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Amalfi, Byzantium, and the Vexed Question of Artistic ›Influence‹

Among the many scholarly interests Rainer Kahsnitz has pursued over the course of his long and successful curatorial and academic career, the study of Western medieval and Byzantine ivory carving and investigation of various aspects of their style, iconography, patronage, and production has resulted in a rich treasure trove of publications that have become a cornerstone not only for our knowledge of specific objects, but also for a better understanding of an entire field of art-historical research¹. This article, which relates to some of the broader questions Rainer Kahsnitz has explored with regard to the activities of Western artists and patrons and their knowledge of Byzantine iconographic prototypes, renders homage, albeit in a modest way, to a scholar whose always insightful and often path-breaking contributions have done much to address the vexed question of Byzantine artistic ›in-

fluence‹ and the impact of Byzantine iconographic models on artists and patrons in much of Western Europe as well as in different regions of the medieval Mediterranean².

In his ›Deeds of Robert Guiscard‹, written around the year 1100, William of Apulia described Amalfi as ›a city rich in resources and seemingly filled with people. None is richer in silver, gold and textiles from all sorts of different places. Many sailors live in this city, skilled in the ways of the sea and the heavens, and many different things are brought here from the royal city of Alexandria and from Antioch. Its people cross many seas. They know the Arabs, the Libyans, the Sicilians and Africans. This nation is famed throughout nearly the entire world, because they export their merchandise and love to carry back what they have bought‹³. William's description of Amalfi

¹ See Rainer Kahsnitz: *Koimesis, dormitio, assumption. Byzantinisches und Antikes in den Miniaturen der Liuthar-Gruppe*. In: *Florilegium in honorem Carl Nordenfalk octogenarii contextum* (Nationalmuseums Skriftserie, NS 9). Stockholm 1987, pp. 91–122. — Rainer Kahsnitz: *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen der Ada-Gruppe. Hundert Jahre nach Adolph Goldschmidt*. In: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 64 (2010). Berlin 2011, pp. 9–172.

² See, for instance, the broader and more specific issues raised in Rainer Kahsnitz: *Byzantinische Kunst in mittelalterlichen Kirchenschätzen: Franken, Schwaben, Altbayern*. In: Reinhold Baumstark, ed.: *Rom und Byzanz: Schatzkammerstücke aus bayerischen Sammlungen* (exhibition catalogue Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum 1998/1999). Munich 1998, pp. 47–69. — See also Rainer Kahsnitz: *Das goldene Kreuz, genannt ›Morgengabe‹, im Kloster auf dem Michelsberg in Bamberg*. In: Werner Taegert, ed.: *Hortulus floridus Bambergensis* (Studien zur fränkischen Kunst- und

Kulturgeschichte. Renate Baumgärtel-Fleischmann zum 4. Mai 2002). Petersberg 2004, pp. 109–130.

³ Guillaume de Pouille: *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi/La Geste de Robert Guiscard*. M. Mathieu ed. (Testi e Monumenti 4). Palermo 1961, bk. III, 477–485: ›Urbs haec dives opum, populoque referta videtur / Nulla magis locuples argento, vestibus, auro, / Partibus innumeris. Hac plurimus urbe moratur / Nauta, maris coelique vias aperire peritus. / Huc et Alexandri diversa feruntur ab urbe, / Regis et Antiochi; gens haec freta plurima transit; / His Arabes, Libi, Siculi, noscuntur et Afri: / Haec gens est totum notissima paene per orbem / Et mercanda ferens et amans mercata referre‹. English translation adapted from Graham A. Loud: *Leeds Medieval History Texts in Translation* (William of Apulia: *The Deeds of Robert Guiscard*, p. 39). — See also Guglielmo di Puglia: *Le Gesta di Roberto il Guiscardo*. Trans. with an introduction by Francesco de Rosa. Cassino 2003, pp. 170–171.

and its inhabitants conjures up the image of a cosmopolitan port city and bustling commercial hub whose wealth was primarily based on the successful activities of an entrepreneurial merchant class engaged and experienced in long-distance trade and travel⁴. Indeed, the steady influx of merchandise from overseas, most notably of luxury goods made of silver, gold, and silk, imported from Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, had established and secured the city's fame and fortune already by the middle of the tenth century, as witnessed by Liudprand of Cremona, who famously defended his attempted export of purple-dyed silks from the Byzantine capital by claiming that such textiles were readily available through Venetian and Amalfitan traders in Italy⁵. The Arab traveler Ibn Hawqal likewise praised Amalfi as »the most prosperous town in Lombardy, the most noble, the most illustrious on account of its conditions, the most affluent and opulent«⁶. Having gained political independence from the Duchy of Naples already in 839, Amalfi's continued acknowledgement of Byzantine suzerainty and the establishment of colonies of Amalfitan traders not only

in Constantinople and Durazzo (Dyrrhachium), but also in Antioch, Alexandria, Cairo, and Jerusalem, played a crucial role in securing the political and commercial prosperity of the city and duchy of Amalfi for more than two centuries⁷. While the Norman conquest of South Italy and their taking control of Amalfi's political fortunes in 1073 may have resulted in a cooling of official relations with the Byzantine Empire, commercial contacts between the city's merchants and Byzantine lands seem to have remained active throughout the twelfth and into the thirteenth century, not least due to the presence of a now sizable community of Amalfitans in the Byzantine capital, who, as Niketas Choniates describes them in his account of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, »had been thoroughly nurtured in Roman [i.e. Byzantine] customs [...] and who had chosen to make Constantinople their home«⁸.

None of the sources quoted here are new or unknown. On the contrary, they have frequently been cited as evidence for the high reputation Amalfi and its citizens enjoyed in various parts of the medieval

⁴ For a summary of the Amalfitan presence in the Eastern Mediterranean and their trade activities, see Patricia Skinner: *Medieval Amalfi and Its Diaspora, 800–1250*. Oxford 2013, pp. 212–233. — David Jacoby: *Amalfi nell'XI secolo: commercio e navigazione nei documenti della Geniza del Cairo*. In: *Rassegna del Centro di studi e storia amalfitana* 36 (2008), pp. 81–90. — For the impact of foreign trade on the Amalfi's artistic production and culture, see Jill Caskey: *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the Region of Amalfi*. Cambridge 2004. — Antonio Braca: *Le culture artistiche del medioevo in Costa di Amalfi*. Amalfi 2003.

⁵ Liudprand of Cremona: *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ch. 54–55. In: *Liudprandi Cremonensis Opera Omnia*. Ed. Paolo Chiesa (*Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 156). Turnhout, 1998, pp. 210–212. — For an English translation of the passage in question, see *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*. Trans. Paolo Squatriti. Washington D.C. 2007, p. 272–273.

⁶ Abu al-Qasim Muhammad ibn Hawqal: *The Book of the Routes and the Kingdoms*. English translation after Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond: *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World*. New York 1955, p. 54, where it is translated from the Italian version by Michele Amari: *Biblioteca Araba-Sicula*. Rome 1880, vol. I, ch. IV, pp. 10–27

(24–25): »la più prospera città di Longobardia, la più nobile, la più illustre per le sue condizioni [civili?], la più agiata ed opulenta «.

⁷ For a concise summary of the history of Amalfi and an evaluation of its sources, see Ulrich Schwarz: *Amalfi im frühen Mittelalter (9.–11. Jahrhundert)*. Untersuchungen zur Amalfitaner Überlieferung. Tübingen 1978. — See also Adolf Hofmeister: *Zur Geschichte Amalfis in byzantinischer Zeit*. In: *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 1 (1920), pp. 94–127. — On the Amalfitan trade network in the Eastern Mediterranean, see Vera von Falkenhäusen: *Il commercio di Amalfi con Costantinopoli e il Levante nel secolo XII*. In: Ottavio Banti, ed.: *Amalfi, Genova, Pisa e Venezia: il commercio con Costantinopoli e il vicino Oriente nel secolo XII*. Atti della Giornata di Studio, Pisa, 27 May 1995. Pisa 1998, pp. 19–38. — Michel Balard: *Amalfi et Byzance Xe–XIIIe siècles*. In: *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976), pp. 85–95.

⁸ Niketas Choniates: *History*. Ed. Jan-Louis van Dieten: *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 11/1–2, Series Berolinensis. Berlin 1975, p. 552. English translation after Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*. Trans. by Harry J. Magoulias. Detroit 1984, p. 302.

