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Opuscula historiae artium. 2013, vol. 62, iss. Supplementum, pp. 48-61

ISSN 1211-7390 (print); ISSN 2336-4467 (online)

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/129800>

Access Date: 16. 02. 2024

Version: 20220831

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Byzantium, Rome, Crusader Kingdoms

Exchanges and Artistic Interactions in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century

Maria Raffaella Menna

A key role in the relations between Byzantium and Rome in the second half of the 13th century was played by the mendicant orders – Franciscan and Dominican – which, engaged in their evangelizing mission, constructed a network of monasteries from the Holy Land to Constantinople, Armenia and Georgia, even pushing as far as the Far East. The role of the Franciscans was also central in the unionist politics of the papacy promoted by popes Gregory X (1271–1276) and Nicholas IV (1288–1292). Against the background of this context two cases of monumental painting seem particularly significant. They are distant from each other but shared a common patron of Franciscan origin: the frescoes of the Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul (1250) and the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (1296). In both it is possible to identify, not only in the iconographic programme but also in the stylistic and technique choices, the joint presence of both Western and Byzantine elements which seems to suggest that interaction took place between Greek and Latin craftspeople. The restorations of the Santa Maria Maggiore mosaics completed in 2000 offer new elements along these lines.

Keywords: Franciscans, Dominicans, Holy Land, Constantinople, Kalenderhane Camii, Santa Maria Maggiore

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The history of the artistic relations between Rome and Byzantium in the 13th century is closely connected to the affairs of the mendicant orders and in particular the Franciscan order, involved in the East in an extensive evangelizing mission that recognized the common origin of the Eastern Christian churches.¹ Girolamo d'Ascoli, the first Franciscan pope in the history of the papacy with the name Nicholas IV (1288–1292) was one of the most involved characters in this sense; in the years preceding his election to the papacy, he stayed in Constantinople (1270–1271) sent as an envoy by Gregory X for the preparation of the Council of Lyon to the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus.² In this context the re-reading of two complex and particularly significant paintings, such as the frescoes of the Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul (1250) with the Stories of St. Francis and the apse mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome commissioned by Nicholas IV, offer some new insights.

The cases are different and separated by four decades, but they share the common patronage of Franciscan origin. In both it is possible to identify, in the iconographic programme as well as the stylistic and technique choices, the joint presence of both Western and Byzantine elements which seems to suggest that interaction took place at the sites, albeit in different ways, between the Western and Byzantine craftspeople based on a specific intent of the patron aimed at promoting a common cultural and spiritual outlook between the Latins and the Greeks.

The frescos depicting the stories of St. Francis in Kalenderhane Camii, discovered in 1967 and now on display in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, hold a unique position among the scarce traces of monumental painting from the 13th century in Byzantium.³ This cycle decorated a small chapel located in the area of the *diaconicon* of the church of the monastery dedicated to Kyriotissa built at the end of the 12th century; during Crusader rule the church was adapted to Latin rite and the chapel was dedicated to St. Francis.⁴ The frescoes of Kalenderhane may have been

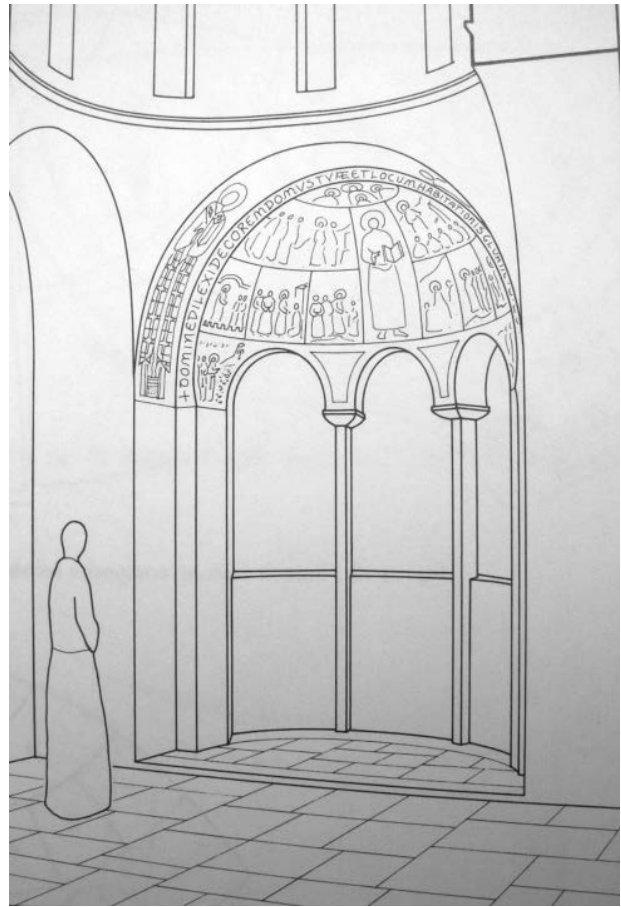
painted after 1228 – the canonization of St. Francis – and before 1261 – end of the Latin empire of Constantinople.⁵ According to what it has been possible to reconstruct from the pieces *in situ* and from the fragments of painted plaster, the apse presented the figure of St. Francis with the Gospel showing the stigmata, on a large scale, while on the sides and below there was a cycle of 11 scenes arranged on three registries [fig. 1] reproducing the layout of the first panels with St. Francis and stories of his life *Vitae -iconae*, such as the panel of Pescia (1235) or the panel of the Bardi chapel in the Basilica of Santa Croce in Florence (1250).⁶

The exceptional importance of these paintings lies in the fact that they document the first monumental cycle of Franciscan stories and this even precedes the cycle of the lower basilica of Assisi, which can be attributed to the period under the papacy of Alexander IV (1257–1261), or slightly later to 1260–1263.⁷ Some new compositional solutions appear here which would be adopted in Assisi some years later in the lower basilica and then in the upper basilica by Giotto, for instance the *Preaching to the Birds* scene stands out, in which the birds are arranged on the ground, on the left of the frame, in a highly naturalistic way.⁸ [fig. 2]

