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Who is this King of Glory? The Byzantine enamels of an icon frame and revetment in Jerusalem★

For Hugo Buchthal at 80

In recent years scholars of various disciplines have shown a growing interest in the image of the dead Christ that is usually known in the West as the »Christ of Pity«, or the »Man of Sorrows«, and in Byzantium as either 'Η 'Ακρα Ταπε ινωσις (»The Ultimate Humiliation«) or (more commonly) 'Ο Βασιλευ ς της Δοξης (»The King of Glory«). Quite a substantial literature has now grown up around this subject[1]. This paper is concerned with the magnificent enamelled revetment and frame that once enclosed an icon with the latter title, and which is now displayed in the Museum of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem[2]. (Fig. 1). The revetment must be the most spectacular example that has survived into modern times of imagery that was associated with this subject, and it is the later icon that is now enclosed by the revetment that must have hithero discouraged any full analysis of the ensemble[3].

The Inscriptions

There are three separate inscriptions on the housing of the icon which provide us with a starting-point for a full discussion. The latest is incorporated into the design on the silver sheet covering the reverse of the icon (Fig. 2); it is in Georgian, and is transcribed as:

'k: k'valad: adide: / ganmaxlebeli: xa / t'isa: amis: dadia / ni: k'acia: / k ch=67,1t'es: aket: atas: / švidas: samoc / da: atsa'.

Which can be translated as:

»Ch[rist], make great again the restorer of [*OR:* he who has made new] this icon; it is the man Dadiani in the year of Our Lord 1770[4].

Dadiani was a territorial patronymic of the princes of Mingrelia, but it is not possible to be sure which member of the family this would refer to. It is known that the present contents of the Museum of the Greek Patriarchate, which were until recently housed in the sacristy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, had been kept for centuries in the Treasury of the Monastery of the Holy Cross, outside the 16th century walls of Jerusalem[5]. This monastery, traditionally founded in the 4th century on the site where the tree from which the wood of Christ's cross was cut, was rebuilt in the

★ This article first saw the light of day as two papers read during 1989; the first was at a colloquium held in the Warburg Institute to celebrate Hugo Buchthal's 80th birthday, and the second was during the tenth Symposium on Medieval Enamel held at the British Museum. I would like to thank those present on both of those enjoyable occastions for the helpful and constructive comments which they provided.

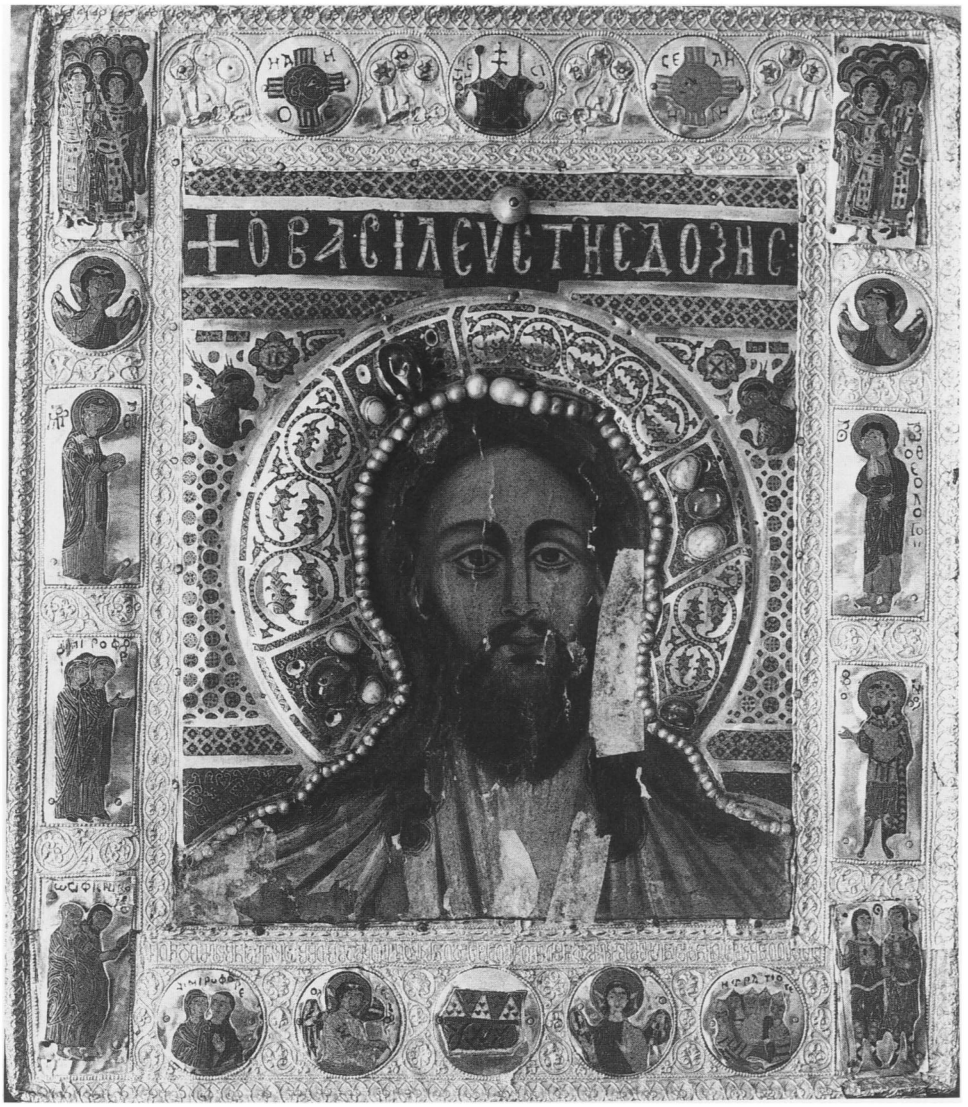
[1] Among the more substantial recent contributions to this subject are: R. Bauerreis: »ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΞΗΣ. Ein frühes eucharistisches Bild und seine Auswirkung, in: *Pro Mundi Vita: Festschrift zum Eucharistichen Weltkongress,* München 1960, 49–67; Pallas, 197–283; C. Bertelli in: The Image of Pity in S. Croce in Gerusalemme, in: *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower,* New York 1969, 40–55; H. W. van Os: The Discovery of an Early Man of Sorrows on a Dominican Triptych, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41, 1978, 65–75; L. M. La Favia: *The Man of Sorrows. Its Origin and Development in Trecento Florentine Painting,* Rome 1980; Belting, Image; and *idem, Bild;* the last has a full bibliography of the *Imago Pietatis,* 299–300.