Mediterranean, and the wide network of relations its merchants were able to establish and maintain in the coastal cities of Sicily, North Africa, the Levant, and the Byzantine Empire⁹. However, they do not help us to assess how Amalfi's contacts with their Byzantine and Arab neighbors changed or modified the city's everyday life and elite »culture«, its artistic production, and the »habitus« of its inhabitants vis-à-vis their Christian neighbors or Muslim and Jewish business partners. If Niketas Choniates calls the Amalfitans residing in Constantinople »thoroughly nurtured in Roman customs«, what exactly does he mean by that? Did the Amalfitans blend in more easily than their Venetian, Pisan, or Genoese neighbors? Were they more eager to adjust to Byzantine tastes in their private lives or to Byzantine habits in the way they conducted their businesses? Surely, Choniates considered them more assimilated than other groups who »had chosen to make Constantinople their home«, as he put it. But again, what exactly does it mean in a late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Byzantine context that the Amalfitans were considered more »thoroughly nurtured« in contemporary Greek customs than their Latin neighbors? And furthermore, was the phenomenon of cultural assimilation thus described a process that took more than two centuries of cohabitation to manifest itself, or was it a general disposition

of receptiveness that characterized those Amalfitan sailors, merchants and their families, who had decided to make Constantinople »their home« already during the tenth and eleventh centuries? As is well known through the testimony of Liudprand of Cremona, a sizable community of Amalfitans must have existed in Constantinople even before the middle of the tenth century, where they are said to have actively participated in Byzantine military and political affairs¹⁰. If Paul Magdalino's assessment of the situation is correct, it may have been Emperor Romanos Lekapenos who not only bestowed the prefect of Amalfi with the title of a patrikios around 922, but also granted the Amalfitans trading privileges and assigned them a designated area near the Golden Horn to establish their storage facilities and businesses¹¹. By 968, when Liutprand visited Constantinople again as imperial legate, the Amalfitan colony in the Byzantine capital must have been quite sizable¹². While his later complaint that Venetian and Amalfitan merchants freely imported precious cloths – among them purple-dyed silks – from Byzantium to Italy in such quantities that »even cheap women and parasitic dependents«¹³ were able to wear them may seem somewhat exaggerated, it nonetheless casts a spotlight on the apparent success of the Amalfitan trading enterprise in Constantinople and highlights that Byzantine

⁹ See, for instance, Vera von Falkenhausen: *Gli Amalfitani nell'impero bizantino*. In: Edward G. Farrugia, ed.: *Amalfi and Byzantium. Acts of the International Symposium on the Eighth Centenary of the Translation of the Relics of St Andrew the Apostle from Constantinople to Amalfi (1208–2008)*, Rome, 6 May 2008. Rome, 2010, pp. 17–44. — Armand O. Citarella: *The Relations of Amalfi with the Arab World before the Crusades*. In: *Speculum* 42/2 (1967), pp. 299–312.

¹⁰ Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, bk. 5, ch. 21, in: *Cremonensis Opera*, ed. Chiesa (note 5), pp. 135–136. For an English translation, see Squatriti (note 5), p. 60. — Paul Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale. Etudes sur l'évolution des structures urbaines*. Paris 1996, p. 83. — Paul Magdalino: *The Maritime Neighborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries*. In: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), pp. 209–226 (220).

¹¹ See Magdalino 1996 (note 10), p. 86. — Magdalino

2000 (note 10), p. 220. — Paul Magdalino: *Medieval Constantinople: Built Environment and Urban Development*. In: *The Economic History of Byzantium*. Ed. Angeliki Laiou. Washington, D.C. 2002, pp. 529–537 (533). — On the localization of the Amalfitan holdings, see also Albrecht Berger: *Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit*. In: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 45 (1995), pp. 149–165 (160–163). — On the bestowal of titles on Amalfitan rulers, see Vera von Falkenhausen: *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden 1967, pp. 35–37. — Schwarz (note 7), pp. 31–45. — Graham A. Loud: *Southern Italy and the Eastern and Western Empires, c. 900–1050*. In: *Journal of Medieval History* 38,1 (2012), pp. 1–19 (5–6).

¹² Liudprand of Cremona (note 5), ch. 45, p. 207; English translation after Squatriti (note 5), p. 266.

¹³ Liudprand of Cremona (note 5), ch. 55, p. 211; English translation after Squatriti (note 5), p. 272.

luxury wares must have been widely accessible and appreciated by members of the Amalfitan elite back home¹⁴. Interestingly, not a single imperial chrysobull has survived that would help to shed some light on the specifics of Byzantine trading privileges extended to the Amalfitans, raising the question whether such codified privileges simply disappeared from the historical record or never existed because trading concessions were made with individual merchants and their families rather than with the government on behalf of its citizens, as attested for Venice, Genoa, and Pisa¹⁵. It is only through such an agreement with Venice in 992 that we know about a specific prohibition for Venetian ships to carry Amalfitan and certain other cargo¹⁶. Another chrysobull, issued around 1082 by Emperor Alexios to the Venetians, specifies that the Amalfitans of Constantinople were required to pay a tribute to the church of San Marco in Venice, thus testifying to a changed political landscape as a

result of Amalfi's submission to Robert Guiscard in 1073¹⁷. The document further indicates that the church of St. Andrew in Durazzo, which had a sizable Amalfitan community, was to be handed over to the Venetians in what seems to amount to a set of punitive actions against Amalfitans and Amalfitan possessions across the empire¹⁸. However, the attested presence of a monastery associated with the Amalfitans on Mount Athos since the last quarter of the tenth century and of a church or monastery in Constantinople since at least the 1060s may be taken as a general indication that the Amalfitan community remained active and vibrant in the Byzantine Empire also during this more difficult period¹⁹. There are even indications that Amalfitan activities in the capital reached a new peak in the late eleventh century, as famously argued by Adolf Hofmeister, whose study of the monk and translator John revealed a whole network of connections with members of the Amalf-

¹⁴ For Byzantine regulations restricting the trade in rare and ›forbidden‹ silks, see Johannes Koder: *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 33). Vienna 1991, Ord. 4.1, pp. 90–91; Ord. 4.4, p. 92–93. — For an English translation, see *The Book of the Eparch* (To Eparchikon biblion), with an introduction by Ivan Dujčev. London 1970, p. 236: Ord. IV.1: »[Merchants of Silk stuffs] are moreover forbidden to resell to persons who are ›strangers‹ to the city the articles which are on the prohibited list, that is to say purple of the distinctive dyes«.

¹⁵ Skinner (note 4), p. 216.

¹⁶ The prohibition also extended to merchandise of Jews and the Lombards of Bari. — See Michel Balard: *Latin sources and Byzantine prosopography: Genoa, Venice, Pisa, and Barcelona*. In: Mark Whitby, ed.: *Byzantines and the Crusaders in non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204*. Oxford 2007, pp. 39–58 (44); Skinner (note 4), p. 216.

¹⁷ See *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*. Ed. Gottlieb L. F. Tafel and Georg M. Thomas: *Fontes rerum Austriacarum* 12/1. Vienna 1856, Nr. I, 52. — The tribute provisions are also referenced in Anna Komnena's *Alexias*, Bk. XIII, 12.28. See Anna Komnena *Alexias*. Ed. Dieter Reinsch: *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 40, 2 vols. Berlin 2001, vol. 1, p. 422–423.

¹⁸ The presence of a sizable community of Amalfitans in Dyrrhachium is again attested in Anna Komnena's *Alexias*,

Bk. VI, 6.4. Ed. Reinsch, vol. 1 (note 17), p. 180. — On the value of Anna Komnena as a source for the Amalfitan history, see Graham A. Loud: *Anna Komnena and her sources for the Normans of southern Italy*. In: *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to John Taylor*. Ed. Ian N. Wood and Graham A. Loud. London 1991, pp. 41–57 [repr. in Graham A. Loud: *Conquerors and Churchmen in Norman Italy*. Aldershot 1999].

¹⁹ For the Amalfitan presence on Mount Athos and the so-called Amalfion, see most recently Marco Merlini: *Apothikon-Amalfion, il Monastero Benedettino del Monte Athos che dal X al XIII secolo cercò di avvicinare le Chiese cristiane traducendo in latino testi agiografici greci*. In: *Rassegna del Centro di Cultura e Storia Amalfitana*, N.S. 45/46 (2013), pp. 33–69. — See also Vera von Falkenhausen: *Il monastero degli amalfitani sul Monte Athos*. In: Sabino Chirua e Lisa Cremaschi, eds.: *Atanasio e il monachesimo al monte Athos. Atti del XII. Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità ortodossa, sezione bizantina*, Bose, 12–14 settembre 2004. Magnano 2005, pp. 101–118. — Vera von Falkenhausen: *La chiesa amalfitana nei suoi rapporti con l'impero bizantino*. In: *La chiesa di Amalfi nel medioevo: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi per il millenario dell'archidiocesi di Amalfi*. Amalfi 1996, pp. 383–423 (394). — Gerardo Sangermano: *Istituzioni ecclesastiche e vita religiosa nei ducati di Amalfi e Sorrento*. In: *La chiesa di Amalfi nel medioevo*, pp. 25–89 (80).

itan family of Count Mauro in Constantinople in the second half of the eleventh century²⁰. The wealth and ambition of this family can be gleaned not only from a reference in Amatus of Montecassino's *History of the Normans*, which reports that Gisulf II of Salerno and his entire retinue were hosted at the house of Pantaleo, son of Mauro, during their visit to Constantinople in 1062²¹, but also from the record of artistic patronage associated with Pantaleo, who commissioned Byzantine bronze doors for the cathedral of Amalfi, the church of San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome, and most likely also the church of St. Michael on Monte Sant'Angelo, and his father, Mauro, who commissioned not only the famous Farfa casket, but also the Byzantine bronze doors of the abbey church of Montecassino²².