At Kalederhane we are dealing with an up-to-date and highly innovative painting style and Hugo Buchthal was the first to relate the frescoes, for the palette, modelling, gesture, treatment of the landscape and architectural background, to the cultural context of the miniatures of the Arsenal Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, codex 5211), commissioned by Louis IX the Saint and produced in the *scriptorium* of Acri around 1250 by a French artist; this affinity dates them to around 1250–1252, a particularly interesting point in time for relations between Byzantium, Rome and the Crusader Kingdom.⁹

The programme of paintings is closely linked to the church of Rome and the new saint of Assisi; the composition and style recall the international artistic culture which was established in the Holy Land and has its main centres in the *scriptorium* of Jerusalem and Acri, and in St. Catherine’s Monastery in Sinai and also at Antioch – where Western French and Venetian elements are combined with Byzantine elements in a completely original way – giving rise to what Hans Belting defined as the “lingua franca”.¹⁰

Two exquisitely Byzantine components should be pointed out in the paintings of Kalederhane. The first is the Latin inscription that runs above the apsidal arch and shows the incipit of psalm 25(26:8) (*Domine dilexit decorem domus tuae et locum habitationis gloriae tuae*), [fig. 3] which has no association with Franciscan culture, but it is found in a Byzantine context in antiphon 13 of the Gospel of the first night of dedication of a church.¹¹ It is the same psalm found, in Greek letters, on the arch of the diaconicon of the Katholikon of Hosios Lukas in Phocis, linked to the cult of St. Luke Stiriotes, decorated with mosaics around 1040.¹²



1 – St. Francis Chapel – reconstruction sketch. Kalederhane Camii, Istanbul



2 – St. Francis Chapel, frescoes in situ. Kalederhane Camii, Istanbul

Added to this is the depiction of two Fathers of the Greek Church on the arch framing the apse, now in a highly fragmented state.¹³ [figs. 4 and 5] They are characterized by the particular accuracy and precision of the clothing composed of the traditional white *polystavrion* decorated with large black crosses, the episcopal *omophorion* on the shoulders, the *phenolion* with wide sleeves and the lightweight white tunic, the *sticharion*.¹⁴ The dimensions of the Fathers are particularly large and, unexpectedly, they far exceed the image of St. Francis depicted in the centre of the apse. They were accompanied by Greek inscriptions, and some letters discovered (*sigma* followed by *tau* and an *omicron* letter) [fig. 6] made it possible to identify the figure on the left as St. John Chrysostom (345–407), bishop of Antioch and Patriarch of Constantinople from 398. The extreme precision in the reproduction of the clothing led Striker to suppose that Byzantine masters had been called upon to collaborate with the studio, especially for these figures.¹⁵

John Chrysostom is one of the most important Fathers of the Greek Church, generally depicted together with the other Fathers Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, and Athanasius in the apse of average Byzantine churches.¹⁶ He is remembered not only for his famous rhetorical skills but also for his intense apostolate activities in the cities as well as in the countryside, for his preaching in simple and effective tones, primarily guided by the Gospel text, and for his rigorous commitment to the reform of the church and of society where the imbalance between the rich and the poor was increasingly accentuated which led him to lash out even against the Empress Eudoxia herself, his main patron.¹⁷ All his efforts were aimed at re-establishing union with the Church of Rome against the patriarch Theophilus, by appealing to Pope Innocent I.¹⁸ For this reason, probably in 1204, he was chosen as protector of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople and, most likely in the same year, his relics were taken to Rome where they are still kept in the basilica of St. Peter's in the Vatican.¹⁹ His profile and his commitment brought him close to the saint of Assisi and this would explain his choice to depict him in the soffit of the arch that frames the apse. Both the inscription that recalls a Byzantine formulation and the presence of Greek Fathers can be explained by the cultural climate of the unionist politics between the Orthodox church and the church of Rome promoted by Pope Innocent IV and the Emperor of Nicaea, John III Doukas Vatatzes, interested in re-establishing good relations with the Western powers who were not deployed against Byzantium at the time Constantinople was taken.²⁰ In this context the Franciscans – present in the East since 1215 due to their missionary activities – performed an essential role in the various diplomatic relations.²¹ In 1217 Brother Elias started to organize the provinces (Romania and the Holy Land), in 1220 the Franciscans were in Constantinople, in 1221 in Antioch, and probably from 1229 in



3 – Preaching to Birds, St. Francis Chapel. Kalendarhane Camii, Istanbul



4 – South Church Father, St. Francis Chapel. Kalendarhane Camii, Istanbul

Jerusalem.²² The generals of the Order of Elias and Haymo of Faversham were instructed by Pope Gregory X to maintain contacts with the Byzantine Empire of Nicaea.²³ Thus the Franciscans found themselves weaving a rich network of relations between the East and the West.

In 1250, bringing to a close the negotiations started in 1234 at the Council of Nymphaeum, which had been adjourned for many years, John III Vatatzes proposed to Innocent IV, through the Franciscan Giovanni Buralli, the *capitula* on which the Pope and the Patriarch Manuel II could come to an agreement: the recognition of the supremacy of the church of Rome by the Byzantine church in exchange for the return of Constantinople.²⁴ In 1254 John of Parma, minister of the order (1247–1257) and who spent time in the East in 1249, included Eastern Saints in the Franciscan calendar.²⁵

The quite unusual importance attributed to the Greek Fathers at Kalenderhane, at the close of the years that saw the presentation of the *capitula*, should therefore be interpreted as a precise reference to the identification of the common origins between the Latin Church and the Greek Church against the backdrop of the negotiations that had recently been concluded.

