BYZANTINE ART AND ITALIAN PANEL PAINTING

The Virgin and Child Hodegetria *and the Art of Chrysography*

The Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* was a widely venerated Byzantine image depicting the Virgin holding and pointing to her son as the way to salvation. In this book, Jaroslav Folda traces the appropriation of this image by thirteenth-century Crusader and central Italian painters, where the Virgin Mary is transformed from the human mother of God, the *Theotokos*, of Byzantine icons, to the resplendent Madonna radiant in her heavenly home with Christ and the angels. This transformation, Folda demonstrates, was brought about by using chrysography, or golden highlighting, which came to be used on both the Virgin and Child. This book shows the important role played by Crusader painters in bringing about this shift and in disseminating the new imagery to central Italy. By focusing on the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria*, Folda reveals complex artistic interchanges and influences extending across the Mediterranean from Byzantium and the Holy Land to Italy.

Jaroslav Folda is the N. Ferebee Taylor Professor of the History of Art, emeritus, at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. His major publications include *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), and *Crusader Art: The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099–1291* (2008).

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THE VIRGIN AND CHILD *HODEGETRIA* AND THE ART OF CHRYSOGRAPHY

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For Linda,
And for the members of my family:
Natasha Katherine
Lisa Kristin
Farrell O'Gorman
Anna Clare
Jaroslav Connelly
Kerr Houston
Cleo Dahlia

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PROLOGUE: MANIFESTATIONS OF THE CULT OF THE VIRGIN IN THE YEARS AROUND 1260

ON OCTOBER 24, 1260, IN THE PRESENCE OF LOUIS IX, THE MOST CHRISTIAN king of France, the newly completed cathedral in Chartres was dedicated to Mary the Mother of Jesus. Its full title was "The Cathedral Church of the Assumption of Our Lady," or Notre Dame for short. Elsewhere in France great cathedrals in the cities of Amiens, Bourges, Metz, Paris, and Reims, to mention only a few of the approximately eighty-some Gothic examples, were also dedicated to the Virgin, Lady Mary, in the thirteenth century.

Hundreds of miles away, in Siena, a great victory had just been celebrated, the victory of the Sienese over their hated rivals, the Florentines and their Guelf allies, in the battle of Montaperti, on September 4, 1260. In preparation for this battle, the Sienese had dedicated their city to the Virgin. On September 3, the *sindaco* of Siena, Bonaguida Lucari, led his citizens barefooted into the cathedral of the Santissima Maria Assunta, where he prostrated himself before the high altar, and prayed the following words: "I most miserable and unfaithful of sinners give, donate, and concede to you this city of Siena and all its *contado*, its [military] force and its district, as a sign of this I place the keys of the city of Siena on this altar."

Nearly a year later, far to the east, in Constantinople, the Byzantine army of Michael VIII Palaeologus entered the city on July 25, 1261, to retake control of their empire from the Crusaders, who since 1204 had occupied Constantinople and made it the capital of their Latin Empire. On August 15, 1261, the Emperor Michael VIII, just returned from Asia Minor, was led into the city with a procession in which the holy icon of the Virgin *Hodegetria* was carried at its head. The icon of the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* was the palladium which symbolized her role as safeguard of the city and protectress of the Orthodox Christians of Constantinople. Subsequently the emperor was crowned in the church of Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Empire was reborn after its liberation from the Crusaders.

Meanwhile, in the years from about 1260 to 1262, in Constantinople, in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in Pisa, and in Siena, the artistic invention of a new image which transformed the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* from the human Mother of God, the *Theotokos* in the Byzantine tradition, to the Virgin as "Queen of Heaven," resplendent in copious chrysography and radiant with

divine light, took place. This image was apparently more or less simultaneously created by Crusader painters in the Holy Land (Plate 16) and in Constantinople (Plates 19, 20) and by Italian painters in Pisa (Plate 18) and Siena (Plates 26, 28) in the early 1260s as images of the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* enthroned with angels.