With respect to the wider Amalfitan trade network established during the tenth century in other parts of

the Mediterranean, especially on the Iberian peninsula, in North Africa, and the Levant, one may ask whether Amalfitans residing in Cordoba, Antioch, Jerusalem, Cairo, Alexandria, or Al-Mahdia, for instance, would likewise have been considered ›nurtured‹ in the customs of the respective ›Leitkultur‹, or whether life in a predominantly non-Christian environment resulted in more resistant rather than affirmative social and cultural behavior²³. Yahya of Antioch's report of the massacre of 160 Amalfitans in Old Cairo in May 996, is indicative not only of existing tensions between the indigenous population and those who were considered agents of foreign powers, but also of the life of an apparently sizable colony of merchants, who seem to have resided either within or in close proximity to the compound that served to store their merchandise and was plundered on the occasion²⁴. Much like the Muslim merchants in Con-

²⁰ For the genealogy of the family comitis Mauronis, see Adolf Hofmeister: *Der Übersetzer Johannes und das Geschlecht Comitum Mauronis in Amalfi*. In: *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift* 27 (1932), pp. 263–264, 493–508, and 831–833. — See also Skinner (note 4), pp. 154–157.

²¹ *Storia de' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*. Ed. Vincenzo de' Bartholomaeis (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Scrittori, Secolo XI). Rome 1935, Bk. VIII, ch. 3, pp. 341–346. For an English translation, see Amatus of Montecassino: *History of the Normans*. Trans. Prescott N. Dunbar, with an introduction by Graham A. Loud. Woodbridge 2004, pp. 188–189.

²² On the bronze doors commissioned by the family of Count Maurus, see Simona Moretti: ›Cum valde placuissent oculis eius...‹: i battenti di Amalfi e Montecassino. In: Antonio Iacobini, ed.: *Le porte del paradiso: arte e tecnologia bizantina tra Italia e Mediterraneo*. Rome 2009, pp. 159–180. — Antonio Milone: La data della porta di Amalfi. In: *Le porte del paradiso*, pp. 201–218. — Vera von Falkenhäusen: Bisanzio e le repubbliche marinare italiane prima delle crociate. In: Iacobini: *Le porte del paradiso*, pp. 55–64. — Antonio Iacobini: Arte e tecnologia bizantina nel Mediterraneo: Le porte bronzee del XI–XII secolo in Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam. In: Arturo C. Quintavalle, ed.: *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi*, Parma, 21–25 settembre 2004. Parma 2007, pp. 496–510. — Herbert Bloch: Origin and Fate of the Bronze Doors of Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino. In: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987) (Studies on Art and Archeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday), pp. 89–

102. — Margaret E. Frazer: Church Doors and the Gates of Paradise: Byzantine Bronze Doors in Italy. In: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973), pp. 145–162.

²³ For a summary account of the evidence for Amalfitan merchants in North Africa, the Levant and other parts of the Mediterranean, see Skinner (note 4), pp. 212–248. — See also, more specifically, Patricia Skinner: Amalfitans in the caliphate of Cordoba – or not? In: *Al-Masaq* 24 (2012), pp. 125–38. — Georges Jehel: *L'Italie et le Maghreb au Moyen-Âge; Conflits et échanges du VIIIe au XVe siècle*. Paris 2001. — B. Figliuolo: Amalfi e il Levante nel medioevo. In: Gabriella Airaldi and Benjamin Z. Kedar, eds.: *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme: atti del colloquio ›The Italian Communes in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem‹: Jerusalem, May 24–28, 1984*. Genoa 1986, pp. 573–664. — Barbara Kreutz: Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries. Philadelphia 1991, pp. 79–82.

²⁴ On the massacre of 996, see the account of Yahya-Ibn-Sa'ïd: *Histoire de Yahya-Ibn-Sa'ïd d'Antioche*, continuateur de Sa'ïd Ibn-Bitriq. Fasc. II, ed. and trans. I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev: *Patrologia Orientalis* 23. Paris 1932, pp. 447–448. — See also Claude Cahen: Un texte peu connu relatif au commerce oriental d'Amalfi au XIe siècle. In: *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 34 (1953/4), pp. 3–8. — For an English translation of the relevant passage, see Carole Hillenbrand: Sources in Arabic. In: Mary Whitby, ed.: *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204*. Oxford 2007, pp. 283–340 (292).

stantinople, who lived in a distinct compound («mitaton») in close proximity to the Amalfitans at the «crossing» («perama») of the Golden Horn, the Amalfitan merchant colony in Old Cairo seems to have inhabited a strictly defined area in which they remained noticeable as a distinct social group with its own cultural affinities and regional identity²⁵. While the scraps of surviving literary evidence attesting to Amalfitan trade relations with the Arab world do not allow for any definite judgment on the matter, it seems unlikely that Amalfitan and other merchants residing in North Africa and the Levant during the Aghlabid, Fatimid, and Ayyubid periods remained immune to the cultural and artistic achievements, amenities, and life-style of these regions' secular elites²⁶. What they took to Arab lands and brought back to Amalfi can be pieced together from a variety of sources, which name grain, linen, and wood among the cargo taken to North Africa, and olive oil, wax, cloths, spices, dyes, incense, perfumes, papyrus, and gold among the various goods imported from Byzantium, Egypt, Ifriqiyah, and the Levant²⁷. It is also interesting to note that Amalfitans seem to have taken what appear to be Byzantine textiles to the Umayyad court in Cordoba, where they were greatly appreciated as coming from «their country», as recorded in the *Kitab al-Muqtabis fi Tarikh rijal al-Andalus* of the

eleventh-century Muslim historian Ibn Hayyan. «They [the Amalfitans] arrived under the protection of the government with extraordinary materials from their country, from brocades to excellent purple [cloths] and other precious merchandise. Al-Nasir bought most of these at half price and what remained was left to the inhabitants of his kingdom and the merchants of the capital [...]»²⁸. Rather than taking such luxury merchandise directly to Al-Andalus, purple silks and other precious commodities seem first to have reached Amalfi before being exported to where there was a suitable market in other parts of the Mediterranean.

Unlike the scattered evidence for the importation of silks and other luxury wares to Amalfi, no direct literary evidence exists for the arrival of ivory tusks in the city or region²⁹. However, based on an impressive number of surviving artifacts, some of which are associated with members of prominent Amalfitan families through inscriptions while others form part of a large group of ivory panels likely deriving from a single object that was presumably made for Salerno Cathedral, it has been argued that Amalfi or Salerno served as the home of a highly productive ivory workshop during the second half of the eleventh century³⁰. While incontrovertible evidence is lacking to prove the existence of such an ivory workshop in either city, Robert Bergman sketched out what he

²⁵ On the mitaton for Muslim merchants in Constantinople, see Alexander P. Kazhdan, s.v. «Mitaton». In: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. 3 vols. New York 1991, vol. 2, col. 1385. — Remie Constable: *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Cambridge 2003, pp. 147–150 and p. 152. — See also Glaire D. Anderson: *Islamic Spaces and Diplomacy in Constantinople (Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries C.E.)*. In: *Medieval Encounters* 15 (2009) pp. 86–113.

²⁶ See Jehel (note 23), p. 5. — Figliuolo (note 23), p. 603.

²⁷ For a broader overview, see Peter Johanek: *Merchants, Markets and Towns*. In: Timothy Reuter, ed.: *The New Cambridge Medieval History III, c. 900–1024*. Cambridge 1999, p. 64–94. — Kreuz (note 23), pp. 90–93. — Citarella (note 9), pp. 301–302. — Jacoby (note 4), pp. 81–90.

²⁸ Ibn Hayyan: *Kitab al-Muqtabis fi Tarikh rijal al-Andalus*. English translation after Skinner (note 4), p. 236, for which the Spanish version in A. Arjona Castro, ed.: *Anales*

de Cordoba Musulmana (711–1008). Cordoba 1982, doc. 140, pp. 102–103, served as the basis.

²⁹ Based on the evidence of the so-called «Salerno Ivories», however, a case has recently been made for the availability of a single large ivory tusk in the workshop responsible for their execution. — See Sarah Guérin: *The Tusk: Origins of the Raw Material for the Salerno Ivories*. In: Francesca dell'Acqua et al., eds.: *The Salerno Ivories. Objects, Histories, Contexts*. Berlin 2016, pp. 21–29.

