gold, silver-gilt revetment, 157.5 x 125 cm, Icon Gallery, Ohrid, 83 (Church of the Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid)	X	*	(X)	X	-	-	154	231	X
Icon with the Virgin Psychosostria, Thessaloniki or Ohrid, mid-14th c., wood, tempera, gold, silver-gilt revetment, 158 x 122 x 4 cm, Icon Gallery, Ohrid, 82 (Church of the Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid)	X	232	(X)	X	-	-	153	232	X
Two-sided icon with the Virgin Hodegetria and the Annunciation, Thessaloniki (?), c. 1350-1375, wood, tempera, gilding, silver gilt revetment, 99.5 x 73 x 5 cm, National Museum, Belgrade, inv. no. 2316 (Church of Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid; museum, 1951)	X	*	(X)	X	-	-	152	236	*
The Cuenca Diptych, Meteora or Cpl(?), 1382-84, tempera and gold on wood, silver gilt, each panel: 38.5 x 27.5 cm, Cathedral, Cuenca (Spinola-Castagnola family, Genua, by 1430; to Spain, 17th c.,)	shown but not in cat.	x	212	x	-	-	24C	X	X
Icon of the Resurrection of Lazarus, (?), second half 15th c., tempera on wood, 45 x 31.6 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Department of Western Art, Inv. no. A.396 (formerly collection of Ingram Bywater, bequeathed 1915)	x	236	181	Ic.11	-	-	x	x	x
Miniature Mosaic									

Miniature mosaic icon with the Transfiguration, Cpl, late 12th c., tesserae of gilded bronze, marble, lapis lazuli and glass, on 19th c. slate support, 52 x 36 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Objets d'Art, OA ML 145, also OA.9246 (in Palermo, 18th c., acquired 1852)	642	*	163	Ic.1	-	77	-	226	45
Miniature mosaic icon with the Man of Sorrows or Akra Tapeinosis (Utmost Humiliation), Cpl, around 1300, stone tesserae, silver, gold on wood, 19 x 13 cm; relic case: late 14th-17th c., wood and metal, open case: 98.7 x 97.1 cm, Basilica di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome, inv. no. 89 (reportedly taken to Italy from Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, in 1380)	x	x	x	x	-	-	131	228	x
Miniature mosaic icon with Christ Pantokrator, Cpl, first half 14th c., (?) tesserae, 12.2 x 10.6 cm, Collégiale des Sts-Pierre-et-Paul, Chimay (gift from Pope Sixtus IV, 1475; donated to church at Chimay in 1476)	x	201	166	Ic.3	-	-	132	x	X
Miniature mosaic icon diptych with festival scenes (two panels), Cpl, early 14th c., wood, tesserae, each panel: 27 x 17.7 cm; 15th c., silver-gilt and enamel frame, each 37 x 28 cm, Museo dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence, 09/00230042-43 (reportedly donated by Nicoletta da Anotio Grioni of Florence, 1394)	643	x	x	x	-	-	129	227	x
Miniature mosaic icon with St. Theodore Tiro, Cpl, 13th-14th c., tesserae on wood, 17.5 x 6.3 cm, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, 1191; formerly 632 (possibly from Cardinal Bessarion, before 1498; Museo Sacro, 1756)	x	197	165	X	-	-	138	*	*
Miniature mosaic icon with St. Theodore Stratelates, Cpl, early 14th c., wood, stone tesserae, gilded copper, 9 x 7.4 cm, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, III/W 29 (probably gift of Cardinal Bessarion to St. Peter's Rome, before 1498; De Nolvos collection, Paris, before 1865; purchased in Basilevsky collection, 1885)	X	199	X	X	-	-	136	224	x
Round Miniature mosaic icon with St. George slaying the dragon, Cpl, 14th c., stone tesserae, d: 8.6 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, OA 3110 (Florence, formerly collection of Baron Charles Davillier)	641	196	170	*		-	137	*	504
Relief									
Relief icon with St. Demetrios, Cpl/Thessaloniki(?), end 13th-early 14th c., steatite, 10.4 x 6.7 cm; ca. 1550-1600, wood and silver frame, 17.5 x 13.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris, OA 11219 (formerly collections of Marquis de Ganay, and Mme. la Comtesse de Béhague)	156	140	122	*	-	-	141	*	*
Relief icon with St. Demetrios, Cpl(?), 14th c., steatite, 10.1 x 5.4 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Objets d'Art, N1125 (inventory, 1857)	151	*	*	St.7	-	-	142	*	*