[2] I would like to thank Bishop Nikiphoros A. Baltazis, the Superior of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for the care and kindness with which he provided all the facilities which I needed while studying the icon.

[3] Previous publications of part or all of the icon and its revetment are in: W. Mersmann: *Der Schmerzensmann,* Düsseldorf 1952, VII, XXXIII and Abb. 2; Klaus Wessel: *Byzantine Enamels from the 5th to the 13th century,* Shannon 1969, 170–172; Belting, *Bild,* 184–5 and Abb. 70, and Image, Fig. 22. It was discussed in Gabriel Millet: *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Evangile,* Paris 1916, 484–488; by Marvin C. Ross: *Enamels* entry in the Catalogue: *Byzantine Art an European Art,* Athens 1964, 406, item 475; and in Pallas, 204–206.

[4] I am most grateful to Dr George Hewitt for transcribing and translating this inscription for me; Pallas and Wessel both also give this date (see n. 3).

[5] See Peradze, 220–223; he was presumably an earlier member of the family mentioned in the inscription on the *verso* of the icon.



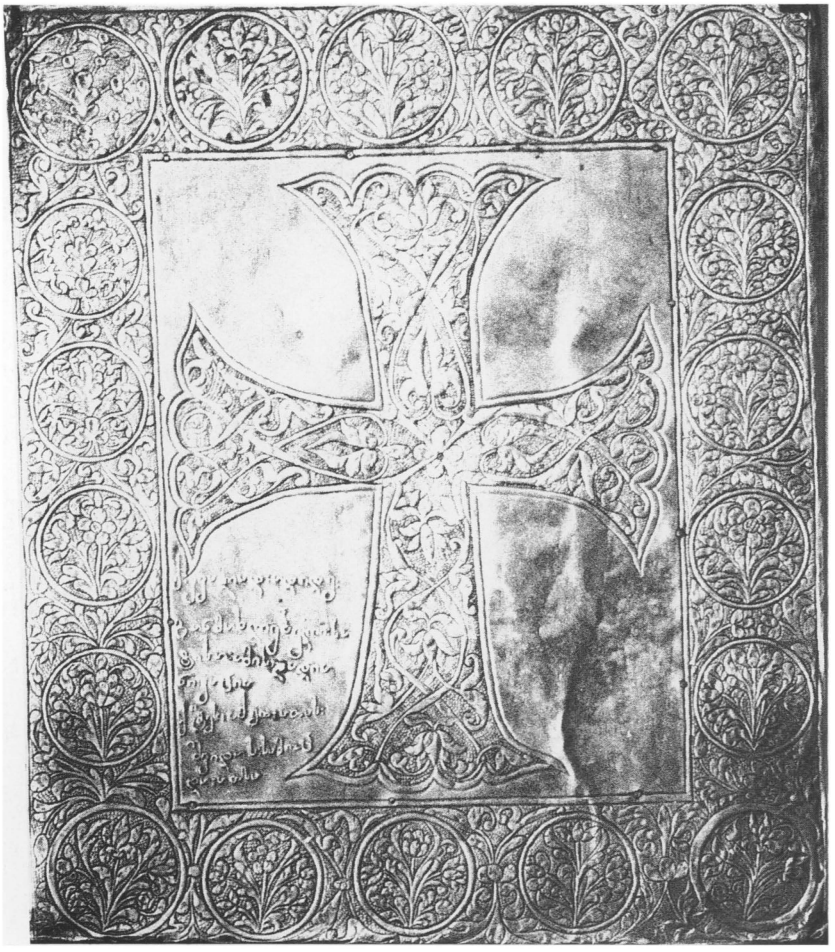
1. Jerusalem, Museum of the Greek Patriarchate. Icon with gold and enamel revetment and frame

12th century; it was one of the total of twelve Georgian foundations that existed at various times in or around Jerusalem. Georgian presence was gradually dwindling from the 17th century; although an inscription in Georgian of 1643, which is still visible below the altar of the catholicon, mentions a »Leon Dadiani«[6] from this period, Greek monks were exerting more and more control, and in c. 1739 Richard Pococke was there and wrote then that it »belongs to the Greeks«[7]. In the absence of any sure provenance for our icon, it must be this background which accounts for the 18th century Georgian inscription here.

The second inscription runs across the bottom of the frame just below the icon (Figs. 3 and 4).

[6] Peradze, 246.

[7] Richard Pococke: *A Description of the East*, 2 vols., London 1743–45, II pt. 1, 47; in describing the ceremonies of Easter eve in the Holy Sepulchre he does not mention any Georgian participants, but refers several times to Armenians being present (*loc. cit.*, 29).