However, another aspect should be underlined. Recent studies have highlighted how Franciscan spirituality, by recalling the evangelical life, the renunciation of

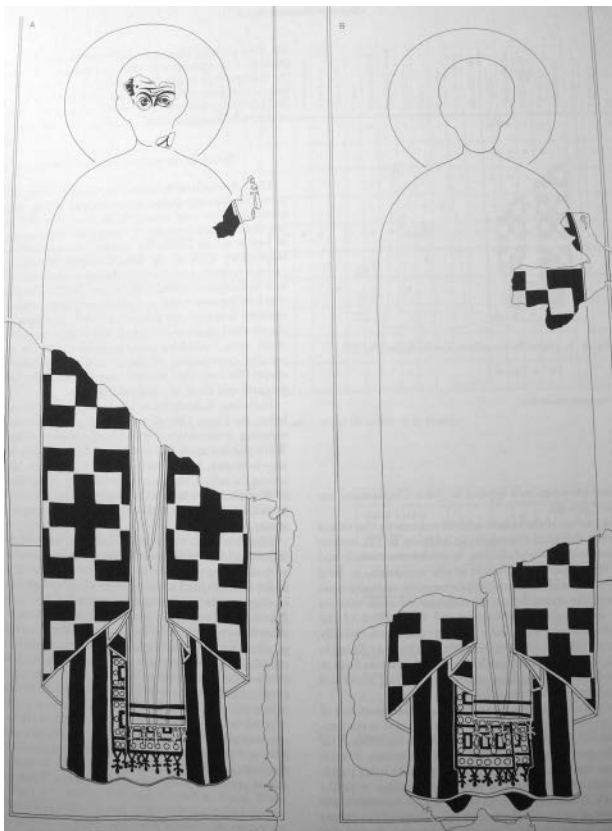


6 – Greek Church Father – head fragment, Kalenderhane Camii, Istanbul

worldly goods, the vow of poverty, and the marked mystical aspect that distinguished it, appeared similar to aspects of Byzantine monasticism.²⁶ Even the theme of the ‘*folly for Christ*’ where St. Francis himself defined himself as a ‘*fool for Christ*’ is an aspect that corresponds to Eastern monasticism, where the holy fools had for some time established a specific category that viewed Andrew the Fool, who lived in the 10th century, as one of the greatest figures of reference.²⁷

This affinity, which is neither dependency nor derivation, but rather reference to the same Evangelical sources of the origins, led in the second half of the 13th century to a particular interest, on the part of the Franciscans, in the Greek Fathers and the Greek texts dedicated to monastic life, only minimally known in the West through translations from Greek to Latin.²⁸ An important work of translation is due precisely to a Franciscan of the Spirituals branch, Angelo Clareno (1255–1337).²⁹ First sent to Armenia Minor (Cilicia) and from 1299 exiled in Greece by Boniface VIII, Clareno lived as a guest at orthodox monasteries. He perfected his knowledge of Greek and dedicated himself to the study and translation of fundamental works of Byzantine monasticism, such as the *Sermo de ascetica disciplina* by Basil the Great (PG 31, 619–691), the *Scala Paradisii* by Giovanni Climaco (ca. 579 – ca. 649) (PG88, 624–1209), which with 30 *capitula* is a sort of manual for achieving the perfect ascetic life of a monk (defined as an angelic state), and the writings of Pseudo-Macarius.³⁰

In light of this profound harmony between Franciscan and Byzantine monasticism it is likely that in Kalenderhane the Father of the church who worked alongside Saint John Chrysostom was Basil the Great (born in 330) and Bishop of Caesarea, one of the fathers of Eastern monasticism



5 – Greek Church Father, (A) north (B) south. St. Francis Chapel, Kalenderhane Camii, Istanbul

and writer of the *Moralia* (PG31, 699–888), remembered for his ascetic and charitable life, his social work and the construction of an entire city-hospital, the condemnation of excessive wealth and the encouragement of sharing *Homilia in divites* (PG31, 261–277), and also for having strongly believed in a church ecumenical with the church of Rome (*Epistola 204,7*).³¹

The common root in the vision of the Franciscan and Byzantine monastic life, which both look to the church of the origins, is the reason why the friars were generally well received in Orthodox communities and in other Eastern churches, since in many ways their lifestyle was close to that of an Eastern monk.³² In some cases the depiction of St. Francis was welcomed in Orthodox churches, considered equal to the Byzantine saints, such as in the Panagia Kera Church in Kritsa, Crete (14th century) and in another three later cases.³³

The same physiognomy of St. Francis in Kalenderhane Camii, [fig. 7] with a very gaunt face, appears to recall the somatic traits of Saint John Chrysostom, as he is depicted, for example, in the mosaic icon in the reliquary of the True Cross in the treasure of Sancta Sanctorum in Rome (10th century) [fig. 8] or in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (mid-14th century),³⁴ without respecting the usual iconography of the saint in the West, and thus seems to want to clearly establish a parallel ideal between the new saint of the Western church and one of the key figures of Greek monasticism.³⁵

Just how deeply rooted the link with the Byzantine world was for the Franciscans is also indicated by the fact



8 – St. Chrysostom. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington D. C.



7 – St. Francis performing a miracle – detail, St. Francis Chapel, Kalenderhane Camii, Istanbul

that the Franciscans continued to play a particularly important role under Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus with the re-establishment of the Byzantine empire in Constantinople from 1261.³⁶

In this web of relations and relationships a key figure some years later was Jerome of Ascoli, who later became Pope Nicholas IV (1288–1292), the first Franciscan pope in the history of the papacy and the patron of the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome.³⁷ The mosaics of the apse, completed after the death of the pope in 1292 by Cardinal Giacomo Colonna, are the work of Jacopo Torriti whose name appears to the right on the basis of the apse and was followed by the date 1296.³⁸



9 – Apse. Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome



10 – *Dormitio Virginis*, apse. Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome

The mosaic presents the *Coronation of the Virgin* between saints, on the left St. Peter, St Paul and St. Francis, and on the right St. John the Baptist, St. John and St. Anthony; in the lower part between four windows are the stories of the Virgin (*Annunciation, Nativity, Dormitio Virginis, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation*).³⁹ It reveals the cosmopolitan openness of the pope, which looked as much to the innovations of the French Gothic as to the Palaeologan art that he knew well, the same artistic culture of Jacopo Torriti, the artist entrusted by pope Nicholas IV with the most important commissions in Rome – the mosaics of the apse of the basilica of St. John in Laterano (1291) and the frescoes in Upper Basilica in Assisi.⁴⁰ [fig. 9]