JEWELRY									
Signet ring with monogram "Manuel", Cpl(?), 13th-15th c., gold, niello, d: 2.65 cm, British Museum, London, PE/M&LA AF 271 (Franks bequest, 1897)	x	*	*	*	-	-	15	151	*
Ring of Manuel Agapitos, (?), 14th c., gold, d: 2.4 cm, bezel: 1.7 cm, Kanellopoulos collection, Athens	x	X	453	J.12	-	-	x	x	x
ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION									
Fresco with St. Catherine, Pentelikon, Attica, 1233-4, fresco, fragment: 210 x 97 x 7 cm, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Byzantine and Christian Museum, BXM 1067 (Chapel of S. Nicholas in the Cave Monastery, Penteli)	O?	X	x?	*	-	*	*	255	501
Fresco with a military saint, Church of St. Nicholas, Pyrgos, Euboea, end 13th c., fresco, fragment: 48 x 42.3 cm, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, BXM 01110	O?	x	x?	*	-	-	44	*	502
Capital with reliefs of warrior saints, Cpl(?), 14th c., marble, h: 41 cm, Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes et Hôtel de Cluny, Paris, inv. no. Cl. 18837 / Cl. 1456 (found: unspecified church in Athens, before 1844)	*	168	27	Sc.14	-	-	54	*	*
Chandelier (choros), "late Byzantine", 13th-14th c., copper alloy, h: 465 cm, d: 350 cm, Archäologische Nationalsammlung, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Munich, inv. no. 2003, 8660	*	*	*	x	-	-	60	170	50
Handle of a standing censer (katzion), Cpl, c. 1300, bronze, 28.6 x 21 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. no. 11402 (found: Therapeia near Cpl, "a few years" before 1909)	x	X	*	Br.29	-	-	64	207	*
Rodop's bell, Serbia, 2 August 1432, bronze, h: 58, d: 43 cm, National Museum, Belgrade, inv. no. 2177 (Monastery of the Virgin Hvostanska, Hvosno, Metohija, Serbia; museum, 1951)	O?	*	(X)	X	-	-	76	173	*
Door panels from the Church of the Virgin, al-Mu'allahqa, Old Cairo, c. 1300, gesso on cedarwood, 10 panels, each 31 x 13.1 x 2.5 cm, British Museum, London, MLA 1878.1203.1-10 (acquired 1878)	x	*	*	*	-	-	260	307	*
Bronze plaque with John the Evangelist, Novgorod, 14th c., bronze, gold, 32 x 20 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Objets d'Art, inv. no. OA. 10 673 (formerly Ostrooukhov and Wehrin collections until 1955)	x?	Paris 1958 cat. 34	563	Br.30		-	*	*	*
Bronze plaque with Baptism of Christ, Old Riazan'(?), 13th c., copper, gold, 32.7 x 25.9 cm, State Historical Museum, Moscow, 45547, 2137/1 (found near Old Riazan' ruins, entered museum, 1909)	X	*	X	X	-	-	62	*	*
METAL VESSELS									
Dušan's cup, Serbia, 1345-55, silver, gilded, h:	O	x	(X)	X	-	-	20	279	*

3.6 cm, d: 18.6, National Museum, Belgrade, 2001 (found: in narthex wall of Church of St. Nicholas, Drenovo, Macedonia; museum, 1936)									
MEDALLIONS									
Medal of Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, Pisanello, Ferrara, 1438-9, bronze d: 10.2 cm. New York 2004: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles Bonn 2008: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Münzkabinett, Obj.-Nr. 18203909	*	x	*	*	-	-	321	*	510
Medal of Sultan Mehmed II, A: Constanza da Ferrara, Naples, ca. 1481, bronze, d: 12.1 cm. New York 2004: National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, Samuel L. Kress collection 1957.14.737a Bonn 2008: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Münzkabinett, Obj.-Nr. 18210904	*	*	*	*	-	-	322A	*	511
TEXTILES AND EMBROIDERY									
Chalice veil, (?), late 13th-early 14th c., silk embroidery with silver and silver gilt thread, 52 x 63.5 cm, Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. no. 9320	x	x	584	*	-	-	186	210	*
Epitaphios of Nicholas Eudaimanioannes, Cpl or Thessaloniki or the Peloponnese, 1406/7, crimson silk with silver, silver-gilt and colored threads, 85 x 140 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 8278-1863 (monastery of Santi Apostoli, Naples, 1756; collection of Canon Franz Bock; purchased 1863)	*	*	*	*	-	-	190	212	*
Embroidered icon with the miracle of the Hodegetria, Moscow(?), 1498(?), taffeta and damask, gold and silver threads, 95.1 x 98 cm, State Historical Museum, Moscow, 15455 III / R.B.-5 (formerly collections of M.M. Zaitsevskii and P-I- Shchukin; museum, ca. 1905-1911)	X	*	X	X	-	-	195	266	*
Embroidered image of St. George, Moldavia, 1500, red silk, red velvet, gold, silver and silk threads, 125 x 97 cm, National History Museum of Romania, Bucharest, inv. 75.062 (donated to Monastery of Zographou, Mount Athos, ca. 1500; confiscated 1916 and presented to Romanian king, 1917)	X	X	*	X	-	-	194	267	X

Appendix B.2. List of recurring core objects²⁷⁸

B-1.