By these widely separated historical and cultural events the remarkable importance of the cult of the Virgin Mary was celebrated in Christendom in the early 1260s. Indeed it seems these events and these works of art can serve to indicate that in some way the apex of the widespread cult of the Virgin was reached in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries starting around 1260, a cult which had overspread the east and west of Christian Europe as it gained momentum and intensified in ardor from the early twelfth century onward.

PREFACE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE VIRGIN MARY, *THEOTOKOS*, FROM *MATER THEOU*, THE HUMAN MOTHER OF GOD, TO MARY, *REGINA COELI*, QUEEN OF HEAVEN IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE CHAPTERS IN THIS BOOK CONSTITUTE A SERIES OF ESSAYS THAT DEAL with a very special development in the history of art, namely, the relatively sudden artistic transformation of the Virgin Mary from the human Mother of God, *Mater Theou*, who is the *Theotokos* in Byzantine icons, to a resplendent Madonna bathed in the golden light of her heavenly home with Christ and the angels as found in central Italian panel painting in the late thirteenth century, where she appears as the Queen of Heaven, *Regina Coeli*. A significant artistic method for indicating this new depiction of the Virgin Mary was the use of chrysography, what has become known in the vocabulary of modern art history as "golden highlighting."

Chrysography, of course, basically means "writing in gold." Originally it referred to the golden text written in luxury manuscripts in the early Christian, early Byzantine, and early Medieval periods. In the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* an entry on "Illuminators" refers to the Greek term, "chrysographos," that is, "one who writes in gold."[1] This term, apparently first used in the ninth century in Byzantium, can refer to scribes who literally wrote their text in gold, as we find in certain luxury manuscripts, such as the Sinope Gospels in the Early Byzantine East (sixth century), or in the West, the St. Medard Gospels, a true *codex aureus* from the Carolingian ninth century. The term "chrysography," however, can also refer to book painters, or illuminators, whose use of gold in their painting brought golden light to images in the pages of their books. In our discussion we are concerned with chrysography in regard to this latter meaning, to the use of chrysography in the painting of images. By the early ninth century, however, the meaning of chrysography had expanded to include icon painting. In the words of St. Theodore, abbot of the monastery of Studios in Constantinople:

> The Gospels were "writing in words,"
> But icons are "writing in gold."[2]

This new understanding of chrysography blossomed into an important artistic development of the technique which developed in the post-iconoclastic period in Byzantium, during what art historians call the middle Byzantine period, from 867 to 1204. What followed in the thirteenth century was

remarkable and momentous. In the short space of a few decades in the mid-thirteenth century a new image of the Virgin emerges which emphasizes and symbolizes her divine presence in heaven. To this end the concept and the practice of using chrysography on the artistic depictions of Jesus, angels, and saints, but *not* on the Virgin Mary, in Byzantine art is significantly altered by Crusader artists, and more or less simultaneously by central Italian artists. By the mid-thirteenth century, and especially after 1260, the image of the Virgin Mary received significant chrysography as a focal cult figure with great emphasis on her spiritual nature in association with Christ and the angels.

The discussion that follows attempts to lay out the case for the important role that painters working for Crusader patrons in the Holy Land appear to have had in effecting this transformation. By focusing on the icons of the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* we will be able to see how the painters who worked in the Crusader Levant mainly for western patrons closely studied the work of Byzantine and other local Christian icon painters in the Holy Land. But besides copying the traditional bust-length image of the Byzantine Virgin *Hodegetria*, in effect they also created a new image of the Virgin and Child enthroned which we can identify as the queen of heaven. In keeping with their new understanding of the spiritual significance of the Virgin as Mother of God and Queen of Heaven, assumed into heaven and crowned queen, they introduced chrysography *on the figure of the Virgin* unlike the Byzantine icon painters. The result was that the Virgin and Child were both represented as radiant with the divine light on some of these new icons. This means that the Byzantine idea of the Virgin as the *Theotokos*, the human mother of Jesus on earth, was, in the hands of artists who worked for the Crusaders and other western patrons in the Near East, converted into the radiantly divine mother of god holding her divine son in her arms in the Byzantine configuration of the *Hodegetria*, in which she symbolically gestures to Jesus as the way to salvation. It was primarily this special Byzantine cult image of the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria* that the Crusader artists transformed and that the central Italian painters seem to have been inspired by. These central Italian painters celebrated this new imagery in the form of many large new altarpieces for cathedrals, the churches of the new mendicant orders, and for parish churches, and for special patrons including bishops, parish clergy, friars, monks, nuns, aristocratic laymen, and the new confraternities of laymen devoted to the Virgin Mary.