Guglielmo Matthiae has already highlighted the Palaeologan elements in the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, marked by a particular calligraphic style that emerges with particular sophistication for example in the drapery of the Virgin's dress and the saints,⁴¹ Julian Gardner suggested that Nicholas's interest in the medium of the mosaic may have been inspired by his firsthand knowledge of the art of Constantinople, although the impressive mosaics of Early Christian and medieval Rome may also have been influential.⁴² On the other hand, in Santa Maria Maggiore the choice of the extensive and unusual arrangement of the scene of the *Dormitio* of the Virgin [fig. 10] recalls the unusual breadth of the *Dormitio* of the Virgin Mary of Sopočani,⁴³ some naturalistic motifs found on the branches of the plants, from the hellenistic tradition – such as the motif of the eagle hunting the snake [fig. 11] – are very close



11 – *Eagle hunting snake*, apse. Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome

12 – *Eagle hunting snake*, floor mosaic. Great Palace, Istanbul

to the repertory of motifs of the mosaic in the Great Palace in Constantinople.⁴⁴ [fig. 12] Serena Romano on the other hand, highlighting the monumentality of the figures by Torriti at Assisi, suggested that the painter may have come into contact with the contemporary Byzantine style most likely while working in Rome on the frescoes of *Sancta Sanctorum* in the 1270s.⁴⁵

The pope's leaning towards the new Byzantine stylistic trends was due to his personal experience in Constantinople. Jerome of Ascoli, probably due to his knowledge of the Greek language – quite a rare thing in the West – and the Eastern churches, in October 1272 was sent as an envoy by Gregory X to the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus in preparation for the Council of Lyon announced for the first of May 1274 for the liberation of the Holy Land, religious unity with the reintroduction of the *capitula* of Nymphaeum presented to Innocent IV in 1250.⁴⁶ In previous years between 1264 and 1270 Jerome had been the Provincial Minister of the Franciscan Order of Slavonia (Dalmatia).⁴⁷

Julian Gardner has attempted to retrace the most significant steps of Jerome of Ascoli's stays in the Balkans, in Constantinople and also in Europe.⁴⁸ In Slavonia he certainly would have had the opportunity to see the painting cycles in the Katholikon of the monastery dedicated to the Virgin at Mileševa (1222–1224)⁴⁹ and the church of the Holy Trinity in Sopočani (1263–1268),⁵⁰ the work of Constantinople craftspeople, which affirmed the new monumental style of which there is no more trace in Constantinople, but that was to represent a new direction for art in the capital from the first half of the 13th century onwards.⁵¹

However, surely the most important experience of Jerome of Ascoli occurred during his 18-month stay in Constantinople. In the capital he could appreciate the works of contemporary Palaeologan art, of which today only the *Deesis* in the south tribune of Hagia Sophia remains, made upon the return of the Emperor Michael Palaeologus



14 – Hedgehog. Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome

in 1261.⁵² But he could also see older works of which there is no trace today, such as the mosaics of the church of the complex of St. George of the Mangana described by Michael Psellus, and later by Ruy González de Clavijo (1403),⁵³ or the Holy Apostles described by Nicholaus Mesarites,⁵⁴ or the saint Mary Peribleptos,⁵⁵ or even the floor mosaic in the peristyle of the Great Palace (mid-6th century) with the numerous scenes of hunting of exquisitely hellenistic tradition.⁵⁶

New elements along these lines emerged on the occasion of the restorations carried out for the Jubilee year between 1996 and 1999, which involved the cleaning of the mosaic surface, thereby rediscovering the original colour range, and highlighted to an even greater extent how at Santa Maria Maggiore there are solutions of Palaeologan art. The scaffolding assembled for the restoration actually made it possible to observe the mosaic surface of the apse of Santa Maria Maggiore up close and to note the marked and, in some cases surprising, likeness to the execution technique used for the Palaeologan mosaics in Byzantium.⁵⁷

Note in particular in the band that runs around the opening of the apse the presence of large areas where the chromatic drawings painted on the mortar are not covered by mosaic *tesserae* except to a small extent, leaving the coloured setting bed on view, in line with an exquisitely Palaeologan procedure aimed at enhancing the pictorial effect of the mosaic which we find used in an obvious manner in the mosaics of Fethiye Camii a few years later (1310).⁵⁸ In this case many parts, such as the feet of St. John the

13 – St. John – detail. Fetye Camii, Istanbul



15 – Deesis. Upper Church, Assisi

Baptist, are painted leaving only the job of tracing the outline of the different parts to the rows of *tesserae*;⁵⁹ [fig. 13] likewise in Santa Maria Maggiore, for example, the figure of the hedgehog is painted on the layers of mortar and the *tesserae* are only used to outline the spikes. [fig. 14] This particular way of arranging the *tesserae*, which is unmatched in other Western mosaics and that in Santa Maria Maggiore is found on the band that runs around the opening of the

apse, is certain proof of the presence of a Byzantine mosaicist most likely working as a “*pictor musivarius*” in the site directed by Torriti.⁶⁰

Another work that can be attributed to the patronage of the pontiff Nicholas IV and the painter Jacopo Torriti also features elements that explicitly refer to Byzantine culture, namely the *Deesis*, created in the vault of the Upper Basilica of Assisi.⁶¹ [fig. 15] The solution of the clipeus



16 – Katholikon. Hosios Loukas Monastery



17 – Triptych – left panel. Monastery, Sinai

such as codex 54 of Athens.⁶² The golden background of the *clipei* was a response to usual solutions in the Serbian area, where in the absence of mosaics the background of the scene was covered with a thin gold foil.⁶³