³⁰ For the objects in question, see Ferdinando Bologna, ed.: *L'enigma degli avori medievali da Amalfi a Salerno* (exhibition catalogue Salerno, Museo Diocesano 2007–2008). 2 vols. Pozzuoli 2007. — Antonio Braca: *Gli avori medievali del museo diocesano di Salerno*. Salerno 1994. — Robert P. Bergman: *The Salerno Ivories: Ars Sacra from Medieval Amalfi*. Cambridge 1980. — For the localization of the «workshop most accomplished in the art of carving in ivory» in Amalfi, see Robert P. Bergman: *A School of Romanesque Ivory Carving in Amalfi*. In: *The Metropol-*



1. ›Farfa Casket‹, Ascension. Farfa, Tesoro dell'Abbazia

identified as three distinct stages, or stylistic phases, in the life of a single workshop based in Amalfi, whose products were all characterized, albeit to varying degrees, by a conspicuous blending of earlier Western medieval, Middle Byzantine, Islamic, and local Italian or Lombard iconographic and stylistic features³¹. The so-called Farfa Casket (Fig. 1), which preserves a

lengthy inscription naming its donor, a certain Maurus, together with his six sons, is the prime witness for Bergman's localization of the responsible ivory workshop in Amalfi and central monument in his first subgroup³². Displaying close affinities to earlier Western and local Italian traditions, the iconography of most narrative scenes on the casket is based, as has

tan Museum Journal 9 (1974), pp. 163–186, here especially pp. 184–186. — Bergman's contributions grew out of his 1972 Ph.D. dissertation at Princeton University. However, the debate about the location of the workshop responsible for the execution of the Salerno Ivories is far from over. See most recently the various contributions in Dell'Acqua et al. (note 29). — Francesca Dell'Acqua: The ›Salerno‹ Ivories: A ›pocket‹ Encyclopedia. In: Francesca Dell'Acqua, ed.: The ›Amalfi‹ and the ›Salerno‹ Ivories and the Arts in the Medieval Mediterranean (Quaderni del Centro di Cultura e Storia Amalfitana 5). Amalfi 2011, pp. 7–25.

³¹ For a summary of the arguments, see Bergman 1974 (note 30), pp. 163–186. — On the issues of style, date, and origin of the group, see also Bergman 1980 (note 30), pp. 76–91.

³² Farfa, Tesoro dell'abbazia. See Antonio Braca: Intorno alla Cassetta di avorio di Farfa: il cimelio, il donatore e la Bottega Amalfitana. In: L'enigma degli avori medievali (note 30). Vol. 1, p. 161–201. — Braca (note 30), pp. 167–171. — Bergman 1980 (note 30), Nr. B 1, pp. 128–130. — On the inscription, see Adolf Hofmeister: Maurus von Amalfi und die Elfenbeinkassette von Farfa aus dem 11.



2. ›Reider'sche Tafel‹. Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, MA 157



3. ›Drogo Sacramentary‹, fol. 71v, Ascension. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9428

long been observed, on Late Antique and earlier Carolingian iconographic models such as the so-called Reidersche Tafel³³ (Fig. 2) or the Drogo Sacramentary³⁴ (Fig. 3) rather than the equivalent Middle Byzantine image formula, as preserved, for instance, on the

Jahrhundert. In: *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 24 (1932), pp. 278–283. — Pietro Toesca: *Un cimelio amalfitano*. In: *Bolletino d'arte* 27 (1933–34), pp. 537–543. — See also Pietro Toesca: *Un frammento dell'antica porta di San Paolo fuori le mura ed un cimelio farfense ora smarrito*. In: *L'arte* 7 (1904), pp. 509–10.
³³ Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. Nr. MA 157. See *Rom und Byzanz* (note 2), Nr. 9, p. 84–90 (Rainer Kahsnitz) with a bibliography of the most important secondary literature. — Wolfgang F. Volbach: *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Römisch-Germanisches-Zentralmuseum zu Mainz, Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer 7). Mainz 31976, Nr. 110, pp. 79–80.

lid of the so-called Stuttgart Casket³⁵ (Fig. 4)³⁶. Likewise, the dominant style of the carvings on the Farfa Casket bears closer affinities to earlier Lombard or central Italian works such as the Rambona Diptych (Fig. 5) than to earlier or contemporary Byzantine

³⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9428, fol. 71v. See Marie-Pierre Laffitte et Charlotte Denoël: *Trésors carolingiens: Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve* (exhibition catalogue Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France 2007). Paris 2007, Nr. 53, pp. 193–199.

³⁵ Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, Inv. Nr. KK braun-blau 63. See Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann: *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des IX.–XIII. Jahrhunderts*, 2 parts in 4 vols., Berlin 1930–1934 (repr. Berlin 1979), part II, Nr. 24, pp. 30–31. — See also John Hanson: *The Stuttgart Casket and the Permeability of the Byzantine Artistic Tradition*. In: *Gesta* 37.1 (1998), pp. 13–25.

³⁶ For another example depicting the more common Middle



4. ›Stuttgart Casket‹ (lid), Ascension. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, KK braun-blau 63

works³⁷. Even for the single most ›Byzantine‹ scene on the Farfa Casket, namely the majestic representation of the Virgin's Dormition, the responsible artist does not seem to have copied a Byzantine *koimesis* directly, but rather a Western, probably local Campanian intermediary: small details such as the apostle with the palm branch behind the Virgin's deathbed and the representation of the Virgin's soul as a small child rather than a swaddled infant, are, as Antonio Braca recently emphasized, a clear sign that the Byzantine iconography employed on the Farfa Casket

had already been filtered through an earlier Western tradition³⁸. The same is true for the scene of the Washing of the Feet on one of the small sides of the Casket (Fig. 6), which includes motifs not typically found in Middle Byzantine images of the scene, namely the use of a *faldistorium* as the seat for St. Peter and the apostle's gesturing toward the basin with his right hand³⁹. Like the near contemporary workshop responsible for the fresco cycle of Sant' Angelo in Formis, the Amalfitan artist presumably worked from Byzantine-inspired intermediaries, or Byzantine sources that were not properly understood⁴⁰. This view may be supported by the omission of the lower body of the apostle standing directly between St. Peter and the apostle on the far left, who is taking off his shoes. It can only be explained as the result of an erroneous adaptation of a model, in which the lower part of the apostle's body was not shown because he was standing behind a bench, as seen, for instance, in the mid-eleventh-century Byzantine lec-

Byzantine iconography of Christ's Ascension, see the Byzantine ivory plaque preserved in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence, Inv. Nr. 37 C. See Goldschmidt/Weitzmann (note 35), II, Nr. 58 p. 42–43. — Bergman 1974 (note 30), p. 167, Fig. 6 (with wrong caption!).

³⁷ Vatican, Musei Vaticani, Inv. Nr. 62442. See Michael Brandt and Arne Effenberger, eds.: *Byzanz. Die Macht der Bilder* (exhibition catalogue Hildesheim, Dom-Museum 1998). Hildesheim 1998, Nr. 74, pp. 123 and 141 (Holger A. Klein). — *The Vatican Collections. The Papacy and Art* (exhibition catalogue New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982). New York 1982, Nr. 42, p. 105 (Charles T. Little). — Adolph Goldschmidt: *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen. Aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser 8.–11. Jahrhundert*. 4 vols. Berlin 1914–1926, I, Nr. 181, pp. 86–87.

³⁸ Braca (note 32), pp. 171–177, as opposed to Bergman 1980 (note 30), p. 130, who claims a Middle Byzantine model for the Dormition without further qualifications or caveats.

³⁹ For H. Giess: *Die Darstellung der Fußwaschung Christi in den Kunstwerken des 4.–12. Jahrhunderts*. Rome 1962.

⁴⁰ For a useful investigation of Western attitudes and misperceptions of Byzantine art, see Anthony Cutler: *Misapprehensions and Misgivings: Byzantine Art and the West in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. In: *Medievalia* 7 (1981), pp. 41–77.



5. ›Rambona Diptych‹. Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, 2442



6. ›Farfa Casket‹, Washing of the Feet. Farfa, Tesoro dell'abbazia

tionary, Ms. 587, at Mount Athos's Dionysiou Monastery (Fig. 7), or the (much later) transept mosaics of Monreale (Fig. 8)⁴¹.

Despite such misinterpretations or misperceptions, the ready availability and profound importance of Byzantine artistic models during the first phase of the life of Bergman's presumed Amalfitan workshop should not be underestimated. In subtle ways, Byzantine models left other, even if not readily obvious, marks on the Farfa Casket, namely in the choice of its form and the arrangement of its dedicatory inscription. While Bergman acknowledged that the Farfa Casket's general form – a rectangular body with a pyramidal lid – was ›common in Middle Byzantine ivory carving‹⁴², he cautioned that Byzantine caskets ›usually have panels affixed to a wooden core; the Farfa Casket is solid ivory, a construction more common in earlier Carolingian or Islamic caskets‹⁴³. This view must be corrected and qualified, as some of the

most distinguished Middle Byzantine caskets such as the ones in Troyes⁴⁴ and Stuttgart, are indeed made of solid ivory, and at least one of these solid ivory caskets, namely the one in the Palazzo Venezia collection in Rome, follows a similar shape⁴⁵. Even if, as Bergman suggested, the Farfa Casket's decoration with scenes from the Life of Christ may be considered indicative of a more local, Western taste, caskets of Carolingian or Islamic origin must not necessarily be considered as more likely models than Byzantine ones⁴⁶.