The influence of the Byzantine tradition of icon painting combined with the new Crusader innovations, variations, and enrichments of this tradition spread to the west by means of commerce, travel, pilgrimage, the dynamics of artistic interchange, diplomatic gifting, the as yet almost wholly undocumented flow of artists back and forth across the Mediterranean, and the more or less continual flow of crusaders over the Mediterranean sea from Italy to Byzantium and the Crusader states, and, in some cases, back home again. Central

Italian panel painters in important commercial and artistic centers such as Pisa, Siena, Lucca, Florence, and elsewhere, appropriated both types of Byzantine and Byzantinizing imagery: the traditional Byzantine *Hodegetria* image without chrysography, on the one hand, and this new Crusader image of the Virgin and Child *Hodegetria,* enthroned or bust-length, radiant with divine light represented by golden highlighting, on the other. And as they enthusiastically appropriated this new imagery, these central Italian artists also gradually began to transform it into something essentially different from their Byzantine and Crusader models. As the Virgin began to be painted increasingly in a naturalistic depiction emphasizing a caring mother and her infant son, gradually the expression of their human relationship develops in the depiction of the Virgin and Child and emerges in the new Italian artistic idiom. In this situation the Virgin who is sometimes still radiant with chrysography rapidly and somewhat paradoxically begins to be seen more clearly as the human mother of Jesus enthroned in heaven. But she now becomes resplendent in the divine light that surrounds and bathes her from the outside in the form of golden highlights, no longer radiating divine light from her spiritualized inner being in the Crusader icon painting manner. This is a profound, indeed revolutionary change in the imagery of the enthroned Virgin and Child *Hodegetria*, seen in the thirteenth century and especially after 1260 to 1311, played out in art produced as the result of the dynamics of east–west interchange and inspiration across the Mediterranean sea.

This story of chrysography and the discussion of these developments could not have been told one hundred years ago when the study of Byzantine art was in its infancy and when the only art known to have been sponsored by the Crusaders was effectively architecture. This story could not have been told even fifty years ago when the study of the painting art of the Crusaders was in its very early phase, but it was still being seen mainly from the vantage point of the European west. Now in 2014 and 2015 it seems that we are newly positioned to see the basic characteristics of this story. This is possible partly, I propose, because to some extent this story can only be discerned effectively now that these developments are viewed more or less continuously from the vantage points of the Byzantine and Crusader east and the Central Italian west.

There are several important factors that have brought this story to light. First, it is only with the continued interest in Byzantine art, and the deepening knowledge of painting during and after the middle Byzantine period that we can understand more clearly what is Byzantine about Byzantine art. Even so, it must be said, there is still important work to be done. What Byzantine icons and manuscripts, if any, can be securely dated to the period from 1204 to 1261, and later in the thirteenth century in Constantinople, for example, is still an open question.

Second, it is only with the identification of a new and independent artistic phenomenon in the Near East that we can recognize an essential development in the Near Eastern Mediterranean world between 1100 and 1291. This takes the form of art commissioned by western Europeans involved with the Crusades to the Holy Land and executed by some or other of the following: by European artists in the east, and by artists who were long-term residents in the Near East, but of western European ancestry trained in the Byzantine tradition of painting in the Crusader states. It also takes the form of works done by these so-called Crusader artists but commissioned by eastern patrons, or finally by Byzantine and other local Christian artists working for western or Crusader patrons. It is only with the new knowledge of this art – effectively an art of painting in terms of icons, whether in enamels, manuscript illumination, mosaics, or fresco painting as well as sculpture and metalwork – an art effectively first identified in the 1950s and 1960s, with intensive study continued through the period from the 1970s to the early 2000s, that we can now see more fully how the Byzantine tradition was assimilated, appropriated, and fundamental to a great deal of what we now think of as the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land.