The case of Santa Maria Maggiore is particularly interesting not only for its references to the artistic production of Constantinople, but also to works made in the Holy Land.⁶⁴ The general organization of the iconography of the apse with the overlap of the *Dormitio* and *Coronation of the Virgin*, highly unusual in Rome, but also in the European context, finds a unique precedent in a triptych kept at the Monastery of Sinai made around 1250.⁶⁵ The left panel shows two overlapping scenes of the *Dormitio* and the *Coronation of the Virgin*; an exquisitely Byzantine theme is linked to a typically Gothic theme thus giving rise to an original solution, the work of a painter working in the Franco-Byzantine Crusader style linked to that of the Arsenal Bible.⁶⁶ [fig. 17] The painter worked alongside other masters from different backgrounds: a Tuscan master, who made the central panel with the Virgin, and a Venetian-Byzantine master who painted the external faces of the panels.⁶⁷

The reference to the Holy Land in the Roman mosaic is made explicit in the scene of the *Dormitio* by the architecture with the respective identifying inscriptions (SYON to the right, MONS OLIVETI to the left) (figs. 18–19) which set the majestic scene of the *Dormitio* and serve to precisely locate the event in the valley of Josaphat, where the tomb of the Virgin was located.⁶⁸ The text of the inscriptions placed under the *clipeus* of the *Coronation*, which shows the antiphon of the day of the Assumption, reproduces, as it has been possible to demonstrate elsewhere, the content of the inscriptions in the tomb of the Virgin mentioned by John of Würzburg and Teodoric.⁶⁹

The extreme vitality of the exchanges of the second half of the 13th century which involved not only Constan-

with the faces of Christ, the Virgin, St. John, and St. Francis placed inside the rib vaults, refers to the medio-Byzantine system, like the mosaics of the monastery of Hosios Lukas, [fig. 16] while the pose of the evangelists, placed in the rib vaults, is closer to the miniatures from the Palaeologan era

18 – *Dormitio Virginis* – detail. Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome



tinople, but the Crusader territories, gave rise to forms of artistic production that are difficult to label univocally. Often in the East, as in the West, we are faced with sites and workshops in which artists from different backgrounds work, selected on the basis of specific skills; this is the case in the site of Kalenderhane in Constantinople, where it is likely that alongside the Western painter of the stories of St. Francis there was probably a Byzantine painter working for the Greek Fathers, and this is the case for the mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore, and it is conceivable that this occurred in Assisi for the application of the gold leaf.⁷⁰ The Franciscan presence in Constantinople and the papacy of the cosmopolitan Franciscan Nicholas IV represents a time of intense experimentation.



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Notes

¹ Anne Derbes – Amy Neff, *Italy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Byzantine Sphere*, in: Helen C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, Metropolitan Museum of Art (exh. cat), New York 2004, pp. 449–461. – Francesco Gabrieli, *S. Francesco e l'Oriente islamico*, in: *Espansione del francescanesimo tra Occidente ed Oriente nel XIII secolo (Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Assisi 1978, Società internazionale di studi francescani)*, Assisi 1979, pp. 105–122. – Giovanni Matteucci, *La missione francescana di Costantinopoli*, vol. I, Firenze 1971, pp. 81–140.

² Enrico Menestò (ed.), *Niccolò IV: un pontificato tra Oriente ed Occidente (Atti del convegno Internazionale di studi in occasione del VII centenario del pontificato di Niccolò IV, Ascoli Piceno, 14–17 December 1989)*, Spoleto 1989. – Carmelo Capizzi, *Il Concilio di Lione e l'Unione del 1274, Orientalia Christiana Periodica* LI, 1985, pp. 87–122. – Deno John Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West*, Cambridge Mass. 1959, pp. 270–276.

³ Cecil L. Striker – Y. Doğan Kuban, *Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul: Preliminary Report I–IV, Dumbarton Oaks Papers* XXI, 1967, pp. 267–271; 22, 1968, pp. 185–193; 25, 1971, pp. 251–258; 29, 1975, pp. 206–318. – Cecil L. Striker, *Crusader Painting in Constantinople: The Findings at Kalenderhane Camii*, in: Hans Belting (ed.), *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, Bologna 1982, pp. 117–121. – Dieter Blume, *Wandmalerei als Ordenpropaganda. Bildprogramme im Chorbereich franziskanischer Konvente Italiens bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Worms 1983, pp. 18–20. – Klaus Krüger, *Der frühe Bildkult des Franziskus in Italien: Gestalt- und Funktionswandel des Tafelbildes im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1992, pp. 110, 187. – Cecil L. Striker – Y. Doğan Kuban (eds), *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, Their History, Architecture and Decoration: Final Reports on the Archeological Exploration and Restoration at Kalenderhane Camii 1966–1978*, Mainz 1997, pp. 16–17, 128–142. – Amy Neff, *Fresco Fragment with Franciscan Friars*, in: Evans (see note 1), pp. 463–465.

⁴ Albrecht Berger, *Historical topography in the Roman, Byzantine, Latin, and Ottoman periods*, in: Striker – Kuban 1997 (see note 3), pp. 8–15. The paintings replaced a previous mosaic decoration as indicated by the traces

of *tesserae* discovered underneath the scene of *Preaching to the Birds*. A few decades later, with the return of the Byzantines in 1261, the chapel was closed with a wall for reasons that it has not been possible to define precisely, and the *diaconicon* was internally redecorated with new paintings (ibidem, pp. 128–129). Janin thought that the Latins themselves had walled up the apse to prevent the paintings from being destroyed after the Byzantine reconquest. Raymond Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantine, III, Les églises et les monastères*, Paris 1969, pp. 86, 504–506.

⁵ Striker – Kuban 1997 (see note 3), pp. 128–129.

⁶ For the identification of the scenes, Striker – Kuban 1997 (see note 3), pp. 132–137. – Hans Belting, *The Image and its Public in the Middle Age: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*, New Rochelle 1990, pp. 377–398. – Nancy Patterson Sevchenko, *The 'Vita' Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer, Dumbarton Oaks Papers* LIII, 1999, pp. 149–165. – Judith E. Stein, *Dating the Bardi St. Francis Master Dossal: Text and Image, Franciscan Studies* 36, 1976, pp. 271–295. – Krüger (see note 3), pp. 30–31, 119–128, 149–165.