A perhaps even more subtle indication of the workshop's knowledge and understanding of Byzantine artistic prototypes and conventions may finally be de-

⁴¹ Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Cod. 587, fol. 52. See Stylianos M. Pelekanides et al.: *The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts. Miniatures – Headpieces – Initial Letters*, Vol. 1: *The Protaton and the Monasteries of Dionysiou, Koutloumousiou, Xeropotamou and Gregoriou*. Athens 1974, Nr. 223, p. 182. John Cotsonis: *On Some Illustrations in the Lectionary, Athos, Dionysiou 587*. In: *Byzantion* 59 (1989), pp. 5–19. — Christopher Walter: *The Date and Contents of the Dionysiou Lectionary*. In: *Idem: Pictures as Language. How the Byzantines Exploited Them*. London 2000, pp. 132–152. — For the mosaic cycle at Monreale, see Ernst Kitzinger: *Il duomo di Monreale: i mosaici del transetto (= I mosaici del periodo normanno in Sicilia, fasc. 4)*. Palermo 1995, Fig. 80–84.

⁴² Bergman 1980 (note 30), p. 129.

⁴³ Bergman 1980 (note 30), p. 129.

⁴⁴ Troyes, Trésor de la Cathédrale. See *Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261* (exhibition catalogue New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1997). Helen C. Evans, William D. Wixom eds. New York 1997, Nr. 141, p. 204–205 (Henry Maguire). Goldschmidt/Weitzmann (note 35), I, Nr. 122, p. 63.

⁴⁵ Rome, Palazzo Venezia. Goldschmidt/Weitzmann (note 35), I, Nr. 123, pp. 63–64. — André Guillou: *Deux ivoires Constantinopolitains datés du IXe et Xe siècle*. In: *Byzance et les slaves. Etudes de civilisation: Melanges Ivan Dujčev*. Paris 1979, pp. 207–211. — Henry Maguire: *The Art of Comparing in Byzantium*. In: *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988), pp. 88–103. — Anthony Cutler and Nicolas Oikonomides: *An Imperial Byzantine Casket and Its Fate at a Humanist's Hands*. In: *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988), pp. 77–87.

⁴⁶ Ernst Kühnel: *Die islamischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*. Berlin 1971, Nr. 80–85, pp. 63–67. — Adolph Goldschmidt: *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*. 4 vols. Berlin 1926, I, Nr. 95–96, pp. 52–53.



7. Washing of the Feet. Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Gospel Lectionary, Ms. 587, fol. 52

tected in the casket's dedicatory inscription, which so fortunately and conveniently allows for its placement in the cultural environment of Amalfi's cosmopolitan merchant aristocracy in the eleventh century⁴⁷. Enclosing the Christological and Marian scenes on both the body and lid of the long sides of the Farfa Casket, the lengthy inscriptions are not arranged in a single direction, but run in distinct portions from the upper left corner of each panel to the bottom right. This particular arrangement is, to my knowledge, rather uncommon in the West, where a tendency prevails to inscribe an object in a more straightforward fashion even where Byzantine artifacts were encountered directly as spolia: Bernward of Hildesheim, for instance, keenly aware of the inherent power of the Byzantine image formula of the Deesis, stretched his invocation

»sis pia qveso tvo bernvardo trina potestas« across the upper and lower frame of the Byzantine ivory plaque, leaving the frames on either side blank (Fig. 9)⁴⁸. Bishop Berthold of Toul, who was the likely patron of a reused Byzantine ivory plaque in Berlin (Fig. 10), circumscribed and thus enclosed the image

⁴⁷ On the Farfa Casket's inscription and the patronage of Mauro, see most recently Braca (note 32), pp. 166–168, and above note 20.

⁴⁸ Hildesheim, Dom-Museum Hildesheim, DS 18. See Michael Brandt and Arne Eggebrecht, eds.: *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen* (exhibition catalogue Hildesheim, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum 1993). 2 vols. Hildesheim 1993, vol. 2, Nr. VIII–30, pp. 570–578 (Michael Brandt/Ulrich Kuder). — Goldschmidt/Weitzmann (note 35), II, Nr. 151, p. 66.



8. Washing of the Feet. Monreale, Duomo, Transept (detail)



9. Bernward Gospels (detail), Ivory Plaque: Deesis. Hildesheim, Dom-Museum, DS 18



10. Ivory Plaque: Virgin Hodegetria Surrounded by Four Saints. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz – Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, 2394



11. »Stauroteca di Cortona« (back). Cortona, San Francesco

of the Mother of God fully clockwise with the words »presulis imperiis bertoldi claudityr omnis textvs evangelii redimitvs honore decenti«⁴⁹. Dedicatory inscriptions similar to the ones on the Farfa Casket are, however, frequently found in the context of Middle Byzantine dedicatory poems and epigrams such as in the ivory staurotheke of the Skeuophulax Stephanos in Cortona (Fig. 11), which can be dated to the reign of Nikephoros Phokas in the late tenth century⁵⁰. If nothing else, the dedicatory inscription on the Farfa

Casket reveals that either the artist responsible for its execution or its Amalfitan patrons were keenly aware of contemporary Byzantine epigraphic conventions, a knowledge that goes well beyond the narrow use of a single model for the casket's format, style, and iconography.

The interest and reliance on Byzantine artistic models seems to have only increased during what Bergman identified as the second phase in the life of this presumed Amalfitan workshop⁵¹. As far as the so-called Salerno ivories are concerned, there can be little doubt that some of their New Testament scenes were more or less directly dependent on the so-called Grado Chair ivories, a group of fourteen ivory plaques likely made in the seventh or eighth century⁵². While

⁴⁹ Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. Nr. 2394. See Anthony Cutler and William North: *Ivories, Inscriptions, and Episcopal Self-Consciousness in the Ottonian Empire: Berthold of Toul and the Berlin Hodegetria*. In: *Gesta* 42.1 (2003), pp. 1–17. — Arne Effenberger: *Das Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst*. Mainz 1992, Nr. 127, pp. 220–221.

⁵⁰ For the staurotheke of the church of San Francesco in Cortona, see most recently Silvia Leggio: *La stauroteca eburnea della chiesa di S. Francesco a Cortona*. In: *Arte Medievale* (2014), pp. 9–34. — Holger A. Klein: *Die Staurotheke von Cortona im Kontext mittel-byzantinischer Kreuzreliquiarproduktion*. In: Gudrun Bühl, Anthony Cutler, and Arne Effenberger, eds.: *Byzantinische Elfenbeine im Diskurs, Spätantike – Frühes Mittelalter – Byzanz* (Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 24). Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 167–190. — Goldschmidt/Weitzmann (note 35), II, Nr. 77, pp. 48–49. — On the inscription, see Andreas Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst* (= *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, vol. II). Vienna 2010, Nr. E123, pp. 331–334. — A similar arrangement can be found on the Staurotheke of the Proedros Basileios in Limburg an der Lahn, which illustrates the common arrangement of the dedicatory inscription as it circumscribes the central field containing the relic of the True Cross and the cross-shaped poem in praise of Emperor Nikephoros. Rhoby (note 50), Nr. Me8, pp. 163–169.

⁵¹ Bergman 1974 (note 30), p. 171–183. — Bergman 1980 (note 30), p. 120.

⁵² On the so-called Grado Chair ivories, see most recently Francesco Tasso: *The Grado Chair: A Review of the Histor-*



12. Ivory Plaque: Nativity. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Museum, BZ 1951.30

such direct dependencies between the two groups are most poignantly witnessed in the classic comparison between the Nativity plaque at Dumbarton Oaks⁵³ (Fig. 12) and the corresponding panel representing the Nativity and Flight into Egypt in Salerno (Fig. 13), the model-character of the Raising of Lazarus plaque in the British Museum in London⁵⁴ (Fig. 14) may, at first glance, seem less compelling⁵⁵. Certainly, in the respective scene on the Salerno ivory plaque (Fig. 15), the figure of Christ with his long scepter and the at-

tendant apostle behind are immediately comparable to the British Museum plaque⁵⁶. However, both figures were reduced to a bust-length format on the Salerno ivory to accommodate the scene of the Entry to Jerusalem below. The rest of the scene, namely Martha and Mary kneeling at Christ's feet and the bound Lazarus with the attendant figure unwrapping his body, was taken from another source, which Bergman readily identified as Middle Byzantine, pointing to the tenth-century Lazarus plaque in Berlin⁵⁷

ical and Documentary Sources. In: Dell'Acqua et al. (note 5), pp. 43–52. — Paul Williamson: Gli avori della cosiddetta ›Cattedra di Grado‹: Lo stato delle ricerche. In: *L'enigma degli avori medievali* (note 32). Vol. 1, pp. 155–159; vol. 2, Nr. 30–40, pp. 317–329. — Helen C. Evans and Brandie Ratliff, eds.: *Byzantium and Islam: Age of Transition, 7th–9th Centuries* (exhibition catalogue New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 2012), Nr. 24, pp. 45–50.