And, third, there have been many significant new scholarly contributions that have created the foundation for formulating this story. Some of this scholarship is found with regard to Byzantine studies, some of it with regard to the study of Italian Duecento and early Trecento painting, and some has to do with studies in conservation that deal with the materials, technique, and processes of the relevant paintings mainly on wood panels.

I first became interested in the issue of chrysography and its appearance on the images of the enthroned Virgin and Child with angels as the result of my studies on the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land on the one hand, and in particular on the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas now in Washington, DC at the National Gallery of Art starting in the 1990s, on the other.[3] Gradually I took more notice of this important feature as my research continued on these two remarkable paintings,[4] and on the icon paintings for "Crusader" patrons and/or by "Crusader" artists.[5] In the meantime there has been an important surge of scholarly work on Byzantine icons and images, and in particular on the images and the cult of the Virgin Mary in Byzantine art. I am referring to the studies published in various volumes and the remarkable series of major exhibitions and international conferences associated with the work of scholars such as Hans Belting,[6] Helen Evans,[7] Robin Cormack,[8] Maria Vassilaki,[9] Robert Nelson,[10] Henry Maguire,[11] Annemarie Weyl Carr,[12] Liz James,[13] and Bissera Pentcheva,[14] among others,[15] during the past twenty years.

In the West and in particular in Italy, it is clear that following the great Italian panel painting exhibition of 1937 held in the Uffizi in Florence, there has been

an avalanche of scholarship which has produced an abundant bibliography on the study of Duecento and early Trecento Tuscan panel painting.[16] But more recently there is a similar roster of very important and extremely valuable works published, mostly since about 1980, on the study of Italian medieval painting in Tuscany and proximate regions between c. 1250 and 1311 that also have provided an important foundation for our knowledge of central Italian painting prior to the era of Giotto and Trecento painting. In this case, as with the references to studies on Byzantine art, I am aware that my citations reflect only some of the important work that has been done in the last twenty-five or thirty years. But these are works that I found to be substantial and important for my current study and so they are mentioned here with gratitude and recognition for the contributions these scholars, some of which I am privileged to have known and worked with over the years, have made to my ongoing research in one way or other. I particularly think of the work of Victor Schmidt,[17] Julian Gardner,[18] John E. C. T. White,[19] Eugenio Battisti,[20] Miklos Boskovits,[21] Luciano Bellosi,[22] Michele Bacci,[23] Hayden Maginnis,[24] Joanna Cannon,[25] Diana Norman,[26] Valentino Pace,[27] Rebecca Corrie,[28] Anne Derbes,[29] Henk van Os,[30] Paul Hills,[31] Cathleen Hoeniger,[32] and James Stubblebine.[33] I also wish to mention a series of magnificent exhibitions and exhibition catalogues that have been published in Italy in recent years which have shed important new light on the panel paintings and altarpieces of central importance for this study.[34]

Overall, the fact is however that very little account has been taken of the phenomenon of chrysography and golden highlighting as yet, in the study of Byzantine art and Italian Duecento painting. In the past it was Otto Demus who commented on this phenomenon with regard to Byzantium and the West, but almost always with a link to Venice rather than to Tuscany.[35] Most recently there are the studies of Paul Hills, Luciano Bellosi, and Joseph Polzer, which have addressed the existence of the golden highlighting in Italian Duecento painting and, in the last case, some of the formal aspects of motifs found in the golden highlighting.[36] As I hope will become clear in the current study, it is important to make a distinction between chrysography and golden highlighting; and it is important to look at chrysography as practiced by the Byzantines and by the Crusaders, and at the golden highlighting practiced by the central Italian painters with regard to issues of concept and meaning, formal design, and technique with regard to process, materials, and artistic training.