⁷ Serena Romano, *Le storie parallele di Assisi, Storia dell'arte* 44–46, 1982, pp. 63–81 republished in: eadem, *La basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi: Pittori, botteghe, strategie narrative*, Roma 2001, pp.15–46, esp. p. 26. – Derbes – Neff (see note 3), p. 603, note 1.

⁸ Striker – Kuban 1997 (see note 3), p. 141.

⁹ Striker – Kuban 1997 (see note 3), p. 142. – Hugo Buchtal, *Miniatures Paintings in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford 1957, pp. 65–66. – Daniel H. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis*, Cambridge 1998.

¹⁰ Hans Belting, *Introduction*, in: Belting (see note 3), pp. 1–10, esp. p. 3. – Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art. The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099–1291*, Aldershot 2008. – Idem, *The figural arts in Crusader Syria and Palestine, 1187 – 1291, Dumbarton Oaks Papers* LVIII, 2004 (2005), pp. 315–333.

¹¹ Striker – Kuban 1997 (see note 3), pp. 138–140.

¹² Robert Weir Schultz – Sidney Howars Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris, in Phocis, and the Dependent Monastery of Saint Nicolas in the Fields, Near Skripou, in Beotia*, London 1901, p. 57.

¹³ Striker – Kuban 1997 (see note 3), pp.138–140.

¹⁴ Christopher Walter, *Art and ritual in Byzantine Church*, Birmingham

– London 1982, pp. 13–16. – Joseph Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient nach Ursprung, Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik*, Darmstadt 1964, pp. 303–304.

¹⁵ For Striker the presence of a different plaster, not as smooth as the one on which the figure of St. Francis is painted, would seem to represent a factor in favour of this hypothesis (Striker – Kuban 1997 /see note 3/, p. 140).

¹⁶ Otto Demus, *Byzantine mosaic Decoration: Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium*, London 1948, pp. 26–27.

¹⁷ P. Chrysostomus Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, translation by M. Gonzaga, vol. I, London 1959, pp. 72–82. – vol. II, London 1960, pp. 274–277.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, II, pp. 299–397.

¹⁹ *Acta Sanctorum*, January II, p. 760. – Otto Demus, Two Paleologan Mosaics Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collections, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* XIV, 1960, pp. 87–119, esp. pp. 111–112. – Stephen Joseph P. Van Dijk – J. Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy. The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century*, Westminster Md. 1960, p. 425. On the other hand John Chrysostom was often quoted by the unionist patriarch of Constantinople John Beccus, in his work on Church Union for the Council of Lyon in 1274.

²⁰ Antonino Franchi, La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bisanzio 1249–1254: la legazione di Giovanni da Parma, Il ruolo di Federico II: studio critico sulle fonti, *Spicilegium Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani* XXI, 1981, pp. 125–147. To seal these intentions John III Vatatzes married Costanza, the natural daughter of Frederick II.

²¹ St. Francis had sent Brother Gill to the Holy Land as early as 1215, *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. III, Quaracchi 1907, p. 78. The Dominican order was also present in the East from 1220, but the diplomatic activity was entrusted almost exclusively to the Franciscans. William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, vol. I, Staten Island 1973, pp. 46–47. – Robert Lee Wolff, The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans, *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion*, vol. II, 1944, pp. 213–237. – Matteucci (see note 1), pp. 81–140.

²² John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan order from its origins to the year 1517*, Oxford 1968, p. 227. – Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, vol. I, Firenze 1906, pp. 108, 128–129, 66–67, 158–160.

²³ A testimony of this mission is the precious relic of the true cross which belonged to Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, which Elias had been given by the Byzantine Emperor for the Cathedral of Cortona where it is still kept today.

²⁴ Franchi (see note 20). – Matteucci (see note 1), pp. 99–139.

²⁵ Van Dijk – Hazelden Walker (see note 19), pp. 389–390. – Derbes – Neff (see note 1), p. 452.

²⁶ Isabella Gagliardi, *Pazzi per Cristo. Santa follia e mistica della Croce in Italia Centrale (secoli XIII–XIV)*, 1997, pp. 12–15.

²⁷ Lennart Rydén, Introduzione, in: Paolo Cesaretti (ed.), *Leonzio di Neapolis, Niceforo prete di Santa Sofia. I santi folli di Bisanzio. Vite di Simeone ed Andrea*, Milano 1990, pp. 5–32. A close network of Byzantine monasteries was active in Rome during the High Middle Ages, which gradually transformed into Latin monasteries, until the total disappearance, from the 10th century, of the use of the Greek language. Claudio Leonardi, Anastasio Bibliotecario e le traduzioni dal greco nella Roma altomedievale, in: Michael W. Herren – Shirley A. Brown (eds), *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: the Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, London 1989, pp. 277–296. – Alain Dierkens – Jean Marie Sansterre – Daniel Misonne (eds), *Le monachisme à Byzance et en Occident du VIII au X siècle: aspects internes et relations avec la société*, Abbaye de Maredsous 1993.

²⁸ Leonardi (see note 27), pp. 290–292.

²⁹ Ronald G. Musto, Angelo Clareno O. F. M.; fourteenth-century translator of the Greek Fathers, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* LXXVI, 1983, pp. 215–238. – Gian Luca Potestà, Gli studi su Angelo Clareno dal ritrovamento della raccolta epistolare all'edizioni, *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* XXV, 1989, pp. 111–143. – Marinko Pejić, *Risonanze della teologia e spiritualità orientale negli scritti di Angelo Clareno*, Roma 2005.

³⁰ Pejić (see note 29), pp. 37–39.