Head of Constantine I, (?), 325-330, bronze gilt, h: 36 cm, National Museum, Belgrade, 79-IV



B-2.

Relief with besieged/ city or city being liberated, Egypt, 5th c., wood, 45 x 22 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 4782 (acquired from Egypt, 1900)



B-3.

Cameo with Annunciation and Deesis, Cpl, 5th-6th c. and 9th-11th c., sardonyx, 4.5 x 3.6 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, cat. Babelon 338



B-4.

Medallion of Justinian (cast copy), Cpl, 534(?)–538, copy: electrotype, original: gold, d: 8.2 cm, British Museum, London, BMC P.25 (original: found at Kayseri, 1751, lost 1831)



B-5.

Plate with Aphrodite and Adonis, Cpl or Alexandria (found Feltre, Belluno, Italy), 6th c., silver, d: 28.9 cm, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiquités, inv. no. 348 (found: Feltre valley, Belluno, Italy, 1875)



²⁷⁸ Images are not to scale.

B-6.

The Riha Paten with Communion of the Apostles, Cpl/Syria(?), 565-578, silver partially gilt, d: 35 cm, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, Byzantine Collection, BZ 1924.5



B-7.

The Emesus Vase, Cpl/Syria(?), end 6th c., silver, h: 45 cm, d: 27 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Department of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities, Bj 1895 (found: Homs, Syria, gift of J.A. Durighello, 1892)



B-8.

Spoons with running animals (set of 11), Cpl, around 600, silver, each 25.4 cm, British Museum, London, Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, inv. no. M&LA 1899.0425.18-27 (found: First treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1897)



B-9.

Hexagonal censer with busts of Christ, Virgin, and apostles, Cpl, 602-610, silver, D: 10.9 cm, British Museum, London, 1899.0425.3 (found: First treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1897)



B-10.

Bowl with portrait of a saint (Sergios or Bacchos?), Tarsus(?), 641-651, silver, d: 24.3 cm, h: 7.8 cm, British Museum, London, 1899.0425.2 (found: First treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1897)



B-11.

Plate (Paten) with cruciform monogram, Cpl, 602-619, silver, D: 44.2 cm, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Department of Antiquities, inv.no. J. 455 (found: Second treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1902)



B-12.

Plate with cross, Cpl, 613-629/30, silver, d: 36.8 cm, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Department of Antiquities, inv.no. J. 456 (found: Second treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1902)



B-13.

Plates with scenes from the life of David (Marriage of David, David kills the bear, David receives the messenger of Saul or Samuel), Cpl, 613-629/30, silver, D: 14 cm, 26.8 cm, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Department of Antiquities, inv.nr. J. 452-454 (found: Second treasure, Lambousa, Cyprus, 1902)



B-14.

Diptych leaf with a hunt (venatio), Rome or northern Italy, early 5th c., ivory, 29.4 x 12 x 0.6 cm, World Museum Liverpool, M.10042 (collection of P-G- de Roujoux, Macon, 1804; bequeathed 1867)



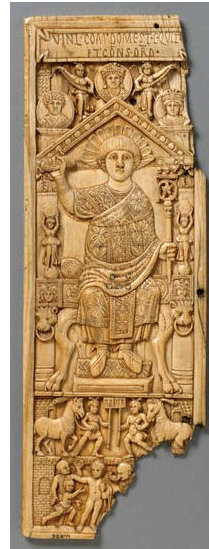
B-15.

Diptych with Clementinus, Cpl, 513, ivory, 37 x 12.5 cm, Liverpool Museum, M.10036 (formerly collection of Joachim Negelein, d. 1749; bequeathed 1867)



B-16.

Diptych leaf of Anastasios, Cpl, 517, ivory, 36.5 x 13 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 386-1871 (formerly treasury of St. Lambert, Liège Cathedral, until French Revolution)



B-17.

Diptych leaf with a Byzantine empress (Ariadne?), "Byzantine", (end 5th-early 6th c., ivory, 26.5 x 12.7 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Antikensammlung X 39

B-18.

Ivory with the Annunciation, Eastern Mediterranean, late 7th-early 8th c., ivory, 19.7 x 9.4 cm, Castello Sforzesco, Milan, Avori 14 (formerly Trivulzio collection)



B-19.