⁵³ Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Museum, Inv. Nr. BZ 1951.30. See *Byzantium and Islam* (note 52), Nr. 24 G, pp. 46–47 (Gudrun Bühl). — Volbach (note 33), Nr. 249, p. 142. — Kurt Weitzmann: *The Ivories of the So-Called Grado Chair*. In: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), pp.

43–91, here esp. pp. 66–67. — Kurt Weitzmann: *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 3: *Ivories and Steatite*. Washington D.C. 1972, Nr. 20, pp. 37–42 (with earlier literature).

⁵⁴ London, The British Museum, Inv. Nr. 1856,0623.26. See *Byzantium and Islam* (note 52), Nr. 24 J, p. 47 (Gudrun Bühl). — *L'enigma degli avori medievali* (note 32). Vol 2, Nr. 39, p. 318. — Volbach (note 33), Nr. 246, p. 141.

⁵⁵ Bergman 1974 (note 30), pp. 174–176. — Bergman 1980 (note 30), pp. 57–58.

⁵⁶ Bergman 1974 (note 30), pp. 175.

⁵⁷ Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kultur-



13. Ivory Plaque: Nativity and Flight into Egypt. Salerno, Museo Diocesano

(Fig. 16) as the »closest parallel«⁵⁸. But one could likewise point to the frescoes at Sant'Angelo in Formis (Fig. 17) as a Campanian intermediary model for the Salerno ivory, as they show both the kneeling women stacked in similar positions and the motif of Lazarus's attendants holding their noses to avert the stench of Lazarus's dead body⁵⁹. In contrast to both the Berlin plaque and the frescoes at Sant'Angelo in Formis, the number of attendants in the Salerno plaque is reduced



14. Ivory Plaque: Raising of Lazarus. London, British Museum, 1856,0623.26

besitz. Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Inv. 578. See Effenberger (note 49), Nr. 123, pp. 212–213.

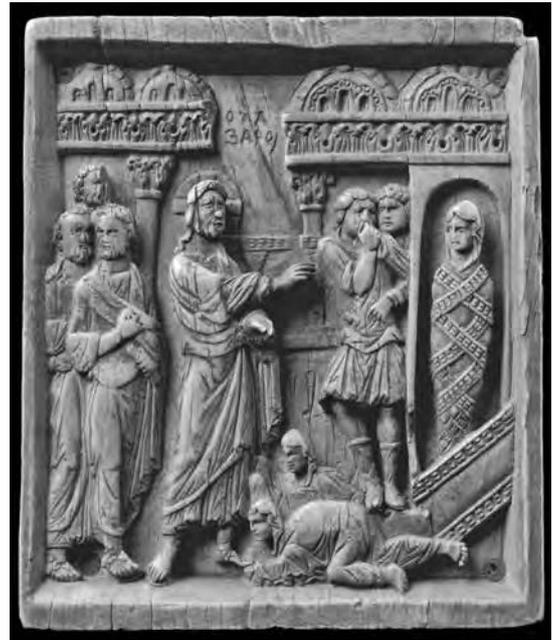
⁵⁸ Bergman 1974 (note 30), p. 175. — Bergman 1980 (note 30), p. 58.

⁵⁹ For the respective text of the Gospels, see John 11,39 (Douay-Rheims translation): »[] Martha, the sister of him that was dead, saith to him: Lord, by this time he stinketh, for he is now of four days«. — For the fresco of the Raising of Lazarus at Sant'Angelo in Formis, see Gian Marco Jaco-



15. Ivory Plaque: Samaritan Woman at the Well, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem. Salerno, Museo Diocesano

to one, and rather than holding his nose with his bare hand, he uses his exceedingly long sleeve for this purpose, a small yet noticeable change in iconographic detail. While Bergman briefly mentioned this distinct motif, he did not comment on it in any detail, even though he recognized that »Byzantium was the single most important source for the Salerno style, and [that] the south Italian carvers, despite the impact of



16. Ivory Plaque: Raising of Lazarus. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz – Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, 578

other sources and the exercise of their own creativity, cast their series in an obvious Byzantine mode⁶⁰.

In order to substantiate his claim that Middle Byzantine art served as the dominant source not only for the distinct style of the Salerno ivories but also for aspects of their iconography and the choice of certain motifs, Bergman pointed to ivories of both the Nikephoros and Triptych groups as possible models for the Salerno ivories' drapery style⁶¹. Equally convincing in terms of iconographic models were his references to the lectionary illustrations in Dionysiu Cod. 587⁶². Details such as the cross-topped column and Christ's blessing the waters of the river Jordan in the scene of his Baptism (Fig. 18) or the placement and gestures of the apostles Peter, John, and James in the

bitti and Salvatore Abita: *La Basilica benedettina di Sant'Angelo in Formis*. Napoli, 1992, pp. 63 and 69.

⁶⁰ Bergman 1980 (note 30), p. 81.

⁶¹ Bergman 1980 (note 30), p. 81.

⁶² Mount Athos, Dionysiu Monastery, Cod. 587. See Pelekanides (note 41), pp. 162–219 and pp. 434–446.



17. Raising of Lazarus. Sant'Angelo in Formis, Nave (detail)

Transfiguration (Fig. 19) served to show that the carver of the Salerno ivory (Fig. 20) had access to current Byzantine iconographic sources and made conscious and creative use of them⁶³. With regard to the relationship between the Salerno and Grado Chair ivories, Bergman's conclusions remained firm but cautious: »The Grado Chair ivories served directly as models but the Middle Byzantine iconographic types may not have been derived directly from a Greek source. They may have been filtered through the intermediary of an earlier Italian cycle – perhaps from Monte Cassino – that also contained Italian icono-

⁶³ Bergman 1980 (note 30), p. 66. — Compare the relevant scenes in Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Cod. 587, fol. 141v (Baptism); fol. 160v (Transfiguration). See Pelekanides (note 41), Nr. 255, p. 203 and Nr. 270, 215 respectively. — In other instances, such a comparative approach would probably have been less compelling. The scene of the Samaritan woman at the Well, for instance, differs considerably not only from the lectionary scene but also from monumental depictions of the same subject in Western medieval and Byzantine art, ultimately cautioning attempts to define the relationship between the Salerno ivories and their Byzantine models too closely.



18. Baptism. Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Gospel Lectionary, Ms. 587, fol. 141v



19. Transfiguration. Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Gospel Lectionary, Ms. 587, fol. 163v

graphical traits [...]. Whether or not the immediate model for scenes based on these types was Greek or Latin, however, the ultimate source for their iconography was a Middle Byzantine cycle.⁶⁴

At least for the iconography of the Raising of Lazarus scene, Bergman's claim for the deliberate and



20. Ivory Plaque: Baptism and Transfiguration. Salerno, Museo Diocesano

direct use of Middle Byzantine sources can be further substantiated. Perhaps one of the shortest discussions in Bergman's book on the Salerno ivories is the one-sentence entry in his chapter on the 'Iconography of the New Testament' devoted to the Lazarus scene: »Consideration of the role of the Grado Chair ivories indicated that the central section of this scene – the figures of the two women and the soldiers holding his nose – was derived from a Middle Byzantine model and then combined with other elements based on the Grado Chair version of this episode«⁶⁵. As mentioned

⁶⁴ Bergman 1980 (note 30), p. 74.

⁶⁵ Bergman 1980 (note 30), p. 68.



21. Raising of Lazarus. Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, Gospel Lectionary, Ms. 587, 44v

above, Bergman himself had referred to the Berlin ivory of the Raising of Lazarus as the closest Middle Byzantine iconographic parallels for the scene, while Antonio Braca⁶⁶ pointed to contemporary and later

variants of the same iconography in the Exultet Roll Nr. 2 in the Museo Diocesano in Pisa⁶⁷ and the mosaics of the Capella Palatina in Palermo⁶⁸. However, an even closer parallel can be found in Dionysiou

⁶⁶ Braca (note 30), p. 119–120, here p. 120. — See also the summary in *L'enigma degli avori medievali* (note 30). Vol 2, p. 368–370 (Maria Teresa Tancredi).

⁶⁷ Pisa, Museo Diocesano, Exultet 2. See Guglielmo Cavallo, Giulia Orofino, and Ortono Pecere, eds.: *Exultet: rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale* (exhibition catalogue, Abbey of Montecassino 1994). Rome 1994, pp. 151–174. — Anna Rosa C. Masetti, Cosimo D. Fonseca, Guglielmo Cavallo: *L'Exultet «beneventano» del Duomo di Pisa*. Galatina 1989; Janine Wettstein: *Un rouleau campanien du XIe siècle conservé au Musée San Matteo à Pise*. In: *Scriptorium* 15

(1961), pp. 234–239. — More recently, see also Nino Zchomelidse: *Descending Word and Resurrecting Christ: Moving Images in Illuminated Liturgical Scrolls of Southern Italy*. In: Nino Zchomelidse and Giovanni Freni, eds. *Meaning in Motion: The Semantics of Movement in Medieval Art*. Princeton 2011, pp. 3–34, here pp. 25–30.