2. Reverse of 1.

It should be noted that the gold sheet on which the inscription is embossed is not a separate strip, but continues down to the lower edge of the frame; it has blank areas of the correct size left in its patterning to contain the five enamel roundels, and so must have been made expressly to contain them. The text is in Georgian script of the 13th–14th century; no transcription or translation has so far been published. It reads:

»miuc'domelsa šensa vnebasa šišit šemamk'obeli, sibrzeno da sit'q'uao, zc'olit šendami vqmob: momiqsene, mqsnelo, sasupevelsa šensa, upalo...«

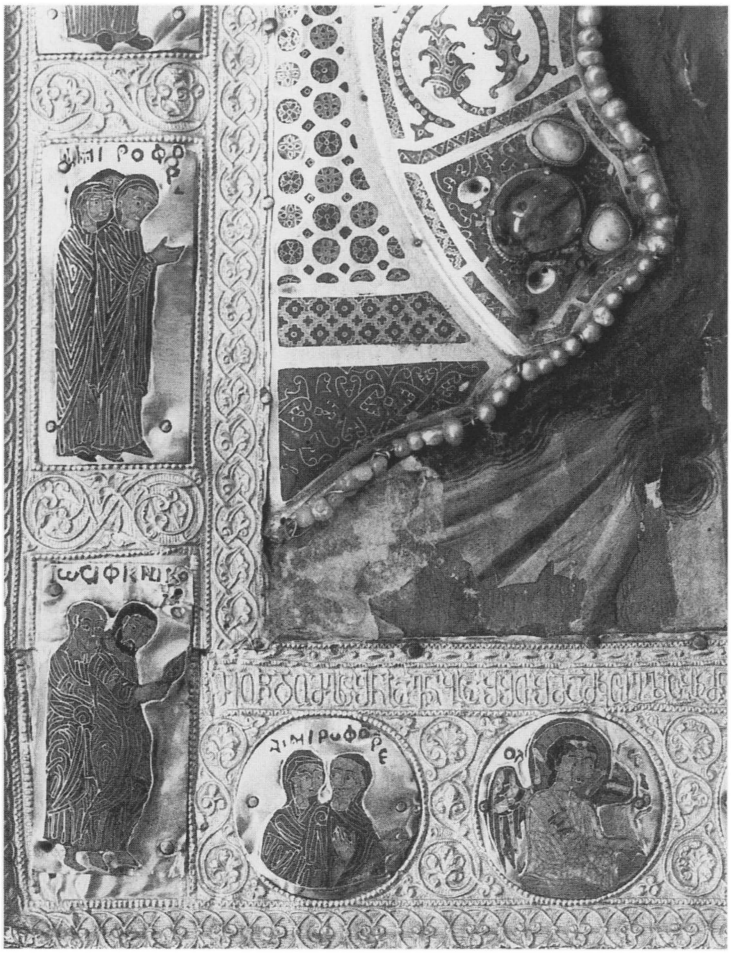
It is a prayer which can be translated as follows:

»In adoring with awe thine immeasurable suffering, O [thou who art] wisdom and the word, in fear of thee I say: remember me, saviour, in thy kingdom, Lord...«[8]. As it mentions no individual by name, its presence serves chiefly to date a new phase in the history of the ensemble, but it does also show how, a century or so after its creation, the icon was already in Georgian hands.

The third inscription is of course the prominent title which adjoins the halo of the icon: + Ο ΒΑ–ΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΞΗΣ: »The King of Glory« (Figs. 6 and 7).

The palaeography of this title suggests a date not earlier than the second half of the 12th century,

[8] I am most grateful to Professor Zwab Sardzhveladze of Tbilisi for transcribing this problematic inscription, and for his translation.



3. Detail of 1: lower part of frame (left)

and possibly later than that[9]. As the golden background of the enamel is continuous this must provide a date for the original ensemble of icon and revetment; it is not technically possible for the inscription to have been added later, as has been suggested[10].

Taking these inscriptions as a starting point, therefore, it would seem probable that the ensemble that we now have is the result of at least two separate changes being made to the original form and identity of the later 12th-century revetment and framing of an icon of the »King of Glory«: one when the present embossed gold of the outer frame was added in the 13th/14th century (i.e. something over a century later), and the second in the 18th century, when the silver covering was placed on the reverse. It must have been at this point that the icon took on its present appearance; either the original was over-painted, or (more probably) a new one was substituted. The word used in the inscription (»restorer«) could be interpreted in either sense. There seem to be no grounds for thinking that the front of the icon (its revetment and frame) were altered to any great extent when the silver sheet was attached to the back in the 18th century.

[9] I would like to express my thanks to Professor Cyril Mango for his comments on the palaeography of this inscription.

[10] See Ross, *op. cit.*, (n. 3).

4. Detail of 1: lower part of frame (right)

The icon

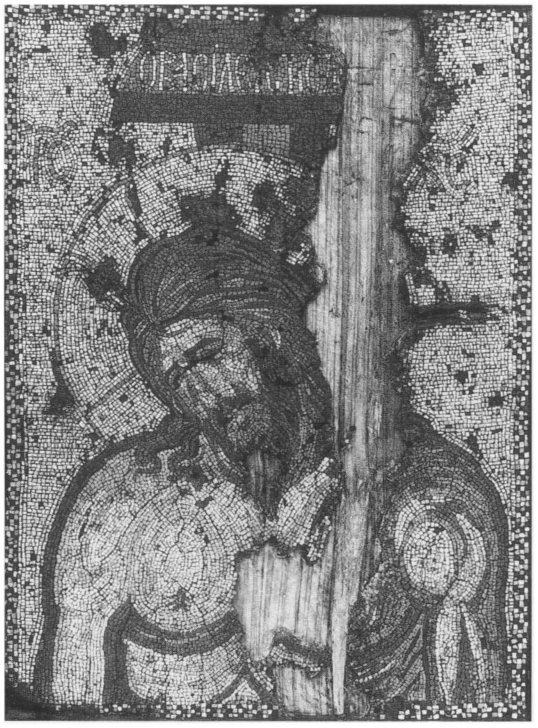
The form for the subject of the »Man of Sorrows« which had become established by about the mid-13th century is that of a naked figure of Christ with the head tilted down to the right shoulder and the eyes closed; the figure is by then normally seen in half-length and the hands are often shown crossed[11]. It can be found in all principal media, with the mosaic icon at Tatarna (Fig. 5) or the miniature in the Gospels of Karahissar[12] exemplifying the smaller scale tradition, and the frescoes of the Peribleptos, Mistra, showing its development in monumental painting[13]. It is clear from the asymmetry of the enamel halo in the Jerusalem icon that the head of Christ was tilted down to the right shoulder (which must confirm the identity of the subject of the original icon) but in its present form there was certainly never space for the rest of the figure in half-length. It must also be noted that the profile of the neck and shoulders, as dictated by the enamel revetment, would not have allowed the head of Christ to be depicted as is standard in other versions. While it is possible to suggest that the icon was shortened when it was »restored«, and so might originally have shown more of Christ's body, the combination of these two features is much more readily explained by the relatively early date of the original ensemble. In the second half of the twelfth century this would have been a highly innovative and experimental form of this subject; the tilting of Christ's head, which probably derived from the position of the dead Christ on the cross, as well as the features just mentioned, all formed part of the early development of this type[14].