Silk with a quadriga, (?), 8th c., silk, fragment: 75 x 72.5 cm, Musée de Cluny, Paris, CL. 13289 (found: shrine of Emperor Charlemagne, Aachen)



B-20.

Silk with "Samson" and the Lion, Syria (?), ca. 780-900, silk:
Paris 1931: 94 x 39 cm, Collection Sangiori, Rome (sold to Mildred and Robert Woods Bliss, 1934; currently Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, BZ.1934.1)
Edinburg 1958, Athens 1964: 40 x 68 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 7036-1860 and 8558-1863 (from Chur, formerly collection of Canon Franz Bock, Aachen)



B-21.

Silk with simurgh/senmurv, "Byzantine", 9th-10th c., silk, fragment: 32 x 40 cm, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, inv. no. Tx. 609 (from shrine of a bishop in Verdun, acquired 1894)



B-22.

Silk with two oxen, (?), 10th c., silk, 32 x 19.5 cm, Treasury of St. Servaas, Maastricht, inv. no. 6



B-23.

Reliquary of St. Anastasius (artophorion), Antioch(?), second half 10th c., silver, gilt, niello, 39 x 20 x 19.6 cm, Domschatzkammer, Aachen



B-24.

"Incense burner" in the shape of a domed building, Cpl or South Italy, late 12th c., silver, partially gilt, 36 x 30 x 30 cm, Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice, Tesoro, 142 (Hahnloser 109)
** not pictured here, see fig. 23.*



B-25.

Comb/Scepter (?) with Christ flanked by angels and Virgin crowning Leo VI, Cpl, 886-912, ivory, 10.3 x 10 x 2 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 2006 (purchased in Chios, 1892)



B-26.

Ivory plaque with Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos crowned by Christ, Cpl, 945, ivory, 18.6 x 9.5 x 0.7 cm, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, inv. no. п-162 / II 2 b 329 (found: Ejmiatsin, Armenia; Uvarov collection until 1932)

B-27.

Votive plaque with Christ blessing Emperor Otto II and Empress Theophanu, (South?) Italy, 982-3, ivory, 18.5 x 10.6 cm, Musée de Cluny, Musée National du Moyen Age, Paris, Cl.392 (collection of A. Sommerand; acquired by state, 1843)



B-28.

Casket with emperors and hunters, Cpl, 10th or 11th c., ivory, pigment, silver, 13.4 x 26.4 x 13 cm, Trésor de la Cathédrale de Troyes, Troyes (brought for Bishop of Troyes from Cpl after 1204)



B-29.

Casket panels with mythological scenes, Cpl(?), first half 10th c., ivory, 9.5 x 23.5 cm, 9.5 x 17 cm, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, Kg. 54:215 a-d (formerly collection of Adolf von Hüpsch, Cologne, d. 1805)



B-30.

Casket panel with Hercules drunk, Cpl, end 10th-early 11th c., ivory, 6.5 x 4.5 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 288-1867 (formerly Webb collection)



B-31.

Casket with scenes from Genesis (stories of Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel), Cpl, 10th-11th c., ivory on wood, 12.5 x 46 x 19 cm, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, Kg. 54:219 (until 18th c. in the Reichsabtei St. Maximin, Trier)



B-32.

Casket panel with Moses and Aaron, Cpl, 10th c.,
ivory, 9.5 x 14.6 cm, Museo Civico
Medievale, Bologna, inv. no. 789
(earlier inv. no. 157) (formerly Palagi collection)



B-33.

The Borradaile triptych with Crucifixion and
saints, Cpl, 10th c. (ca. 988), ivory, 27.2 x 15.7
(closed) cm, British Museum, London, P&E
1923, 12-5, 1 (from a convent in Reims, before
1905)



B-34.

The Harbaville triptych, Cpl, mid-10th c.,
ivory, central panel: 24.2 x 14.2 cm, each leaf:
21.7 x 7 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris,
Département des Objets d'Art, OA 3247
(collection of Harbeville family, Arras, before
1891)



B-35.

Triptych with Mother of God and Church
Fathers Sts. Gregory of Nazianzos and John
Chrysostomos, Cpl(?), 12th c., gilt bronze,
open: 16.5 x 19 cm, Victoria and Albert
Museum, London, inv. no. 1615-1855
(purchased, 1855)



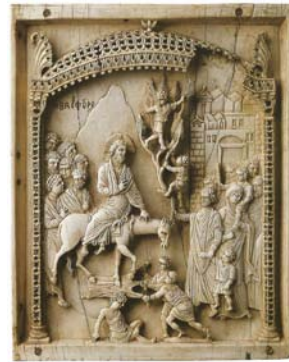
B-36.