⁶⁸ For the mosaics of the Capella Palatina in Palermo, see Ernst Kitzinger: *La Capella Palatina: i mosaici del presbiterio* (I mosaici del periodo normanno in Sicilia, fasc. 1 and 2). Palermo 1992–1995, here Fig. 191–192.



22. Raising of Lazarus. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 531, fol. 173v

Cod. 587 (Fig. 21)⁶⁹. Breathing through the extended sleeve of his red shirt and holding one end of Lazarus's burial shroud in his free hand while unwrapping the newly resurrected body of the deceased, this attendant figure seems to become a regular feature in the Byzantine iconography of the Lazarus scene only in the eleventh century, but is frequently found in manuscript illuminations, panel paintings, and mosaic decoration from then onward⁷⁰. Both the mid-twelfth-century Trebizond Gospels at the Walters Art Museum⁷¹ (Fig. 22) and a twelfth-century icon in the Byzantine and Christian Museum⁷² in Athens (Fig. 23), for instance, show him tightly holding the sleeve to his nose as he starts to unwrap Lazarus's body. The popularity of this ›exceeding-

ly-long-sleeve‹ motif, as I would like to call it, especially during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, is attested in a further example of the Lazarus iconography at the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai (Fig. 24), where the scene is integrated into a lengthy feast cycle on a painted epistyle beam⁷³. With the two women prostrate before Christ and the attendant holding his nose as he begins to unwrap the resurrected Lazarus, the iconography differs little from earlier and contemporary renderings of the same scene. However, added to the basic iconography are two additional attendants carrying away the slab from Lazarus's tomb, and one of them doubles the ›exceedingly-long-sleeve‹ motif while carrying his heavy load. A second epistyle beam on Mount Sinai, probably of somewhat later date, repeats the basic composition, but leaves out the additional attendants

⁶⁹ Dionysiou Monastery, Cod. 587, fol. 44v. See Pelekanides (note 41), Nr. 221, p. 180.

⁷⁰ The wide dissemination of the motif is attested throughout the twelfth-century Mediterranean, and can be found, among other places, in the mosaic decoration of the Capella Palatina and Monreale in Sicily as well as in the Psalter of Queen Melisende, illuminated in a scriptorium in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, now in the British Library in London (Ms. Egerton 1139). — For the mosaics of Palermo and Monreale, see Kitzinger (note 68), Fig. 191–192 and Kitzinger (note 41), Fig. 80–84. — For the Psalter of Queen Melisende, see most recently, Barbara D. Boehm and Melanie Holcomb, eds.: *Jerusalem 1000–1400: Every People Under Heaven* (exhibition catalogue New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 2016–2017). New York 2016, Nr. 121, p. 244–246 (Jaroslav Folda).

⁷¹ Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 531, fol. 173v. See *Glory of Byzantium* (note 44), Nr. 51, pp. 96–97 (Annemarie Weyl Carr).

⁷² Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Inv. Nr. T2739. See *Glory of Byzantium* (note 44), Nr. 67B, pp. 119–120 (Annemarie Weyl Carr).

⁷³ Egypt, Holy Monastery of Mount Catherine, Mount Sinai. See Robert S. Nelson and Kristen M. Collins, eds.: *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai* (exhibition catalogue, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum 2006–2007). Los Angeles 2006, Nr. 20, pp. 170–173 (Sharon Gerstel). — Kurt Weitzmann: *Icon Program of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries at Sinai*. In: *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaologikes Hetaireias*, 4 Ser., 12 (1984), pp. 63–116 (66–67).



23. Raising of Lazarus. Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, T2739

in front of the tomb⁷⁴. Instead, the artist added a group of bystanders to the side and behind the attendant unwrapping Lazarus. One final example, namely a fourteenth-century polyptych with feast scenes (Fig. 25), likewise from the icon collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine, attests to the long life and enduring popularity of the ›exceedingly-long-sleeve‹ motif in Middle and Late Byzantine iconography of the Raising of Lazarus⁷⁵. Slight changes in the figural composition are once again noticeable, with one of the two women now appearing behind the male attendant and the tomb slab placed diagonally in front of Lazarus's rock-cut tomb.

But where did the ›exceedingly-long-sleeve‹ motif and the fashion it reflects originate? And how did it find its way into the Lazarus iconography? While ear-

lier artists who illustrated the Raising of Lazarus already explored ways to visualize the biblical reference to the decaying body's stench – compare, for instance, the sixth-century Rossano Gospels (Fig. 26), where the attendant has pulled the collar of his tunic up to cover his mouth and nose, or the already mentioned tenth-century Berlin ivory (Fig. 16) featuring the attendant holding his nose with his bare hand – using a

⁷⁴ Egypt, Holy Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai. See *Glory of Byzantium* (note 44), Nr. 248, pp. 377–379.

⁷⁵ Egypt, Holy Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai. See *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground* (note 73), Nr. 18, pp. 163–165 (Robert Nelson). — Kurtz Weitzmann: *The Icons of Constantinople*. In: Kurt Weitzmann et al.: *The Icon*. New York 1982, pp. 11–83, here pp. 22–23 and 78–79.



24. Raising of Lazarus. Mount Sinai, Holy Monastery of St. Catherine, Epistyle Beam (detail)

narrow, exceedingly long sleeve for this purpose seems to be an eleventh-century invention. Garments of the type represented in the lectionary illustration of Dionysiou Cod. 587, namely tunics with narrow, exceedingly long sleeves, are first attested in manuscripts of the eleventh century. Maria Parani has cited the eleventh-century *Menologion*⁷⁶ (Ms. 14) in the

Monastery of Esphigmenou (Fig. 27) on Mount Athos and the twelfth-century *Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes*⁷⁷ at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (Fig. 28), where high court officials (›Madrid Skylitzes‹) and imperial attendants (Esphigmenou, Cod. 14) wear such outer garments – both ankle- and knee-long – with covered hands crossed in front of

⁷⁶ Greece, Holy Monastery of Esphigmenou, Mount Athos, Cod. 14, fol. 90–90v. See Stylianos M. Pelekanides et al.: *The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts. Miniatures – Headpieces – Initial Letters*, Vol. 2: *The Monasteries of Iveron, St. Panteleimon, Esphigmenou, and Chilandari*. Athens 1975, Nr. 331–332, pp. 210–211 and 364–365.

⁷⁷ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Cod. Vitr. 26–2, fol. 13, 42v, fol. 47, and elsewhere. See Vasiliki Tsamakda: *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid*. Leiden

2002, p. 49, Fig. 9 (fol. 13); p. 83, Fig. 93 (fol. 42v); pp. 89–90, Fig. 107 (fol. 47). – It is interesting to note that in the latter miniature the garment is worn by both the attendant to the ruler of Syria and men in the retinue of Ioannes Synkellos, indicating that for the artist of the ›Madrid Skylitzes‹, at least, the tunic with narrow, exceedingly long sleeves was a type of garment that transcended cultural boundaries and was not identified as a strictly Byzantine or Arab court costume.

their chests, as the earliest pieces of evidence⁷⁸. To these two codices must be added a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century manuscript of the story of Barlaam and Ioasaph at the Monastery of Iveron (Cod. 463) on Mount Athos, where such tunics with narrow, exceedingly long sleeves are similarly depicted as the garment of choice for various unidentified Indian courtiers and noblemen (Fig. 29)⁷⁹. Given that the artists responsible for the execution of these manuscripts depicted the tunic with narrow, exceedingly long sleeves as a type of garment worn by both Byzantine and foreign elite figures, it must be assumed that its use transcended the cultural boundaries of its time. Indeed, Maria Parani has pointed out that »tunics and coats with extremely long, narrow sleeves [...] were known in the Middle East by the ninth century if not earlier«⁸⁰. Their depiction in eleventh-century Byzantine manuscripts may therefore suggest that they had become fashionable enough among Byzantine secular elites during the Middle Byzantine period to leave their mark on the visual arts. While literary evidence is lacking, it is tempting to suggest that the inclusion of the »exceedingly-long-sleeve« motif into the eleventh-century iconography of the Raising of Lazarus was a playful response to contemporary elite behavior, namely a way to poke fun at the manner in which courtiers used their fancy garments to avoid unpleasant smells and offensive odors.

The appearance of the »exceedingly-long-sleeve« motif in the Salerno ivory's Raising of Lazarus scene is insofar noteworthy, as it is one of the earliest in Western art, predating both the miniatures of the Madrid Skylitzes and the Raising of Lazarus scene in the Capella Palatina⁸¹. When the workshop responsible

⁷⁸ Maria Parani: *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th centuries)*. Leiden and Boston 2003, p. 55.