In concluding these remarks, I would like to make the following comments on the terminology used in this study with regard to chrysography and golden highlighting. This study is dealing with the phenomenon of chrysography – that means the use of golden designs indicating the light and radiance of

figures placed on the garments of holy figures in icons and panel painting. So, in general, this activity is referred to as the practice of chrysography. However, at a different level, I wish to differentiate between the employment of chrysography and that of golden highlighting. Essentially it is the Byzantine and Crusader painters who are practicing chrysography, which is bound up with the idea of the divine radiance emanating from the holy figures of Jesus, and eventually by Crusader painters but not Byzantine painters, from the Virgin Mary. By contrast the Italian painters in Italy, inspired by this chrysography, imitate it as radiance to some extent while, for the most part, introducing golden highlights on their paintings of the Virgin and Child, and of course other saints and angels. Golden highlights are bound up with the idea of the reflection of golden light on the garments of these holy figures coming from the divine light generated in their heavenly ambience. This reflected light can be understood as golden highlighting on the folds of garments as if the divine light was like the natural light of the sun. This reflected light can also be understood as divine light or sunlight reflecting on luxury garments with gold threads woven into the cloth, that is, cloth of gold. Or, this reflected light can be understood as golden highlighting created when a pattern embroidered into a garment is lit by external divine light or sunlight and creating a highlighted design on the garment of a figure. We will see all of these examples in our discussion in the chapters that will follow.

With regard to the acknowledgments I wish to make about the many scholars and colleagues who have facilitated the work discussed in this book, permit me to begin with the observation that there is also a very important, indeed unique contribution which paintings conservators have made to this study, and foremost among them by far is Dr. Lucy J. Wrapson from the Hamilton Kerr Institute in Cambridge, England. In my quest to study the history and development of chrysography in the art of Byzantium, in the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, and in the medieval art of central Italy, nothing could have been more important than the expert analysis given by Dr. Wrapson with regard to the materials, methods, techniques, processes, and appearance of chrysography on the primary examples of painting I am discussing in this book. As we studied together the icons at Sinai and the panel paintings in Siena, Florence, Pisa, Perugia, Arezzo, and Orvieto, it became increasingly apparent how surprisingly interesting and complex the materials, procedures, and techniques of chrysography have been, far more interesting and complex than the familiar medieval how-to books have led us to believe. It only underlines how important the study of paintings with both technical and art historical research combined can be, and how significant it has been to examine these works of art first hand together. Lucy Wrapson's important findings are directly presented in Chapter 7 included in this book, but her enlightening discussions about all aspects of the study of the relevant icons and

panel paintings as we examined them together were essential to my work. I wish to express here my warmest gratitude to her for her professional expertise, enthusiasm, commitment, and generosity.

The other indispensable colleague without whose excellent work this study would not have been possible is my photographer, Dr. Genevra Kornbluth. Genevra, who worked with me as a graduate student years ago and received her Ph.D. in Medieval Art History from the University of North Carolina, continues to be a publishing scholar. But in recent years she has become a professional photographer running her own business, Kornbluth Photography, specializing in high quality art photography. Given the importance of chrysography, so poorly photographed in the past, for my research, it was essential to acquire the best possible photographs of the many familiar Italian panel paintings for this study. For this purpose I commissioned Dr. Kornbluth to make all of the color photographs of the Italian panel paintings reproduced in this book, with only one or two exceptions. As always Genevra proved to be admirably resourceful, persistent, and creative in her efforts to take the photos required. And I have also relied on her to process these photos as electronic files in order to enhance the visibility of the chrysography on these works, where so often in the past the black and white photos, and even many color photos have rendered the chrysography hard or even impossible to see. It has been particularly valuable to have had her photographs available for constant reference as I wrote the final version of my text, where for each work of art it was possible to zoom in to see the chrysography in detail, for the purpose of assessing its design and the techniques and procedures used by the artists in each painting.