Ivory plaque with Christ Pantokrator, Cpl, c.
950-1000, ivory, 13.5 x 11.8 cm, Fitzwilliam
Museum, Cambridge, M.13-1904 (monastery
at Reichenau; 19th c. book cover in collection
of Frank McClean; bequeathed 1904)



B-37.

Center panel of a triptych icon with the Entry into Jerusalem, Cpl, second half 10th c., ivory, 18.4 x 14.7 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, 1590 (collection of Sir Andrew Fontaine in 1753)



B-38.

Plaque with Crucifixion and Descent from the Cross, Cpl (?), mid-10th c., ivory, 22.8 x 12.1 cm, Kestner Museum, Hannover, W.M. XXI a, 44b (from treasury of St. Michaelis, Lüneburg)



B-39.

Panel with the Theotokos Hodegetria, Cpl, 10th c., ivory, 25.7 x 13.3 x 1.4 cm, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, ABM b.i. 751 (formerly collection of A.I. Schaepman, Archbishop of Utrecht, d. 1882)



B-40.

Triptych leaf with Archangel Michael, Cpl, 11th c., ivory, 15 x 6 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, 571 (Königliche Kunstkammer, Berlin, 1847)



B-41.

Ivory panel with SS. Andrew and Peter, Cpl, mid-10th c. (945/59) or 1060s, ivory, 24.6 x 13.5 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstkammer 8136 (18th c., in collection of Gabriele Riccardi, Florence)

**image on following page, left panel*

B-42.

Ivory panel with SS. John the Theologian and Paul, Cpl, mid-10th c. (912-959) or 1060s/11th c., ivory, 24.9 x 13.4 cm, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Venice, Avori 19 (Abbey of San Giovanni di Verdura, Padua, 18th c.)



B-43.

Relief icon with the Koimesis, Cpl, second half 10th c., steatite, 13 x 11.2 x 1.7 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstkammer 8797 (formerly Este collection, Modena)



B-44.

Painting of St. Justin, North Italy (?), 12th c., painted silk, 128 x 45 cm, Cattedrale San Guisto, Trieste



B-45.

Plaque with Virgin Hodegetria, Cpl, 11th-12th c., copper gilt, 21.5 x 14.5 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 818-1891 (found: Torcello, collection of Robert Curzon)



B-46.

Plaque with St. Demetrios, Cpl, first half 11th c., gold, enamel, 14.5 x 8.6 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, 27.21 (originally from a Gospel book cover in Gelati Monastery, Georgia)



B-47.

Roundel with the Mother of God (Virgin Orans) belonging to Nikephoros Botaneiates, Cpl, 1078-1081(?), Serpentine, d: 17.5 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, A.1-1927 (at Abbey of Heiligenkreuz, Austria, after 1661; in Lyon, 18th c.)



B-48.

Reliquary (enkolpion) with the Mother of God Hagiosoritissa, Cpl, second half 11th c., gold, enamel, 9 x 7.3 x 1.7 cm, Schatkammer van de O.L.Vrouwekerk, Maastricht (first record 1815)



B-49.

Cuff Bracelet, Cpl, 9th-10th c., gold, glass enamel, h: 5.7 cm, d: 7.6 cm, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Athens, BKO 262/6a, earlier: Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki, AE 2506, 2507 (found: Thessaloniki, 1956)



B-50.

Theriaka and Alexipharmaka by Nikander, Cpl, 10th c., tempera on vellum (illuminated manuscript), 12.5 x 16 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ms. suppl. gr. 247 (in Italy, 14th c.; Bibliothèque Nationale, 1795)



B-51.

The Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes, Palermo, ca. 1150-75, tempera on vellum (illuminated manuscript), 35.5 x 27 cm, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Vit. 26-2 (15th c., Monastery of San Salvatore, Messina; acquired 1712)



B-52.

The Paris Psalter, Cpl, mid-10th c., parchment (illuminated manuscript), 37 x 26.5 cm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Cod. Par. Gr. 139 (fol. 1v, fol. 422v) (acquired in Cpl, 1557-9; French Royal Library, 1622)



B-53.

"The Raising of Lazarus", (?), 12th c., Tempera on wood, 21.5 x 24 cm, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, BXM 980 (private collection, Athens in 1964)



B-54.

Bowl with shore scene (siren on a bird), Corinth, (mid-)12th c., glazed ceramic, h: 7.1 cm, d: 20.8 cm, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-31-05/58 (excavated: Corinth, 1931)



B-55.

Plate with lovers in a garden, (?), (late 12th-) early 13th c., glazed ceramic, h: 4.5 cm, d: 25.3 cm, Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, C-1934-0054, also C.34.54 (excavated: Corinth, 1934)



B-56.