⁷⁹ Greece, Holy Monastery of Iveron, Mount Athos, Cod. 463, fol. 4v, and elsewhere. See Pelekanides (note 76), p. 61, Fig. 56. — Examples for this type of garment are numerous in the manuscript. Compare, for instance, fol. 18 (Pelekanides, II, p. 64, Fig. 66); fol. 44 (Pelekanides, II, p. 69, Fig. 79), fol. 74v (Pelekanides, II, p. 75, Fig. 96); fol. 89v (Pelekanides, II, p. 78, Fig. 102), fol. 107v (Pelekanides, II, p. 82, Fig. 112); fol. 114v (Pelekanides, II, p. 84, Fig. 116).



25. Raising of Lazarus. Mount Sinai, Holy Monastery of St. Catherine, Polyptych (detail)

for the execution of the Salerno ivories worked out the iconographic and compositional scheme for the series of Christological plaques, its artists seem to have been eager to integrate this and other relatively new Byzantine motifs – the cross-topped column and blessing Christ in the scene of Christ's Baptism in the river Jordan, for instance – into their own visual and

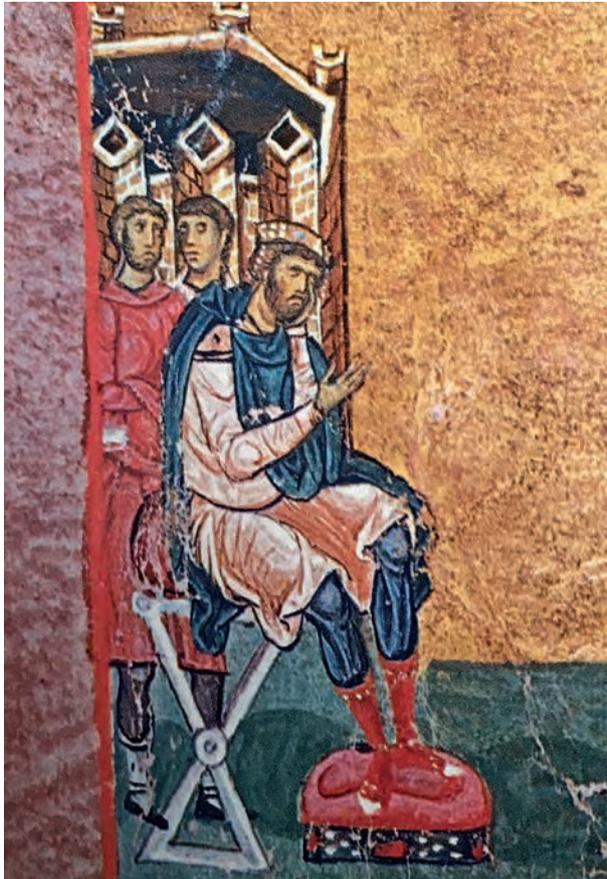
— On this manuscript, see also *Glory of Byzantium* (note 44), Nr. 164, pp. 242–243 (Jeffrey Anderson).

⁸⁰ Parani (note 78), p. 55, citing Aly Mazahéri: *La vie quotidienne des musulmans au Moyen Âge, Xe au XIIIe siècle*. Paris 1951, p. 72. — Leo A. Mayer: *Mamluk Costume: A Survey*. Geneva 1952, p. 22. — Richard Ettinghausen: *Arab Painting*. Geneva 1962 passim.

⁸¹ For the most recent discussion of the date of the Madrid Skylitzes, see Elena Boeck: *Imagining the Byzantine Past: The Perception of History in the Illustrated Manuscripts of Skylitzes and Manasses*. New York 2015. — For the mosaics of the Capella Palatina, see Kitzinger (note 68), Fig. 191–192.



26. »Rossano Gospels»: Raising of Lazarus. Rossano, Museo Diocesano, fol. 1



27. Emperor Julian with Courtiers. Mount Athos, Esphigmenou Monastery, Menologion, Cod. 14, fol. 90

artistic repertoire⁸². But they decided to blend and combine these motifs with elements not commonly found in Middle Byzantine iconographic contexts such as the representation of the wellhead in the Samaritan Woman at the Well (Fig. 15), which seems to be modeled on early Byzantine exemplars, or the scepter-bearing Christ, who finds his closest parallel in the elegant figure of the Grado Chair ivory at the British Museum (Fig. 14)⁸³.

While one may speculate that, in some cases at least, physical artifacts imported from Constantinople and elsewhere in the Byzantine Empire provided artistic inspiration for the presumed Amalfitan workshop responsible for the Salerno ivory series, any attempt to define the function of Byzantine artifacts more clearly, and to probe their role in the process of artistic adaptation and amalgamation, must necessarily remain unsatisfying. Like other scholars before him, Robert Bergman tried to identify the mechanisms of artistic cross-fertilization in South Italian ivory workshops in terms of a »great wave of artistic influence fostered by Desiderius of Monte Cassino

⁸² For the scene of Christ's Baptism, see *L'enigma degli avori medievali* (note 30). Vol. 2, Nr. 46, pp. 352–355 (Maria Teresa Tancredi); Braca (note 30), pp. 109–110.

⁸³ For an early Byzantine representation of the Samaritan Woman from Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, see Braca (note 30), p. 115.



28. »Madrid Skylitzes«: Emperor Theophilos among Courtiers. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Cod. Vitreas 26–2, fol. 42v



29. Joasaph with Courtiers. Mount Athos, Iveron Monastery, The Legend of Barlaam and Joasaph, Cod. 463, fol. fol. 18

[and] realized through the importation of Byzantine artists as well as Byzantine works of art⁸⁴. While he subsequently modified Wilhelm Koehler's original concept of a great wave of Byzantine influence that swept over much of Western Europe, speaking instead of an »inundation« that »directly or indirectly [...] must have been a significant factor in the shift of stylistic orientation in the workshop that produced the Salerno ivories⁸⁵, the wave metaphor itself and

⁸⁴ Bergman 1980 (note 30), p. 85. — For the origin of the idea of a »wave of Byzantine influence« see Wilhelm Koehler: Byzantine Art in the West. In: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 1 (1941), pp. 63–87. — For a critique of Koehler's influence model see Holger A. Klein: *Byzanz, der Westen und das wahre Kreuz. Die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland (Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz 17, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven)*. Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 11–14.

⁸⁵ Bergman 1980 (note 30), p. 85.

the concept of artistic influence were not further questioned⁸⁶. Critical theory and new approaches toward the study of Mediterranean cultures have, over the last three decades, cautioned art historians in their efforts to explain evidence of artistic exchange in terms of simple constructs such as the ›teacher-student-model‹ and have led to a profound distrust in both the assumption of specific ›object lessons‹ and broad generalizations of so-called ›artistic influences‹⁸⁷. Whether attempts are successful to explain practices of cultural and artistic blending in Amalfitan ivory workshops with certain predispositions and general attitudes rooted in its merchant culture, as Jill Caskey has recently suggested for later Amalfitan artistic and architectural production, remains to be seen⁸⁸. Looking at the production of a single ivory workshop to determine degrees of stylistic and iconographic indebtedness to Byzantine, Western, or Islamic models is but one way to explore aspects of artistic, political, and religious ›appropriation‹ of foreign models by local patrons. But whether it can lead to a better overall understanding of the cultural production of a society in which rulers sealed with Byzantine-style lead bullae, as attested for Manso I, where penalties and fines could be set in Byzantine gold *solidi*, prices for goods were commonly specified in Fatimid gold *tari*, and Byzantine objects as small as devotion-

al ivory plaques or as large as monumental bronze doors were imported by wealthy patrons at home in more than one culture, is a question that will likely occupy future generations of scholars as much as it inspired the work of those who came before them⁸⁹.

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⁸⁶ For the longevity of the idea of Byzantine object lessons, see Bergman 1974 (note 30), pp. 180–181. — Bergman 1980 (note 30), p. 81. — See also Otto Demus: *Vorbildqualität und Lehrfunktion der byzantinischen Kunst*. In: *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes (Akten des XXI. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte 1)*. Berlin 1967, pp. 92–98. — Otto Demus: *Byzantine Art and the West (The Wrightsman Lectures III)*. New York 1970, pp. VII–VIII and pp. 45–78.

⁸⁷ For a critical assessment of the ›influence‹ paradigm, see Cutler (note 40), pp. 41–77. — Robert S. Nelson: *Living on the Byzantine Borders of Western Art*. In: *Gesta 35/1* (1996), pp. 3–11. — Klein (note 84), pp. 13–14. — For new approaches to the study of the Salerno ivories as part of a pan-Mediterranean culture, see Anthony Eastmond: *On Diversity in Southern Italy*. In: Dell'Acqua et al. (note 29), p. 97–109. — For the inclusion of the Islamic perspective, the importance of ›portability‹, and the emergence of Med-

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⁸⁸ See Jill Caskey: *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the Region of Amalfi*. Cambridge 2004, pp. 1–23, for a definition of the concept of mercatantia as a framework for looking at the art of the region around Amalfi.

⁸⁹ For the seal of Manso I, see Antonino Salinas: *Sigillo greco di un Mansone patrizio e doge di Amalfi*. In: *Archivio storico per le province napoletane 19* (1894), pp. 692–695.