[11] See e.g. Belting, *Bild*, Abb. 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, etc.

[12] Now Leningrad, Public Library, cod. gr. 105, fols. 65.v and 167.v; see H. R. Willoughy: *The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, Chicago 1936, pls. 34 and 106.

[13] The subject was normally located in the prothesis, as here; see S. Dufrenne: *Les Programmes iconographiques des Eglises byzantines de Mistra*, Paris 1970, 14, Fig. 62 and Dessin V.

[14] See Belting, *Bild*, 53ff. and Image, 12.



5. Monastery of Tripotamon, Tatarna, Evrytania. Mosaic icon of *The King of Glory.* (Courtesy of the Byzantine Museum, Athens)

The Enamels

Discussion of these can readily be divided between the large central revetment, shaped to reveal Christ's head, and the eighteen plaques that now surround it, let into pre-formed spaces in the decorated gold of the Georgian frame; (for a schedule of the enamels see Appendix).

Several features of the magnificent revetment call for some comment. The exceptionally large size of the single gold sheet forming the background should be noted; measuring some 23 × 21 cms., it is among the largest of middle Byzantine enamels with this irregular shape to have survived[15]. It should also be pointed out that the main inscription and the areas of decorative enamel forming the background are on one continuous area of gold. This is mentioned as the level of craftsmanship of the enamel forming the background is of an extraordinarily fine quality; each area of pattern is formed from tiny cloisons cut and fixed with a regularity that gives a brilliant and jewel-like result. This care, which is almost obsessive in character, is absent from the very bold lettering of the title; here there is nothing of the sharpness or love of crisp forms found in all other areas of the same gold sheet, but a simple emphasis on an easily read and emphatic message. The height of the letters, of some 2 cms., is unusually high, and so contrasts with the minute *tituli* of the archangels immediately below. This relative lack of interest in finish is carried through even to the somewhat pitted surface of the enamel of the title, which has been left largely unpolished, and with fragments of gold cloisons below the surface occasionally showing through[16]; this again contrasts with the two areas of blue enamel just above the shoulders of Christ, which contain a rinceau pattern of gold cloisons of the utmost refinement (Figs. 3 and 4). For whatever reason, this must indicate a division of labour within the enamel work on one sheet, but also means that the date suggested by the palaeography of the inscription must also apply to the rest of this area of the work.

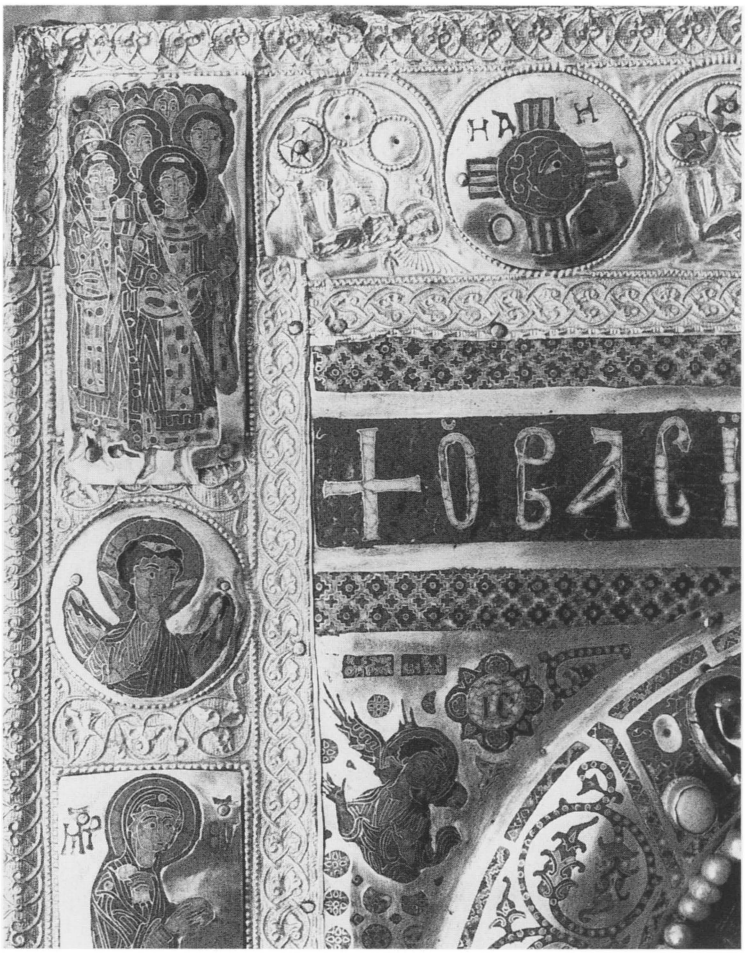
The decorative vocabularly of the enamels in the background and in the halo is quite restricted, and does not break any particular new ground. The prominent lozenge design in the three patterned bands is already present in the enamels of the staurothèque at Limburg (964–985)[17]. The decorated rinceau forms of the halo compare with those in the frame of the famous enamel icon of St Michael in full-length in the Treasury of San Marco (Cat. no. 16);[18] even the small areas of blue enamel over Christ's shoulders also contain a delicate design of cloisons which again relate quite closely