Among other colleagues in the world of research conservation, I am also grateful to Lara Broecke who completed a remarkable slightly smaller reconstruction of Cimabue's Arezzo *croce dipinta* for the Cambridge University Catholic Chaplaincy in Fisher House, in 2007. Not only has she published a detailed and very useful account of her work on this crucifix,[37] but she also delivered an in-house lecture at the Hamilton Kerr Institute on 13 September 2011 on the Fisher House Crucifix, which at that time was in storage at the Institute during a period when renovations were being carried out at Fisher House itself in downtown Cambridge. The opportunity to hear this talk and to discuss her procedures and techniques on the crucifix following her presentation was especially valuable for understanding the production of this work according to carefully observed historical methods.

Of course, I cannot pass this point without also acknowledging the basic importance of the excellent catalogue on early Italian painting published by the conservators of the National Gallery, London, in 1989.[38] I would also like to express my gratitude to the new conservator of Italian painting to 1500 at the National Gallery, Dr. Caroline Campbell, for facilitating my research and

that of Lucy Wrapson with regard to the relevant paintings in the National Gallery Collection by Duccio and the Master of the St. Francis Crucifixion.

Elsewhere, may I mention that during my visit to the University of Oslo in November 2011, it was a great pleasure to meet Unn Plahter, who a few years ago celebrated her 70th birthday while continuing her long career in the larger field of "technical art history," for which a special volume of studies was presented to her by students and colleagues.[39] During my visit to the Medieval Collection at the Museum of Cultural History of the University, she and a number of her colleagues enabled me to examine a variety of works of medieval Norwegian painting with their enlightening comments.

Finally, closer to home I would like to thank my colleague, Ann Hoenigswald, conservator at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, for her consistent interest in my work and her constant and collegial willingness to return to the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas for further examination and discussion following her initial ground breaking publication on these Madonnas.[40] Thanks to her and to the staff of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, including especially Adele Wright, an intern at the NGA from the Hamilton Kerr Institute in 2013–14, the special examination of the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas and the NGA *Maestà* panel of the Nativity by Duccio with X-Ray Fluorescence (XRF) technology was carried out and reported on, the results of which are included here. I would also like to thank the conservators and curators in North Carolina who have assisted me along the way, including at the Ackland Art Museum of the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, Lyn Koehnline, and at the North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh, Dennis Weller, curator, and the chief conservator, Bill Brown.

Overseas colleagues, scholars, and administrators have facilitated the fieldwork that I have done with Lucy Wrapson in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, and with Lucy Wrapson and Linda Folda in Tuscany and Umbria. At Sinai I am of course grateful to Archbishop Damianos for his permission and his benevolent oversight for study of the holy icons at the monastery. During his long tenure as abbot at St. Catherine's, and certainly since I first met him at Sinai in 1975, he has shown inspired leadership for and enlightened management of the monastery's unparalleled religious treasures. For facilitating our work and for generous interest in our studies, and wonderful assistance with all aspects of practical matters, we are of course most grateful to Father Justin Sinaites, librarian at the monastery at the time of our visits. Through his good offices we enjoyed the unstinting efforts of the *skevophylax*, Fr. Michael, and his able assistant, Fr. Nifon, to arrange for our study of the icons, and to Fr. Nilos for his tireless and unwavering assistance as we studied the icons in the Stephanos Chapel. And of course, our trip to Sinai and all of our activities there, including a celebratory camel ride was facilitated

and cooperatively experienced with wonderful enthusiasm, knowledgeable guidance, and scholarly direction by our stalwart friend and colleague, Betsy Bolman. Thanks in no small measure to Dr. Bolman our visits to Sinai have been remarkably productive and extremely efficient as well as very enjoyable for our entire team as we shared observations, analyses, and discussions about the various icons.