³¹ Paul Jonathan Fedwick (ed.), *Basil of Caesarea: Christian humanist, ascetic: a sixteen-hundredth anniversary symposium*, Toronto 1989. – *Idem* (ed.), *Bib-*

liotheca Basiliana Universalis: a study of the manuscript tradition, translations and editions of the works of Basil of Caesarea, Turnhout 2004.

³² Pejić (see note 29). We also have the opposite case, according to reports by the historian Georgios Pachimeres (*De Andronico Paleologo*, PG 144, 676), of Franciscans who gave refuge to Orthodox communities, as occurred in Constantinople where the Franciscans welcomed monks to the convent of Galata who had been persecuted by the intransigent patriarch Athanasius (Giovanni Matteucci, *Un glorioso convento francescano sulle rive del Bosforo. Il S. Francesco di Galata in Costantinopoli, 1230–1697*, Firenze 1967, p. 37).

³³ Derbes – Neff (see note 1), p. 453.

³⁴ On the iconography of St John Crisostomos: Demus (see note 19), pp. 110–119. – Henry Maguire, Disembodiment and Corporality in Byzantine Images of the saints, in: Brendan Cassidy (ed.), *Iconography at the Crossroads*, Princeton 1993, pp. 75–90, esp. pp. 78–80.

³⁵ Striker – Kuban 1997 (see note 3), pp. 139–140.

³⁶ Matteucci (see note 1), pp. 99–139. Although the churches were reconverted to the Orthodox rite, for the friars the situation remained the same, at least for a some time, and consequently the Franciscan presence at Kalederhane, or perhaps in the vicinity it did not have to be cancelled; it is only certain that in 1307 the only Franciscan convent in Constantinople was that of St. Francis at Galata, where the church of the Dominicans is also found, in the area that became the citadel of the Genoese, where the friars remained under Ottoman rule until 1669. Matteucci (see note 32), pp. 49, 88–90.

³⁷ Antonino Franchi, *Nicolaus Papa IV (1288–1292)*. *Girolamo d'Ascoli*, Ascoli Piceno 1990. – Menestò (see note 2).

³⁸ Alessandro Tomei, *Iacobus Torriti Pictor. Una vicenda figurativa del tardo Duecento romano*, Roma 1990, pp. 13, 100.

³⁹ Guglielmo Matthiae, *Mosaici medievale delle chiese di Roma*, Roma 1967, pp. 355–366. – Julian Gardner, Pope Nicholas IV and the decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* XXXVI, 1973, pp. 1–50, esp. p. 19. – Tomei (see note 38), pp. 1–50. – Francesco Gandolfo, Aggiornamento, in: Guglielmo Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo*, Roma 1966, II. *Secoli XI–XIV*, Roma 1988, pp. 198–201. – Valentino Pace, Per Iacopo Torriti, frate, architetto e "pictor", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* XL, 2000, pp. 212–221. – Maria Andaloro, Iacopo Torriti: il cantiere, l'artista, il percorso d'immagine, in: Maria Monica Donato (ed.), *L'artista medievale (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Modena, 17–19 November 1999)*, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, Quaderni XVI, 4, 2003 (2008), pp. 145–156.

⁴⁰ Julian Gardner, The Artistic Patronage of pope Nicholas IV, *Annali della scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, Quaderni II, 4, 1997 (1999), pp. 1–8, esp. p. 3. – Maria Grazia Ciardi Dupré, La committenza e il mecenatismo artistico di Niccolò IV, in: Menestò (see note 2) pp. 193–222, esp. pp. 211–231. – Alessandro Tomei has a different opinion, who views the pope's choices to be exclusively related to the Gothic style (Alessandro Tomei, La committenza artistica di Niccolò IV, primo papa francescano, *Ikon* III, 2010, pp. 23–34).

⁴¹ Matthiae (see note 39), pp. 360–361.

⁴² Gardner (see note 40), pp. 1–2. On the relations between the mosaics of Torriti and Paleologan art see Ernst Kitzinger, The Byzantine Contribution to the eastern Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* XX, 1966, pp. 25–47, esp. pp. 25, 46. – Otto Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West*, London 1970, pp. 226–227. – Valentino Pace, Mosaici e pittura romana nel Medioevo: pregiudizi, e omissioni, *Revue de l'art canadienne* XII, No. 2, 1985, pp. 243–250, republished in: *idem, Arte a Roma nel Medioevo. Committenza, ideologia e cultura figurativa in monumenti e libri*, Napoli 2000, pp. 287–303, esp. pp. 297–298.

⁴³ The arrangement of the Marian scenes in the Roman apse completely broke away from all previous formats (for example, compared to the Marian stories in Santa Maria in Trastevere) and the architectural reconstruction of the apse – which did not include the central window – was designed around this particular wide space, double compared to the other four Marian scenes, to be dedicated to the *Dormitio*. Gardner (see note 40), pp. 1–2.

⁴⁴ Julian Gardner, Torriti's birds, in: Arturo C. Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo: i modelli*, Milano 2002, pp. 605–614, esp. p. 608.