[15] Besides the natural weakness of the shape of the revetment, where its bottom extensions would be naturally exposed to damage in the course of its life, the shape must also have been technically hazardous to produce; the uneven shrinkage of the metal as it cooled after the enamel had been fired would be more likely to produce flaking of the enamel than would a more regular shape.

[16] Relatively large areas of enamel need a »key« that was often supplied by small strips or scraps of gold that were not intended to show above the surface of the enamel in its final form.

[17] J. Rauch und J. Wilm: Die Staurothek von Limburg, in: *Das Münster,* VIII 1955, 201–240, Abb. 8 and 10.

[18] H. R. Hahnloser (Ed.): *Il. Tesoro di San Marco; Il Tesoro e il Museo* Florence 1971, 23–24 and Tavv. XVI and XVII.



6. Detail of 1: upper part of frame and revetment (left)

to the enamel areas under St Michael's arms in the San Marco icon; although this is not a firmly dated work it is highly unlikely to be any later than the mid 12th century[19]. Finally, besides the asymmetry of the cross on the halo, mentioned above, there is also a good indication that the blank, slightly recessed outer border of the halo originally held a second row of pearls, as there are holes in the gold for its attachment.

Turning to the eighteen plaques mounted on the frame, a number of questions have to be answered. Are they all of the same date? Are they all from the same source, or, if not, from how many sources do they originate? What is their relationship with the central plaque of the revetment? At what point were all the enamels brought together?

It is evident from their subject-matter that with only three exceptions (and we shall see that they are important ones) the plaques must be regarded as originating within the context of the iconography of the events of Good Friday and Easter Day. To the former we can assign the figures of the grieving Virgin and St John, the roundels of the two angels adjacent to these and those of the sun and moon, the plaques of Longinos and the two standing soldiers, with (probably) the group of grieving women; all these are to be found in countless representations of the crucifixion[20]. To the events of Easter must be linked the plaque of

[19] A. Grabar in: Hahnloser, *op. cit.* (n. 18), 23–24 gives a mid-11th century date, as does Wessel, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 95.
[20] Millet, *op. cit.* (n. 3), 396–460.

7. Detail of 1: upper part of frame and revetment (right)

Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, the four roundels in the bottom row depicting the tomb, the group of sleeping soldiers, two myrrophoroi, and the two angels, one clothed in white (Fig. 3). As Byzantine art never developed a feast scene or iconography of the Resurrection of Christ, these must be seen (instead of the Anastasis, which was of course the *imago princeps* and standard feast scene for Easter) as implying the events of Easter Day. It can be seen at once that the plaques not embraced by this subject are the two groups of standing angels wearing loroi and the roundel of the Etoimasia. It is the consideration of the part played by these that allows for some new light now to be shed on the whole of this brilliant ensemble.

It is here that we must turn to one of the questions posed above: to what extent can all the eighteen plaques in the frame be regarded as being made for the same original setting? A preliminary answer must be that there appears to be no stylistic or technical reason that would prevent them from all all being seen as one homogeneous group. Sizes of plaques, treatment of cloisons, comparable colours of enamel, overall questions of style – on all of these grounds the evidence weighs heavily on the side of their being all members of one group. The only factor which might give cause for doubt here is the apparent duplication of one of the subjects: the title of *Myrrophoroi* is given both to a group of three standing women now placed opposite Longinos, and again below to two half-length figures in a roundel adjacent to the angel clothed in white. This does not, however, seem on its own sufficient to negate the uniformity of the group; the full-length figures would have appeared to the left of a crucifixion scene as the members of Christ's family, as in the central enamel of a composite icon now in Leningrad (Fig. 8), and were named as the Myrrhophoroi as no other brief title exists for this group of women.

It is also possible that there were one or two

losses from the enamels before they were fixed to the present frame in the 13th/14th century. There may have been two angels clothed in white (one either side of the tomb), rather than one, as now; there may also have been four roundels of angels to either side of the central image, not two, as now, as it is certainly quite common to find four grieving angels at the crucifixion[21]. If this was the case, it will only mean that one of the angels was transferred from the upper part of the frame to the bottom in order to maintain symmetry, but the general argument is in no way affected. (Such losses might indeed have been the cause for the »restoration« of the 13th/14th century).

With the one exception mentioned above, nothing has so far been said which departs to any significant extent from any previous opinions expressed on the enamels, but a comparison will now be made which breaks new ground. Most commentators have specifically stated that the central area of the revetment must be earlier than the enamels of the frame[22]. There are in fact only two figural elements in the central revetment which provide the basis for a stylistic comparison, and they are the two archangels portrayed in half-length adjacent to the sigilla of Christ's name, and named as Michael and Gabriel. If either is compared to the angel in the enamel roundel in the frame nearest to them (Figs. 6 and 7), it is hard to find any grounds for separating them to any significant extent, either in style or in period. After allowance is made for the different areas to be occupied by the two busts, and the variety of gestures that would in any case necessitate this, the features that the figures have in common are far more evident than any which separate them. Handling of cloisons in faces and drapery is very closely comparable. Given the differences already noted in the workmanship of the enamel areas of the central revetment, there does not appear to be any reason for separating them by any significant margin. It therefore becomes possible to consider that the entire ensemble of the enamels – the revetment and those in the frame – was not only produced at the same time, but also that they were always united on the same object.

8. Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. Composite enamel icon; detail: central plaque.
(Courtesy of the Museum)

The liturgical context

So far this discussion has had to centre largely round considerations of style, technique and iconography. The time has now come to move from these to questions of the message implicit in the total ensemble of the original icon, its revetment and its frame – however these may have been assembled. Our attention will centre first on the subject of the imagery of the »Man of Sorrows« which must have formed the liturgical focus of the original ensemble. It is in this context that the three plaques which did not conform to any stan-

[21] The two conventions are represented quite evenly in Millet, *loc. cit.* (n. 3), 396–460.

[22] In both illustrations published by Belting the frame is omitted altogether, and Pallas, 206, actually suggests that the enamels in the frame were originally on a casket.

dard subject-matter concerning Easter – the Etoimasia and the two large plaques of groups of standing angels – will be seen to take their place.

In the recent literature on this field there has rightly been increasing emphasis placed on the part played by liturgy in the formation of new imagery, particularly during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Indeed, it is now accepted that developments in liturgy played such a large part that images came into being whose very »language« was liturgical[23]. It has been established that the imagery surrounding the »Man of Sorrows« was developed in response to new rites centring on the Passion services; also, that it was in the monasteries of Constantinople, some of them the foundations of rich individuals, rather than in the services of the Great Church, that these new rituals were introduced[24]. Pallas showed how an image of the Crucifixion was initially used as a feast icon for the Passion services, and his conclusions were taken further by Belting, who has demonstrated how the imagery of the »Man of Sorrows« absorbed the significance of several icons into one complex visual allegory[25].

It is on this basis that we must begin to build a liturgical context for the Jerusalem icon. The icon itself must (we have seen) have been of the dead Christ, with his head tilted to the right and eyes closed. The titulus, which deliberately adjoins the halo by a small projection, declares triumphantly the dead Christ to be the King of Glory. This familiar phrase originates in Psalm 23:

> »Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be ye lifted up ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in. Who is this King of Glory? The Lord of hosts, he is this King of Glory«[26].

It is repeated in other contexts, including the Gospel of Nicodemus, the text which provided the main feast scene for Easter – the Anastasis[27]. It is indeed not so much with the central image that we should be concerned – its association with the Easter rituals can now be regarded as established. It is rather the other enamels now in the frame of the icon that should claim our attention.

The group of plaques which was related above, by reason of subject-matter, to Crucifixion iconography, takes its place in the context of Passion ritual without any apparent problem. It is the lack of any such firmly established imagery relating to the Resurrection and Easter which involves greater discussion on the part played by the other plaques. In this context it should be recalled that the title of Myrrophoroi was given to two groups of women – the rectangular plaque of three and the roundel of two. These are mentioned several times in the services of Easter day, besides their appearance in the Gospel narrative; in the Oikos following the 6th canticle, for example:

> »The Myrrophoroi forestalled the dawn, before the rising of the sun, seeking, as it were day, the Sun which had once set in the tomb,...«[28].

In this way the other roundels in the bottom row are all closely associated with the events of Easter morning: the group of soldiers, the tomb and the angels, one of them clothed in white, with the vertical plaque of Joseph and Nicodemus close by. Just as the enamels above implied by their presence the existence of an image of the crucifixion, but left the image itself to be supplied in the beholder's mind, so the enamels associated with Easter day implied the presence of an image of the Anastasis. The icon of the dead Christ as the King of Glory contained the essential theological reality of both these fundamental visual statements. As two of the central feasts of the Dodecaorton they were absent in physical form, but present in spirit.

This leads us to the final group of the roundel of the Etoimasia and the two rectangular groups of the choirs of angels. The latter would appear to be unique in the field of enamels, but can be found quite readily in representations of the Last Judgement in other media; certainly the Etoimasia is overwhelmingly a theme associated with judge-

[23] See Pallas, 1–10; Belting, Image, 2–3 and 6ff.
[24] Belting, Image, 2–3.
[25] Pallas, 87–102, and Belting, *Bild,* 16off., Image, 10ff.
[26] Psalm 23, vv. 7–10 (Septuagint version).
[27] See M. R. James: *The Apocryphal New testament,* Oxford 1966, 134.
[28] Τὸν πρὸ ἡλίου ἥλιον, δύναντα ποτὲ ἐν τάφῳ, προέφθασαν πρὸς ὄρθρον, ἐκζητοῦσαι ὡς ἡμέραν, μυροφόροι κόραι, *Pentekostarion, Venice (Pinelli)* 1618, fol. 3.r.

ment[29]. (Fig. 8) The formal and theological link between this zone of the frame and the central revetment can be found in the two archangels, Michael and Gabriel; their gestures would seem to involve them as intermediaries between the Man of Sorrows and the choirs of angels above. It is perhaps these enamels which provide the strongest association between the icon and the liturgical context in which it was used: the King of Glory, having suffered the crucifixion and the three days in the tomb, is conducted in glory to the throne of judgement by angels and archangels. The concept of a progression or sequence of episodes recurs a number of times in the liturgy, as in this passage in the Hours for each day in the week after Easter:

> »In the grave with the flesh, in Hell with the soul (as being God), in Paradise with the thief, O Christ thou did then exist enthroned with the Father and the Spirit, filling all and not capable of description«[30].