Icon with Archangel Michael, "Italo-Byzantine", 14th c., tempera and gold on wood, 32.8 x 24.5 cm, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa (formerly Boys' Orphanage, Pisa)



B-57.

Miniature mosaic icon with the Transfiguration, Cpl, late 12th c., tesserae of gilded bronze, marble, lapis lazuli and glass, on 19th c. slate support, 52 x 36 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Objets d'Art, OA ML 145, also OA.9246 (in Palermo, 18th c., acquired 1852)



B-58.

Miniature mosaic icon with Christ Pantokrator, Cpl, first half 14th c., (?) tesserae, 12.2 x 10.6 cm, Collégiale des Sts-Pierre-et-Paul, Chimay (gift from Pope Sixtus IV, 1475; donated to church at Chimay in 1476)



B-59.

Round Miniature mosaic icon with St. George slaying the dragon, Cpl, 14th c., stone tesserae, d: 8.6 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, OA 3110 (Florence, formerly collection of Baron Charles Davillier)



B-60.

Relief icon with St. Demetrios, Cpl/Thessaloniki(?), end 13th-early 14th c., steatite, 10.4 x 6.7 cm; ca. 1550-1600, wood and silver frame, 17.5 x 13.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Département des Objets d'Art, Paris, OA 11219 (formerly collections of Marquis de Ganay, and Mme. la Comtesse de Béhague)



B-61.

Capital with reliefs of warrior saints, Cpl(?), 14th c., marble, h: 41 cm, Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes et Hôtel de Cluny, Paris, inv. no. Cl. 18837 / Cl. 1456 (found: unspecified church in Athens, before 1844)



Appendix B.3 - List of new additions to "core" objects

B-62.

One-pound commodity weight with three imperial figures, Eastern Mediterranean, late 4th-5th c., gunmetal, 6.7 x 6.1 cm, 323.71 gr., British Museum, London, PE 1980.6-1;

One-pound commodity weight with three emperors, Cpl, late 4th-early 5th c., bronze, silver, 5.1 x 5.4 cm, 323.3 gm, Menil Collection, Houston, 10



B-63.

Chalice with 4 Apostles and the Cross, Syria (Kaper Koraon), c. 550-575, silver, h: 16.8 cm, d: 14 cm, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, inv. 57.636 (excavated: Syria, 1908-10; purchased Paris, 1929, bequeathed 1931)

Chalice with inscription, Syria (Kaper Koraon), c. 600-650, silver, h: 12.7 cm, British Museum, London, Department of Prehistory and Europe, inv. no. 1914, 0415.1 (excavated: Syria, ca. 1908-10)



B-64.

Diptych leaf with Archangel, Cpl, 525-550, ivory, 42.8 x 14.4 x 0.9 cm, British Museum, London, P&E OA 9999 (earlier EC 295) (in inventory 1856)



B-65.

Icon with Christ and Saints Sergios and Bacchos, Cpl (Sinai), 6th or 7th c., pine wood, encaustic, gold, 28.5 x 41.8 x cm, Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Arts, Kiev, inv. no. 111 ЖК (taken from Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai, to Kiev by Archimandrite Porphy Uspenskij, mid-19th c.)



B-66.

Reliquary of the True Cross, Cpl, second half 10th c.,
wood, gold, tempera, 26 x 12.5 x 2.5 cm,
Vatican Museum, Vatican City, inv. no. 61898
(Treasury of the Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran)



B-67.

The Cross of Adrianople, (?), late 10th c.,
silver, gilt, niello, iron core, 58.5 x 31 x 0.4 cm,
Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. no. 33794,
(formerly Greek community of Adrianople, 1922-3)



B-68.

Pectoral reliquary cross, Cpl, second half 9th-10th c.,
gold, niello, wood, 7.2 x 3.2 cm, National
Archaeological Institute and Museum, Bulgarian
Academy of Sciences, Sofia, inv.no. 4882 (excavated:
Pliska, 1973)



B-69.

The Khludov Psalter, Cpl, mid-9th c. (soon after 843),
tempera on vellum (illuminated manuscript),
21x17.5 cm, State Historical Museum, Moscow,
GIM 86795, also Klud. 129-d (fol. 67r)



B-70.

Mosaic of St. Stephen (fragment on panel), Kiev, ca. 1108-13, mosaic, gold, glass and stone tesserae, 233 x 134 x 11 cm, St. Sophia of Kiev, National Conservation Area, MJK 190 (Cathedral of Archangel Michael of the Golden Domes, demolished 1934)



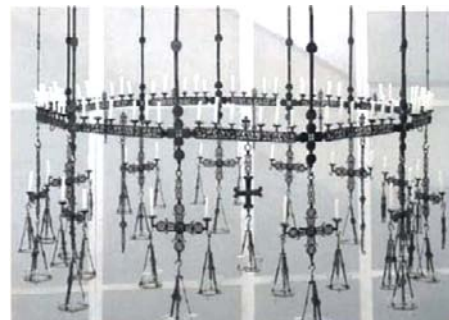
B-71.