⁴⁵ Serena Romano, 'Sancta Sanctorum': gli affreschi, in: Maria Andaloro –

- Julian Gardner – Serena Romano (et al.), *Sancta Sanctorum*, Milano 1995, pp. 38–125, esp. pp. 77–82.
- ⁴⁶ Franchi (see note 37), p. 35–41. – Geanakoplos (see note 2), pp. 270–276. – Capizzi (see note 2), pp. 87–122.
- ⁴⁷ Atanasio G. Matanic, *Il papato di Niccolò IV e il mondo dell'Europa sud-orientale slava*, in: Menestò (see note 2), pp. 119–133.
- ⁴⁸ Gardner (see note 40).
- ⁴⁹ Svetozar Radojčić, *Mileševa*, Beograd 1963.
- ⁵⁰ Vojislav Đurić, *Sopoćani*, Beograd 1991.
- ⁵¹ Otto Demus, Die Entstehung des palaologenstils in der Malerei, *Berichte zum XI Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*, vol. IV, 2, München 1968, pp. 1–63. – Otto Demus, The Style of the Kariye Djami and Its Place in the Development of Paleologan Art, in: Paul Underwood (ed.), *The Kariye Djami*, vol. IV, London – Princeton – New Jersey 1975, pp. 107–160, esp. pp. 130–135.
- ⁵² Thomas Whittemore, *The Mosaics of Haghia Sophia at Istanbul. Fourth Preliminary Report. Work Done in 1934–1938. The Deesis Panel of South Gallery*, Oxford 1952, pp. 26–28. – Robin Cormack, Interpreting the Mosaics of S. Sophia at Istanbul, *Art History* IV, No. 2, 1981, pp. 145–146. – Alice-Mary Talbot, The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* XLVII, 1993, pp. 243–261.
- ⁵³ Cyril Mango, *The Art of Byzantine Empire 312–1453, Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs 1972, pp. 218–219.
- ⁵⁴ Glanville Downey, Description of the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* XLVII, No. 6, 1957, pp. 855–924.
- ⁵⁵ Described by Ruy González de Clavijo. Mango (see note 53), pp. 217–218.
- ⁵⁶ Werner Jobst, Il mosaico del Palazzo Imperiale di Costantinopoli: restauro – iconografia – cronologia, *Bizantinistica* VIII, 2, 2006 (2007), pp. 1–18. – James Trilling, The soul of the empire: style and meaning in the mosaic pavement of the Byzantine imperial palace in Constantinople, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* XLIII, 1989, pp. 27–72.
- ⁵⁷ I would like to thank Dr Francesco Buranelli, then Director of the Vatican Museums, for granting me access to the restoration site. Special thanks to Maria Andaloro with whom I carried out inspections which provided me with continuous opportunities for comparison and discussion. Maria Andaloro presented some of the initial observations at the conference on 1 July 1999 at the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome. On the organization of the mosaic site Maria Andaloro I mosaici del Sancta Sanctorum, in: Andaloro – Gardner – Romano (see note 45), pp. 129–191. – Andaloro, Torriti (see note 39), pp. 145–146.
- ⁵⁸ Hans Belting, The Style of the Mosaic, in: Hans Belting – Cyril A. Mango – Doula Mouriki, *The Mosaics and frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*, Washington D.C. 1978, pp. 77–111. For the description of the materials and the technique of Palaeologan mosaics see Paul Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, II, *The Mosaics*, London 1966.
- ⁵⁹ Belting – Mango – Mouriki (see note 58), p. 89 [8].
- ⁶⁰ Valentino Pace suggested the presence of Byzantine *musivarii*, but in a general way in: Pace (see note 42), pp. 297–298.
- ⁶¹ Derbes – Neff (see note 1), pp. 456–457. – Andaloro (see note 39), pp. 145–156.
- ⁶² Demus (see note 51), p. 40. – Hans Belting, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi: Ihre Decoration als Aufgabe u.d. Genesee. Neuen Wandmalerei*, Berlin 1977, p. 210. – Derbes – Neff (see note 1), pp. 454–455.
- ⁶³ Vojislav V. Diurić, La peinture murale serbe au XIII siècle, in: idem (ed.), *L'art byzantine du XIII siècle*, Beograd 1967, pp. 147–167. – Romano (see note 7), p. 190. – For the application of gold leaf on the fresco see Carla D'Angelo – Sergio Fusetti – Carlo Giantomassi, Rilevamento dei dati tecnici della decorazione murale della Basilica Superiore, in: Giuseppe Basile – Pasquale Magro (eds), *Il cantiere pittorico della basilica superiore di San Francesco in Assisi*, Assisi 2001, pp. 19–20, fig. 4, p. 11.
- ⁶⁴ Maria Raffaella Menna, Niccolò IV, i mosaici di Santa Maria Maggiore e l'Oriente, *Rivista di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* IX, 1987, 3, pp. 201–224.
- ⁶⁵ Kurt Weitzmann, Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai, *Art Bulletin* XLV, No. 3, 1963, pp. 179–203, esp. p. 185–190. – idem, Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* XX, 1966, pp. 49–83, esp. pp. 59–60. – Idem, *Studies in the Art at Sinai*, Princeton 1982, pp. 297–302, 333–334, 432–436. – Jaroslav Folda, *Triptych with the Virgin and Child Enthroned, Scene from the Life of the Virgin, and Saints Nicholas and John the Baptist*, in: Evans (see note 1), pp. 357–358. – Evans (see note 10), pp. 76–78.
- ⁶⁶ Weitzmann 1963 (see note 65), p. 189.
- ⁶⁷ Anne Derbes, Siena and the Levant in the Later Dugento, *Gesta* XXVIII, 1989, pp. 190–204, 198. – Weitzmann 1963 (see note 65), pp. 69–74.
- ⁶⁸ Helen Henkels, Remarks on late 13th-century Apse Decoration in S. Maria Maggiore, *Simiolus* IV, 1971, pp. 128–14. – Menna (see note 64), pp. 208–212. – Alessandro Tomei, Memoria della Terrasanta nel mosaico absidale di Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma, in: Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo: immagine e memoria*, Milano 2009, pp. 510–518.
- ⁶⁹ Maria Raffaella Menna, Il viaggio di un'iscrizione da un monumento crociato a Roma, in: Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (ed.), *Le vie del Medioevo*, Milano 2000, pp. 271–280. – Sabino de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, vol. IV, Jerusalem 1984, pp. 276–277. – Michele Piccirillo, L'edicola crociata sulla toma della Madonna, *Studi biblici francescani-Liber Annus* XXII, 1972, pp. 291–314.
- ⁷⁰ Also noteworthy are some mosaics discovered in the Arap Camii, the Dominican church of the Genoese in Pera, carried out in the Trecento by Byzantine craftspeople (Stephan Westphalen, Pittori greci nella chiesa domenicana dei Genovesi a Pera (Arap Camii): per la genesi di una cultura figurativa levantina del Trecento, in: Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti – Colette Doufour Bozzo – Gerard Wolf (eds), *Intorno al Sacro Volto*, Venezia 2007, pp. 51–62.