This discussion draws us towards the conclusion that the entire ensemble of icon, revetment and enamelled frame formed a single new creation *ab initio,* and one which presented a single and complete unity. Surrounding the central text naming the image below as the King of Glory, we have further clusters of meaning and allusion, drawn partly from the Easter liturgy and readings of texts which it contains, and partly from imagery lying behind this new presentation, and so forming a complex interaction with it. The Virgin and St John grieve at the foot of the cros (which is inferred, but not seen), while Longinos affirms in the Easter gospel that »truly this man was the Son of God«[31] and the Myrrophoroi below come »seeking the Sun, which had once set in the tomb«; the image of the Anastasis of Christ is also implied by the words of the Gospel of Nicodemus, and by the tomb to which Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus approach, as well as by the sleeping soldiers, but remains invisible to the physical eye. The Anastasis leads in turn to the Second Coming, implied by the throne of the Etoimasia; Christ, led by the archangels Michael and Gabriel and heralded by the two choirs of angels waiting on either side of the throne to greet the King of Glory, then advances to the throne of judgement. In this way the icon, its revetment and its frame can be seen to have originally formed one total and complex unity.

The historical context

If this view of the ensemble is correct it will mean that, in response to the questions posed above, we will have to accept that all the enamels were created at the same time (which would have been in the second half of the 12th century) for the same single location, and for the embellismhent of an icon of the »Christ of Pity«; the icon and the original frame have not survived, but all (or certainly most) of the enamels have.

For what setting could this remarkable work have been created? We have already seen that the ensemble must have been of an experimental nature; it must also, given the extreme luxury of the materials used, have been provided by or for an exceptionally rich patron. An initial response must be that it was created in Constantinople; no other centre existed at this period where innovation and liturgical complexity would have flourished in such close proximity to a mature enamelling tradition of immense skill and sophistication.

There are however some other features which suggest that it may not have spent any appreciable time there after its completion. Even if it was created for a rich and idiosyncratic private individual, or for a minor but wealthy institution, one would have expected some of its features to have been perpetuated in some other artistic form; but there does not appear to have been any attempt to build on any aspect of the ideas implict in the cycle as found on this work. While this apparent absence of any succeeding tradition could never be conclusive, it does suggest that the ensemble

[29] See Pallas, 102–104; and B. Brenk: *Tradition und Neuerung in der Christlichen Kunst des Ersten Jahrtausends; Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes (Wiener byzantinische Studien, Bd. III), Wien 1966, 71–73.*

[30] Ἐν τάφῳ σωματικῶς, ἐν ἅιδου δὲ μετὰ ψυχῆς ὡς Θεὸς, ἐν παραδείσῳ δὲ μετὰ λῃστοῦ, καὶ ἐν θρόνῳ ὑπῆρχες Χριστὲ, μετὰ πατρὸς καὶ πνεύματος, πάντα πληρῶν, ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος. Op. cit., fol. 6r.

[31] Matthew, ch. 27, v. 54.

was not generally available for wider inspection: for all its splendour it seems to have remained surprisingly uninfluential.

Following this thread, the only basis on which a tentative hypothesis might be erected concerns the association of the whole ensemble with Jerusalem and the *loca sancta* there. Not only do we know that it has spent at least some of its life in the city, but we have seen how the subject-matter of the enamels is dominated by the events and the liturgy of Easter. The question might fairly be asked: was the ensemble originally created expressly for export there, destined for some form of restricted or semi-private use?[32]

Of a few occasions on which some interchange certainly occurred at the period with which we are concerned, there is one on which a sumptuous object such as our icon might have found its way to Jerusalem from Constantinople. In 1158 a marriage was arranged between Theodora, a niece of the byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus, and Baldwin III, the Latin king of Jerusalem. Such a close relative of an emperor could not be married without conspicuous consumption, and William of Tyre relates that she arrived in Jerusalem with an immensely impressive array of objects and money: a dowry of 100,000 gold *hyperpera*, a contribution of 10,000 *hyperpera* to defray the expenses of the wedding, and a collection of objects in her trousseau valued at 40,000 *hyperpera* »...in quo tam in auro, quam in gemmis, vestibus et margaritis, tapetis et holosericis, vasis quoque pretiosis...«[33]. An icon of the kind discussed here could well have been among her personal possessions; her father was the *sebastokrator* Isaac, and it is quite conceivable that he could have initiated the commission for her. As an object of the »schismatic« Greek church it could not have been for use in Latin services, but could easily have remained in relatively private circumstances. Besides the general interest in the *loca sancta* of Jerusalem and the events of Easter, already mentioned, there is a feature of the enamels which suggests a genuine – and, for a Byzantine artist, unique – attempt to envisage the appearance of the Holy Sepulchre; there can be no other explanation for the representation of what appears to be a sarcophagus between the roundels of the two angels in the bottom of the frame (Fig. 4). For a Byzantine artist who did not know either the appearance of the Holy Sepulchre,[34] or of the church housing it, what could have been more natural than to adopt the characteristic form of an early Christian sarcophagus for this purpose?[35]

Theodora had been only twelve at the time of her marriage, and when Baldwin died five years later she retired, as a childless and beautiful widow aged seventeen, to Acre. An object such as our icon could well have been left behind when she left Jerusalem at this point. Certainly, her subsequent colourful and erratic lifestyle as the mistress of the future emperor Andronicus Comnenus, during which she bore him two illegitimate children, does not provide evidence of any particular devotion to liturgical observance[36].

[32] I would like to thank Dr Robin Cormack for his comments on this aspect of the problem.

[33] William of Tyre: *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, Bk. 18, ch. 22 (RHC Occ., I, 2, Paris 1844, 857–8); the writer translates the Byzantine money into French coinage. See Bernard Hamilton: Queens of Jerusalem, in: *Medieval Women* (Derek Baker Ed.), Oxford 1978, 143–174.

[34] The empty tomb was commonly represented in Byzantine art as an opening in a rocky hillside, and this must be the intention of the artist in the Karahissar Gospels; see Willoughby *op. cit.* (n. 12), pl. 106 and Millet, *op. cit.* (*n.* 3), Fig. 567–571. The description of the sarcophagus by Pallas, 206, as an empty tomb (»leere Grab«) is difficult to reconcile with this representation.