Fresco with St. Catherine, Pentelikon, Attica, 1233-4, fresco, fragment: 210 x 97 x 7 cm, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Byzantine and Christian Museum, BXM 1067 (Chapel of S. Nicholas in the Cave Monastery, Penteli)
Fresco with a military saint, Church of St. Nicholas, Pyrgos, Euboea, end 13th c., fresco, fragment: 48 x 42.3 cm, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, BXM 01110



B-72.

Chandelier (choros), "late Byzantine", 13th-14th c., copper alloy, h: 465 cm, d: 350 cm, Archäologische Nationalsammlung, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Munich, inv. no. 2003, 8660



10. Abstracts

The first exhibitions devoted to Byzantine art took place in the early years of the 20th century, when Western scholars, archaeologists, antiquities dealers and collectors were actively searching for artifacts on former Byzantine territory, much of it then part of the crumbling Ottoman empire. Throughout the century the frequency of exhibitions on Byzantium increased, their intellectual focus - and occasionally apparent ideological motivation - reflecting trends in scholarship, public interest, and politics.

Despite a long and complicated reception history as a constructed "Other" within Europe, the veritable absence of Byzantium in the common consciousness of Western Europeans and North Americans is an issue for curators of exhibitions of Byzantine art, who are charged with the task of bringing a seemingly foreign, exotic, even strange culture to a broad public audience that knows little about the Byzantine empire. The goal of this thesis is to investigate: how five recent major exhibitions of Byzantine art have presented Byzantium through objects; how the image created engages with the multifaceted reception history of the Byzantine empire in the West; in what way the ambiguity surrounding Byzantium can allow it to be redefined; and how the objects chosen to represent it can be interpreted to highlight certain ingrained notions of the Byzantine empire such as decadence, wealth and (Orthodox) Christian spirituality.

The first section sketches the reception history of Byzantium in Western Europe and North America from the Middle Ages to the 21st century and highlights certain points of interest for the reception of Byzantine art objects.

The second section opens with an overview of the history of Byzantine art exhibitions from ca. 1900 to the present day, followed by brief descriptions of five major exhibitions: *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (1977), *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261* (1997), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (2004), all at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; *Byzantium: 330-1453* at the Royal Academy of Arts, London (2008); and *Byzanz: Pracht und Alltag*, at the Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bonn, Germany (2010). Similarities and differences concerning the image of Byzantium conveyed in these exhibitions are addressed based on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the objects displayed in regard to their date, place of origin, material, iconography and original function. By investigating the approximately 60 objects of Byzantine art that constituted a common core of exhibitions from 1931 to 2010 as well as the inclusion of new "popular"

items from Eastern Europe and icons from Sinai, this analysis questions what changes, if any, more recent additions have contributed to the established image of the Byzantine Empire in the West.

The third section deals with the case study of a silver gilt censer housed in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice, which has been displayed in a different context in three of the five exhibitions. Its placement in exhibitions illustrates the ambiguity surrounding objects considered to be Byzantine art objects and how one object can be interpreted in multiple ways to various ends.

In light of the incredible subjectivity of interpretation that can be found in both the older reception history and in recent exhibitions, the conclusion considers the definition of Byzantium as a closed historical entity and as a cultural idea(l) that extended far beyond its chronological and geographic borders. Distance from this culture and ambiguity surrounding it have allowed the few popular notions of Byzantium in the West to be challenged and simultaneously reinforced through recent major exhibitions.

Die ersten Ausstellungen zum Thema byzantinischer Kunst fanden zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts statt, als Wissenschaftler, Archäologen, Antiquitätenhändler und Sammler aus Westeuropa und den Vereinigten Staaten sich in den Gebieten des ehemaligen byzantinischen Herrschaftsbereiches, die zu dieser Zeit größtenteils zum im Niedergang befindlichen Osmanischen Reich gehörten, aktiv auf die Suche nach byzantinischen Artefakten begaben. Im weiteren Verlauf des Jahrhunderts nahm die Häufigkeit von Ausstellungen über Byzanz stetig zu, wobei der inhaltliche Fokus dieser Ausstellungen die jeweils gegenwärtigen Strömungen in Politik, öffentlicher Meinung und Wissenschaft widerspiegelte.