Similarly in Italy, Lucy, Linda Folda, and I have been the beneficiaries of generous and much appreciated assistance at each stop along our itinerary to study the main altarpiece panels and icons in Tuscan and Umbrian institutions which were important for our research. For Siena, my thanks to Dott. Mario Scalini, Soprintendenza, for his official welcome and recognition. In Siena during our stay, we would especially like to thank Dott.ssa Anna Maria Guiducci, curator of painting (1200–1400) at the Pinacoteca Nazionale, for her enthusiastic interest in our work and the invaluable assistance she gave us in our efforts to study the important works at the Opera del Duomo, the church of San Domenico, and the church of Sta Maria dei Servi. We would also like to single out the cooperation and help given us by Elena Pinzauti, the chief paintings conservator at the Pinacoteca Nazionale for assisting us in the study of important works and sharing published and unpublished material from the curatorial files with regard to the conservation of various paintings. In Florence, I am personally very grateful to Dott.ssa Cecilia Frosinini at the Opificio delle Pietre Dure for her invaluable advice and guidance with regard to arranging our research visits to the various institutions with important paintings, not only in Florence, but also for all of Tuscany and Umbria. She also very generously introduced us to the important work being carried out at the Laboratori di Restauro in the Fortezza da Basso during our visit. For making arrangements for us to study paintings at the Uffizi and at the Accademia in Florence, our thanks to Cristina Accidini, Andrea Di Meo, Vera Laura Verona, Maira Cosinovi and Francesca Montanaro. May I also say it was a special pleasure to be welcomed to the Accademia by the director, Dott. Angelo Tartuferi, who invited us to study the altarpiece no. 435 in his office. In Pisa, we thank Dott. Mario Matteoni for his permission to do our research; we would like to thank the conservator, Pierluigi Nieri, for his generous assistance during our visit to study the important paintings at the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo. In Umbria we thank Dott. Fabio De Chirico for his permission to work in the museums in Perugia and at the Palazzo Papale in Orvieto. In Perugia, we are especially grateful to the curator of collections, Dott.ssa Federica Zalabra, for personally facilitating our visit to the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria to study the Marzolini Triptych, which has been so magnificently conserved. In Arezzo, not only did Dott.ssa Rossella Cavigli, the conservator at the Museo Statale Medioevale e Moderno, make every arrangement for us to study the

Arezzo altarpiece in the museum, but she also introduced us to her laboratory and her recently published work on an important restoration project for a thirteenth century panel in the collection.

At the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, I would like to express special thanks to Josh Hockensmith in the Art Library, to the amazingly efficient and helpful staff of the ILL in Davis Library, and to the knowledgeable and wonderfully generous curator of the VRL in the Art Department, Dr. Jennifer Bauer, all of whom have cheerfully and continuously assisted me through the duration of this project over the past few years.

At the Cambridge University Press I have been blessed with not one but two editors to skillfully manage the realization of this book through the complicated stages of funding and production. On the one hand there is Dr. Beatrice Rehl who has taken a much appreciated personal interest in this project which she started with the submission of my prospectus to the Syndicate in 2010. I truly thank her for the personal contributions she has put into the successful completion of this project even while she was carrying out her administrative duties at a higher level at Cambridge University Press. On the other hand, Dr. Anastasia Graf, who was my "regular" editor has generously devoted herself to guiding me through the trials and tribulations of every author attempting to publish a substantial art history study with the high-quality photographic documentation required for such a work. I appreciate her intelligent oversight and guidance, her patience and her good advice, and her hard work on my behalf. I am also grateful to Isabella Vitti, Dr. Graf's assistant editor, and Diane Aronson, Production editor, for their able handling of innumerable details with regard to correspondence, updates, transmissions of documents, and for their efficient work to keep this project moving ahead smoothly.

In addition to my editor, I am indebted to two other colleagues who read the text of my study, namely, Dr. Lucy Wrapson and Dr. Anne Derbes. In particular I am grateful to Anne Derbes for the careful reading she gave my text, and for the numerous useful comments, excellent suggestions, and interesting questions she offered to assist me in trying to improve the quality of this study. And, as a final contributor to this project, I express my thanks to Roberta Engleman who skillfully and efficiently prepared the index for the book.

As I have discussed in my study, little attention has been given in the past to the issue of chrysography in Byzantine and Italian Medieval art partly because of the inability of publishing technology to represent it clearly in black and white photography. Now that it has become possible to publish art history books and articles with large numbers of excellent color plates, scholarly attention to chrysography has begun. I am indeed grateful for the interest and support of the Cambridge University Press in this book and for their expert handling of this project.