[35] The enameller was also apprently unaware of the range of seals used by the Hospitallers in Jerusalem, some of which actually carried a representation of the Holy Sepulchre; see J. Delaville le Roux: *Mélanges sur l'Ordre de S. Jean de Jérusalem*, Paris 1910: *»Note sur les Sceaux de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem«*, and *»Les Sceaux des Archives de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem à Malte«*.

[36] Theodora was visited in Acre in 1166/7 by Andronicus Comnenus, and their liaison began there, his wife being meanwhile back in Constantinople; he subsequently invited her to go with him to Beirut and (according to William of Tyre) she was abducted by him while on the way to Beirut or (according to Nicetas Choniates) was persuaded to come »a sabbath day's journey with him« and was then forced to accompany him, the couple eventually coming to live in Damascus. See William of Tyre: *Historia*, bk. 20, ch. 2 *(ed. cit. 943–4); Nicetas Choniates: Historia*, bk. 4, ch. 1, CSHB, Bonn 1835, 185; also Hamilton, *op. cit.* (n. 33), 157ff.

While obviously nothing more than a hypothesis, this explanation would account for the period of the original creation of the ensemble, how it reached Jerusalem, why it displays an interest in the events surrounding the Resurrection which involves a unique representation of the sepulchre of Christ, why the ideas implicit in the enamel cycle found no subsequent following in Constantinople despite its being a period of artistic innovation, and why the the work is still to be found in Jerusalem. The point at which it came into the possession of Georgians cannot be known, but their importance in Jerusalem was paramount for several centuries. In 1050 part of Golgotha was given to them by the byzantine emperor Constantine IX, and from at least 1347 until 1480 the key to the Holy Sepulchre was actually held by the Georgians[37]. This suggests that the icon could well have been in Georgian possession as early as 1163, but in any case must have belonged to them when the inscription on the frame was installed in the 13th/14th century.

[37] Peradze, 217–218; see also Pococke, *op. cit.* (n. 7).

APPENDIX

The Byzantine enamels of the »Man of Sorrows« in Jerusalem.
(Dimensions are in mm., with height given first.)

KEY:

2 3 4 5 6
19 7
1
18 8
17 9
16 15 14 13 12 11 10

Overall dimensions of the frame: 380 × 330

	SUBJECT	DIMENSIONS	INSCRIPTIONS
1.	The revetment	232 × 210	Ο ΒΑCΙΛΕVΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΞΗC ĪC̄ X̄C̄ Ο ΑΡΧ[ΑΝΓ]ΕΛΟC ΜΙΧΑ[Η]Λ Ο ΑΡΧ[ΑΩΓΕΛΟC] Ο ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ
2 & 6.	Choir of angels	72 × 33	(none)
3.	The sun	36 diam.	ΗΛΗΟC
4.	The etoimasia	36 diam.	Η ΕΤΗΜΑCΙ[Α]
5.	The moon	36 diam.	CΕΛΗΝΗ
7 & 19.	Angel	36 diam.	(none)
8.	Saint John	70 × 32	Ο̃ ĪΩ Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟ[C]
9.	Longinos	68 × 30	Ο ΛΟ[ΓΓΙ]ΝΟC
10.	Two soldiers	59 × 31	(none)
11.	Five soldiers	37 diam.	Η CΤΡΑΤΙΟΤΕ . .
12.	Angel	37 diam.	(none)
13.	The tomb	37 diam.	(none)
14.	Angel	37 diam.	Ο [ΑΝΓΕ]Λ[Ο]C ΤΕ . .
15.	Myrrophoroi	37 diam.	ΑΙ ΜΙΡΟΦΟΡ . .
16.	Joseph and Nicodemus	69 × 33	ΙΩCΙΦ Κ[ΑΙ] ΝΙΚΟΔ[ΗΜΟC]
17.	Myrrophoroi	62 × 32	Η ΜΙΡΟΦΟΡ . .
18.	The Virgin	68 × 33	M̄P̄ Θ̄V

The colours of the enamels

(The colour notation used here is that of the Munsell Color System.)

The palette of colours available in the workshop that produced the enamels is for the most part quite consistent with known 12th-century practice. The widely-used dark blue (7.5 PB 2/8) appears in the background to the main inscription, as well as being one of the colours in the adjacent patterned band (1); it is used also for the robes of the myrrophoroi (15 and 17), of St John (8) and of the Virgin (18) and in a number of smaller areas. The lighter greyish-blue (5 PB 4/6) is used throughout, and in larger areas appears as the colour of the under-garments of St John (8) and the Virgin (18), the armour of some of the soldiers (11) and for the whole of the moon plaque (5). The red (10 R 3/6) providing several of the inscriptions is also used for the sun (3), the soldier holding the sponge (10) and for part of Longinos' uniform (9) as well as being another of the colours in the patterned bands. As usual, most variety can be found in the colours of the haloes, although the quite common translucent green is absent here; those of St John and the Virgin (8 and 18) are a green-blue (7.5 GY 4/4), but more common is a turquoise blue (10 BG 4/4), used for Longinos, the angels (7 and 19) and for the angel choirs (2 and 6) as well as those in the revetment (1). A brownish-pink (10 R 6/2) is used consistently for flesh colour throughout, with just the two angels in the revetment being slightly darker. A yellow (2.5 Y 7/8) is used in several small areas such as the loroi of the angels (2 and 6) and in the pattern of Longinos' uniform (9). The only less common colour is a brownish-purple (2.5 YR 3/2) used for the robes in the myrrophporoi and for Nicodemus (17 and 6) as well as for part of the tomb (13).

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