Trotz der langen und komplexen Rezeptionsgeschichte von Byzanz als dem "Anderen" innerhalb Europas, lässt sich eine nachweisbare Abwesenheit im kollektiven Bewusstsein West- und Mitteleuropas und Nordamerikas verzeichnen. Dadurch war für Kuratoren von Ausstellungen über byzantinische Kunst eine zentrale Aufgabe, diese scheinbar fremde, exotische, manchmal auch merkwürdig anmutende Kultur einem breiteren Publikum zugänglich zu machen, das nur wenig bis nichts über die Geschichte des Byzantinischen Reiches wusste.

Das Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit ist, zu untersuchen, auf welche Weise in fünf großen Ausstellungen zum Thema byzantinischer Kunst, die in den letzten Jahren abgehalten wurden, Byzanz durch seine Objekte dargestellt wurde; wie das auf diese Art gezeigte und erzeugte Bild mit der facettenreichen Rezeptionsgeschichte des Byzantinischen Reiches im Westen korreliert; inwiefern die Ambiguität rund um den Begriff "Byzanz" eine Möglichkeit zu seiner Neudefinition sein kann; und wie jene Objekte, die in den Ausstellungen zur Repräsentation und Sichtbarmachung des Byzantinischen Reiches ausgewählt wurden, in sich bereits gewisse grundlegende Konzeptionen und Vorstellungen von Byzanz widerspiegeln, wie etwa Dekadenz, Reichtum oder christlich-orthodoxe Spiritualität.

Im ersten Teil der Arbeit wird die Rezeptionsgeschichte von Byzanz im restlichen Europa und Nordamerika vom Mittelalter bis ins 21. Jahrhundert umrissen, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf der Rezeption byzantinischer Kunst liegt.

Der zweite Teil beginnt mit einem Überblick über die Geschichte der Ausstellungen byzantinischer Kunst von etwa 1900 bis heute, gefolgt von einer kurzen Beschreibung der für eine genauere Untersuchung ausgewählten fünf großen Ausstellungen: *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (1977), *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261* (1997),

Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557) (2004), die alle im Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York stattfanden; *Byzantium: 330-1453* in der Royal Academy of Arts in London (2008); und *Byzanz: Pracht und Alltag*, in der Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Bonn (2010). Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede der verschiedenen "Bilder von Byzanz", die in diesen Ausstellungen entworfen wurden, werden mithilfe von quantitativer und qualitativer Analysen der ausgestellten Objekte hinsichtlich ihrer Entstehungszeit, Herkunftsort, Material, Ikonographie und ursprünglichen Funktion untersucht. Im Detail untersucht werden rund 60 Objekte byzantinischer Kunst, die eine gleichbleibende Kerngruppe in Ausstellungen von 1931 bis 2010 bildeten, sowie die Ikonen aus Sinai und eine Reihe zusätzlicher, seit dem Ende des Kalten Krieges mehrfach ausgestellter Objekte aus Osteuropa. Eine der wesentlichen Fragen ist dabei, ob diese "neuen" Objekte eine Veränderung im bis dahin bestehenden Bild des Byzantinischen Reiches im Westen bewirkten und welcher Art diese Veränderung war.

Im dritten Teil der Arbeit wird im Rahmen einer Case Study ein silbernes Räuchergefäß aus dem Domschatz von San Marco in Venedig untersucht, das in verschiedenen Zusammenhängen in drei der fünf großen Ausstellungen gezeigt wurde. Seine jeweilige Positionierung und Beschreibung durch die Kuratoren der Ausstellungen verdeutlicht die Ambiguität im Umgang mit Objekten byzantinischer Kunst, und wie ein einzelnes Werk auf gänzlich unterschiedliche Weise verstanden und dargestellt werden kann.

Vor dem Hintergrund des immensen, subjektiven Spielraums in den Versuchen einer Definition des Begriffes "Byzanz", wie er sich sowohl in der älteren Rezeptionsgeschichte als auch in neueren Ausstellungen aufzeigen lässt, wird im Schlusswort erwogen, Byzanz als die Überlagerung einer geschlossenen historischen Einheit und einer kulturellen Vorstellung zu definieren, die weit über diese chronologischen und geographischen Grenzen hinaus reicht(e) und wirkt(e). Der Abstand von dieser Kultur und die sie umgebende Ambiguität bewirkten, dass im Rahmen der großen Byzanz-Ausstellungen der letzten Jahre die wenigen im Westen existierenden Stereotype von Byzanz gleichzeitig in Frage gestellt und bestätigt und verstärkt werden konnten.

11. Curriculum vitae

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- (2010) with Fani Gargova, Daniel Terkl and Ulrike Unterweger, "DiFaB – A Databased Visual Archive of Byzantium and the Challenges of Indexing Historical Visual Material," in: Karel Kriz, William Cartwright and Lorenz Hurni (eds) *Mapping Different Geographies*. Heidelberg: Springer, 201-217.

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